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LETTERS

Epistolas

VOLUME V · VI

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Epistolas · Letters

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CAPUT V.

16. Cum haec atque hujusmodi de hac re multa quaeruntur, quae nullo sensu carnis explorari possunt, et a nostra experientia longe remota sunt, atque in abditissimis naturae sinibus latent; non erubescendum est homini confiteri se nescire quod nescit, ne dum se scire mentitur, nunquam scire mereatur. Quis autem negat non unius tantum, sed omnis animae creatorem Deum atque factorem, nisi qui ejus eloquiis apertissime refragatur? Sine ulla quippe ambiguitate per prophetam dicit, Omnem flatum ego feci (Isai. LVII, 16); animas videlicet intelligi volens, quod verba consequentia manifestant Non itaque unum quem facto ex terra homini primo inspiravit, sed omnem flatum ipse fecit, ipse adhuc facit. Quaeritur tamen utrum omnem flatum ex illo uno flatu, sicut omne corpus hominis ex uno illo corpore, faciat: an vero nova quidem corpora faciat ex uno, animas autem novas ex nihilo. Quis enim congrua suis originibus genera rerum etiam de seminibus facit, nisi qui ipsa semina sine seminibus fecit? Sed ubi res naturaliter obscura nostrum modulum vincit, et aperta divina Scriptura non subvenit, temere hinc aliquid definire humana conjectura praesumit. Secundum vitas autem quas proprias habere incipiunt, novos homines dicimus nasci, sive anima, sive corpore. At vero secundum originale peccatum veteres nascuntur; ideo Baptismate renovantur.

17. Aliquid ergo certum de animae origine nondum in Scripturis canonicis comperi. Nam ii qui novas sine ulla propagine asserunt animas fieri, inter testimonia quibus id nituntur ostendere, ponunt etiam illa duo quae paulo ante commemoravi, Qui fingit spiritum hominis in ipso; et, Qui finxit singillatim corda hominum; de quibus vides quemadmodum possit a resistentibus responderi: utrum enim cum fingit, ex alio fingat, an ex nihilo, incertum est. Illud tamen inter caetera testimonium videtur esse praecipuum, quod in libro Salominis Ecclesiastae legitur: Et revertetur pulvis in terram, sicut erat; et spiritus revertetur ad Deum, qui dedit eum (Eccle. XII, 7). Sed facillime respondetur, Corpus in terram de qua factum est primum hominis corpus, et spiritus ad Deum a quo facta est prima hominis anima: sicut enim nostrum corpus, inquiunt, quamvis ex primo illo corpore propagatum sit, eo tamen redit unde ipsum primum corpus effectum est; sic anima nostra, quamvis ex illa anima propagata, non ad nihilum, quia immortalis est, sed ad illum redit a quo ipsa prima anima facta est. Ac per hoc illud quod scriptum est de spiritu cujusque hominis quod redeat ad Deum qui dedit eum, non solvit istam obscurissimam quaestionem; quia sive ex illo uno, sive ex nullo alio, Deus utique dedit eum.

CHAPTER III.

16. When these and many such things concerning this matter are asked, which can be explored by no sense of the flesh, and are far removed from our experience, and lie hidden in the most secret bosoms of nature; a man must not be ashamed to confess that he does not know what he does not know, lest while he lies that he knows, he may never deserve to know. For who denies that God is the creator and maker not of one only, but of every soul, except he who most openly contradicts His utterances? For without any ambiguity He says through the prophet: "I have made every breath" (Isa. 57:16); certainly willing souls to be understood, as the following words manifest. Therefore, not only that one which He breathed into the first man made from the earth, but every breath He Himself made, He Himself still makes. It is asked, however, whether He makes every breath from that one breath, just as every body of man from that one body: or whether indeed He makes new bodies from one, but new souls from nothing. For who makes the kinds of things suitable to their origins even from seeds, except He who made the seeds themselves without seeds? But where a thing naturally obscure overcomes our measure, and open divine Scripture does not help, human conjecture rashly presumes to define something from here. Moreover, according to the lives which they begin to have as their own, we say that new men are born, whether in soul or in body. But according to original sin they are born old; therefore they are renewed by Baptism.

17. Something certain, therefore, concerning the origin of the soul I have not yet discovered in the canonical Scriptures. For those who assert that new souls are made without any propagation, among the testimonies by which they strive to show it, place also those two which I commemorated a little while ago: "Who fashions the spirit of man in himself"; and, "Who fashioned the hearts of men individually"; concerning which you see how it can be answered by those resisting: for it is uncertain whether when He fashions, He fashions from another or from nothing. That testimony, however, among others seems to be chief, which is read in the book of Solomon's Ecclesiastes: "And the dust shall return to the earth, as it was; and the spirit shall return to God, who gave it" (Eccles. 12:7). But it is most easily answered: The body [returns] to the earth from which the first body of man was made, and the spirit to God by whom the first soul of man was made: for just as our body, they say, although it has been propagated from that first body, yet returns thither whence that first body itself was effected; so our soul, although propagated from that soul, does not [return] to nothing, because it is immortal, but returns to Him by whom that first soul itself was made. And by this that which is written of the spirit of each man that it returns to God who gave it, does not solve that most obscure question; because whether from that one or from no other, God certainly gave it.

18. Itemque illi qui propaginem animarum inconsiderata temeritate defendunt, inter alia testimonia quae suae causae suffragari arbitrantur, nullum quasi manifestius et expressius pro se possunt putare proferendum, quam id quod in Genesi scriptum est: Omnes autem animae quae introierunt cum Jacob in Aegyptum, qui exierunt de femoribus ejus (Gen. XLVI, 26). Hoc enim velut evidentissimo testimonio possunt credi animae in filios ex parentibus propagari; quoniam satis aperte dictum videtur, animas etiam de femoribus Jacob, non sola exiisse corpora filiorum. Ut eo modo etiam illud intelligi velint a parte totum, quod dixit Adam, cum illi mulier ejus ostenderetur, Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis, et caro de carne mea (Id. II, 23): non enim dixit, Et anima de anima mea; sed ita fieri potest ut carne nominata utrumque intelligatur, sicut hic animas nominavit, et tamen etiam corpora in filiis intelligi voluit.

19. Sed hoc testimonium certe quasi tam clarum atque manifestum enodandae huic quaestioni non sufficeret, nec si ita legeretur genere feminino, quae exierunt de femoribus ejus, ut animas intelligeremus quae exierunt. Ideo autem non sufficeret, quoniam et animae nomine corpus solum posse significari, modo quodam locutionis ostenditur quo significatur per id quod continetur illud quod continet; sicut ait quidam, Vina coronant (Virg. Aeneid. 7), cum coronarentur vasa vinaria: vinum enim continetur, et vas continet. Sicut ergo appellamus ecclesiam basilicam, qua continetur populus qui vere appellatur Ecclesia; ut nomine ecclesiae, id est, populi qui continetur, significemus locum qui continet: ita quod animae corporibus continentur, intelligi corpora filiorum per nominatas animas possunt. Sic enim melius accipitur etiam illud quod Lex inquinari dicit eum qui intraverit super animam mortuam (Num. IX, 10), hoc est super defuncti cadaver, ut nomine animae mortuae, mortuum corpus intelligatur, quod animam continebat; quia et absente populo, id est, Ecclesia, locus tamen ille nihilominus ecclesia nuncupatur. Haec responderentur, si, ut dixi, feminino genere positum esset, quae exierunt de femoribus Jacob, id est, quae animae. Nunc vero cum masculinum genus sit positum, id est, qui exierunt de femoribus Jacob; quis non ita intelligere malit, Omnes animae eorum qui exierunt defemoribus, id est, animae hominum: ut etiam sic possint intelligi secundum corpus tantummodo exiisse homines de femoribus patris, quorum erant illae animae, per quarum numerum intelliguntur tot homines?

CAPUT VI.

18. And likewise those who defend the propagation of souls with inconsiderate rashness, among other testimonies which they think favor their cause, can think that none more manifest and express is to be brought forward for themselves than that which is written in Genesis: "But all the souls that entered with Jacob into Egypt, who came out of his thighs" (Gen. 46:26). For by this as by a most evident testimony souls can be believed to be propagated into children from parents; since it seems quite openly said that souls also came out of the thighs of Jacob, not only the bodies of his sons. So that in that way they also wish to understand that a part stands for the whole, which Adam said when his woman was shown to him: "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh" (Gen. 2:23): for he did not say: And soul of my soul; but so it can be done that with flesh named both are understood, just as here he named souls, and yet willed also bodies to be understood in the sons.

19. But this testimony certainly would not suffice for unravelling this question as if it were so clear and manifest, not even if it were thus read in the feminine gender, "which [souls] came out of his thighs," so that we might understand that it was souls which came out. Moreover, it would not suffice for this reason, since it is shown by a certain mode of locution that by the name of the soul the body alone can be signified, by which that which contains is signified by that which is contained; just as a certain one says, "they crown the wines" (Virg. Aeneid 7), when the wine vessels were being crowned: for the wine is contained, and the vessel contains. Therefore, just as we call the basilica "the church," by which the people are contained who are truly called the Church; so that by the name of the church, that is, of the people who are contained, we may signify the place which contains: so because souls are contained by bodies, the bodies of the sons can be understood by the named souls. For thus even that is better accepted which the Law says pollutes him who shall have entered upon a "dead soul" (Num. 9:10), that is, upon the cadaver of the deceased, so that by the name of a dead soul, a dead body is understood, which contained the soul; because even when the people, that is, the Church, are absent, that place is nevertheless called the church. These things would be answered if, as I said, it had been placed in the feminine gender, "which [souls] came out of the thighs of Jacob," that is, which souls. But now since the masculine gender has been placed, that is, "who [persons] came out of the thighs of Jacob"; who would not prefer so to understand: All the souls of those who came out of the thighs, that is, the souls of the men: so that even thus men can be understood to have come out of the thighs of the father according to the body only, whose those souls were, by the number of whom so many men are understood?

CHAPTER VI.

20. Vellem autem legere libellum tuum cujus mentionem fecisti in litteris tuis, ne forte aliqua ibi testimonia non ambigua posuisti. A me autem cum quaesiisset amicus mihi charissimus et divinarum studiosissimus litterarum, quid de hac quaestionem sentirem, eique remota verecundia, hinc aestus meos et ignorantiam fassus essem, scripsit inde longe trans mare ad doctissimum virum: cui rescripsit ille ut potius me consuleret, nesciens quod jam fecerat, nec aliquid a me certum ac definitum audire potuerat. Significavit tamen in eadem brevi epistola sua, se potius fieri quam propagari animas credere: simul etiam admonens animarum propaginem (quia ipse in Oriente est) occidentalem Ecclesiam solere sentire. Hac ego majore occasione comperta, scripsi ad eum non brevem librum, consulens eum, et petens ut prius me doceat, et tunc ad me mittat quos doceam.

21. Qui liber meus ut non doctoris sed inquisitoris, et potius discere cupientis, apud me legi potest: mitti vero uspiam non debet, vel cuiquam foras dari, nisi cum rescripta Domino adjuvante percepero; id quod ille sentit, promptissime ac libentissime defensurus, si me docere potuerit quomodo animae non ex Adam veniant, et tamen ex illo justam sortem damnationis inveniant, nisi ad remissionem peccatorum renascendo perveniant. Absit enim ut credamus vel animas parvulorum in lavacro regenerationis falsam accipere peccatorum mundationem, vel Deum esse, aut aliquam naturam quam non condidit Deus, illius ex qua mundantur inquinationis auctorem. Donec ergo aut ille rescribat, aut ego, si Deus voluerit, aliquo modo discam, si nullam de illa peccatrice originem ducit, quae causa sit animae subeundi originale peccatum, quod necesse est esse in omnibus parvulis; et quo eam nec Deus cogit insontem, quia peccandi auctor non est, nec ulla mali natura, quia non est; nihil tale audeo praedicare.

22. Te autem, si libenter vel patienter admittis, charissime frater, admoneo ne haeresim novam minus cautus incurras, quae antiquissimae fidei stabilita molitur fundamenta convellere adversus Dei gratiam disputando, quam Dominus Christus pusillis et magnis ineffabili bonitate largitur: cujus vel auctores, vel certe acerrimi notissimique suasores cum Pelagius et Celestius exstitissent, conciliorum episcopalium vigilantia in adjutorio Salvatoris qui suam tuetur Ecclesiam, etiam a duobus venerabilibus antistitibus apostolicae Sedis, papa Innocentio et papa Zosimo, nisi correcti etiam egerint poenitentiam, toto christiano orbe damnati sunt.

20. I would wish, however, to read your little book which you mentioned in your letters, lest perhaps you have placed there some testimonies that are not ambiguous. But when a most dear friend of mine and most studious of divine letters had asked me what I felt concerning this question, and I, with shame removed, had confessed my anxieties and ignorance here, he wrote from there far across the sea to a most learned man: to whom that one wrote back that he should rather consult me, not knowing that he had already done so, nor had been able to hear anything certain and definite from me. He signified, however, in that same brief letter of his, that he believed souls to be made rather than propagated: at the same time also admonishing that the Western Church (since he himself is in the East) is accustomed to feel the propagation of souls. I, having discovered this greater occasion, wrote to him a not brief book, consulting him, and asking that he first teach me, and then send to me those whom I may teach.

Which book of mine can be read at my house as that of an inquirer rather than a teacher, and of one rather desiring to learn: but it ought not to be sent anywhere, or given to anyone outside, until I shall have perceived the replies with the Lord helping; being about to defend most promptly and most willingly that which he feels, if he shall have been able to teach me how souls do not come from Adam, and yet find from him a just lot of condemnation, unless they come to the remission of sins by being born again. For far be it from us that we should believe either that the souls of infants receive a false cleansing of sins in the washing of regeneration, or that God is, or any nature which God did not create, the author of that defilement from which they are cleansed. Therefore, until either he writes back, or I, if God shall have willed, shall learn in some way, if it draws no origin from that sinful soul, what the cause is of the soul undergoing original sin, which must be in all infants; and to which neither God compels it as innocent, because He is not the author of sinning, nor any nature of evil, because there is none; I dare to preach nothing of the sort.

22. But you, if you admit it willingly or patiently, most dear brother, I admonish lest less cautiously you incur a new heresy, which strives to tear up the established foundations of the most ancient faith by disputing against the grace of God, which the Lord Christ bestows upon the little and the great with ineffable goodness: of which since either Pelagius and Celestius had existed as authors, or certainly most sharp and best-known persuaders, by the vigilance of episcopal councils in the help of the Savior who protects His Church, and even by two venerable bishops of the Apostolic See, Pope Innocent and Pope Zosimus, unless they should even do penance having been corrected, they have been condemned in the whole Christian world.

De quibus exempla recentium litterarum, sive quae specialiter ad Afros, sive quae universaliter ad omnes episcopos de memorata Sede manarunt, ne forte ad vestram Sanctitatem nondum pervenerint, vobis curavimus mitti ab eis fratribus quibus et has litteras, ut tuae Venerationi dirigerent, dedimus. Hi autem non ideo sunt haeretici, quia dicunt animas originem de illa prima peccatrice non ducere, quod vel aliqua fortasse ratione vera dici potest, vel sine fidei labe nesciri: sed hinc conantur efficere (unde omnino apertissimi haeretici judicantur) animas parvulorum nihil mali ex Adam trahere, quod sit lavacro regenerationis expiandum. Nam Pelagii de hac re argumentatio, quae inter alia ejus damnabilia etiam litteris apostolicae Sedis adjuncta est, ita se habet: Si anima, inquit, ex traduce non est, sed sola caro tantum habet traducem peccati; sola ergo poenam meretur. Injustum est enim ut hodie nata anima non ex massa Adae, tam antiquum peccatum portet alienum; quia nulla ratione conceditur ut Deus qui propria peccata dimittit, unum imputet alienum.

23. Si ergo ita potes animarum asserere sine ulla propagine novitatem, ut ratione justa et a fide catholica non aliena, etiam sic peccato primi hominis ostendantur obnoxiae; assere quod sentis, ut potes. Si autem non eas aliter potes a propagatione facere alienas, nisi ut simul facias ab omni peccati vinculo liberas; cohibe te ab hujusmodi disputatione omnimodo. Non est enim falsa etiam in parvulorum baptismate remissio peccatorum, nec verbo tenus dicitur, sed veraciter agitur. Nam ut jam verbis utar, quae in ipsa epistola beatissimi antistitis Zosimi leguntur: Fidelis Dominus in verbis suis, ejusque baptismus re ac verbis, id est, opere, confessione et remissione vera peccatorum, in omni sexu, aetate, conditione generis humani eamdem plenitudinem tenet. Nullus enim nisi qui peccati servus est, liber efficitur, nec redemptus dici potest, nisi qui vere per peccatum fuerit ante captivus, sicut scriptum est: «Si vos Filius liberaverit, vere liberi eritis» (Joan. VIII, 36). Per ipsum enim renascimus spiritualiter, per ipsum crucifigimur mundo. Ipsius morte, mortis ab Adam omnibus nobis introductae atque transmissae universae animae illud propagine contractum chirographum rumpitur, in quo nullus omnino natorum, antequam per Baptismum liberetur, non tenetur obnoxius. In his verbis apostolicae Sedis tam antiqua atque fundata, certa et clara est catholica fides, ut nefas sit de illa dubitare christiano.

Concerning whom we have taken care that copies of recent letters, whether those which emanated specially to the Africans, or those which universally to all bishops from the mentioned See, lest perhaps they have not yet reached your Holiness, be sent to you by those brothers to whom we gave these letters also, that they might direct them to your Veneration. These, however, are not heretics for this reason, because they say that souls do not draw their origin from that first sinful soul, which can either perhaps by some reason be said truly, or be not known without stain of faith: but from here they endeavor to effect (whence they are judged altogether most manifest heretics) that the souls of infants draw nothing of evil from Adam, which is to be expiated by the washing of regeneration. For Pelagius's argumentation concerning this matter, which among other of his damnable things is also joined to the letters of the Apostolic See, is as follows: "If the soul," he says, "is not from a source (ex traduce), but the flesh alone only has the source of sin; therefore it alone deserves punishment. For it is unjust that a soul born today, not from the mass of Adam, should carry an ancient sin of another; because by no reason is it conceded that God who forgives one's own sins, should impute the sin of another."

23. If, therefore, you can so assert the novelty of souls without any propagation, so that by a just reason and one not alien to the Catholic faith, they are shown even thus subject to the sin of the first man; assert what you feel, as you can. But if you cannot otherwise make them alien from propagation, except that at the same time you make them free from every bond of sin; restrain yourself from a dispute of this sort in every way. For the remission of sins is not false even in the baptism of infants, nor is it said merely in word, but is truly acted. For to use now the words which are read in that same letter of the most blessed bishop Zosimus: "The Lord is faithful in His words, and His baptism in fact and words, that is, in work, confession, and true remission of sins, holds the same fullness in every sex, age, and condition of the human race. For no one is made free except he who is a slave of sin, nor can anyone be called redeemed, except he who truly through sin was previously a captive, as it is written: 'If the Son shall have liberated you, you will be truly free' (John 8:36). For through Him we are born again spiritually, through Him we are crucified to the world. By His death, that handwriting (chirographum) of death introduced from Adam and transmitted to all of us, [contracted] by the propagation of the universal soul, is broken, in which altogether no one of those born, before he is liberated through Baptism, is not held subject." In these words of the Apostolic See, the Catholic faith is so ancient and established, certain and clear, that it is a crime for a Christian to doubt concerning it.

24. Quoniam ergo morte Christi, non unius aut aliquarum, sed universae animae propagine contractum mortis chirographum rumpitur; si potes animas sic alienas a propagine defendere, ut tamen hoc chirographo, quod sola Christi morte rumpendum est, rectissima ratione demonstrentur obstrictae, nec sua propagine, sed carnis hoc debito juste appareant obligatae: non solum nemine prohibente defende, verum etiam id nobis quomodo tecum defendere possimus ostende. Si autem aliter non potest quod de animarum novitate sentis, asserere, nisi ut eas dicas peccato primi hominis non teneri; aut per propaginem non suam, sed carnis, auctore Deo, vel nescio qua mali natura, innocentissimas fieri peccatrices: melius origo animae latet, dum tamen eam non dubitemus Dei esse creaturam, quam vel Deus peccati auctor dicatur, vel contra Deum aliena mali natura introducatur, vel baptisma parvulorum irritum ducatur.

25. Ut autem et a me tua Dilectio de hac quaestione aliquid audiat definitum, non parvi aestimandum, imo praecipue necessarium atque retinendum, quomodolibet se origo habeat animarum, sive ex illa una, sive ex nulla alia propagentur; Mediatoris tamen animam nullum ex Adam traxisse peccatum dubitare fas non est. Si enim nulla propagatur ex altera, ubi omnes tenentur propagata carne peccati: quanto minus credendum est ex propagine peccatricis animam venire potuisse, cujus caro venit ex virgine, non libidine concepta, sed fide, ut esset in similitudine carnis peccati (Rom. VIII, 3), non in carne peccati! Si autem peccato primae animae peccatricis ideo caeterae tenentur obnoxiae, quia ex illa sunt propagatae; profecto illa quam sibi Unigenitus coaptavit, aut peccatum inde non traxit, aut omnino inde non tracta est. Neque enim non potuit animam sibi trahere sine peccato, qui solvit nostra peccata; aut qui novam creavit ei carni quam sine parente fecit ex terra, non potuit novam creare carni quam sine viro sumpsit ex femina.

26. Haec sicut potui, non quidem ad me datis, sed tamen ad charissimos nostros Sanctitatis tuae litteris, non peritia quam desiderasti, sed sollicita dilectione respondi. Si grate accipis, et admonitionem fraternam et utilem, non errando, sed prudenter considerando cum Ecclesiae pace conservas, Deo gratias. Si autem me ista nondum nosse miraris, vel etiam nec miraris, et me aliquid certum de origine animarum salva ista fide quae certissima atque clarissima est, mutua charitate docere non renuis, multo uberius, Deo gratias. Memor nostri, Domino semper vivas, domine beatissime, et sincera dilectione desiderabilis frater.

Since, therefore, by the death of Christ, that handwriting of death contracted by the propagation not of one or of some, but of the universal soul, is broken; if you can defend souls as so alien from propagation, so that nevertheless by a most right reason they are demonstrated bound by this handwriting, which is to be broken by the death of Christ alone, and that they appear justly obliged by this debt not by their own propagation, but by that of the flesh: not only defend it with no one prohibiting, but even show to us how we may be able to defend it with you. But if otherwise what you feel concerning the novelty of souls cannot be asserted, except that you say they are not held by the sin of the first man; or that through a propagation not their own, but of the flesh, with God as author, or I know not what nature of evil, the most innocent become sinful: it is better that the origin of the soul lie hidden, while nevertheless we do not doubt it to be a creature of God, than that either God be called the author of sin, or an alien nature of evil be introduced against God, or the baptism of infants be considered void.

But so that your Love may hear something definite from me also concerning this question, which is not to be esteemed of little value, but rather especially necessary and to be retained, in whatever way the origin of souls has itself, whether they are propagated from that one, or from no other; yet it is not lawful to doubt that the soul of the Mediator drew no sin from Adam. For if none is propagated from another, where all are held by the propagated flesh of sin: how much less is it to be believed that a soul could come from the propagation of a sinful one, whose flesh came from a virgin, conceived not by lust but by faith, so that it might be in the likeness of the flesh of sin (Rom. 8:3), not in the flesh of sin! But if the others are therefore held subject to the sin of the first sinful soul because they are propagated from it; certainly that one which the Only-begotten fitted to Himself, either did not draw sin from there, or altogether was not drawn from there. For neither could He not draw a soul to Himself without sin, who looses our sins; or He who created a new one for that flesh which He made from the earth without a parent, could not create a new one for the flesh which He took from a female without a man.

These things, as I could, I have answered, not indeed to letters given to me, but nevertheless to the letters of your Holiness to our most dear ones, not with the skill which you desired, but with solicitous love. If you receive it gratefully, and preserve the brotherly and useful admonition, not by erring, but by prudently considering with the peace of the Church, thanks be to God. But if you wonder that I do not yet know those things, or even do not wonder, and you do not refuse to teach me something certain concerning the origin of souls with this faith safe which is most certain and most clear, by mutual charity, much more abundantly, thanks be to God. Mindful of us, may you ever live to the Lord, most blessed lord and brother desirable with sincere love.

EPISTOLA CXCI . Sixto presbytero (postea pontifici Romano) qui contra Pelagianos, quibus favisse rumor fuerat, defensionem gratiae Dei suscepisset, gratulatur; exhortans ut pergat impudentes cohibere, dissimulantibus mederi.

Domino venerabili et in Christi charitate suscipiendo sancto fratri et compresbytero SIXTO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Ex quo Hipponem litterae Benignitatis tuae per sanctum fratrem nostrum Firmum presbyterum directae me absente venerunt, posteaquam illas cum remeassem, quamvis jam inde profecto earum perlatore, legere potui, haec prima eademque gratissima rescribendi occurrit occasio per dilectissimum filium nostrum Albinum acolythum. Quod autem quibus simul scripsisti, tunc non eramus simul, ideo factum est ut singulorum singulas, non unam amborum epistolam sumeres. A me quippe digressus est perlator hujus per venerabilem fratrem et coepiscopum meum Alypium, qui tuae Sanctitati aliam rescriberet, transiturus; ad quem etiam ipsas, quas ego jam legerem, litteras tuas ipse portavit. Quae nos quanta laetitia perfuderint, quid homo nitatur loqui quod non potest eloqui? nec teipsum satis nosse arbitror, sed nobis crede, quantum boni feceris talia nobis scripta mittendo. Sicut enim tu testis es animi tui, ita nos nostri, quemadmodum sit affectus illarum sinceritate luculentissima litterarum. Si enim brevissimam epistolam tuam, quam de hac ipsa re ad beatissimum senem Aurelium per Leonem acolythum direxisti, exsultanti alacritate descripsimus, et quibus poteramus magno studio legebamus, ubi nobis exposuisti quid de illo perniciosissimo dogmate, vel quid contra de gratia Dei, quam pusillis magnisque largitur, cui est illud inimicissimum, sentias: quanta nos putas ista tua prolixiora scripta vel exsultatione legisse, vel cura, ut legantur, quibus valuimus aliis obtulisse, atque adhuc quibus valemus offerre! Quid enim gratius legi vel audiri potest, quam gratiae Dei tam pura defensio adversus inimicos ejus, ex ore ejus, qui eorumdem inimicorum magni momenti patronus ante jactabatur? aut unde uberiores Deo debemus agere gratias, quam quod ejus sic defenditur gratia ab eis quibus datur, adversus eos quibus vel non datur, vel ingratum est quod datur; quia ut eis gratum sit, occulto et justo judicio Dei non datur?

2. Quapropter, domine venerabilis, et in Christi charitate suscipiende sancte frater, quamvis optime facias, cum de hac re scribis ad fratres, apud quos se illi de tua solent efferre amicitia;

LETTER CXCI. To Sixtus the priest (afterwards Roman pontiff) who had undertaken the defense of the grace of God against the Pelagians, whom rumor had it he favored, he congratulates him; exhorting that he proceed to restrain the impudent and to heal those who dissimulate.

To the venerable lord and holy brother and fellow-priest to be received in the charity of Christ, SIXTUS, AUGUSTINE, greetings in the Lord.

1. Since the letters of your Benignity directed through our holy brother Firmus the priest came to Hippo while I was absent, after I was able to read them when I had returned, although the bearer of them had already set out from there, this first and most welcome occasion of writing back occurred through our most dear son Albinus the acolyte. Moreover, because those to whom you wrote together were not together then, it happened for this reason that you should receive individual letters from each, not one letter from both. For the bearer of this one departed from me to pass through my venerable brother and co-bishop Alypius, who might write back another to your Holiness; to whom he himself carried those very letters of yours which I had already read. With what great joy these have suffused us, why should a man strive to speak what he cannot express? nor do I think you yourself know sufficiently, but believe us, how much good you have done by sending such writings to us. For just as you are witness of your own mind, so we are of ours, how it has been affected by the most brilliant sincerity of those letters. For if we transcribed with exulting alacrity your very brief letter, which you directed concerning this same matter to the most blessed old man Aurelius through Leo the acolyte, and read it with great study to whom we could, where you explained to us what you feel concerning that most pernicious dogma, or what on the contrary concerning the grace of God, which He bestows upon the little and the great, to which that dogma is most inimical: with how much exultation do you think we have read those more prolix writings of yours, or with what care that they be read have we offered them to others whom we were able, and still offer to whom we are able! For what can be read or heard more welcome than so pure a defense of the grace of God against His enemies, from the mouth of him who was previously boasted of as a patron of great moment of those same enemies? or whence ought we to give more abundant thanks to God, than that His grace is thus defended by those to whom it is given, against those to whom either it is not given, or what is given is unwelcome; because that it may be welcome to them, by the hidden and just judgment of God it is not given?

2. Wherefore, venerable lord and holy brother to be received in the charity of Christ, although you do very well when you write concerning this matter to the brothers among whom those ones are accustomed to boast of your friendship;

tamen haec cura major tibi restat, ut non solum salubri severitate plectantur qui errorem illum christiano infestissimum nomini audent garrire liberius, sed etiam ii diligentissime caveantur vigilantia pastorali, propter infirmiores et simpliciores dominicas oves, cui eum pressius quidem ac timidius, sed tamen insusurrare non sant, penetrantes domos, sicut ait Apostolus, et caetera quae sequuntur exercita impietate facientes (II Tim. III, 6, et sqq). Nec illi negligendi sunt, qui usque ad profundum silentium supprimunt timore quod sentiunt, sed tamen eamdem perversitatem sentire non desinunt. Nonnuli quippe eorum, antequam ista pestilentia manifestissimo etiam Sedis apostolicae judicio damnaretur, vobis innotescere potuerunt, quos nunc repente reticuisse perspicitis; nec utrum sanati sint sciri potest, nisi cum non solum dogmata illa falsa tacuerint, verum etiam illis vera contraria, eo quo illa solent studio defensaverint: qui tamen lenius profecto sunt tractandi. Quid enim eos terreri opus est, quos satis territos ipsa taciturnitas monstrat? Nec ideo tanquam sani praetereundi sunt diligentia medicinae, quorum vulnus in abdito est. Etsi enim terrendi non sunt, tamen docendi sunt; et quantum existimo, facilius possunt, dum in eis timor severitatis doctorem adjuvat veritatis, ut opitulante Domino, gratia ejus intellecta atque dilecta etiam loquendo expugnent quod jam loqui non audent.

Epistola CXCII.

Augustinus Coelestino diacono (postea pontifici Romano), de mutua benevolentia.

Domino venerabili nimiumque desiderabili, sancto fratri et condiacono COELESTINO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Quamvis longe absens fuerim, quando per Projectum clericum ad me directa Hipponem Sanctitatis tuae scripta venerunt; tamen posteaquam veni, eisque lectis rescriptorum debitorem me factum esse cognovi, reddendi tempus opperiebar: et ecce subito profecturi a nobis charissimi fratris nostri Albini acolythi gratissima occurrit occasio. De tua igitur quae mihi exoptatissima est salute laetatus, Sanctitatis tuae salutationem debitam reddo. Semper autem debeo charitatem, quae sola, etiam reddita, semper detinet debitorem.

yet this greater care remains to you, that not only those be punished with salutary severity who dare to babble that error most hostile to the Christian name too freely, but also those be most diligently guarded against by pastoral vigilance, on account of the weaker and simpler sheep of the Lord, into whose ears they do not fear to whisper it more closely indeed and more timidly, but nevertheless entering houses, as the Apostle says, and doing the other things that follow with exercised impiety (2 Tim. 3:6, etc.). Nor are those to be neglected who suppress by fear what they feel even unto a profound silence, but nevertheless do not cease to feel the same perversity. For some of them, before that pestilence was condemned even by the most manifest judgment of the Apostolic See, were able to become known to you, whom you now perceive to have suddenly become silent; nor can it be known whether they are healed, except when they have not only kept silence concerning those false dogmas, but even have defended the true things contrary to them with that zeal with which they were accustomed to defend those: who nevertheless are certainly to be treated more gently. For why is there need that they be terrified, whom silence itself shows to be sufficiently terrified? Nor therefore are they whose wound is in secret to be passed over by the diligence of medicine as if healthy. For although they are not to be terrified, yet they are to be taught; and as much as I think, they can be more easily, while in them the fear of severity helps the teacher of truth, so that with the Lord helping, His grace being understood and loved, they may even by speaking conquer what they no longer dare to speak.

Letter CXCII.

Augustine to Celestine the deacon (afterwards Roman pontiff), concerning mutual benevolence.

To the venerable and exceedingly desirable lord, holy brother and fellow-deacon CELESTINE, AUGUSTINE, greetings in the Lord.

1. Although I was far away when the writings of your Holiness directed to me came to Hippo through Projectus the cleric; yet after I came, and having read them I knew myself to be made a debtor of a reply, I was waiting for the time of rendering it: and behold suddenly the most welcome occasion of our most dear brother Albinus the acolyte about to set out from us occurred. Having rejoiced therefore concerning your health, which is most desired by me, I render to your Holiness the due salutation. But I always owe charity, which alone, even when rendered, always holds the debtor.

Redditur enim cum impenditur, debetur autem etiamsi reddita fuerit; quia nullum est tempus quando impendenda jam non sit. Nec cum redditur amittitur, sed potius reddendo multiplicatur: habendo enim redditur, non carendo. Et cum reddi non possit nisi habeatur, nec haberi potest nisi reddatur: imo etiam cum redditur ab homine, crescit in homine; et tanto major acquiritur, quanto pluribus redditur. Quomodo autem negetur amicis, quae debetur et inimicis? Sed inimicis cauta impenditur, amicis secura rependitur. Agit tamen quantum potest, ut ab his etiam quibus pro malis bona retribuit, id recipiat quod impendit. Optamus quippe fieri amicum, quem veraciter diligimus inimicum: quia non eum diligimus nisi velimus bonum; quod utique non erit, nisi amiserit inimicitiarum malum.

2. Non ergo sic impenditur charitas, ut pecunia. Excepto enim quod impendendo illa diminuitur, haec augetur; etiam illo inter se differunt, quod pecuniam cui dederimus, tunc ei benevolentiores erimus, si recipere non quaeramus: non autem potest esse verus charitatis impensor, nisi fuerit benignus exactor. Quoniam pecunia cum recipitur, accedit cui datur, sed recedit a quo datur: charitas vero non solum apud eum crescit, qui hanc ab eo quem diligit, exigit, etiamsi non recipit; sed etiam ille a quo eam recipit, tunc incipit habere cum reddit. Proinde, domine frater, mutuam tibi charitatem libens reddo, gaudensque recipio: quam recipio, adhuc repeto: quam reddo, adhuc debeo. Unum enim magistrum, apud quem condiscipuli sumus, per ejus Apostolum dociles audire debemus praecipientem ac dicentem: Nemini quidquam debeatis, nisi ut invicem diligatis (Rom. XIII, 8).

EPISTOLA CXCIII . Augustinus Mercatori, excusans cur ad ipsius priores litteras nondum responderit, ostendensque Pelagianos in quaestione de baptismo parvulorum hoc ipso esse prope convictos, quod fatentur parvulos quodammodo credere per eos a quibus baptizandi offeruntur: deinde eosdem ex Enochi et Eliae ante obitum translatione, sive ex fidelium vivorum ad Christi adventum raptu, frustra contendere mortem non esse poenam peccati.

Domino dilectissimo, et in Christi membris sincerissima charitate praedicando filio MERCATORI , AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

For it is rendered when it is bestowed, but it is owed even if it shall have been rendered; because there is no time when it is not already to be bestowed. Nor is it lost when it is rendered, but rather it is multiplied by being rendered: for it is rendered by having it, not by lacking it. And since it cannot be rendered unless it be had, nor can it be had unless it be rendered: rather even when it is rendered by a man, it grows in the man; and it is acquired so much greater, by how many more it is rendered to. How, moreover, is that denied to friends, which is owed even to enemies? But to enemies it is bestowed with caution, to friends it is repaid with security. Yet it acts as much as it can, that even from those to whom it retributes good for evil, it may receive that which it bestows. For we desire him to become a friend, whom we truly love as an enemy: because we do not love him unless we wish him good; which certainly will not be, unless he loses the evil of enmities.

2. Therefore charity is not bestowed thus, as money. For except that by bestowing, that is diminished, this is increased; they differ among themselves even in this, that concerning money to whom we shall have given it, we shall be then more benevolent to him, if we do not seek to receive it back: but there cannot be a true bestower of charity, unless he shall have been a kind exactor. Since when money is received, it approaches him to whom it is given, but recedes from him by whom it is given: charity truly not only grows with him who exacts it from him whom he loves, even if he does not receive it; but even he from whom he receives it, then begins to have it when he renders it. Accordingly, lord brother, I willingly render to you mutual charity, and rejoicing I receive it: which I receive, I still repeat: which I render, I still owe. For we ought to hear as docile [disciples] the one teacher, with whom we are fellow-disciples, commanding and saying through His Apostle: "Owe nothing to anyone, except that you love one another" (Rom. 13:8).

LETTER CXCIII. Augustine to Mercator, excusing why he has not yet answered his prior letters, and showing that the Pelagians in the question concerning the baptism of infants are nearly convicted by this very thing, that they confess that infants in a certain way believe through those by whom they are offered to be baptized: then that the same in vain contend from the translation of Enoch and Elijah before death, or from the snatching away of the living faithful at the advent of Christ, that death is not the punishment of sin.

To the most beloved lord, and to the son to be preached with most sincere charity in the members of Christ, MERCATOR, AUGUSTINE, greetings in the Lord.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. Litterae Dilectionis tuae, quas prius abs te missas apud Carthaginem accepi, tanto me affecerunt gaudio, ut etiam in posterioribus te succensentem quod tibi non rescripserim, gratissime acceperim. Ipsa quippe indignatio tua non erat simultatis initium, sed indicium charitatis. Ut autem a Carthagine non rescriberem, non occasio defuit perlatorum, sed alia magis urgentia, donec inde proficisceremur, nos occupatissimos et intentissimos continebant. Cum vero inde digressi sumus, perreximus usque ad Mauritaniam Caesariensem, quo nos ecclesiastica necessitas traxit; per quas totas terras cum intentionem nostram huc atque illuc, quae ingerebantur sensibus diversa raptarent, nullius ut tibi rescriberem adfuit admonitoris instantia, nulla occurrit opportunitas perlatoris. Deinde remeans, alias apud nostros jam querela exasperatas litteras tuae Sinceritatis inveni, et alium adversus novos haereticos librum refertum sanctarum testimoniis Scripturarum; quibus lectis excursisque, etiam illis quae primum miseras, quia et charissimi fratris nostri Albini Ecclesiae Romanae acolythi opportunissima se offerebat occasio, rescribendum fuit.

2. Ego itaque te, fili dilectissime, scribentem mihi, vel ad me consideranda tua scripta mittentem, absit ut negligenter accipiam, vel superba vanitate contemnam, praesertim cum mihi de te gaudium tanto majus sit, quanto magis inopinatum improvisumque provenit: fateor enim, tantum te profecisse nesciebam. Et quid nobis esse debet optatius, quam ut abundent qui errores infestantes catholicam fidem et insidiantes infirmis ineruditisque fratribus usquequaque redarguant, et Ecclesiam Christi adversus profanas vocum novitates (I Timoth. VI, 20) acriter fideliterque defendant; quandoquidem sicut scriptum est, Multitudo sapientium sanitas est orbis terrarum (Sap. VI, 26)? Inspexi ergo cor tuum in scriptis tuis quantum potui, et inveni amplectendum, et hortandum ut perseverantissima diligentia in anteriora te extendas, adjuvante Domino vires tuas, qui tibi eas quas nutriret dedit.

CAPUT II.

3. Non autem parum veritati propinquarunt in quaestione de baptismo parvulorum, quos devios in viam revocare conamur, cum infantem quamlibet recenti partu matris effusum, tamen per eos a quibus baptizandus offertur, credere confitentur.

1. The letters of your Love, which having been previously sent by you I received at Carthage, affected me with such great joy, that even in the later ones I received you most gratefully as you were being indignant that I had not written back to you. For that very indignation of yours was not the beginning of a feud, but an indication of charity. Moreover, that I did not write back from Carthage, an occasion of bearers was not lacking, but other more urgent things, until we set out from there, held us most busy and most intent. But when we departed from there, we proceeded even to Caesarean Mauritania, whither ecclesiastical necessity drew us; through all which lands, while diverse things which were urged upon our senses snatched our intention hither and thither, no instance of an admonisher was present that I should write back to you, no opportunity of a bearer occurred. Then returning, I found at our house other letters of your Sincerity already exasperated with complaint, and another book against the new heretics stuffed with the testimonies of the holy Scriptures; which having been read and run through, a reply had to be written even to those which you had first sent, since also the most opportune occasion of our most dear brother Albinus, acolyte of the Roman Church, was offering itself.

I therefore, most beloved son, far be it that I should receive you writing to me, or sending your writings to me to be considered, negligently, or that I should contemn you with proud vanity, especially since joy concerning you is so much the greater to me, by how much more unexpected and unforeseen it has come forth: for I confess, I did not know that you had profited so much. And what ought to be more desired by us, than that they should abound who everywhere may refute the errors infesting the Catholic faith and lying in wait for the weak and unlearned brothers, and who may sharply and faithfully defend the Church of Christ against profane novelties of voices (1 Tim. 6:20); since indeed, as it is written: "A multitude of the wise is the health of the world" (Wisd. 6:26)? I have therefore inspected your heart in your writings as much as I could, and I found it to be embraced, and to be exhorted that with most persevering diligence you extend yourself into the things that are before, the Lord helping your strengths, who gave to you those which He might nourish.

CHAPTER II.

3. Moreover, they have approached not a little to the truth in the question concerning the baptism of infants, whom we attempt to recall as devious into the way, when they confess that an infant, however recent from the mother's birth, yet believes through those by whom he is offered to be baptized.

Cum enim dicunt, sicut scribis, non infantes ita credere in remissionem peccatorum, tanquam et illis remittantur, quos nullum putant habere peccatum; sed (quia ipsi quoque idem lavacrum percipiunt, quo fit, in quibuscumque fit, remissio peccatorum) hanc fieri credere in aliis, quae non fit in eis: cum ergo dicunt, Non ita credunt, sed ita credunt; profecto eos non ambigunt credere. Audiant itaque Dominum: Qui credit in Filium, habet vitam aeternam; qui autem incredulus est Filio, non videdit vitam, sed ira Dei manet super eum (Joan. III, 36). Quapropter infantes, quia per alios fiunt credentes, a quibus baptizandi offeruntur, per illos utique sunt increduli, si apud tales sunt, qui eos, dum nihil prodesse credunt, offerendos esse non credunt: ac per hoc si per credentes credunt, et habent vitam aeternam; profecto per incredulos increduli sunt, et non videbunt vitam, sed ira Dei manet super eos. Non enim dictum est, Venit super eos; sed, manet super eos, quia ex origine erat jam in eis, nec omnino nisi gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum aufertur ab eis. De hac ira legitur etiam in libro Job: Homo natus ex mulieri, brevis vitae et plenus iracundiae. Unde igitur ira Dei super innocentiam parvuli, nisi originalis sorte ac sorde peccati? de qua in eodem libro itidem scriptum est, non esse ab hac mundum nec infantem cujus est unius diei vita super terram (Job XIV, 1, 5, sec. LXX).

4. Non ergo in istis nihil egit quod adversus eos instantissime disputatur, et eorum auribus catholicae voces hinc atque inde circumsonant, quandoquidem volentes argumentari contra Sacramenta Ecclesiae, confessi sunt tamen parvulos credere. Non eis ergo promittant vitam, etiamsi non fuerint baptizati: de qua enim alia vita dicitur, Qui incredulus est Filio, non videbit vitam? Nec eos a regno coelorum sic fateantur alienos, ut tamen a damnatione defendant: nam quid nisi damnatio significatur per iram, quam Dominus super non credentem manere testatur? Muchum prorsus accessum est, et sine scrupulosa conflictatione causa finita est. Si enim concedunt parvulos credere, procul dubio sicut eos tenet illa sententia, Qui non renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non intrabit in regnum coelorum (Joan. III, 5); sic etiam ista quae ejusdem Domini est, Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit: qui autem non crediderit, condemnabitur (Marc. XVI, 16). Quia ergo cum parvuli baptizantur fatentur isti eos esse credentes, damnari non dubitent non credentes: et audeant jam dicere, si possunt, a justo Deo damnari nihil mali ex origine trahentes, et peccati contagium non habentes.

For when they say, as you write, that infants do not so believe in the remission of sins as if they were also remitted to them, whom they think to have no sin; but (because they also receive the same washing by which occurs, in whomsoever it occurs, the remission of sins) that they believe this to occur in others, which does not occur in them: when therefore they say, they do not so believe, but so they believe; certainly they do not doubt that they believe. Let them therefore hear the Lord: "He who believes in the Son has eternal life; but he who is incredulous to the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God remains upon him" (John 3:36). Wherefore infants, because through others they become believers, by whom they are offered to be baptized, through those certainly they are incredulous, if they are among such as those who, while they believe it profits nothing, do not believe that they are to be offered: and by this, if through believers they believe, and have eternal life; certainly through the incredulous they are incredulous, and shall not see life, but the wrath of God remains upon them. For it was not said: It comes upon them; but "remains upon them," because from their origin it was already in them, nor is it altogether taken away from them except by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord. Concerning this wrath it is also read in the book of Job: "Man born of a woman, short of life and full of anger." Whence therefore the wrath of God upon the innocence of the infant, except by the lot and filth of original sin? concerning which in the same book it is likewise written, that not even an infant whose life is of one day upon the earth is clean from this (Job 14:1, 5, according to LXX).

4. Therefore in these men that which is most insistently disputed against them has not achieved nothing, and Catholic voices resound around their ears from here and there, since indeed willing to argue against the Sacraments of the Church, they have nevertheless confessed that infants believe. Let them not therefore promise life to them, even if they have not been baptized: for concerning what other life is it said: "He who is incredulous to the Son shall not see life"? Nor let them so confess them alien from the kingdom of heaven, that nevertheless they defend them from damnation: for what except damnation is signified by the wrath, which the Lord witnesses remains upon the non-believer? Much indeed has been approached, and without scrupulous conflict the cause is finished. For if they concede that infants believe, without doubt just as that sentence holds them: "He who shall not have been born again of water and the Spirit, shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven" (John 3:5); so also this one which is of the same Lord: "He who shall have believed and been baptized shall be saved: but he who shall not have believed shall be condemned" (Mark 16:16). Because therefore since when infants are baptized these men confess them to be believers, let them not doubt that non-believers are condemned: and let them dare now to say, if they can, that those drawing nothing of evil from their origin, and not having the contagion of sin, are condemned by a just God.

CAPUT III.

5. Illud vero quod in litteris tuis commemorasti, objicere nobis Enoch et Eliam quod mortui non fuerint, sed cum suis corporibus ex ista hominum conversatione translati; quid eos ad hoc unde agitur adjuvet, non intelligo. Ut enim omittam quod ipsi quoque morituri postea perhibentur, sicut plerique exponunt Apocalypsim Joannis de duobus illis prophetis, de quibus, tacitis eorum nominibus, loquitur, quod isti duo sancti cum suis tunc corporibus apparebunt, in quibus nunc vivunt, ut etiam ipsi quemadmodum caeteri martyres pro Christi veritate moriantur (Apoc. XI, 3-7): ut ergo hoc omittam, ista quaestione dilata, quomodolibet sese habeat, quid istos adjuvat, quaeso te? Neque enim hinc ostendunt non propter peccatum homines secundum corpus mori. Nam si Deus, qui tam multis fidelibus suis donat ipsa peccata, voluit quibusdam etiam istam poenam donare peccati; qui nos sumus qui respondeamus Deo, cur alius sic, alius autem sic?

6. Dicimus ergo quod apertissime Apostolus ait, Corpus quidem mortuum est propter peccatum; spiritus autem vita est propter justitiam. Si autem Spiritus ejus qui suscitavit Christum a mortuis, habitat in vobis; qui suscitavit Christum a mortuis, vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra per inhabitantem Spiritum ejus in vobis (Rom. VIII, 11). Nec tamen ista sic dicimus, ut negemus Deum posse in quibus voluerit, nunc facere sine morte quod sine dubitatione credimus in tam multis facturum esse post mortem: nec ideo tamen illud falsum erit, quod per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intravit, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines pertransiit. Hoc enim dictum est, quia nisi per peccatum mors intrasset, nulla mors esset. Nam et cum dicimus, Omnes propter peccata mittuntur in gehennam, numquid ideo falsum dicimus, quia non omnes homines mittuntur in gehennam? Illud quippe ideo verum est, non quia omnis homo mittatur, sed quia nullus nisi peccatorum meritis mittitur. Talis est e contrario etiam illa sententia, Per unius justificationem in omnes homines ad justificationem vitae (Id. V, 12, 18): non enim omnes homines pertinent ad justificationem Christi; sed hoc dictum est, quia nemo justificatur nisi per Christum.

7. Magis ergo illa quaestio non immerito movet, cur poena peccati, peccato non remanente, remanet; id est, si mors etiam corporis poena peccati est, ista potius aliqua quaestio est, cur moriatur infans cum fuerit baptizatus, quam cur mortuus non sit Elias cum fuerit justificatus. Illius enim finito peccato movet cur secuta sit poena peccati; hujus etiam finito peccato movere non debet si non sequatur poena peccati.

CHAPTER III.

5. But as for what you mentioned in your letter, that they object to us Enoch and Elijah because they did not die, but were translated with their bodies from this human conversation; I do not understand how this helps them in what is being treated. For even if I omit that they also are said to be about to die later, as many explain the Apocalypse of John concerning those two prophets, of whom, their names being suppressed, it speaks, that those two saints will then appear with their bodies, in which they now live, so that they also themselves, just as other martyrs, may die for the truth of Christ (Apoc. 11:3-7): even if I omit this, that question being delayed, however it may hold itself, how does it help those men, I ask you? For they do not show from this that men do not die according to the body on account of sin. For if God, who gives the forgiveness of sins themselves to so many of His faithful, wished also to give to some the release from that punishment of sin; who are we that we should respond to God, why one thus, but another thus?

6. Therefore we say what the Apostle most clearly says: "The body indeed is dead on account of sin; but the spirit is life on account of justice. But if the Spirit of Him who raised Christ from the dead dwells in you; He who raised Christ from the dead will also vivify your mortal bodies through His Spirit dwelling in you" (Rom. 8:10-11). Nor yet do we say these things in such a way that we deny God is able to do now in whomsoever He has willed, without death, what we believe without doubt He will do in so many after death: nor yet for that reason will that be false, that "through one man sin entered into this world, and through sin death, and so it passed through into all men" (Rom. 5:12). For this was said because unless death had entered through sin, there would be no death. For even when we say, "All are sent into hell on account of sins," do we therefore say something false because not all men are sent into hell? For that indeed is true, not because every man is sent, but because no one is sent except by the merits of sins. Such is also, on the contrary, that sentence: "Through the justification of one into all men unto the justification of life" (Rom. 5:18): for not all men belong to the justification of Christ; but this was said because no one is justified except through Christ.

7. Rather, therefore, that question moves not undeservedly, why the punishment of sin remains, sin not remaining; that is, if the death of the body is also the punishment of sin, this is rather some question, why an infant dies when he has been baptized, than why Elijah did not die when he had been justified. For in the case of the former, sin being finished, it moves why the punishment of sin has followed; in the case of the latter, sin also being finished, it ought not to move if the punishment of sin does not follow.

Si ergo illam quaestionem de morte baptizatorum, cur, facta abolitione peccati, sequatur tamen quaedam poena peccati, in libris de Baptismo Parvulorum, quos tibi scio esse notissimos, quantum potuimus domino adjuvante dissolvimus : quanto minus ista movere nos debet ubi dicitur, Quare justus Elias mortuus non est, si mors poena peccati est? quasi diceretur, Quare peccator Elias mortuus non est, si mors poena peccati est?

8. Nisi forte aliud ex alio movent et dicunt: Si Enoch et Elias usque adeo non habebant peccatum, ut nec mortem, quae peccati est poena, paterentur; quomodo nemo hic vivit sine peccato? Quasi non eis probabilius respondeatur: Ideo quos finitis peccatis voluit Dominus vivere, non hic permissi sunt vivere, quoniam hic quisquam sine peccato non potest vivere. Sed haec atque hujusmodi adversus istos dici potuerunt, si pro certo aliunde convincerent illos nunquam esse morituros. Cum vero id docere non possint, meliusque illos venturos esse credatur ad mortem, nihil est cur eos velint nobis objicere causae suae nulla ex parte aliquid profuturos.

CAPUT IV.

9. Illi autem de quibus dixit Apostolus, cum loqueretur de resurrectione mortuorum, Et nos viventes qui reliqui sumus, simul cum illis rapiemur in nubibus obviam Christo in aera; et ita semper cum Domino erimus (I Thess. IV, 16), afferunt quidem aliquid quaestionis; sed per seipsos, non propter istos. Nam etsi non sunt etiam ipsi morituri, quid istos adjuvent omnino non video, cum talia de his dici possint, qualia de illis dicta sunt duobus. Sed revera, quantum ad verba beati Apostoli pertinet, videtur asserere quosdam in fine saeculi adveniente Domino, cum futura est resurrectio mortuorum, non esse morituros, sed vivos repertos in illam immortalitatem quae sanctis etiam caeteris datur, repente mutandos, et simul cum illis rapiendos, sicut dicit, in nubibus: nec aliquid aliud mihi visum est, quoties de his verbis volui cogitare.

10. Sed vellem hinc potius audire doctiores, ne illis etiam, qui putant aliquos morte non praecedente vivificatos ad vitam perpetuam transituros, dicere inveniatur Apostolus: Stulte, tu quod seminas non vivificatur, nisi prius moriatur. Nam et illud quod in plerisque codicibus legitur, omnes resurgemus (I Cor. XV, 36, 51), unde fieri poterit, nisi omnes moriamur? Resurrectio quippe, nisi mors praecesserit, nulla est.

If therefore we have dissolved that question concerning the death of the baptized, why, the abolition of sin having been made, a certain punishment of sin yet follows, in the books concerning the Baptism of Infants, which I know are most well-known to you, as much as we were able with the Lord's help: how much less ought this to move us where it is said: "Why did the just Elijah not die, if death is the punishment of sin?" as if it were said: "Why did the sinner Elijah not die, if death is the punishment of sin?"

8. Unless perchance they move one thing from another and say: "If Enoch and Elijah to such a degree did not have sin, that they did not even suffer death, which is the punishment of sin; how does no one live here without sin?" As if it were not more probably responded to them: "Therefore those whom the Lord willed to live, sins being finished, were not permitted to live here, since no one can live here without sin." But these and such things could have been said against those men, if they could convince from elsewhere for certain that those prophets are never going to die. But since they cannot teach that, and it is better believed that they are going to come to death, there is nothing why they should want to object them to us, as they are about to profit their cause from no part in anything.

CHAPTER IV.

9. But those of whom the Apostle spoke, when he was speaking concerning the resurrection of the dead: "And we the living who remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet Christ into the air; and so we shall always be with the Lord" (1 Thess. 4:16-17), bring indeed something of a question; but through themselves, not on account of those men. For even if they themselves also are not about to die, I do not see at all how this helps those men, since such things could be said concerning these, as were said concerning those two. But truly, as much as pertains to the words of the blessed Apostle, he seems to assert that some at the end of the age when the Lord comes, when there is to be the resurrection of the dead, are not going to die, but being found alive are to be suddenly changed into that immortality which is given also to the rest of the saints, and to be caught up together with them, as he says, in the clouds: nor has anything else seemed to me, as often as I have willed to think about these words.

10. But I would rather hear more learned men concerning this, lest to those also, who think that some, death not preceding, having been vivified will pass through to perpetual life, the Apostle be found to say: "Foolish man, that which you sow is not vivified, unless it first dies." For even that which is read in most manuscripts, "we shall all rise again" (1 Cor. 15:36, 51), whence can it be done, unless we all die? For resurrection is nothing, unless death has preceded.

Et quod nonnulli codices habent, omnes dormiemus, multo facilius et apertius id cogit intelligi; et si quid aliud tale in sanctis Litteris invenitur, ad id videtur impellere ut nullus hominum existimetur immortalitatem, nisi mors praecesserit, adepturus. Proinde ubi dixit Apostolus, Et nos viventes qui reliqui sumus in adventum Domini, non praeveniemus eos qui ante dormierunt. Ipse enim Dominus in jussu, in voce archangeli, et in tuba Dei descendet de coelo; et mortui in Christo resurgent primi: deinde nos viventes, qui reliqui sumus, simul cum illis rapiemur in nubibus obviam Christo in aera; et ita semper cum Domino erimus; vellem, sicut dixi, de his audire doctiores, et si modo potuerint haec ita exponi, ut in eis possit intelligi omnes homines qui vivunt, vel post nos victuri sunt, esse morituros, corrigere quod hinc aliquando aliter sensi. Neque enim debemus indociles esse doctores: et certe melius homo corrigitur parvus, quam frangitur durus; cum iis quae scripsimus, ita nostra vel aliorum exerceatur et erudiatur infirmitas, ut tamen in eis nulla velut canonica constituatur auctoritas.

11. Si enim in his verbis Apostoli nullus alius sensus potuerit reperiri, et hoc eum intelligi voluisse claruerit quod videntur verba ipsa clamare; id est, quod futuri sint in fine saeculi et in adventu Domini, qui non exspolientur corpore, sed superinduantur immortalitate, ut absorbeatur mortale a vita (II Cor. V, 4): huic sententiae procul dubio conveniet quod in regula fidei confitemur, venturum Dominum judicaturum vivos et mortuos; ut non hic intelligamus vivos justos, mortuos autem injustos, quamvis judicandi sint justi et injusti; sed vivos quos nondum exiisse, mortuos autem quos jam exiisse de corporibus adventus ejus inveniet. Quae si ita esse constiterit, illa verba excutienda erunt, quomodo sic accipiemus, Tu quod seminas non vivificatur, nisi prius moriatur; et, omnes resurgemus, sive, omnes dormiemus, ut non adversentur huic sententiae, qua quidam creduntur etiam cum suis corporibus in aeternum, non degustata morte, victuri.

And that which some manuscripts have, "we shall all sleep," forces this to be understood much more easily and clearly; and if anything else such is found in the holy Scriptures, it seems to impel to this, that no one of men be thought to be about to obtain immortality, unless death has preceded. Accordingly where the Apostle said: "And we the living who remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not precede those who have slept before. For the Lord Himself in command, in the voice of the archangel, and in the trumpet of God shall descend from heaven; and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we the living, who remain, together with them shall be caught up in the clouds to meet Christ into the air; and so we shall always be with the Lord"; I would wish, as I said, to hear more learned men concerning these things, and if only these things could be so explained, that in them it could be understood that all men who live, or are about to live after us, are to die, to correct what I have sometimes thought otherwise concerning this. For we ought not to be unteachable teachers: and certainly a small man is better corrected, than a hard man is broken; since by those things which we have written, our infirmity or that of others is so exercised and instructed, that nevertheless no canonical authority is established in them.

11. For if in these words of the Apostle no other sense could be found, and it became clear that he wished this to be understood which the words themselves seem to cry out; that is, that there are to be at the end of the age and at the coming of the Lord, those who are not despoiled of the body, but are clothed over with immortality, that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life (2 Cor. 5:4): to this sentence without doubt will agree what we confess in the rule of faith, that the Lord will come to judge the living and the dead; so that we do not understand here the living as the just, but the dead as the unjust, although the just and the unjust are to be judged; but the living as those whom His coming shall find not yet to have gone out, but the dead as those whom it shall find already to have gone out from their bodies. If it shall be established that these things are so, those words will have to be examined, how we shall so receive them: "That which you sow is not vivified, unless it first dies"; and, "we shall all rise again," or, "we shall all sleep," so that they are not adverse to this sentence, by which some are believed to be about to live even with their bodies into eternity, death not having been tasted.

12. Sed utrumlibet horum veracior et perspicacior intellectus inveniatur, quid ad causam pertinet istorum, sive omnes debita morte plectantur, sive aliquibus ab hac conditione parcatur; cum tamen constet mortem non solum animae, verum etiam corporis secuturam non fuisse, si peccatum non praecessisset, et gratiae mirabiliore virtute justos a morte ad aeternam beatitudinem reviviscere, quam in mortis experientiam non venire? Haec propter illos de quibus mihi scripsisti, satis dicta sint; quamvis eos jam non existimem dicere, etiamsi non peccasset Adam, fuisse vel corpore morituram.

13. Caeterum quod attinet ad quaestionem resurrectionis, propter illos qui creduntur non esse morituri, sed ex hac mortalitate ad immortalitatem sine media morte transituri, inquisitio diligentior adhibenda est; et si quid hinc absolutum ac definitum disputatione rationabili atque perfecta vel audisti, vel legisti, vel etiam ipse cogitare potuisti, sive adhuc audire, aut legere, aut cogitare potueris, peto mihi mittere non graveris. Ego enim (quod confitendum est Charitati tuae) plus amo discere quam docere. Nam hoc admonemur etiam dicente apostolo Jacobo: Sit autem omnis homo velox ad audiendum, tardus ad loquendum (Jacobi I, 19). Ut ergo discamus, invitare nos debet suavitas veritatis; ut autem doceamus, cogere necessitas charitatis: ubi potius optandum est ut transeat ista necessitas qua hominem docet aliquid homo, ut simus omnes docibiles Dei; quamvis hoc simus, cum ea quae ad veram pietatem pertinent, discimus, etiam quando illa docere videtur homo. Quia neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat; sed qui incrementum dat Deus (I Cor. III, 7). Cum itaque si Deus incrementum non daret, nihil essent Apostoli plantatores et rigatores; quanto magis ego vel tu, vel quilibet hujus temporis homines, quando nobis videmus esse doctores!

Epistola CXCIV.

Augustinus Sixto Romano presbytero (et postea Pontifici), instruens illum adversus Pelagianorum argumenta.

Domino in Domino dominorum dilectissimo, sancto fratri et compresbytero SIXTO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

12. But whichever of these is found to be the truer and more perspicacious understanding, what does it pertain to the cause of those men, whether all are punished by the death due, or whether some are spared from this condition; since nevertheless it is established that death not only of the soul, but even of the body would not have followed, if sin had not preceded, and that the just revive from death to eternal beatitude by a more wonderful power of grace, than that they should not come into the experience of death? Let these things be said sufficiently on account of those concerning whom you wrote to me; although I do not now think that they say, even if Adam had not sinned, he would have died even in body.

13. But as for what pertains to the question of resurrection, on account of those who are believed not to be about to die, but to be about to pass from this mortality to immortality without an intervening death, a more diligent inquiry must be applied; and if you have either heard, or read, or even been able yourself to think of anything absolute and defined concerning this by reasonable and perfect disputation, or shall still be able to hear, or read, or think of it, I ask that you not find it a burden to send it to me. For I (as must be confessed to your Charity) love more to learn than to teach. For we are admonished of this also by the apostle James saying: "But let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak" (James 1:19). Therefore that we may learn, the sweetness of truth ought to invite us; but that we may teach, the necessity of charity ought to compel us: in which it is rather to be wished that this necessity by which man teaches something to man may pass away, that we may all be teachable by God; although we are this, when we learn those things which pertain to true piety, even when a man seems to teach them. Because neither is he who plants anything, nor he who waters; but God who gives the increase (1 Cor. 3:7). Since therefore if God did not give the increase, the Apostles as planters and waterers would be nothing; how much more I or you, or any men of this time, when we see ourselves to be teachers!

Letter CXCIV.

Augustine to Sixtus, Roman priest (and afterwards Pope), instructing him against the arguments of the Pelagians.

To the most beloved lord in the Lord of lords, holy brother and fellow-priest SIXTUS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

CHAPTER I.

1. Epistola quam per charissimum fratrem nostrum Albinum acolythum misi, prolixiorem me missurum esse promisi per sanctum fratrem et compresbytem nostrum Firmum, qui nobis litteras attulit Sinceritatis tuae, plenas sinceritate fidei tuae, quae nobis tantum gaudium contulerunt, quantum magis possumus habere quam dicere. Quod enim fatendum est Charitati tuae, tristes eramus nimis, cum fama jactaret inimicis christianae gratiae te favere. Sed ut haec tristitia de nostris cordibus tergeretur; primo, te priorem anathema eis in populo frequentissimo pronuntiasse eadem fama non tacuit: deinde cum litteris apostolicae Sedis de illorum damnatione ad Africam missis, tuae quoque litterae ad venerabilem senem Aurelium consecutae sunt; quae tametsi breves erant, tuum tamen vigorem adversus eorum errorem satis indicabant. Nunc vero cum apertius et latius quid de illo dogmate contraque sentires, in litteris tuis fides ipsa nobiscum Romanae Ecclesiae loqueretur, cui potissimum beatus apostolus Paulus de gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, multa et multipliciter est locutus; non solum illud omne tristitiae nubilum fugit de cordibus nostris, sed etiam tantum ibi laetitiae lumen infulsit, ut nihil egisse in nobis videretur ille moeror et timor, nisi successurorum ampliorem flagrantiam gaudiorum.

2. Itaque, frater charissime, quamvis non te videamus oculis carnis, animo tamen in fide Christi, in gratia Christi, in membris Christi tenemus, amplectimur, osculamur; et remeante a nobis ad te nostrorum invicem colloquiorum sanctissimo et fidelissimo perlatore, quem voluisti esse apud nos non solum advectorem scriptorum tuorum, verum etiam narratorem testemque factorum, rescripta persolvimus, et aliquanto diutius tecum sermocinamur, admonentes ut docendis instes, quibus terrendis satis, quantum comperimus, institisti. Sunt enim quidam, qui justissime damnatas impietates adhuc liberius defendendas putant; et sunt qui occultius penetrant domos, et quod in aperto jam clamare metuunt, in secreto seminare non quiescunt: sunt autem qui omnino silverunt, magno timore compressi, sed adhuc corde retinent quod ore jam proferre non audent; qui tamen esse possunt fratribus ex priore ipsius dogmatis defensione notissimi. Proinde alii severius coercendi, alii vigilantius vestigandi, alii tractandi quidem lenius, sed non segnius sunt docendi, ut si non timentur ne perdant, non tamen negligantur ne pereant.

CAPUT II.

1. In the letter which I sent through our most dear brother Albinus the acolyte, I promised that I would send a longer one through our holy brother and fellow-priest Firmus, who brought to us the letters of your Sincerity, full of the sincerity of your faith, which brought to us as much joy as we are better able to have than to say. For as must be confessed to your Charity, we were excessively sad when rumor cast about that you favored the enemies of Christian grace. But that this sadness might be wiped from our hearts; first, the same rumor was not silent that you first pronounced anathema upon them in a most crowded people: then when letters of the Apostolic See concerning their condemnation were sent to Africa, your letters also followed to the venerable old man Aurelius; which although they were brief, nevertheless sufficiently indicated your vigor against their error. But now when you have expressed more clearly and more widely what you thought concerning that dogma and against it, in your letters the faith itself of the Roman Church spoke with us, to which most especially the blessed apostle Paul spoke much and in many ways concerning the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord; not only did all that cloud of sadness flee from our hearts, but also so great a light of joy shone there, that that sorrow and fear seemed to have done nothing in us, except for a greater flagrance of the joys that were to follow.

2. Therefore, most dear brother, although we do not see you with the eyes of the flesh, nevertheless we hold, embrace, and kiss you in the spirit in the faith of Christ, in the grace of Christ, in the members of Christ; and with the most holy and most faithful bearer of our mutual conversations returning from us to you, whom you wished to be among us not only as a bringer of your writings, but also as a narrator and witness of your deeds, we have paid back the reply, and we discourse with you somewhat longer, admonishing that you press on in teaching those for whose terrifying you have sufficiently, as much as we have found, stood fast. For there are some who think that the most justly condemned impieties are still to be defended more freely; and there are those who more secretly penetrate houses, and what they now fear to cry out in the open, they do not rest from sowing in secret: but there are those who have altogether become silent, compressed by great fear, but still retain in their heart what they no longer dare to bring forth with their mouth; who nevertheless can be most well-known to the brothers from their previous defense of that dogma itself. Accordingly, some are to be coerced more severely, others to be tracked more vigilantly, others indeed to be treated more gently, but to be taught no less sluggishly, so that if they are not feared lest they destroy, yet they are not neglected lest they perish.

CHAPTER II.

3. Quod enim putant auferri sibi liberum arbitrium, si nec ipsam bonam voluntatem sine adjutorio Dei hominem habere consenserint; non intelligunt non se firmare humanum arbitrium, sed impellere, ut per inania feratur, non in Domino tanquam in petra stabili collocetur: paratur enim voluntas a Domino.

4. Quod autem personarum acceptorem Deum se credere existimant, si credant quod sine ullis praecedentibus meritis, cujus vult miseretur, et quos dignatur vocat, et quem vult religiosum facit; parum attendunt quod debita reddatur poena damnato, indebita gratia liberato, ut nec ille se indignum queratur, nec dignum se iste glorietur; atque ibi potius acceptionem nullam fieri personarum, ubi una eademque massa damnationis et offensionis involvit, ut liberatus de non liberato discat quod etiam sibi supplicium conveniret, nisi gratia subveniret. Si autem gratia, utique nullis meritis reddita, sed gratuita bonitate donata.

5. Sed injustum est, inquiunt, in una eademque mala causa hunc liberari, illum puniri. Nempe ergo justum est utrumque puniri: quis hoc negaverit? Agamus ergo gratias Salvatori, dum nobis non redditum cernimus quod in damnatione similium etiam nobis debitum fuisse cognoscimus. Si enim omnis homo liberaretur, utique lateret quid peccato per justitiam debeatur; si nemo, quid gratia largiretur. Ut ergo in hac difficillima quaestione verbis potius utamur Apostoli, Volens Deus ostendere iram, et demonstrare potentiam suam, attulit in multa patientia vasa irae, quae perfecta sunt in perditionem; et ut notas faceret divitias gloriae suae in vasa misericordiae: cui non potest figmentum dicere, Quare sic me fecisti? cum habeat potestatem ex eadem massa facere aliud vas in honorem, aliud in contumeliam (Rom. IX, 20-23). Ubi quia universa ista massa merito damnata est, contumeliam debitam reddit justitia, honorem donat indebitum gratia, non meriti praerogativa, non fati necessitate, non temeritate fortunae, sed altitudine divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei; quam non aperit, sed clausam miratur Apostolus, clamans: O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei! Quam inscrutabilia sunt judicia ejus, et investigabiles viae ejus! Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini? aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit? aut quis prior dedit illi, et retribuetur ei? Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia: ipsi gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen (Id. XI, 33-36).

3. For as to their thinking that free will is taken away from them, if they should consent that a man does not have even a good will itself without the help of God; they do not understand that they do not strengthen human will, but impel it so that it is carried through vain things, and is not established in the Lord as in a stable rock: for the will is prepared by the Lord.

4. But as to their thinking that they believe God to be an acceptor of persons, if they believe that without any preceding merits, He has mercy on whom He wills, and calls whom He deigns, and makes religious whom He wills; they attend too little to the fact that a due punishment is rendered to the damned, an undue grace to the liberated, so that neither may the former complain that he is unworthy, nor the latter glory that he is worthy; and that there rather no acceptance of persons occurs, where one and the same mass of damnation and offense involves all, so that the liberated may learn from the one not liberated what punishment would also befit himself, unless grace should come to his aid. But if it is grace, certainly it is rendered for no merits, but given by a gratuitous goodness.

5. "But it is unjust," they say, "in one and the same bad cause that this one be liberated, that one be punished." Surely therefore it is just that both be punished: who would deny this? Let us therefore give thanks to the Savior, while we perceive that what we recognize was also due to us in the condemnation of those similar to us, is not rendered to us. For if every man were liberated, certainly it would be hidden what is due to sin through justice; if no one, what grace would bestow. So that in this most difficult question we may rather use the words of the Apostle: "God willing to show His wrath, and to demonstrate His power, brought in much patience the vessels of wrath, which were perfected unto perdition; and that He might make known the riches of His glory into the vessels of mercy" (Rom. 9:22-23): to whom the thing formed cannot say: "Why have you made me thus?" since he has "the power from the same mass to make one vessel unto honor, another unto contumely" (Rom. 9:20-21). Where because that entire mass is deservedly condemned, justice renders the due contumely, grace gives the undue honor, not by the prerogative of merit, not by the necessity of fate, not by the temerity of fortune, but by the height of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God; which the Apostle does not open, but admires while it is closed, crying out: "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How inscrutable are His judgments, and His ways unsearchable! For who has known the mind of the Lord? or who has been His counselor? or who has first given to Him, and it shall be retributed to him? Since from Him, and through Him, and in Him are all things: to Him be glory forever and ever. Amen" (Rom. 11:33-36).

CAPUT III.

6. Nolunt autem ut sit ipsi gloria in justificandis impiis gratuita gratia, qui ejus ignorantes justitiam, suam volunt constituere (Id. X, 3): vel jam conclamantium religiosorum et piorum vocibus pressi, ita se fatentur ad habendam seu faciendam justitiam divinitus adjuvari, ut sui praecedat aliquid meriti, quasi priores volentes dare ut retribuatur eis ab illo de quo dictum est, Quis prior dedit illi, et retribuetur ei; et suo putantes praeire merito illum de quo audiunt, aut potius audire nolunt, Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia. Quarum autem divitiarum est altitudo sapientiae et scientiae ejus, ex his sunt divitiae gloriae ejus in vasa misericordiae, quae vocat in adoptionem; quas divitias notas vult facere etiam per vasa irae, quae perfecta sunt in perditionem. Et quae sunt viae investigabiles, nisi de quibus in Psalmo canitur: Universae viae Domini misericordia et veritas (Psal. XXIV, 10)? Igitur investigabiles sunt misericordia et veritas ejus: quoniam cujus vult miseretur, non justitia, sed misericordiae gratia ; et quem vult obdurat, non iniquitate, sed veritate vindictae. Quae tamen misericordia et veritas ita sibi occurrunt, quia scriptum est, Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi (Psal. LXXXIV, 11); ut nec misericordia impediat veritatem, qua plectitur dignus, nec veritas misericordiam, qua liberatur indignus. Quae igitur sua merita jactaturus est liberatus, cum si digna suis meritis redderentur, non esset nisi damnatus? Nullane igitur sunt merita justorum? Sunt plane, quia justi sunt. Sed ut justi fierent, merita non fuerunt: justi enim facti sunt, cum justificati sunt; sed sicut dicit Apostolus, Justificati gratis per gratiam ipsius (Rom. III, 24).

7. Cum igitur huic gratiae inimici infestique sint isti, Pelagius tamen in ecclesiastico judicio Palaestino (non enim aliter inde impunitus exiisset), anathematizavit eos qui dicunt gratiam Dei secundum merita dari. Sed nihil aliud in eorum etiam posterioribus disputationibus invenitur, quam meritis dari eam gratiam, de cujus commendatione maxime ad Romanos apostolica Epistola loquitur, ut inde se praedicatio ejus velut a capite orbis toto orbe diffunderet: ea est enim qua justificatur impius, id est, fit justus qui prius erat impius. Et ideo percipiendae hujus gratiae merita nulla praecedunt, quoniam meritis impii, non gratia, sed poena debetur: nec ista esset gratia, si non daretur gratuita, sed debita redderetur.

CHAPTER III.

6. But they do not want that there be glory to Him in justifying the impious by gratuitous grace, who "ignoring His justice, want to establish their own" (Rom. 10:3): or now pressed by the voices of shouting religious and pious men, they so confess that they are divinely helped to have or to perform justice, that something of their own merit precedes, as if wishing first to give that it may be retributed to them by Him of whom it was said: "Who has first given to Him, and it shall be retributed to him?" and thinking that their own merit precedes Him of whom they hear, or rather do not wish to hear: "Since from Him, and through Him, and in Him are all things." But of those riches of which there is the depth of His wisdom and knowledge, from these are the riches of His glory in the vessels of mercy, which He calls into adoption; which riches He wishes to make known also through the vessels of wrath, which were perfected unto perdition. And what are the unsearchable ways, except those concerning which it is sung in the Psalm: "All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth" (Ps. 24:10)? Therefore His mercy and truth are unsearchable: since He has mercy on whom He wills, not by justice, but by the grace of mercy; and whom He wills He hardens, not by iniquity, but by the truth of vengeance. Which mercy and truth nevertheless so meet each other, because it is written: "Mercy and truth have met each other" (Ps. 84:11); that neither does mercy impede the truth by which the worthy is punished, nor truth the mercy by which the unworthy is liberated. What merits therefore of his own is the liberated man going to boast of, since if things worthy of his merits were rendered, he would be nothing but damned? Are there therefore no merits of the just? There are plainly, because they are just. But that they might become just, there were no merits: for they were made just when they were justified; but as the Apostle says: "Justified gratis through His grace" (Rom. 3:24).

7. Since therefore these men are enemies and hostile to this grace, Pelagius nevertheless in the ecclesiastical judgment of Palestine (for he would not otherwise have gone out from there unpunished), anathematized those who say that the grace of God is given according to merits. But nothing else is found even in their later disputations, than that that grace is given for merits, concerning the commendation of which the apostolic Epistle to the Romans speaks most especially, so that from there its preaching might diffuse itself as if from the head of the world through the whole world: for it is that by which the impious is justified, that is, he becomes just who before was impious. And therefore no merits precede for the receiving of this grace, since to the merits of the impious, not grace, but punishment is due: nor would that be grace, if it were not given gratuitously, but rendered as due.

8. Sed cum ab istis quaeritur quam gratiam Pelagius cogitaret sine ullis praecedentibus meritis dari, quando anathematizabat eos qui dicunt gratiam Dei secundum merita nostra dari; respondent sine ullis praecedentibus meritis gratiam ipsam humanam esse naturam in qua conditi sumus: neque enim antequam essemus, mereri aliquid poteramus ut essemus. Abjiciatur a Christianorum cordibus ista fallacia: nam omnino non istam gratiam commendat Apostolus, qua creati sumus ut homines essemus, sed qua justificati cum mali homines essemus. Ista est enim gratia per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Etenim Christus non pro nullis ut homines conderentur, sed pro impiis mortuus est ut justificarentur: jam quippe homo erat qui dicebat, Miser ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus? Gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum (Rom. VII, 24, 25).

9. Possunt quidem dicere remissionem peccatorum esse gratiam, quae nullis praecedentibus meritis datur: quid enim habere boni meriti possunt peccatores? Sed nec ipsa remissio peccatorum sine aliquo merito est, si fides hanc impetrat: neque enim nullum est meritum fidei; qua fide ille dicebat, Deus, propitius esto mihi peccatori; et descendit justificatus merito fidelis humilitatis , quoniam qui se humiliat, exaltabitur (Luc. XVIII, 13, 14). Restat igitur ut ipsam fidem unde omnis justitia sumit initium, propter quod dicitur ad Ecclesiam in Cantico canticorum, Venies et pertransies ab initio fidei (Cant. IV, sec. LXX): restat, inquam, ut ipsam fidem non humano, quod isti extollunt , tribuamus arbitrio, nec ullis praecedentibus meritis, quoniam inde incipiunt bona quaecumque sunt merita; sed gratuitum donum Dei esse fateamur, si gratiam veram, id est sine meritis, cogitamus: quia, sicut in eadem Epistola legitur, Deus unicuique partitur mensuram fidei (Rom. XII, 3). Opera quippe bona fiunt ab homine; fides autem fit in homine, sine qua illa a nullo fiunt homine. Omne enim quod non est ex fide, peccatum est (Id. XIV, 23).

10. Quapropter, ne se vel ipsius orationis meritum extollat, etiamsi ad vincendas temporalium rerum cupiditates, et diligenda bona aeterna atque ipsum fontem omnium bonorum Deum, adjutorium datur oranti; fides orat quae data est non oranti, quae utique nisi data esset, orare non posset. Quomodo enim invocabunt, in quem non crediderunt? quomodo credent, quem non audierunt? quomodo audient sine praedicante? Igitur fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Christi (Id. X, 14, 17). Proinde minister Christi hujus fidei praedicator, secundum gratiam quae data est illi (Id. XV, 15, 16), plantator est et rigator: Nec tamen qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat; sed qui incrementum dat Deus (I Cor. III, 5-8), qui unicuique partitur mensuram fidei.

8. But when it is asked of these men what grace Pelagius thought was given without any preceding merits, when he anathematized those who say that the grace of God is given according to our merits; they respond that without any preceding merits human nature itself in which we were created is grace: for indeed before we were, we could merit nothing that we might be. Let this fallacy be cast away from the hearts of Christians: for the Apostle does not at all commend that grace by which we were created so that we might be men, but by which we were justified when we were bad men. For that is the grace through Jesus Christ our Lord. For indeed Christ died not for some so that they might be created as men, but for the impious so that they might be justified: for indeed he was already a man who was saying: "Miserable man that I am, who will deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord" (Rom. 7:24-25).

9. They can indeed say that the remission of sins is grace, which is given with no preceding merits: for what of good merit can sinners have? But neither is the remission of sins itself without some merit, if faith impetrates this: for indeed the merit of faith is not nothing; by which faith that man was saying: "God, be merciful to me a sinner"; and he descended justified by the merit of faithful humility, since he who humbles himself shall be exalted (Luke 18:13-14). It remains therefore that we should attribute faith itself, from which all justice takes its beginning (on account of which it is said to the Church in the Canticle of Canticles: "You shall come and pass through from the beginning of faith" [Cant. 4:8, according to LXX]): it remains, I say, that we should attribute faith itself not to human will, which these men extol, nor to any preceding merits, since from there whatever good merits there are begin; but let us confess it to be a gratuitous gift of God, if we think of true grace, that is, without merits: because, as is read in the same Epistle, "God divides to every one the measure of faith" (Rom. 12:3). For good works are done by man; but faith is made in man, without which those things are done by no man. For all that is not from faith is sin (Rom. 14:23).

10. Wherefore, lest even the merit of prayer itself should extol itself, even if help is given to the one praying for the overcoming of the desires of temporal things, and the loving of eternal goods and God Himself the source of all goods; the faith prays which was given to the one not praying, which certainly unless it had been given, he could not pray. For how shall they invoke Him in whom they have not believed? how shall they believe Him whom they have not heard? how shall they hear without a preacher? Therefore faith is from hearing, but hearing through the word of Christ (Rom. 10:14, 17). Accordingly the minister of Christ, the preacher of this faith, according to the grace which was given to him (Rom. 15:15-16), is the planter and the waterer: "But yet neither he who plants is anything, nor he who waters; but God who gives the increase" (1 Cor. 3:5-8), who "divides to every one the measure of faith."

Unde et alibi dicitur, Pax fratribus et charitas cum fide; quam ne sibi tribuerent continuo subjunxit, a Deo Patre et Domino nostro Jesu Christo (Eph. VI, 23): quia nec omnium est fides, qui audiunt verbum, sed quibus Deus partitur mensuram fidei; sicut nec omnia germinant quae plantantur et rigantur, sed quibus Deus dat incrementum. Cur autem ille credat, ille non credat, cum ambo idem audiunt, et si miraculum in eorum conspectu fiat, ambo idem vident; altitudo est divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei, cujus inscrutabilia sunt judicia, et apud quem non est iniquitas, dum cujus vult miseretur, et quem vult obdurat (Rom. IX, 14, 18): neque enim propterea sunt ista injusta, quia occulta.

11. Deinde post remissionem peccatorum, nisi mundatam domum habitet Spiritus sanctus, nonne cum aliis septem redit spiritus immundus, et erunt novissima hominis illius pejora quam erant prima (Matth. XII, 44, 45)? Ut autem habitet Spiritus sanctus, nonne ubi vult spirat (Joan. III, 8); et charitas Dei, sine qua nemo bene vivit, diffunditur in cordibus nostris, non a nobis, sed per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5)? Hanc enim fidem Apostolus definivit, dicens: Neque circumcisio est aliquid, neque praeputium; sed fides, quae per dilectionem operatur (Galat. V, 6). Ista quippe fides est Christianorum, non daemoniorum: nam et daemones credunt et contremiscunt (Jacobi II, 19); sed numquid et diligunt? Nam si non crederent, non dicerent, Tu es Sanctus Dei; vel, Tu es Filius Dei (Luc, IV, 41). Si autem diligerent, non dicerent, Quid nobis et tibi (Matth. VIII, 29)?

12. Fides igitur ad Christum nos trahit, quae nisi desuper gratuito munere nobis daretur, non ipse diceret: Nemo potest venire ad me, nisi Pater, qui misit me, attraxerit eum. Unde et paulo post ait, Verba quae ego locutus sum vobis, spiritus et vita sunt. Sed sunt quidam ex vobis, qui non credunt: deinde Evangelista subjungit, Sciebat enim ab initio Jesus qui essent credentes, et quis esset traditurus eum. Et ne quisquam existimaret credentes sic ad ejus praescientiam pertinere, quomodo non credentes, id est, ut non eis fides ipsa desuper daretur, sed tantummodo voluntas eorum praenosceretur; mox adjecit atque ait: Et dicebat, Propterea dixi vobis, quia nemo potest venire ad me, nisi fuerit ei datum a Patre meo. Hinc erat quod eorum qui audierant loquenten de carne sua et sanguine suo, quidam scandalizati abscesserunt, quidam credendo manserunt (Joan. VI, 44-66): quia nemo potest venire ad illum, nisi cui datum est a Patre, ac per hoc et ab ipso Filio, et a Spiritu sancto. Neque enim separata sunt dona vel opera inseparabilis Trinitatis; sed Filius sic honorans Patrem, non affert ullius distantiae documentum, sed magnum praebet humilitatis exemplum.

Whence also elsewhere it is said: "Peace to the brothers and charity with faith"; which lest they should attribute to themselves, he immediately subjoined: "from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ" (Eph. 6:23): because neither is the faith of all who hear the word, but of those to whom God divides the measure of faith; just as neither do all things germinate which are planted and watered, but those to which God gives the increase. But why that man believes, but this one does not believe, when both hear the same thing, and if a miracle should be done in their sight, both see the same thing; it is the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God, whose judgments are inscrutable, and with whom there is no iniquity, while He has mercy on whom He wills, and whom He wills He hardens (Rom. 9:14, 18): for indeed those things are not for that reason unjust because they are hidden.

11. Then after the remission of sins, unless the Holy Spirit inhabits the cleansed house, does not the unclean spirit return with seven others, and the last state of that man will be worse than the first were (Matt. 12:44-45)? But that the Holy Spirit may inhabit, does He not breathe where He wills (John 3:8); and the charity of God, without which no one lives well, is shed abroad in our hearts, not by us, but through the Holy Spirit who was given to us (Rom. 5:5)? For the Apostle defined this faith, saying: "Neither is circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision; but faith, which works through love" (Gal. 5:6). For that is the faith of Christians, not of demons: for even the demons believe and tremble (James 2:19); but do they also love? For if they did not believe, they would not say: "You are the Holy One of God"; or: "You are the Son of God" (Luke 4:41). But if they loved, they would not say: "What is there to us and to you" (Matt. 8:29)?

12. Therefore faith draws us to Christ, which unless it were given to us from above by a gratuitous gift, He would not Himself say: "No one can come to me, unless the Father, who sent me, has drawn him." Whence also a little after He says: "The words which I have spoken to you, are spirit and life. But there are some of you who do not believe": then the Evangelist subjoins: "For Jesus knew from the beginning who were the believers, and who was the one who would betray Him." And lest anyone should think that believers so pertained to His foreknowledge in the same way as the non-believers, that is, so that faith itself was not given to them from above, but only their will was foreknown; He soon added and said: "And He said, Therefore I said to you, that no one can come to me, unless it has been given to him by my Father." From this it was that of those who had heard Him speaking concerning His flesh and His blood, some being scandalized departed, some remained by believing (John 6:44-66): because no one can come to Him, except he to whom it has been given by the Father, and through this also by the Son Himself, and by the Holy Spirit. For the gifts or works of the inseparable Trinity are not separate; but the Son so honoring the Father, does not bring a proof of any distance, but offers a great example of humility.

13. Hic iterum isti liberi arbitrii defensores, imo deceptores quia inflatores, et inflatores quia praesumptores, non adversum nos, sed adversus Evangelium locuturi, quid aliud dicunt quam id quod Apostolus sibi, quasi a talibus diceretur, objecit? Dicis itaque mihi, Quid adhuc conqueritur? nam voluntati ejus quis resistit? Hanc contradictionem sibimetipsi tanquam ab altero opposuit, velut ex eorum voce qui nolunt accipere quod superius dixerat: Ergo cujus vult miseretur, et quem vult obdurat. Talibus itaque dicamus cum Apostolo, non enim melius illo invenire possumus quid dicamus: O homo, tu quis es qui respondeas Deo (Rom. IX, 18-20)?

14. Quaerimus namque meritum obdurationis, et invenimus. Merito namque peccati universa massa damnata est; nec obdurat Deus impertiendo malitiam, sed non impertiendo misericordiam. Quibus enim non impertitur, nec digni sunt, nec merentur: at potius ut non impertiatur, hoc digni sunt, hoc merentur. Quaerimus autem meritum misericordiae, nec invenimus, quia nullum est, ne gratia evacuetur, si non gratis donatur, sed meritis redditur.

15. Si enim dixerimus fidem praecessisse, in qua esset meritum gratiae, quid meriti habebat homo ante fidem, ut acciperet fidem? quid enim habet quod non accepit? si autem accepit, quid gloriatur quasi non acceperit (I Cor. IV, 7)? Sicut enim non haberet homo sapientiam, intellectum, consilium, fortitudinem, scientiam, pietatem, timorem Dei, nisi secundum propheticum eloquium accepisset Spiritum sapientiae et intellectus, consilii et fortitudinis, scientiae et pietatis ac timoris Dei (Isai. XI, 2, 3); sicut non haberet virtutem, charitatem, continentiam, nisi accepto Spiritu de quo dicit Apostolus, Non enim accepistis Spiritum timoris, sed virtutis, et charitatis, et continentiae (II Tim. I, 7): ita non haberet fidem nisi accepisset Spiritum fidei, de quo idem ipse dicit, 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). Non autem merito accepisse, sed misericordia ejus qui cujus vult miseretur, manifestissime ostendit, ubi de seipso ait: Misericordiam consecutus sum, ut fidelis essem (I Cor. VII, 25).

CAPUT IV.

13. Here again these defenders of free will, or rather deceivers because they are inflaters, and inflaters because they are presumptuous, about to speak not against us, but against the Gospel, what else do they say than that which the Apostle objected to himself, as if it were said by such as these? "You say therefore to me, Why does He still complain? for who resists His will?" This contradiction he opposed to himself as if from another, as if from the voice of those who do not wish to receive what he had said above: "Therefore He has mercy on whom He wills, and whom He wills He hardens." Therefore let us say to such as these with the Apostle, for we cannot find anything better than him to say: "O man, who are you who respond to God?" (Rom. 9:18-20).

14. For we seek the merit of hardening, and we find it. For by the merit of sin the entire mass is condemned; nor does God harden by imparting malice, but by not imparting mercy. For those to whom it is not imparted, are neither worthy, nor do they merit it: but rather that it not be imparted, this they are worthy of, this they merit. But we seek the merit of mercy, and we do not find it, because there is none, lest grace be evacuated, if it is not donated gratis, but rendered to merits.

15. For if we should say that faith preceded, in which there would be the merit of grace, what of merit did man have before faith, so that he might receive faith? for what does he have that he has not received? but if he has received it, why does he glory as if he had not received it (1 Cor. 4:7)? For just as man would not have wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, the fear of God, unless according to the prophetic eloquence he had received the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and fortitude, of knowledge and piety and the fear of God (Is. 11:2-3); just as he would not have virtue, charity, continence, except by the received Spirit concerning whom the Apostle says: "For you have not received the Spirit of fear, but of virtue, and of charity, and of continence" (2 Tim. 1:7): so he would not have faith unless he had received the Spirit of faith, concerning whom the same man himself says: "But having the same Spirit of faith, according to what is written, I believed, therefore I spoke; and we believe, therefore we also speak" (2 Cor. 4:13). But that he did not receive it by merit, but by the mercy of Him who has mercy on whom He wills, he most clearly shows where he says concerning himself: "I have obtained mercy, that I might be faithful" (1 Cor. 7:25).

CHAPTER IV.

16. Si dixerimus meritum praecedere orationis, ut donum gratiae consequatur: impetrando quidem oratio quidquid impetrat, evidenter donum Dei esse ostendit, ne homo existimet a seipso sibi esse, quod si in potestate haberetur, non utique posceretur; verumtamen ne saltem orationis putarentur praecedere merita, quibus non gratuita daretur gratia, sed jam nec gratia esset, quia debita redderetur, etiam ipsa oratio inter gratiae munera reperitur. Quid enim oremus, ait Doctor Gentium, sicut oportet, nescimus; sed ipse Spiritus interpellat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus. Quid est autem, interpellat, nisi, interpellare nos facit? Indigentis enim certissimum indicium est interpellare gemitibus. Nullius autem rei esse indigentem fas est credere Spiritum sanctum. Sed ita dictum est, interpellat, quia interpellare nos facit, nobisque interpellandi et gemendi inspirat affectum; sicut illud in Evangelio: Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris vestri, qui loquitur in vobis (Matth. X, 20). Neque enim et hoc ita fit de nobis tanquam nihil facientibus nobis. Adjutorium igitur Spiritus sancti sic expressum est, ut ipse facere diceretur quod ut faciamus facit.

17. Nam non esse intelligendum spiritum nostrum, de quo dictum est, interpellat gemitibus inenarrabilibus, sed Spiritum sanctum, quo nostra infirmitas adjuvatur, satis ipse demonstrat Apostolus. Inde enim coepit, Spiritus, inquit, adjuvat infirmitatem nostram; deinde ita subjunxit, Quid enim oremus, sicut oportet, nescimus; et caetera. De hoc quippe Spiritu apertius alibi dicit: Non enim accepistis spiritum servitutis iterum in timore; sed accepistis Spiritum adoptionis filiorum in quo clamamus, Abba, Pater (Rom. VIII, 26, 15). Ecce hic non dixit quod ipse Spiritus clamet orando; sed, in quo clamamus, Abba, Pater. Alio tamen loco ait: Quoniam filii Dei estis, misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda vestra, clamantem, Abba, Pater (Galat. IV, 6). Non hic ait, in quo clamamus; sed ipsum Spiritum clamantem dicere maluit, quo efficitur ut clamemus: sicut sunt illa, Ipse Spiritus interpellat gemitibus inenarrabilibus; et, Spiritus Patris vestri est, qui loquitur in vobis.

18. Sicut ergo nemo recte sapit, recte intelligit, recte consilio ac fortitudine praevalet, nemo scienter pius est, vel pie sciens, nemo timore casto Deum timet, nisi acceperit Spiritum sapientiae et intellectus, consilii et fortitudinis, scientiae et pietatis et timoris Dei; nec habet quisquam virtutem veram, charitatem sinceram, continentiam religiosam, nisi per Spiritum virtutis, et charitatis, et continentiae: ita sine Spiritu fidei non est recte quispiam crediturus, nec sine Spiritu orationis salubriter oraturus.

16. If we should say that the merit of prayer precedes, so that the gift of grace may follow: although indeed by impetrating prayer shows whatever it impetrates to be evidently a gift of God, lest man should think it to be from himself for himself, which if it were held in his power, would certainly not be asked; nevertheless lest at least the merits of prayer should be thought to precede, by which grace would not be given gratuitously, but would now not even be grace, because it would be rendered as due, even prayer itself is found among the gifts of grace. "For what we should pray for," says the Teacher of the Gentiles, "as we ought, we know not; but the Spirit Himself intercedes for us with unutterable groanings." But what is "intercedes," except He makes us intercede? For to intercede with groanings is a most certain indication of one in need. But it is right to believe the Holy Spirit to be in need of no thing. But it was so said, "He intercedes," because He makes us intercede, and inspires in us the affection of interceding and groaning; just as that in the Gospel: "For it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father, who speaks in you" (Matt. 10:20). For neither is this so done from us as if we were doing nothing. Therefore the help of the Holy Spirit was so expressed, that He Himself should be said to do what He makes us do.

17. For the Apostle himself sufficiently demonstrates that it is not our spirit to be understood, of which it was said: "He intercedes with unutterable groanings," but the Holy Spirit, by whom our infirmity is helped. For from there he began: "The Spirit," he says, "helps our infirmity"; then he so subjoined: "For what we should pray for, as we ought, we know not"; and the rest. Concerning this Spirit indeed he says more openly elsewhere: "For you have not received the spirit of servitude again in fear; but you have received the Spirit of adoption of sons in which we cry: Abba, Father" (Rom. 8:26, 15). Behold here he did not say that the Spirit Himself cries in praying; but: "in which we cry: Abba, Father." Yet in another place he says: "Because you are sons of God, God has sent the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying: Abba, Father" (Gal. 4:6). He did not say here: "in which we cry"; but he preferred to say the Spirit Himself crying, by whom it is brought about that we cry: just as are those: "The Spirit Himself intercedes with unutterable groanings"; and: "It is the Spirit of your Father, who speaks in you."

18. Just as therefore no one is rightly wise, rightly understands, rightly prevails in counsel and fortitude, no one is knowingly pious, or piously knowing, no one fears God with chaste fear, unless he has received the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and fortitude, of knowledge and piety and the fear of God; nor does anyone have true virtue, sincere charity, religious continence, except through the Spirit of virtue, and of charity, and of continence: so without the Spirit of faith no one is going to believe rightly, nor without the Spirit of prayer is anyone going to pray healthfully.

Non quia tot sunt spiritus, sed omnia haec operatur unus atque idem Spiritus dividens propria unicuique prout vult (I Cor. XII, 11); quia Spiritus ubi vult spirat (Joan. III, 8): sed quod fatendum est, aliter adjuvat nondum inhabitans, aliter inhabitans. Nam nondum inhabitans adjuvat ut sint fideles, inhabitans adjuvat jam fideles.

CAPUT V.

19. Quod est ergo meritum hominis ante gratiam, quo merito percipiat gratiam, cum omne bonum meritum nostrum non in nobis faciat nisi gratia; et cum Deus coronat merita nostra, nihil aliud coronet quam munera sua? Sicut enim ab initio fidei misericordiam consecuti sumus, non quia fideles eramus, sed ut essemus; sic in fine, quo erit vita aeterna, coronabit nos, sicut scriptum est, in miseratione et misericordia (Psal. CII, 4). Non itaque frustra Deo cantatur, Et misericordia ejus praeveniet me (Psal. LVIII, 11); et, Misericordia ejus subsequetur me (Psal. XXII, 6). Unde et ipsa vita aeterna, quae utique in fine sine fine habebitur, et ideo meritis praecedentibus redditur; tamen quia eadem merita quibus redditur, non a nobis parata sunt per nostram sufficientiam, sed in nobis facta per gratiam, etiam ipsa gratia nuncupatur, non ob aliud nisi quia gratis datur; nec ideo quia non meritis datur, sed quia data sunt et ipsa merita quibus datur. Ubi autem invenimus etiam vitam aeternam gratiam nuncupari, habemus apud eumdem gratiae magnificum defensorem apostolum Paulum: Stipendium, inquit, peccati mors est; gratia autem Dei vita aeterna in Christo Jesu domino nostro (Rom. VI, 23).

20. Vide, obsecro te, in quanta brevitate quam vigilanter verba posuerit, quibus diligenter consideratis, quaestionis hujus aliquantulum dilucescat obscuritas. Cum enim dixisset, Stipendium peccati mors; quis non eum congruentissime et consequenter addere judicaret, si diceret, Stipendium autem justitiae vita aeterna? et verum est; quia sicut merito peccati tanquam stipendium redditur mors, ita merito justitiae tanquam stipendium vita aeterna. Aut si nollet dicere, Justitiae, diceret, fidei; quoniam justus ex fide vivit (Habac. II, 4, et Rom. I, 17). Unde etiam et merces appellatur plurimis sanctarum Scripturarum locis: nusquam porro dicta est merces justitia vel fides, quia justitiae vel fidei redditur merces. Quod est autem merces operanti, hoc militanti stipendium.

21. Sed beatus Apostolus adversus elationem, quae usque adeo magnis tentat irrepere, ut et sibi propter ipsam dicat datum angelum Satanae, a quo colaphizaretur, ne verticem praesumptionis erigeret (II Cor. XII, 7): adversus hanc ergo elationis pestem vigilantissime militans, Stipendium, inquit, peccati mors. Recte stipendium, quia debetur, quia digne retribuitur, quia merito redditur.

Not because there are so many spirits, but one and the same Spirit works all these things dividing to each one His own as He wills (1 Cor. 12:11); because the Spirit breathes where He wills (John 3:8): but what must be confessed, He helps in one way not yet inhabiting, in another way inhabiting. For not yet inhabiting He helps that they may be believers, inhabiting He helps those already believers.

CHAPTER V.

19. What therefore is the merit of man before grace, by which merit he may receive grace, since grace itself performs all our good merit in us; and when God crowns our merits, He crowns nothing else than His own gifts? For just as from the beginning of faith we have obtained mercy, not because we were faithful, but that we might be; so in the end, where there will be eternal life, He will crown us, as it is written, "in compassion and mercy" (Ps. 102:4). Not in vain therefore is it sung to God: "And His mercy shall precede me" (Ps. 58:11); and: "His mercy shall follow me" (Ps. 22:6). Whence also eternal life itself, which certainly will be held in the end without end, and therefore is rendered to preceding merits; nevertheless because the same merits to which it is rendered, were not prepared by us through our own sufficiency, but were made in us through grace, it itself also is called grace, for no other reason than because it is given gratis; nor for that reason because it is not given to merits, but because the merits themselves to which it is given were also given. But where we find eternal life also to be called grace, we have it in the same magnificent defender of grace the apostle Paul: "The wages," he says, "of sin is death; but the grace of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 6:23).

20. See, I beseech you, in how great brevity how vigilantly he placed the words, by which, being diligently considered, the obscurity of this question may somewhat clear up. For when he had said: "The wages of sin is death," who would not judge him most congruously and consequently to add, if he said: "But the wages of justice is eternal life"? And it is true; because just as death is rendered to the merit of sin as wages, so to the merit of justice as wages is eternal life. Or if he did not wish to say "of justice," he would say "of faith"; since the just man lives by faith (Hab. 2:4 and Rom. 1:17). Whence also it is called reward in many places of the holy Scriptures: but nowhere was justice or faith called reward, because reward is rendered to justice or to faith. But what reward is to the one working, that wages is to the one soldiering.

21. But the blessed Apostle against elation, which tries to creep in to such a degree among great men, that he says an angel of Satan was given even to himself on account of it, by whom he was buffeted, lest he should lift up the peak of presumption (2 Cor. 12:7): against this pest of elation therefore soldiering most vigilantly, he says: "The wages of sin is death." Rightly wages, because it is owed, because it is worthily retributed, because it is rendered by merit.

Deinde, ne justitia de humano se extolleret bono merito, sicut humanum meritum malum non dubitatur esse peccatum, non a contrario retulit, dicens, Stipendium justitiae vita aeterna; sed, gratia, inquit, Dei vita aeterna. Et haec ne praeter Mediatorem aliqua alia via quaereretur, adjecit, in Christo Jesu Domino nostro: tanquam diceret, Audito quod stipendium peccati sit mors, quid te disponis extollere, o humana, non justitia, sed nomine justitiae plane superbia? quid te disponis extollere, et contrariam morti vitam aeternam tanquam debitum stipendium flagitare? Cui debetur vita aeterna, vera justitia est: si autem vera justitia est, ex te non est, desursum est descendens a Patre luminum (Jacobi I, 17). Ut haberes eam, si tamen habes eam, profecto accepisti: quid enim habes quod non accepisti (I Cor. IV, 7)? Quapropter, o homo, si accepturus es vitam aeternam, justitiae quidem stipendium est, sed tibi gratia est, cui gratia est et ipsa justitia. Tibi enim tanquam debita redderetur, si ex te tibi esset justitia cui debetur. Nunc vero de plenitudine ejus accepimus non solum gratiam, qua nunc juste in laboribus usque in finem vivimus, sed etiam gratiam pro hac gratia (Joan. I, 16), ut in requie postea sine fine vivamus. Hoc nihil salubrius fides credit, quia nihil verius intellectus invenit: et debemus audire prophetam dicentem, Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis (Isai. VII, 9, sec. LXX).

CAPUT VI.

22. Sed excusabunt se, inquit, homines, qui nolunt recte et fideliter vivere, dicentes: Quid nos fecimus qui male vivimus, quandoquidem gratiam unde bene viveremus, non accepimus? Non possunt veraciter dicere nihil mali se fecisse qui male vivunt: si enim nihil mali faciunt, bene vivunt; si autem male vivunt, de suo male vivunt, vel quod originaliter traxerunt, vel quod insuper addiderunt. Sed si vasa sunt irae, quae perfecta sunt ad perditionem, quae illis debita redditur, sibi hoc imputent, quia ex ea massa facta sunt, quam propter unius peccatum, in quo omnes peccaverunt, merito Deus justeque damnavit: si autem vasa sunt misericordiae, quibus ex eadem massa factis supplicium debitum reddere noluit, non se inflent, sed ipsum glorificent, qui eis misericordiam non debitam praestitit, et si quid aliter sapiunt, et hoc quoque illis ipse revelabit (Philipp. III, 15).

Then, lest justice should extol itself concerning human good merit, just as human bad merit is not doubted to be sin, he did not relate from the contrary, saying: "The wages of justice is eternal life"; but: "the grace of God," he says, "is eternal life." And lest any other way should be sought besides the Mediator, he added: "in Christ Jesus our Lord": as if he were saying: Having heard that the wages of sin is death, why do you dispose yourself to extol yourself, o human, not justice, but plainly pride under the name of justice? why do you dispose yourself to extol yourself, and to demand eternal life contrary to death as if a due wages? To whom eternal life is due, it is true justice: but if it is true justice, it is not from you, it is from above descending from the Father of lights (James 1:17). That you might have it, if indeed you have it, you certainly received it: for what do you have that you have not received (1 Cor. 4:7)? Wherefore, o man, if you are going to receive eternal life, it is indeed the wages of justice, but to you it is grace, to whom also justice itself is grace. For it would be rendered to you as if owed, if you had justice to which it is due from yourself. But now from His fullness we have received not only grace, by which we now live justly in labors until the end, but also grace for this grace (John 1:16), that we may live post-afterward in rest without end. Faith believes nothing more healthy than this, because the intellect finds nothing truer: and we ought to hear the prophet saying: "Unless you believe, you shall not understand" (Is. 7:9, according to LXX).

CHAPTER VI.

22. But men, he says, who do not want to live rightly and faithfully, will excuse themselves, saying: What have we done, we who live badly, since we did not receive the grace by which we might live well? They cannot truthfully say that they have done nothing evil, they who live badly: for if they do nothing evil, they live well; but if they live badly, they live badly from their own [fault], either what they have drawn originally, or what they have added besides. But if they are vessels of wrath, which are perfected for perdition, which is rendered to them as due, let them impute this to themselves, because they were made from that mass which, on account of the sin of one, in whom all have sinned, God worthily and justly condemned: but if they are vessels of mercy, to whom He did not wish to render the due punishment, they being made from the same mass, let them not puff themselves up, but glorify Him who afforded them a mercy not due, and if they are otherwise minded in anything, this also He Himself will reveal to them (Phil. 3:15).

23. Postremo quonam se isti excusabunt modo? Nempe illo quem breviter tanquam ex eorum voce sibi objecit Apostolus, ut dicant: Quid adhuc conqueritur? nam voluntati ejus quis resistit? Hoc est enim dicere, Quid de nobis fit querela, quod Deum offendamus male vivendo, cum illius voluntati nemo possit resistere, qui nos obduravit misericordiam non praestando? Si ergo illos non pudet hac excusatione, non nobis, sed Apostolo contradicere, cur nos pigeat eis quod dixit Apostolus, hoc idem atque identidem dicere: O homo, tu quis es qui respondeas Deo? Numquid dicit figmentum ei qui se finxit, Quare sic me fecisti? annon habet potestatem figulus luti, ex eadem massa, utique merito recteque damnata, facere aliud vas in honorem indebitum propter misericordiae gratiam, aliud in contumeliam debitam propter irae justitiam, et ut notas faciat divitias gloriae suae in vasa misericordiae, sic ostendens quid eis largiatur, cum id supplicium recipient vasa irae, quod pariter omnibus debebatur? Satis sit interim christiano ex fide adhuc viventi, et nondum cernenti quod perfectum est, sed ex parte scienti (I Cor. XIII, 9, 10), nosse vel credere quod neminem Deus liberet nisi gratuita misericordia per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et neminem damnet nisi aequissima veritate per eumdem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Cur autem illum potius quam illum liberet aut non liberet, scrutetur qui potest judiciorum ejus tam magnum profundum, verumtamen caveat praecipitium. Numquid enim est iniquitas apud Deum? Absit: sed inscrutabilia sunt judicia ejus, et investigabiles viae ejus.

24. Et in majoribus duntaxat aetatibus merito dici potest: Hi noluerunt intelligere, ut bene agerent (Psal. XXXV, 4). Hi, quod gravius est, intellexerunt, et non obedierunt: quia, sicut scriptum est, Verbis non emendabitur servus durus; si enim et intellexerit, non obediet (Prov. XXIX, 19). Unde non obediet, nisi sua pessima voluntate? Cui gravior damnatio divina aequitate debetur: cui enim plus datur, plus evigitur ab eo (Luc. XII, 47, 48). Istos quippe Scriptura dicit inexcusabiles, quos non latet veritas et in eis perseverat iniquitas. Revelatur enim ira Dei de coelo, ait Apostolus, super omnem impietatem et injustitiam hominum eorum qui veritatem in injustitia detinent: quia quod notum est Dei, manifestum est in illis. Deus enim illis manifestavit. Invisibilia enim ejus a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur; sempiterna quoque virtus ejus ac divinitas, ut sint inexcusabiles.

23. Finally, in what way will those men excuse themselves? Surely in that which the Apostle briefly objected to himself as if from their voice, so that they say: "Why does He still find fault? for who resists His will?" For this is to say: Why is there a complaint against us, that we offend God by living badly, when no one can resist His will, who has hardened us by not affording mercy? If therefore they are not ashamed by this excuse to contradict not us, but the Apostle, why should it irk us to say to them what the Apostle said, the same thing and over again: O man, who are you to answer back to God? Does the thing formed say to him who formed it: Why have you made me thus? Or has the potter no power over the clay, from the same mass—certainly worthily and rightly condemned—to make one vessel for honor, not due because of the grace of mercy, and another for contempt, due because of the justice of wrath, and that He might make known the riches of His glory upon the vessels of mercy, thus showing what He bestows upon them, when the vessels of wrath receive that punishment which was equally due to all? Let it be enough in the meantime for the Christian still living by faith, and not yet discerning what is perfect, but knowing in part (1 Cor. 13:9, 10), to know or believe that God delivers no one except by gratuitous mercy through our Lord Jesus Christ, and condemns no one except by most equitable truth through the same our Lord Jesus Christ. But why He should deliver or not deliver that one rather than this one, let him who can search so great a depth of His judgments, yet let him beware of a precipice. For is there iniquity with God? Far from it: but His judgments are inscrutable, and His ways past finding out.

24. And at least in more advanced ages it can worthily be said: These have refused to understand, that they might act well (Ps. 35:4). These, what is more grave, have understood, and have not obeyed: because, as it is written: "A hard servant will not be corrected by words; for even if he understands, he will not obey" (Prov. 29:19). Whence will he not obey, except by his own worst will? To whom a graver condemnation is due by divine equity: for to whom more is given, more is required of him (Luke 12:47, 48). For these the Scripture says are inexcusable, whom truth does not escape and in whom iniquity perseveres. For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven, says the Apostle, upon all ungodliness and injustice of men who detain the truth in injustice: because what is known of God is manifest in them. For God has manifested it to them. For His invisible things are clearly seen, being understood through those things which have been made, from the creation of the world; also His eternal power and divinity, so that they are inexcusable.

25. Si ergo istos inexcusabiles dicit, qui invisibilia illius per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspicere potuerunt, nec obedierunt tamen veritati, sed iniqui et impii permanserunt; neque enim non cognoverunt, sed cognoscentes, inquit, Deum, non ut Deum glorificaverunt, aut gratias egerunt (Rom. I, 18-21): quanto magis inexcusabiles sunt, qui ex lege ejus instructi confidunt se ipsos duces esse caecorum, et alios docentes, seipsos non docent; qui praedicant non furandum, et furantur; et caetera quae de ipsis Apostolus loquitur! Eis quippe dicit: Propterea inexcusabilis es, o homo omnis qui judicas: in quo enim alium judicas, temetipsum condemnas; eadem enim agis quae judicas (Id. II, 1).

26. Dicit etiam ipse Dominus in Evangelio: Si non venissem et locutus eis fuissem, peccatum non haberent; nunc autem excusationem non habent de peccato suo (Joan. XV, 22). Non utique peccatum nullum haberent, qui pleni erant aliis magnis multisque peccatis; sed hoc peccatum vult intelligi non eos habituros fuisse, si non venisset, quo, cum audissent eum, non crediderunt in eum. Hanc eos excusationem non habere asserit, qua possint dicere: Non audivimus, ideo non credidimus. Humana quippe superbia tanquam praesumens de viribus liberi arbitrii excusatam se putat, quando ignorantiae, non voluntatis videtur esse quod peccat.

27. Secundum hanc excusationem, inexcusabiles dicit Scriptura divina quoscumque scientes peccare convincit. Dei tamen justum judicium nec illis parcit, qui non audierunt: Quicumque enim sine Lege peccaverunt, sine Lege peribunt (Rom. II, 12). Et quamvis se ipsi excusare videantur, non admittit hanc excusationem, qui scit se fecisse hominem rectum eique obedientiae dedisse praeceptum, nec nisi ejus, quo male usus est, libero voluntatis arbitrio, etiam quod transiret in posteros manasse peccatum. Neque enim damnantur qui non peccaverunt, quandoquidem illud ex uno in omnes pertransiit, in quo ante propria in singulis quibusque peccata omnes communiter peccaverunt (Id. V, 12). Ac per hoc inexcusabilis est omnis peccator, vel reatu originis, vel additamento etiam propriae voluntatis; sive qui novit, sive qui ignorat, sive qui judicat, sive qui non judicat: quia et ipsa ignorantia in eis qui intelligere noluerunt, sine dubitatione peccatum est; in eis autem qui non potuerunt, poena peccati. Ergo in utrisque non est justa excusatio, sed justa damnatio.

25. If therefore he says those are inexcusable, who were able to clearly see His invisible things, being understood through those things which were made, and yet did not obey the truth, but remained unjust and impious; for they did not fail to know, but knowing God, he says, they did not glorify Him as God, or give thanks (Rom. 1:18-21): how much more inexcusable are they who, being instructed from His law, trust that they themselves are leaders of the blind, and teaching others, do not teach themselves; who preach that one must not steal, and yet steal; and the other things which the Apostle speaks concerning them! For to them he says: Therefore you are inexcusable, O man, whoever you are who judge: for in that which you judge another, you condemn yourself; for you do the same things which you judge (Rom. 2:1).

26. The Lord Himself also says in the Gospel: "If I had not come and spoken to them, they would not have sin; but now they have no excuse for their sin" (John 15:22). Certainly not that they would have no sin, they who were full of other great and many sins; but he wants this sin to be understood as one they would not have had if he had not come, in which, when they had heard him, they did not believe in him. He asserts that they do not have this excuse, by which they might say: We did not hear, therefore we did not believe. For human pride, as if presuming upon the strengths of free will, thinks itself excused when what it sins seems to be of ignorance, not of will.

27. According to this excuse, divine Scripture says those are inexcusable whom it convicts of sinning knowingly. Yet the just judgment of God does not spare even those who did not hear: "For whoever have sinned without the Law, shall perish without the Law" (Rom. 2:12). And although they may seem to excuse themselves, He does not admit this excuse, who knows that He made man upright and gave him a precept of obedience, and that sin has flowed even to pass into posterity only by the free choice of his will, which he used badly. For they are not condemned who have not sinned, since that [sin] passed from one into all, in whom all sinned in common before the proper sins in each individual (Rom. 5:12). And through this every sinner is inexcusable, either by the guilt of origin, or by the addition also of his own will; whether he who knows, or he who is ignorant, or he who judges, or he who does not judge: because even ignorance itself in those who did not want to understand, is without doubt sin; but in those who could not, it is the penalty of sin. Therefore in both there is no just excuse, but just condemnation.

28. Ideo autem divina eloquia eos inexcusabiles dicunt, qui non ignorantes, sed scientes peccant, ut secundum judicium superbiae suae, quo multum confidunt de viribus propriae voluntatis, se inexcusabiles videant; quia de ignorantia jam non habent excusationem suam, et nondum est justitia, cui praesumebant sufficere voluntatem. At vero ille cui Dominus et sciendi et obediendi largitus est gratiam, Per Legem, inquit, cognitio peccati (Id. III, 20); et, Peccatum non cognovi, nisi per Legem: nam concupiscentiam nesciebam, nisi Lex diceret, Non concupisces. Nec vult intelligi hominem praeceptricis legis ignarum, sed liberatricis indigum gratiae, ubi dicit, Condelector legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem: et cum hac non solum scientia, verum etiam et delectatione legis, postea dicit, Miser ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus? Gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum (Id. VII, 7, 22, 24, 25). Nemo itaque liberat a vulneribus illius trucidatoris, nisi hujus gratia Salvatoris. Nemo liberat venumdatos sub peccato a vinculis captivantis, nisi gratia redimentis.

29. Ac per hoc universi qui se in nequitiis et iniquitatibus excusatos volunt, ideo justissime puniuntur, quoniam qui liberantur, nonnisi gratia liberantur. Nam si excusatio illic justa esset, non inde jam gratia, sed justitia liberaret. Cum vero non liberat nisi gratia, nihil justum invenit in eo quem liberat; non voluntatem, non operationem, non saltem ipsam excusationem: nam si haec justa est, quisquis ea utitur, merito, non gratia liberatur. Novi mus enim liberari per gratiam Christi quosdam etiam eorum qui dicunt, Quid adhuc conqueritur? nam voluntati ejus quis resistit? Quae si justa est excusatio, non jam gratuita gratia, sed propter hujus excusationis justitiam liberantur. Si autem gratia est qua liberantur, profecto haec excusatio justa non est. Tunc enim vera gratia est, qua homo liberatur, si non secundum debitum justitiae retribuitur. Nihil ergo fit in eis, qui dicunt, Quid adhuc conqueritur? nam voluntati ejus quis resistit? nisi quod legitur in libro Salomonis, Insipientia viri violat vias ejus: Deum autem causatur in corde suo (Prov. XIX, 3).

30. Quamvis itaque Deus faciat vasa irae in perditionem, ut ostendat iram, et demonstret potentiam suam, qua bene etiam utitur malis; et ut notas faciat divitias gloriae suae in vasa misericordiae, quae facit in honorem, non damnabili massae debitum, sed suae gratiae largitate donatum: tamen in eisdem irae vasis, propter meritum massae in contumeliam debitam factis, id est in hominibus propter naturae quidem bona creatis, sed propter vitia supplicio destinatis, iniquitatem, quam rectissime veritas improbat, damnare novit ipse, non facere.

Therefore, however, the divine eloquences call those inexcusable who sin not being ignorant but knowing, so that according to the judgment of their pride, by which they trust much in the strengths of their own will, they may see themselves inexcusable; because they no longer have their excuse from ignorance, and there is not yet justice, for which they presumed the will was sufficient. But indeed he to whom the Lord has bestowed the grace of both knowing and obeying, says: "Through the Law is the knowledge of sin" (Rom. 3:20); and: "I did not know sin, except through the Law: for I did not know concupiscence, unless the Law said: You shall not covet." Nor does he want a man ignorant of the commanding law to be understood, but one in need of liberating grace, where he says: "I am delighted with the law of God according to the inner man": and with this not only knowledge, but also delight in the law, he afterward says: "Wretched man that I am, who will deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord" (Rom. 7:7, 22, 24, 25). No one therefore delivers from the wounds of that slayer, except the grace of this Savior. No one delivers those sold under sin from the bonds of the captivator, except the grace of the Redeemer.

29. And through this all who want themselves to be excused in their wickednesses and iniquities are most justly punished, because they who are delivered are not delivered except by grace. For if the excuse there were just, then not grace, but justice would deliver. But since nothing delivers except grace, it finds nothing just in him whom it delivers; not the will, not the work, not even the excuse itself: for if this is just, whoever uses it is delivered by merit, not by grace. For we know that some even of those who say: "Why does He still find fault? for who resists His will?" are delivered through the grace of Christ. Which if it is a just excuse, they are delivered no longer by gratuitous grace, but because of the justice of this excuse. But if it is grace by which they are delivered, certainly this excuse is not just. For then it is true grace by which a man is delivered, if it is not retributed according to the debt of justice. Therefore nothing happens in those who say: "Why does He still find fault? for who resists His will?" except what is read in the book of Solomon: "The foolishness of a man violates his ways: but he causes God in his heart" (Prov. 19:3).

30. Therefore, although God makes vessels of wrath for perdition, that He might show His wrath, and demonstrate His power, by which He also uses the bad well; and that He might make known the riches of His glory upon the vessels of mercy, which He makes for honor, not as a debt to the damnable mass, but as a gift bestowed by the largesse of His grace: yet in the same vessels of wrath, made for due contempt because of the merit of the mass, that is, in men created indeed good because of the goodness of nature, but destined for punishment because of their vices, He Himself knows how to condemn iniquity, which truth most rightly reproves, not to make it.

Sicut enim voluntati ejus tribuitur humana natura, nullo dubitante laudanda; sic hominis voluntati culpa tribuitur, nullo recusante damnanda. Quae voluntas hominis aut haereditarium vitium transmisit in posteros, quos in se habuit cum peccaret; aut acquisivit etiam caetera vitia, cum in seipso unusquisque perdite viveret. Sed neque ab illo quod originaliter trahitur, neque ab his quae unusquisque in vita propria vel non intelligendo vel nolendo intelligere, mala congregat, vel etiam instructus ex lege, additamento praevaricationis exaggerat, quisquam liberatur et justificatur, nisi gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum; non solum remissione peccatorum sed prius ipsius inspiratione fidei et timoris Dei, impartito salubriter orationis affectu et effectu, donec sanet omnes languores nostros, et redimat de corruptione vitam nostram, et coronet nos in miseratione et misericordia (Psal. CII, 3, 4).

CAPUT VII.

31. Verum isti qui personarum acceptorem fieri existimant Deum, si in una eademque causa super alios veniat misericordia ejus, super alios vero maneat ira ejus, nempe totas vires argumentationis humanae in parvulis perdunt. Nam ut interim taceam quod non est praeter parvulos, quamlibet materno utero recentissimos, ea poena de qua loquens Apostolus ait, Per unius delictum in omnes homines ad condemnationem; unde non liberat nisi unus ille, de quo idem ait, Per unius justificationem in omnes homines ad justificationem vitae (Rom. V, 18): ut ergo hoc interim omittam, et hoc solum de parvulis dicam, quod ipsi quoque auctoritate evangelica territi, vel potius christianorum populorum concordissima fidei conspiratione perfracti, sine ulla recusatione concedunt, quod nullus parvulus, nisi renatus ex aqua et Spiritu, intrat in regnum coelorum (Joan. III, 5); quam quaeso allaturi sunt causam, quod alius sic gubernatur ut baptizatus hinc exeat, alius infidelium manibus traditus, vel etiam fidelium priusquam ab eis baptizandus offeratur, exspirat? An hoc fato, vel fortunae daturi sunt? Non opinor eos in tantam dementiam prorupturos, quantulumcumque nomen christianum tenere cupientes.

For just as human nature is attributed to His will, which no one doubts is to be praised; so the fault is attributed to the will of man, which no one refuses is to be condemned. Which will of man either transmitted the hereditary vice into posterity, whom he had in himself when he sinned; or acquired also other vices, when each one lived perditiously in himself. But no one is delivered and justified—neither from that which is drawn originally, nor from those which each one gathers in his own life either by not understanding or by not wanting to understand the bad, or even being instructed from the law, exaggerates by the addition of transgression—except by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord; not only by the remission of sins but first by the inspiration itself of faith and the fear of God, with the affection and effect of prayer healthfully imparted, until He heals all our languors, and redeems our life from corruption, and crowns us in compassion and mercy (Ps. 102:3, 4).

CHAPTER VII.

31. But those who think God becomes an acceptor of persons, if in one and the same cause His mercy comes upon some, while His wrath remains upon others, certainly lose all the strengths of human argumentation in infants. For that I may in the meantime be silent about that which is not besides infants, however recent from the maternal womb, that penalty concerning which the Apostle speaking says: "Through the offense of one upon all men unto condemnation"; whence no one delivers except that one, concerning whom the same says: "Through the justification of one upon all men unto justification of life" (Rom. 5:18): that I may therefore in the meantime omit this, and say this alone concerning infants, which they also, terrified by evangelical authority, or rather broken by the most concordant conspiracy of faith of Christian peoples, concede without any refusal, that no infant, unless reborn of water and the Spirit, enters into the kingdom of heaven (John 3:5); what cause, I ask, are they going to bring, that one is so governed as to depart hence baptized, while another, delivered into the hands of unbelievers, or even of believers before he is offered by them to be baptized, expires? Or are they going to give this to fate, or to fortune? I do not think they will burst forth into such great madness, desiring to hold however small a Christian name.

32. Cur ergo in regnum coelorum, non accepto regenerationis lavacro, parvulus nullus intrabit? numquidnam ipse sibi parentes infideles vel negligentes, de quibus nasceretur, elegit? Quid dicam de inopinatis, et repentinis innumerabilibus mortibus, quibus saepe etiam religiosorum christianorum praeveniuntur et Baptismo praeripiuntur infantes; cum e contrario sacrilegorum et inimicorum Christi aliquo modo in christianorum manus venientes, ex hac vita non sine Sacramento regenerationis emigrent? quid hic dicturi sunt, qui, ut gratia dari possit, nonnulla praecedere merita humana contendunt, ne sit personarum acceptor Deus? quae tandem hic merita praecesserunt? Si eorumdem cogitaveris parvulorum, nulla sunt propria, utrisque est illa massa communis: si parentum attenderis, bona sunt illa quorum filii repentinis mortibus sine Christi baptismate perierunt; mala vero illa quorum filii per Christianorum aliquam potestatem ad Sacramenta Ecclesiae pervenerunt. Et tamen providentia Dei, cui nostri capilli numerati sunt, sine cujus voluntate non cadit passer in terram (Matth. X, 29, 30), quae nec fato premitur, nec fortuitis casibus impeditur, nec ulla iniquitate corrumpitur, ut renascantur ad haereditatem coelestem, non consulit omnibus parvulis filiorum suorum, et nonnullis consulit etiam parvulis impiorum. Iste infans de fidelibus conjugatis ortus, laetitia parentum susceptus, matris vel nutricis somnolentia suffocatus fit extorris et expers fidei suorum: ille infans de sacrilego stupro nascitur, crudeli timore matris exponitur, alienorum misericordi pietate colligitur, eorum christiana sollicitudine baptizatur, fit aeterni consors et particeps regni. Ista cogitent, ista considerent, hic audeant dicere Deum vel acceptorem in sua gratia personarum, vel remuneratorem praecedentium meritorum.

33. Nam etsi conabuntur majoris aetatis aliqua merita suspicari seu bona seu mala, quid de istis infantibus dicent, quorum nec iste sibi ullis propriis meritis malis potuit acquirere violentiam suffocantis, nec bonis ille diligentiam baptizantis? Nimiae vanitatis et caecitatis sunt, si etiam his consideratis nondum dignantur exclamare nobiscum: O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei! Quam inscrutabilia sunt judicia ejus, et investigabiles viae ejus (Rom. XI, 33)! Non itaque misericordiae gratuitae Dei pertinacissima adversentur insania. Sinant Filium hominis in qualibet aetate quaerere, et salvum facere quod perierat (Luc. XIX, 10): nec de inscrutabilibus judiciis ejus audeant judicare, cur in una eademque causa super alium veniat misericordia ejus, super alium maneat ira ejus.

32. Why therefore into the kingdom of heaven, without having received the washing of regeneration, will no infant enter? did he perhaps choose for himself unbelieving or negligent parents, from whom he should be born? What shall I say of unexpected and sudden innumerable deaths, by which the infants of even religious Christians are often prevented and snatched away from Baptism; while on the contrary those of sacrilegious men and enemies of Christ, coming in some way into the hands of Christians, do not emigrate from this life without the Sacrament of regeneration? what will they say here, who contend that some human merits precede, that grace may be able to be given, lest God be an acceptor of persons? what merits, pray, have preceded here? If you consider those of the same infants, there are none proper [to them], to both that mass is common: if you attend to those of the parents, those are good whose children perished by sudden deaths without the baptism of Christ; but those are bad whose children reached the Sacraments of the Church through some power of Christians. And yet the providence of God, to whom our hairs are numbered, without whose will a sparrow does not fall to the ground (Matt. 10:29, 30), which is neither pressed by fate, nor impeded by fortuitous cases, nor corrupted by any iniquity, that they may be reborn to the heavenly inheritance, does not consult for all the infants of His sons, and for some infants of the impious He does consult. This infant born of faithful married persons, received with the joy of parents, suffocated by the sleepiness of mother or nurse, becomes an exile and void of the faith of his own: that infant is born of sacrilegious debauchery, is exposed by the cruel fear of the mother, is gathered by the merciful piety of strangers, is baptized by their Christian solicitude, becomes a consort and sharer of the eternal kingdom. Let them think on these things, let them consider these things, here let them dare to say that God is either an acceptor of persons in His grace, or a remunerator of preceding merits.

33. For even if they shall try to suspect some merits of more advanced age either good or bad, what will they say of these infants, of whom neither could this one by any proper bad merits acquire for himself the violence of the suffocating person, nor that one by good merits the diligence of the baptizing person? They are of too much vanity and blindness, if even having considered these things they do not yet deign to exclaim with us: "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How inscrutable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!" (Rom. 11:33). Therefore let them not oppose the gratuitous mercy of God with most pertinacious insanity. Let them allow the Son of Man in any age to seek and to make safe what had perished (Luke 19:10): nor let them dare to judge concerning His inscrutable judgments, why in one and the same cause His mercy should come upon one, and His wrath remain upon another.

CAPUT VIII.

34. Qui enim sunt isti qui respondeant Deo, quandoquidem ille Rebeccae habenti geminos ex uno concubitu Isaac patris nostri, cum illi nondum nati nihil egissent boni vel mali, ut secundum electionem propositum ejus maneret, electionem scilicet gratiae, non debiti, electionem qua eligendos facit ipse, non invenit; non ex operibus, sed ex vocante dicit, minori serviturum esse majorem? In quam sententiam beatus Apostolus etiam testimonium prophetae longe posterioris assumpsit, Jacob dilexi, Esau autem odio habui (Malach. I, 2, 3); ut intelligeretur hoc apertum postea per prophetam, quod antequam illi nascerentur, erat in Dei praedestinatione per gratiam. Quid enim diligebat in Jacob antequam natus fecisset aliquid boni, nisi gratuitum misericordiae suae donum? et quid oderat in Esau antequam natus fecisset aliquid mali, nisi originale peccatum? Nam neque in illo diligeret justitiam, quam nullam ille fecerat; neque in isto odisset naturam, quam bonam ipse fecerat.

35. Mirum est autem cum his coarctantur angustiis, in quanta se abrupta praecipitent metuentes retia veritatis. Ideo, inquiunt, nondum natorum alium oderat, alium diligebat, quia eorum futura opera praevidebat. Quis istum acutissimum sensum defuisse Apostolo non miretur? Hoc quippe ille non vidit, quando sibi velut adversantis objecta quaestione, non id potius tam breve, tam apertum, tam (sicut isti putant) verum absolutumque respondit. Cum enim rem stupendam proposuisset, quomodo de nondum natis nec aliquid agentibus boni aut mali recte dici potuerit, quod unum Deus dilexerit, alium odio habuerit, ipsa sibi objecta quaestione motum exprimens auditoris. Quid ergo dicemus? inquit, numquid iniquitas apud Deum? Absit. Hic ergo erat locus, ut diceret quod isti sentiunt: Futura enim Deus opera praevidebat, quando minori majorem serviturum esse dicebat. Non autem hoc Apostolus dicit, sed potius ne quisquam de suorum operum audeat meritis gloriari, ad Dei gratiam et gloriam commendandam voluit valere quod dixit. Cum enim dixisset, Absit ut sit iniquitas apud Deum; tanquam ei diceremus, Unde hoc ostendis, cum asseras non ex operibus, sed ex vocante dictum esse, Major serviet minori? Moysi enim dicit, inquit, Miserebor cui misertus ero, et misericordiam praestabo cui misericors fuero. Igitur non volentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei. Ubi nunc merita, ubi opera vel praeterita vel futura tanquam liberi arbitrii viribus adimpleta vel adimplenda? Nonne apertam protulit Apostolus de gratuitae gratiae, hoc est verae gratiae commendatione sententiam? Nonne stultam fecit Deus haereticorum sapientiam?

CHAPTER VIII.

34. For who are these who answer back to God, since to Rebecca having twins from one cohabitation with Isaac our father, when those not yet born had done nothing of good or evil, that His purpose according to election might remain—an election, to be sure, of grace, not of debt, an election by which He Himself makes those who are to be elected, He does not find [them]; not from works, but from Him who calls, He says that the elder shall serve the younger? In which sentence the blessed Apostle also assumed the testimony of a prophet much later: "Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated" (Mal. 1:2, 3); that this might be understood as opened afterward through the prophet, which before those were born, was in the predestination of God through grace. For what did He love in Jacob before he being born had done anything of good, except the gratuitous gift of His mercy? and what did He hate in Esau before he being born had done anything of evil, except original sin? For neither in the former would He love justice, which he had done none of; nor in the latter would He have hated nature, which He Himself had made good.

35. But it is wonderful when they are narrowed by these straits, into what precipices they cast themselves, fearing the nets of truth. Therefore, they say, of those not yet born He hated one, and loved the other, because He foresaw their future works. Who would not wonder that this most acute sense was lacking to the Apostle? For this surely he did not see, when having objected to himself as if from an adversary the question, he did not rather answer that so brief, so open, so (as these think) true and absolute [thing]. For when he had proposed a stupendous thing, how concerning those not yet born nor doing anything of good or evil it could rightly be said that God loved one and hated the other, expressing the movement of the hearer by the question objected to himself. "What shall we say then?" he says, "Is there iniquity with God? Far from it." Here therefore was the place, that he should say what these feel: "For God foresaw future works, when He said that the elder should serve the younger." But the Apostle does not say this, but rather lest anyone should dare to glory concerning the merits of his works, he wanted what he said to avail for commending the grace and glory of God. For when he had said: Far be it that there should be iniquity with God; as if we were saying to him: Whence do you show this, when you assert that it was said not from works, but from Him who calls: "The elder shall serve the younger"? For He says to Moses, he says: "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will afford mercy to whom I will have been merciful." Therefore it is not of him who wills nor of him who runs, but of God who has mercy." Where now are merits, where are works either past or future as if fulfilled or to be fulfilled by the strengths of free will? Has not the Apostle brought forth an open sentence concerning the commendation of gratuitous grace, that is, of true grace? Has not God made foolish the wisdom of heretics?

36. Quid autem agebatur, ut hoc Apostolus diceret, ut eorum geminorum commemoraret exemplum? quid persuadere moliebatur? quid inculcare cupiebat? Nempe hoc quod ipsorum oppugnat amentia, quod superbi non capiunt, quod sapere nolunt qui ignorantes Dei justitiam, et suam volentes constituere, justititiae Dei non sunt subjecti (Rom. X, 3): de ipsa quippe gratia satis agebat Apostolus, et ideo promissionis filios commendabat. Quod enim promittit Deus, non facit nisi Deus: habet namque aliquid rationis et veritatis, ut homo promittat, et Deus faciat; ut autem homo se facere dicat quod promiserit Deus, superbae impietatis est reprobus sensus.

37. Commendans ergo filios promissionis, hoc primum significatum ostendit, per Isaac filium Abrahae. Evidentius namque opus Dei apparet in eo, quem non genuit usitatus ordo naturae de sterilibus visceribus et senectute confectis, ut in filiis Dei, qui futuri praenuntiabantur, hoc esset signum divini operis, non humani. In Isaac, inquit, vocabitur tibi semen: hoc est, non qui filii carnis, ii filii Dei; sed filii promissionis deputantur in semen. Promissionis enim verbum hoc est: Ad hoc tempus veniam, et erit Sarae filius. Non solum autem, inquit, sed et Rebecca ex uno concubitu habens, Isaac patris nostri. Quo pertinuit ut adderet, ex uno concubitu, nisi ut non solum de suis, neque de parentum meritis aliorum, sed ne de ipsius quidem unius patris, mutata forte in melius voluntate gloriaretur Jacob, dicens ideo se a Creatore dilectum, quia pater ejus, quando eum seminavit, melioribus laudabilior moribus fuit? ex uno, inquit, concubitu; unum tunc ad eos seminandos meritum patris, unum ad concipiendos meritum matris: quia etsi mater eos donec pareret visceribus portavit inclusos, et forte voluntates affectionesque variavit, non uni sed ambobus utique variavit, quos pariter ventre portavit.

38. Intentio igitur intuenda est Apostoli, quomodo propter gratiam commendandam nolit eum de quo dictum est, Jacob dilexi, nisi in Domino gloriari: ut cum ex eodem patre, eadem matre, uno concubitu, antequam aliquid egissent boni aut mali, alterum Deus diligit, odit alterum; intelligat Jacob ex illa massa originalis iniquitatis, ubi fratrem suum, cum quo habuit communem causam, videt per justitiam meruisse damnari, nonnisi per gratiam se potuisse discerni. Nondum enim nascentibus, nec agentibus bonum aut malum, ut secundum electionem propositum Dei maneret, non ex operibus, sed ex vocante dictum est ei: Major serviet minori.

36. But what was being done, that the Apostle should say this, that he should commemorate the example of those twins? what was he laboring to persuade? what did he desire to inculcate? Surely this which their madness attacks, which the proud do not take in, which those who being ignorant of the justice of God and wanting to establish their own, are not subject to the justice of God (Rom. 10:3), do not want to know: for the Apostle was dealing enough concerning grace itself, and therefore he commended the children of promise. For what God promises, no one does except God: for it has something of reason and truth, that man should promise and God should do; but that man should say he does what God has promised, is the reprobate sense of proud impiety.

37. Commending therefore the children of the promise, he shows this first signified through Isaac the son of Abraham. For the work of God appears more evidently in him, whom the usual order of nature did not beget from sterile wombs and those worn out by old age, so that in the children of God, who were being foretold as future, this should be a sign of divine work, not human. "In Isaac," he says, "shall your seed be called: that is, they who are the children of the flesh are not the children of God; but the children of the promise are counted as the seed." For this is the word of promise: "At this time I will come, and Sarah shall have a son." And not only so, he says, but also Rebecca having [twins] from one cohabitation with Isaac our father. To what purpose was it that he should add, "from one cohabitation," except that Jacob should glory not only not concerning his own merits, nor concerning those of other parents, but not even concerning those of that one father, whose will had perhaps been changed for the better, saying that he was therefore loved by the Creator, because his father, when he sowed him, was more praiseworthy for better morals? "From one," he says, "cohabitation"; there was then one merit of the father for sowing them, one merit of the mother for conceiving them: because even if the mother carried them enclosed in her womb until she gave birth, and perhaps varied her wills and affections, she certainly varied them not for one but for both, whom she carried together in her womb.

38. The intention of the Apostle is therefore to be looked at, how for the sake of commending grace he does not want him of whom it was said, "Jacob I loved," to glory except in the Lord: so that since from the same father, the same mother, one cohabitation, before they had done anything of good or evil, God loves one and hates the other; Jacob may understand that from that mass of original iniquity, where he sees his brother, with whom he had a common cause, to have deserved to be condemned through justice, he could not have been discerned except through grace. For to those not yet being born, nor doing good or evil, "that the purpose of God according to election might remain, not from works, but from him who calls," it was said to her: "The elder shall serve the younger."

39. Electionem autem gratiae nullis fieri operum praecedentibus meritis, alio loco apertissime idem apostolus ostendens: Sic ergo, inquit, et in hoc tempore reliquiae secundum electionem gratiae salvae factae sunt. Si autem gratia, jam non ex operibus; alioquin gratia jam non est gratia (Rom. XI, 5, 6). Secundum hanc ergo gratiam, etiam propheticum testimonium consequenter assumens, Sicut scriptum est, inquit, Jacob dilexi, Esau autem odio habui; et continuo, Quid ergo dicemus? inquit, numquid iniquitas est apud Deum? Absit. Sed quare, Absit? an propter opera quae futura praesciebat amborum? Imo et hoc absit: Moysi enim dicit, Miserebor cui misertus ero, et misericordiam praestabo cui misericors fuero. Igitur non volentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei. Atque ut in vasis quae perfecta sunt in perditionem, quae damnatae debita est massae, agnoscant vasa ex eadem massa in honorem facta quid eis misericordia divina largita sit, Dicit enim, inquit, Scriptura ad Pharaonem, Quia ad hoc te excitavi, ut ostendum in te potentiam meam, et ut glorificetur nomen meum in universa terra. Denique ad utrumque concludit, Ergo cujus vult miseretur, et quem vult obdurat: hoc facit apud quem non est iniquitas. Miseretur itaque gratuito dono; obdurat autem justissimo merito.

40. Sed dicat adhuc vel superbi infidelis elatio, vel puniti damnabilis excusatio, Quid adhuc conqueritur? nam voluntati ejus quis resistit? dicat, et audiat quod convenit homini, O homo, tu quis es qui respondeas Deo (Id. IX, 7 23)? et caetera, de quibus jam quantum potui satis ac saepe disserui. Audiat haec et non contemnat. Quod si contempserit, etiam ut contemneret, se inveniat obduratum: si autem non contempserit, etiam ut non contemneret, se credat adjutum; sed obduratum debito, adjutum gratia.

CAPUT IX.

41. Neque enim, si duorum de Isaac patriarcha geminorum, quod quidem jam ostendimus quanta caecitate dicatur, futura praevidit Deus opera, qui vixerunt atque senuerunt, et propterea Jacob dilexit, Esau autem odio habuit, ideo moriturorum etiam parvulorum potest quisquam dicere, ut huic ad percipiendum Baptismum non consulat, illi autem consulat, Deum futura opera eorum praevidere: quomodo enim futura dicuntur quae nulla erunt?

39. But that the election of grace is made by no preceding merits of works, the same Apostle showing most openly in another place: "Even so then," he says, "at this time also a remnant according to the election of grace has been saved. And if by grace, then it is no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace" (Rom. 11:5, 6). According to this grace, therefore, also consequently assuming the prophetic testimony: "As it is written," he says, "Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated"; and immediately: "What shall we say then?" he says, "is there iniquity with God? Far from it." But why, "Far from it"? is it on account of works which He foresaw as future for both? Nay, and far be this also: "For He says to Moses: I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will afford mercy to whom I will have been merciful. Therefore it is not of him who wills nor of him who runs, but of God who has mercy." And so that in the vessels which are perfected for perdition, which is due to the condemned mass, the vessels made for honor from the same mass may recognize what divine mercy has bestowed on them, "For the Scripture says," he says, "to Pharaoh: Even for this same purpose have I raised you up, that I might show my power in you, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth." Finally he concludes for both: "Therefore He has mercy on whom He will, and whom He will He hardens": this He does with whom there is no iniquity. He has mercy, therefore, by a gratuitous gift; but He hardens by a most just merit.

40. But let the elation of the proud infidel still say, or the excuse of the punished damnable person, "Why does He yet find fault? for who resists His will?" let him say, and let him hear what is fitting for man: "O man, who are you who answer back to God?" (Rom. 9:17-23) and the rest, concerning which I have already discussed as much as I could, sufficiently and often. Let him hear these things and not despise them. But if he should despise them, let him find himself hardened even so that he should despise them: but if he should not despise them, let him believe himself helped even so that he should not despise them; but hardened by debt, helped by grace.

CHAPTER IX.

41. For if, concerning the two twins from Isaac the patriarch—which indeed we have already shown with how great blindness it is said—God foresaw future works, who lived and grew old, and therefore loved Jacob but hated Esau, can anyone therefore say, concerning the infants who are to die, that He does not provide for the one to receive Baptism, but provides for the other, that God foresees their future works? for how are those called future which shall not be?

42. Sed Deus, inquiunt, in eis quos hinc aufert, praevidet quemadmodum victurus esset quisque si viveret: et ideo quem nequiter novit fuisse victurum, sine Baptismo facit emori; sic in eo puniens opera mala, non quae fecit, sed quae facturus fuit. Si ergo divinitus etiam quae commissa non sunt, mala opera puniuntur; primo attendant quam falso polliceantur in damnationem parvulos non ituros qui sine Baptismate moriuntur, qui propterea non baptizantur, quia male victuri erant, si viverent: propter ipsam quippe malam vitam procul dubio damnabuntur, si etiam mala quae fuerant futura damnantur. Deinde, si eis ad percipiendum Baptismatis consulitur sacramentum, quos novit Deus si viverent bene fuisse victuros, cur non omnes tenentur in vita, quam bonis operibus ornaturi sunt? cur etiam eorum qui baptizantur quidam diu viventes pessime vivunt, et usque ad apostasiam aliquando perveniunt? cur ipsum primum conjugium peccatorum, quos utique noverat Deus peccaturos, non de paradiso ante projecit, ne ibi committerent quod tam sancto loco esset indignum, si juste peccata etiam nondum commissa puniuntur? quid denique praestatur ei qui rapitur, ne malitia mutet intellectum ejus, et ne fictio decipiat animam ejus (Sap. IV, 11), si juste etiam illa puniuntur, quae licet non fecerit, fuerat tamen vivendo facturus? Postremo cur non ad percipiendum regenerationis lavacrum, ei magis consulitur morituro, qui male fuerat victurus si viveret, ut ei peccata quae fuerat commissurus, remittantur in Baptismo? Quis enim est tam vecors, qui ea neget per Baptismum posse dimitti, quae sine Baptismo dicit posse puniri?

CAPUT X.

43. Sed disputando adversus eos qui usquequaque convicti etiam non commissorum peccatorum Deum persuadere moliuntur ultorem, verendum est ne nos in eos ista fingere existimemur; illi autem nullo modo tam hebetes esse credantur, ut haec vel sentiant, vel cuiquam persuadere conentur: verumtamen nisi eos haec dicere audiissem, refellenda esse non arbitrarer. Circumstipantur enim et divinarum auctoritate lectionum, et antiquitus tradito et retento firmo Ecclesiae ritu in baptismate parvulorum, ubi apertissime demonstrantur infantes, et cum exorcizantur et cum ei se per eos a quibus gestantur, renuntiare respondent, a diaboli dominatione liberari; et non invenientes qua exeant, pergunt in praecipitem stultitiam, dum nolunt mutare sententiam.

42. But God, they say, in those whom He takes away from here, foresees in what manner each would have lived if he lived: and therefore He makes him die without Baptism whom He knew would have lived wickedly; thus punishing in him evil works, not which he did, but which he was going to do. If therefore even evil works which were not committed are punished divinely; first let them attend how falsely they promise that the infants who die without Baptism shall not go into condemnation, who for this reason are not baptized, because they were going to live wickedly if they lived: for on account of that same evil life they will without doubt be condemned, if even the evils which were to be future are condemned. Then, if provision is made for them to receive the sacrament of Baptism, whom God knew would have lived well if they lived, why are not all held in life, which they are to adorn with good works? why also of those who are baptized do some, living for a long time, live most wickedly, and sometimes arrive even at apostasy? why did He not cast out from paradise beforehand that first pair of sinners, whom God surely knew were going to sin, lest they should commit there what would be unworthy of so holy a place, if sins even not yet committed are justly punished? finally, what is provided for him who is snatched away, lest malice should change his understanding, and lest fiction should deceive his soul (Wisd. 4:11), if even those things are justly punished, which although he did not do, he was nevertheless going to do by living? Lastly, why is provision not rather made for him who is about to die to receive the washing of regeneration, who would have lived wickedly if he lived, so that the sins which he was going to commit should be remitted to him in Baptism? For who is so senseless as to deny that those things can be dismissed through Baptism, which he says can be punished without Baptism?

CHAPTER X.

43. But in disputing against those who, being convicted on every side, still labor to persuade that God is the avenger even of uncommitted sins, it is to be feared lest we be thought to feign these things against them; and they might in no way be believed to be so dull as either to feel these things or to attempt to persuade anyone [of them]: nevertheless, unless I had heard them say these things, I would not have thought they were to be refuted. For they are surrounded both by the authority of the divine readings, and by the firm rite of the Church in the baptism of infants, handed down and retained from ancient times, where infants are most openly demonstrated —both when they are exorcised and when they are answered for by those by whom they are carried to renounce—to be liberated from the domination of the devil; and not finding a way out, they proceed into headlong folly, while they do not want to change their opinion.

44. Illud sane sibi videntur acutissime dicere: Quomodo peccatum transit in filios fidelium, quod in parentibus non dubitamus dimissum esse per Baptismum? Quasi propterea possit non habere generatio carnalis quod sola tollit regeneratio spiritualis: aut vero in Baptismo concupiscentiae carnis infirmitas continuo sanetur, sicut continuo reatus ejus aboletur, sed gratia renascendi, non conditione nascendi. Unde quisquis per hanc concupiscentiam, etiam de renato nascitur, sine dubitatione oberit nato, nisi et ipse similiter renascatur. Verum quidquid est in hac quaestione difficultatis, ita in agro Christi non impedit operarios ejus quominus ab eis in remissionem peccatorum baptizentur infantes, sive de fidelibus, sive de infidelibus nati sint, sicut agricolas non impedit quominus ab eis, inserendi cura, in oleas convertantur oleastri, sive de oleastris, sive de oleis oriantur. Nam et hoc, si ut respondeat, rustico proponatur, quae causa sit ut cum aliud sit olea, aliud oleaster, non tamen nisi oleaster de semine utroque nascatur; non omittit inserendi operationem, etiamsi non possit istam solvere quaestionem: alioquin dum ex olivae semine exorta virgulta non aliud quam oleas esse existimat, efficit desidia vanitatis ut totus ille ager amara sterilitate silvescat.

45. Nam illud quod excogitaverunt, cum veritatis pondere premerentur, quia fidelis Dominus in verbis suis, et propterea ejus Ecclesia nullo modo fallaciter parvulos in remissionem peccatorum baptizat, sed ut fide agatur quod agitur, utique fit quod dicitur: quod ergo excogitaverunt, cum haec eos apertissima moles veritatis urgeret, quis non christianus irrideat, quamlibet versutissimum cernat? Dicunt enim, Veraciter quidem respondere parvulos per ora gestantium, in remissionem se credere peccatorum, non tamen quia sibi remittantur, sed quia credant quod in Ecclesia vel in Baptismo remittantur, in quibus inveniuntur, non in quibus nulla sunt: Ac per hoc nolunt eos ita baptizari in remissionem peccatorum tanquam in eis fiat ipsa remissio, quos contendunt nullum habere peccatum; sed quoniam licet sine peccato, in eo tamen Baptismate baptizantur, quo fit in quibusque peccatoribus remissio peccatorum.

46. Fieri quidem potest ut haec versipellis astutia subtilius et acutius ex otio refellatur. Verumtamen secundum istam suam calliditatem non inveniunt quid ad hoc respondeant, quod exorcizantur, et exsufflantur infantes: hoc enim procul dubio fallaciter fit, si diabolus eis non dominatur; si autem dominatur, et ideo non fallaciter exorcizantur et exsufflantur, per quid dominatur, nisi per peccatum, princeps utique peccatorum?

That indeed they seem to themselves to say most acutely: "How does sin pass into the children of the faithful, which we do not doubt to have been dismissed in the parents through Baptism?" As if for that reason carnal generation could not have what spiritual regeneration alone takes away: or indeed as if in Baptism the infirmity of the concupiscences of the flesh were healed immediately, just as its guilt is immediately abolished, but by the grace of being born again, not by the condition of being born. Whence whoever through this concupiscence is born even of one born again, will without doubt be a hindrance to the one born, unless he himself is likewise born again. But whatever difficulty there is in this question, it does not so hinder the workers of Christ in His field from baptizing infants for the remission of sins, whether they be born of the faithful or the infidel, just as it does not hinder farmers, in their care of grafting, from converting wild olives into olives, whether they arise from wild olives or from olives. For even this, if it were proposed to a rustic to answer, what the cause is that when an olive is one thing and a wild olive another, yet none but a wild olive is born from either seed; he does not omit the operation of grafting, even if he cannot solve that question: otherwise, while he thinks that the shoots arising from the seed of the olive are nothing else than olives, the sloth of vanity causes that whole field to grow wild with bitter sterility.

For that which they devised when they were pressed by the weight of truth —because the Lord is faithful in His words, and therefore His Church in no way fallaciously baptizes infants for the remission of sins, but so that what is done may be done in faith, what is said certainly happens: what they devised, therefore, when this most open mass of truth urged them, what Christian would not laugh at, however much he perceives it to be most crafty? For they say: "Infants indeed truly answer through the mouths of those carrying them, that they believe in the remission of sins, yet not because they are remitted to them, but because they believe that they are remitted in the Church or in Baptism, in which they are found, not in which there are none": and by this they do not want them to be so baptized for the remission of sins as if that remission itself happens in them, whom they contend have no sin; but since although without sin, they are nevertheless baptized in that Baptism by which the remission of sins happens in all sinners.

46. It may indeed happen that this versatile craftiness be refuted more subtly and acutely at leisure. Nevertheless, according to this their own cunning, they do not find what they should answer to this: that infants are exorcised and breathed upon [exsufflated]: for this is without doubt done fallaciously if the devil does not dominate them; but if he does dominate, and therefore they are not fallaciously exorcised and breathed upon, through what does he dominate, except through sin, the prince surely of sinners?

Proinde si jam erubescunt nec audent dicere haec in Ecclesia mendaciter geri, fateantur, quod perierat, etiam in parvulis quaeri: neque enim nisi propter peccatum perierat, quod nisi per gratiam non potest quaeri, non potest inveniri. Sed Deo gratias, quod saltem cum argumentantur contra remissionem peccatorum, ne fieri credatur in parvulis, jam tamen, quamvis per corda et ora majorum, credere parvulos confitentur. Sicut ergo audiunt Dominum dicentem, Qui non renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, non introibit in regnum coelorum (Joan. III, 5), propter quod eos baptizandos esse concedunt; sic audiant eumdem Dominum dicentem, Qui non crediderit, condemnabitur (Marc. XVI, 16): quia sicut eos renasci per ministerium baptizantium, ita etiam credere per corda et ora confitentium confitentur. Audeant ergo dicere quod a justo Deo innocens condemnabitur, si nullo vinculo peccati originalis innectitur.

47. Si sermo iste prolixus est et onerosus occupationibus tuis, da veniam; quia ut haec ad te scriberem, et occupatus litteris tuis, indicibus erga nos benevolentiae tuae, tecum ista colloquerer, etiam ego vim feci interrumpendis occupationibus meis Si qua illos alia excogitare adversus fidem catholicam scieritis, et quaecumque adversus eos, ne dominici gregis infirma devastent, vos quoque fideli et plane pastorali dilectione disseritis, nota facite nobis. Haereticorum quippe inquietudine, ut Scripturas vigilantius perscrutemur, unde, ne ovili Christi noceant, eis possit occurri, tanquam de somno ignaviae nostra excitatur industria: ita per multiplicem gratiam Salvatoris, etiam quod inimicus in perniciem machinatur, Deus convertit in adjutorium; quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum (Rom. VIII, 28). Semper in Deo vivas memor nostri, frater charissime.

Epistola CXCV.

Hieronymus Augustino, gratulans illi quod haereticorum omnium meruerit odium; quod quidem gaudet sibi cum illo esse commune.

Domino sancto, ac beatissimo papae AUGUSTINO, HIERONYMUS.

Omni quidem tempore Beatitudinem tuam eo quo decet honore veneratus sum, et habitantem in te dilexi Dominum Salvatorem: sed nunc, si fieri potest, cumulo aliquid addimus et plena complemus, ut absque tui nominis mentione ne unam quidem horam praeterire patiamur; qui contra flantes ventos ardore fidei perstitisti, maluistique, quantum in te fuit, solus liberari de Sodomis, quam cum pereuntibus commorari.

Accordingly, if they are already ashamed and do not dare to say that these things are carried on mendaciously in the Church, let them confess that what was lost is sought even in infants: for it had not been lost except on account of sin, and it cannot be sought nor can it be found except through grace. But thanks be to God, because at least when they argue against the remission of sins, lest it be believed to happen in infants, yet now, although through the hearts and mouths of their elders, they confess that infants believe. Therefore, just as they hear the Lord saying, "Unless one is born again of water and the Holy Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven" (John 3:5), for which reason they concede that they are to be baptized; so let them hear the same Lord saying, "He who does not believe shall be condemned" (Mark 16:16): because just as they confess that they are born again through the ministry of those baptizing, so also they confess that they believe through the hearts and mouths of those confessing. Let them dare therefore to say that an innocent person will be condemned by the just God, if he is entangled by no bond of original sin.

47. If this discourse is prolix and burdensome to your occupations, give pardon; because so that I might write these things to you, and being occupied with your letters, the indices of your benevolence toward us, I might confer with you these things, I also have done violence to my occupations to be interrupted. If you know of any other things which those people devise against the Catholic faith, and whatever you also discuss against them, lest they devastate the weak of the Lord's flock, with faithful and plainly pastoral love, make them known to us. For by the restlessness of heretics, so that we may more vigilantly search the Scriptures, whence they may be met lest they harm the sheepfold of Christ, our industry is excited as if from the sleep of sloth: thus through the manifold grace of the Savior, even what the enemy schemes for destruction, God converts into aid; since for those who love God all things work together for good (Rom. 8:28). May you always live in God, mindful of us, dearest brother.

Letter CXCV.

Jerome to Augustine, congratulating him that he has deserved the hatred of all heretics; which indeed he rejoices to have in common with him.

To the holy and most blessed pope AUGUSTINE, JEROME.

At all times indeed have I venerated your Beatitude with the honor which is fitting, and I have loved the Lord the Savior dwelling in you: but now, if it can be done, we add something to the heap and complete the full [measure], so that we do not suffer even one hour to pass without mention of your name; you who have persisted with the ardor of faith against blowing winds, and have preferred, as much as was in you, to be liberated alone from Sodom, than to tarry with those who are perishing.

Scit quid dicam prudentia tua. Macte virtute; in orbe celebraris, Catholici te conditorem antiquae rursum fidei venerantur atque suspiciunt, et quod signum majoris gloriae est, omnes haeretici detestantur: et me pari persequuntur odio; ut quos gladiis nequeunt, voto interficiant. Incolumem, et nei memorem te Christi Domini clementia tueatur, domine venerande, et beatissime papa.

EPISTOLA CXCVI . Augustinus Asellico episcopo, docens quae sit utilitas Mosaicae legis, quam Judaeorum more observare non licet Christianis: hos enim vere esse Israelitas juxta sensum spiritualem; attamen istud nomen vulgo ipsis imponendum non esse. Pelagianos obiter notat in damnabilem Judaismum incidisse.

Domino beatissimo fratri et coepiscopo ASELLICO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Litteras Sanctitatis tuae, quas ad venerabilem senem Donatianum de cavendi Judaismi disceptatione misisti, ad me ipse dignatus est mittere, atque ut eis responderem, petendo vehementius imperavit: quem veritus contemnere, ut possum Domino adjuvante respondeo; gratum existimans etiam Charitati tuae, quod ad te scribendo, illi jubenti, quem pro suis meritis ambo veneramur, obtemperare non renui.

2. Christianos, maxime ex Gentibus venientes, judaizare non oportere Paulus apostolus docet, ubi ait, Dixi Petro coram omnibus, Si tu, cum sis Judaeus, gentiliter et non judaice vivis, quemadmodum Gentes cogis judaizare? Et secutus adjunxit: Nos natura Judaei, et non ex Gentibus peccatores. Scientes autem quoniam non justificatur homo ex operibus Legis, nisi per fidem Jesu Christi, et nos in Jesu Christo credidimus, ut justificemur per fidem Christi, et non ex operibus Legis; quoniam ex operibus Legis non justificabitur omnis caro (Galat. II, 14-16).

3. Non solum autem illa opera Legis, quae sunt in veteribus sacramentis, et nunc revelato Testamento Novo non observantur a Christianis, sicuti est circumcisio praeputii, et sabbati carnalis vacatio, et a quibusdam escis abstinentia, et pecorum in sacrificiis immolatio, et neomenia, et azymum, et caetera hujusmodi; verum etiam illud quod in Lege dictum est, Non concupisces (Exod. XX, 17) (quod utique et Christianis nullus ambigit esse dicendum), non justificat hominem nisi per fidem Jesu Christi et gratiam Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

Your prudence knows what I say. Be strong in virtue; you are celebrated in the world, the Catholics venerate and look up to you as the restorer of the ancient faith again, and what is a sign of greater glory, all heretics detest you: and they pursue me with equal hatred; so that whom they cannot with swords, they may kill with a wish. May the clemency of Christ the Lord keep you unharmed and mindful of me, venerable lord and most blessed pope.

LETTER CXCVI. Augustine to Asellicus the bishop, teaching what is the utility of the Mosaic law, which it is not permitted for Christians to observe in the manner of the Jews: for these are truly Israelites according to the spiritual sense; nevertheless that name is not to be commonly imposed upon them. He notes in passing that the Pelagians have fallen into damnable Judaism.

To the most blessed lord brother and co-bishop ASELLICUS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. Your Holiness's letters, which you sent to the venerable old man Donatian concerning the dispute of avoiding Judaism, he himself has deigned to send to me, and he more vehemently commanded by asking that I should respond to them: whom having feared to despise, I respond as I can with the Lord helping; thinking it also pleasing to your Charity that by writing to you, I have not refused to comply with him who commands, whom we both venerate for his merits.

2. That Christians, especially those coming from the Gentiles, ought not to judaize, the Apostle Paul teaches where he says: "I said to Peter before all: If you, being a Jew, live like the Gentiles and not like the Jews, how do you compel the Gentiles to judaize?" And following he added: "We who are Jews by nature, and not sinners from the Gentiles. But knowing that a man is not justified from the works of the Law, except through the faith of Jesus Christ, we also have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified through the faith of Christ, and not from the works of the Law; since from the works of the Law shall no flesh be justified" (Gal. 2:14-16).

3. But not only those works of the Law which are in the old sacraments, and now the New Testament having been revealed are not observed by Christians—such as the circumcision of the foreskin, and the carnal vacation of the sabbath, and abstinence from certain foods, and the immolation of cattle in sacrifices, and the new moon, and the unleavened bread, and other things of this kind; but even that which was said in the Law, "You shall not covet" (Exod. 20:17) (which indeed no one doubts must be said to Christians also), does not justify a man except through the faith of Jesus Christ and the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Idem ipse quippe dicit apostolus: Quid ergo dicemus? Lex peccatum est? Absit. Sed peccatum non cognovi, nisi per Legem: nam concupiscentiam nesciebam, nisi Lex diceret, Non concupisces. Occasione autem accepta, peccatum per mandatum operatum est in me omnem concupiscentiam. Sine Lege enim peccatum mortuum est. Ego autem vivebam aliquando sine Lege. Adveniente autem mandato peccatum revixit. Ego autem mortuus sum; et inventum est mihi mandatum quod erat in vitam, hoc esse in mortem. Peccatum enim occasione accepta per mandatum fefellit me, et per illud occidit. Itaque Lex quidem sancta, et mandatum sanctum et justum et bonum. Quod ergo bonum est, mihi factum est mors? Absit. Sed peccatum ut appareat peccatum, per bonum mihi operatum est mortem; ut fiat supra modum peccatum peccans per mandatum. Scimus enim quia Lex spiritualis est; ego autem carnalis sum, venumdatus sub peccato. Quod enim operor, ignoro; non enim quod volo hoc ago, sed quod odi illud facio. Si autem quod nolo hoc facio, consentio Legi, quoniam bona est (Rom. VII, 7-16).

4. Videmus itaque in his apostolicis verbis Legem non solum non esse peccatum, sed etiam esse sanctam, et mandatum sanctum et justum et bonum, quo dictum est, Non concupisces. Sed peccatum per bonum fallit, et per illud occidit eos qui cum sint carnales, putant suis viribus Legem spiritualem se posse complere; et per hoc fiunt non solum peccatores, quod essent, etiamsi Legem non accepissent, sed etiam praevaricatores, quod non essent nisi Legem accepissent: sic enim alio loco dicit, Ubi Lex non est, nec praevaricatio (Id. IV, 15). Lex ergo subintravit, sicut alibi ipse testatur, ut abundaret delictum. Ubi autem abundavit delictum superabundavit et gratia (Id., V, 20).

CAPUT II.

5. Haec est igitur utilitas Legis, quia ostendit hominem sibi ipsi, ut sciat infirmitatem suam et videat quemadmodum per prohibitionem augeatur potius carnalis concupiscentia quam sanetur. Appetuntur enim ardentius quae vetantur, dum id quod spiritualiter jubetur, carnalis observare compellitur. Ut autem sit spiritualis, qui Legem impleat spiritualem, non fit ipsa Lege, sed gratia; hoc est, non imperio, sed beneficio; non jubente littera, sed juvante Spiritu.

For the same Apostle himself says: "What shall we say then? Is the Law sin? Far from it. But I did not know sin except through the Law: for I did not know concupiscence unless the Law said, You shall not covet. But sin, taking occasion through the commandment, wrought in me all concupiscence. For without the Law sin was dead. But I was once alive without the Law. But the commandment coming, sin revived. But I died; and the commandment which was unto life, was found to be unto death to me. For sin, taking occasion through the commandment, deceived me, and through it killed me. Therefore the Law indeed is holy, and the commandment holy and just and good. That which is good, therefore, was it made death to me? Far from it. But sin, that sin might appear, wrought death to me through that which is good; that sin through the commandment might become exceeding sinful. For we know that the Law is spiritual; but I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I work, I know not; for not what I will do I do, but what I hate, that I do. But if I do that which I will not, I consent to the Law, that it is good" (Rom. 7:7-16).

4. We see therefore in these apostolic words that the Law is not only not sin, but also is holy, and the commandment holy and just and good, by which it was said, "You shall not covet." But sin through that which is good deceives, and through it kills those who, since they are carnal, think that by their own strengths they can fulfill the spiritual Law; and through this they become not only sinners, which they would be even if they had not received the Law, but even prevaricators, which they would not be unless they had received the Law: for thus in another place he says: "Where there is no Law, neither is there prevarication" (Id. 4:15). "The Law therefore entered in," as he himself elsewhere witnesses, "that sin might abound. But where sin abounded, grace did superabound" (Id. 5:20).

CHAPTER II.

5. This is therefore the utility of the Law: that it shows man to himself, so that he may know his own infirmity and see how through prohibition carnal concupiscence is rather increased than healed. For those things which are forbidden are more ardently sought, while a carnal person is compelled to observe that which is commanded spiritually. But that he should be spiritual, who may fulfill the spiritual Law, does not happen by the Law itself, but by grace; that is, not by command, but by benefit; not by the commanding letter, but by the helping Spirit.

Incipit autem homo secundum gratiam in interiori homine renovari (II Cor., IV, 16), ut mente agat quod amat, nec carni consentiat agenti quod odit; id est, non ut omnino non concupiscat, sed ut post concupiscentias suas non eat. Quod quidem tam magnum est, ut si omni modo fieret, et quamvis insint, dum sumus in corpore mortis hujus, desideria peccati, si nulli eorum tamen adhiberemus assensum, non esset unde diceremus Patri nostro qui est in coelis: Dimitte nobis debita nostra (Matth. VI, 12). Nec tamen ideo tales jam essemus, quales erimus cum mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem: tunc enim non solum nulli desiderio peccati obediemus, sed nulla erunt desideria talia, quibus non obedire jubeamur.

6. Nunc ergo ubi dicitur, Jam non ego operor illud, sed id quod in me habitat peccatum (Rom. VII, 17), de concupiscentia carnis dicitur, quae operatur in nobis motus suos, etiam quando eis non obedimus, dum non regnat peccatum in nostro mortali corpore ad obediendum desideriis ejus, nec exhibemus membra nostra arma iniquitatis peccato (Id., VI, 12, 13): in qua justitia nondum consummata perseveranter proficientes, ad ejus consummationem quandoque veniemus, ubi peccati concupiscentia non cohibenda atque frenanda, sed nulla sit. Hoc enim Lex posuit dicendo, Non concupisces, non quod hic valeamus, sed ad quod proficiendo tendamus. Verum hoc fit non Lege quae hoc imperat, sed fide quae hoc impetrat; non littera qua jubetur, sed Spiritu quo donatur: non ergo meritis operantis hominis, sed largientis gratia Salvatoris. Utilitas itaque Legis est, ut hominem de sua infirmitate convincat, et gratiae medicinam quae in Christo est, implorare compellat. Omnis enim qui invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit (Joel II, 32, et Act. II, 21). Quomodo ergo invocabunt, in quem non crediderunt? quomodo credent, quem non audierunt? Unde paulo post dicit: Igitur fides ex auditu; auditus autem per verbum Christi.

7. Quae cum ita sint, qui se Israelitas esse carnaliter gaudent, et praeter gratiam Christi, in Lege gloriantur, ii sunt de quibus item Apostolus ait quod ignorantes Dei justitiam, et suam volentes constituere, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti (Rom. X, 14, 17, 3). Dei quippe dixit justitiam, quae homini ex Deo est; suam vero, quam putant sibi sufficere ad facienda mandata sine adjutorio et dono ejus qui Legem dedit.

But a man begins to be renewed in the inner man according to grace (2 Cor. 4:16), so that he may do with his mind what he loves, nor consent to the flesh doing what he hates; that is, not that he should not cubit at all, but that he should not go after his own concupiscences. Which indeed is so great that if it happened in every way —and although the desires of sin are in us while we are in this body of death, if we nevertheless yielded assent to none of them—there would be no reason for us to say to our Father who is in heaven: "Forgive us our debts" (Matt. 6:12). Nor yet for that reason would we already be such as we shall be when this mortal shall have put on immortality: for then we shall not only obey no desire of sin, but there will be no such desires which we are commanded not to obey.

Now therefore where it is said, "Now then it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwells in me" (Rom. 7:17), it is said concerning the concupiscence of the flesh, which works its own movements in us even when we do not obey them, as long as sin does not reign in our mortal body to obey its desires, nor do we yield our members as weapons of iniquity to sin (Id. 6:12, 13): in which justice, not yet consummated, perseveringly profiting, we shall at some time come to its consummation, where the concupiscence of sin is not to be restrained and bridled, but shall be none. For the Law posed this by saying, "You shall not covet," not that we are able to do this here, but that to which by profiting we should tend. But this happens not by the Law which commands this, but by faith which impetrates this; not by the letter by which it is commanded, but by the Spirit by which it is given: therefore not by the merits of the working man, but by the grace of the bestowing Savior. The utility of the Law is therefore that it may convict man of his own infirmity, and compel him to implore the medicine of grace which is in Christ. For "whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Joel 2:32, and Acts 2:21). "How then shall they call [on Him] in whom they have not believed? how shall they believe [in Him] whom they have not heard?" Whence a little after he says: "Therefore faith [comes] from hearing; but hearing through the word of Christ."

7. Since these things are so, they who rejoice carnally that they are Israelites, and apart from the grace of Christ glory in the Law, are those concerning whom likewise the Apostle says that "being ignorant of the justice of God, and wanting to establish their own, they are not subject to the justice of God" (Rom. 10:14, 17, 3). For he said the justice of God [to be] that which is to man from God; but his own, which they think suffices for them for doing the commandments without the help and gift of Him who gave the Law.

His autem similes sunt qui cum profiteantur se esse christianos, ipsi gratiae Christi sic adversantur, ut se humanis viribus divina existiment implere mandata; ac sic etiam ipsi ignorantes Dei justitiam, et suam volentes constituere, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti, et non quidem nomine, sed tamen errore judaizant. Hoc genus hominum capita sibi invenerat Pelagium et Celestium, impietatis hujus assertores acerrimos. qui recenti judicio Dei per diligentes et fideles servos ejus etiam catholica communione privati sunt, et propter cor impoenitens adhuc in sua damnatione persistunt.

8. Quisquis ab isto carnali et animali, atque ideo non immerito reprehensibili atque damnabili Judaismo esse quaerit alienus, non solum veteres illas observationes a se facere debet alienas, quae jam revelato Testamento Novo, posteaquam venerunt ea quae per illas significabantur esse futura, procul dubio esse necessariae destiterunt, ut non judicetur in cibo et potu, et in parte diei festi et neomeniae et sabbatorum, quod est umbra futurorum (Coloss. II, 16, 17): verum etiam illa quae in Lege ita praecepta sunt, ut valeant ad informandos mores fidelium (id est, ut abnegantes impietatem et saeculares cupiditates, temperanter et juste et pie vivamus in hoc saeculo [Tit. II, 12]; unde est etiam hoc quod ex Lege maxime commendandum elegit Apostolus, Non concupisces, et quaecumque de Deo et proximo diligendo sine ullis figuris sacramentorum praecipiuntur in Lege, in quibus duobus praeceptis etiam ipse Dominus Christus dicit totam Legem Prophetasque pendere [Matth. XXII, 40]), sic accipit, sic amplectitur, sic observanda esse non dubitat, ut quidquid in eis proficit non sibi tribuat, sed gratiae Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

CAPUT III.

9. Verumtamen cum quisque isto modo fuerit verus germanusque Christianus, utrum etiam Judaeus aut Israelita dicendus sit, merito quaeritur. Quod quidem si non carne, sed spiritu hoc esse intelligitur, non debet ipsum nomen sibi in consuetudine sermonis imponere, sed spirituali intelligentia retinere, ne propter ambiguitatem vocabuli, quam non discernit quotidiana locutio, illud profiteri videatur quod est inimicum nomini christiano.

But similar to these are they who, although they profess themselves to be Christians, are so adverse to the grace of Christ that they think they fulfill the divine commandments by human strengths; and thus they also, being ignorant of the justice of God and wanting to establish their own, are not subject to the justice of God, and indeed not in name, but yet in error, they judaize. This kind of men had found for themselves as heads Pelagius and Celestius, the most sharp assertors of this impiety: who by a recent judgment of God through His diligent and faithful servants have been deprived even of Catholic communion, and on account of an impenitent heart they still persist in their condemnation.

8. Whoever seeks to be alien from that carnal and animal, and therefore not undeservedly reprehensible and damnable Judaism, ought to make alien from himself not only those old observations which, now the New Testament having been revealed, after those things arrived which were signified through them as to be future, without doubt ceased to be necessary, so that he is not judged in food and drink, and in part of a feast day and new moon and sabbaths, which is a shadow of things to come (Col. 2:16, 17): but even those things which are so commanded in the Law that they avail for informing the morals of the faithful (that is, "that denying impiety and worldly desires, we should live temperately and justly and piously in this age" [Tit. 2:12]; whence also is this which the Apostle chose as most to be commended from the Law, "You shall not covet," and whatever things concerning loving God and neighbor are commanded in the Law without any figures of sacraments, in which two commandments even the Lord Christ himself says all the Law and the Prophets hang [Matt. 22:40]), he so receives, so embraces, so doubts not that they are to be observed, that whatever he profits in them he attributes not to himself, but to the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

CHAPTER III.

9. Nevertheless, when anyone shall have been in this manner a true and genuine Christian, whether he is also to be called a Jew or an Israelite is deservedly asked. Which indeed if it is understood to be so not in the flesh but in the spirit, he ought not to impose that name upon himself in the custom of speech, but to retain it with spiritual understanding, lest on account of the ambiguity of the word, which everyday speech does not discern, he should seem to profess that which is inimical to the Christian name.

Hanc autem quaestionem, id est, utrum qui Christianus est, etiam Judaeus vel Israelita possit intelligi, idem beatus nobis aperit et dissolvit apostolus, ubi dicit: Circumcisio quidem prodest, si Legem custodias: si autem praevaricator Legis sis, circumcisio tua praeputium facta est. Si igitur praeputium justitias Legis custodiat, nonne praeputium ejus in circumcisionem reputabitur, et judicabit quod ex natura est praeputium, Legem perficiens, te qui per litteram et circumcisionem praevaricator Legis es? Non enim qui in manifesto Judaeus est, neque quae in manifesto in carne est circumcisio; sed qui in abscondito Judaeus est, et circumcisio cordis, quae spiritu est, non littera, cujus laus non ex hominibus, sed ex Deo est (Rom. II, 25, 29). Cum igitur audiamus Apostolum Christi commendantem nobis Judaeum in abscondito, non carnis circumcisione, sed cordis, et spiritu, non littera; quis est iste, nisi Christianus?

10. Sic itaque sumus Judaei, non carnaliter, sed spiritualiter, quemadmodum sumus semen Abrahae non secundum carnem, sicut illi qui de ipso nomine carnali superbia gloriantur, sed secundum spiritum fidei, quod non illi. Scimus enim nos fuisse promissos, quando ei dixit Deus: Patrem multarum gentium posui te (Gen. XVII, 4). Et quam multa de hac re dicat Apostolus novimus. Dicimus enim, inquit, quoniam deputata est Abrahae fides ad justitiam. Quomodo ergo deputata est? cum in circumcisione esset, an cum esset in praeputio? Non in circumcisione, sed in praeputio. Et signum accepit circumcisionis, signaculum justitiae fidei, quae est in praeputio: ut sit pater omnium credentium per praeputium, ut deputetur et illis ad justitiam; ut sit pater circumcisionis, non iis solum qui ex circumcisione sunt, sed et iis qui sequuntur vestigia fidei, quae est in praeputio patris nostri Abraham. Ideo, inquit, ex fide, ut secundum gratiam firma sit promissio omni semini; non ei tantum quod ex Lege est, sed et ei quod ex fide est Abraham, qui est pater omnium nostrum, sicut scriptum est, Quia patrem multarum gentium posui te (Rom. IV, 9-17). Item ad Galatas: Sicut Abraham, inquit, credidit Deo, et deputatum est illi ad justitiam. Intelligite ergo quoniam qui ex fide, hi sunt filii Abraham. Providens autem Scriptura quia ex fide justificat gentes Deus, praenuntiavit Abrahae, Quia benedicentur in te omnes gentes: ita ut qui ex fide sunt, benedicantur cum fideli Abraham. Jam aliquanto post in eadem Epistola: Fratres, inquit, secundum hominem dico; tamen hominis confirmatum testamentum nemo irritum facit aut superordinat. Abrahae dictae sunt promissiones et semini ejus. Non dicit, Et seminibus, tanquam in multis; sed tanquam in uno, Et semini tuo, quod est Christus. Item paulo post: Omnes enim vos, inquit, unum estis in Christo Jesu; si autem vos estis Christi, ergo Abrahae semen estis, secundum promissionem haeredes (Galat. III, 6-29).

But this question, that is, whether he who is a Christian can also be understood as a Jew or an Israelite, the same blessed Apostle opens and dissolves for us, where he says: "Circumcision indeed profits if you keep the Law: but if you be a prevaricator of the Law, your circumcision is made uncircumcision. If therefore uncircumcision should keep the justices of the Law, shall not his uncircumcision be reputed as circumcision, and shall not that which is by nature uncircumcision, fulfilling the Law, judge you who through the letter and circumcision are a prevaricator of the Law? For not he who is a Jew in manifest [is a Jew], nor is that circumcision which is manifest in the flesh; but he who is a Jew in secret [is a Jew], and the circumcision of the heart, which is in the spirit, not in the letter, whose praise is not from men, but from God" (Rom. 2:25-29). Since therefore we hear the Apostle of Christ commending to us a Jew in secret, not by the circumcision of the flesh, but of the heart, and in the spirit, not the letter; who is this, except a Christian?

10. So thus are we Jews, not carnally but spiritually, just as we are the seed of Abraham not according to the flesh, as they who glory in that same name with carnal pride, but according to the spirit of faith, which they do not. For we know that we were promised, when God said to him: "I have placed you as a father of many nations" (Gen. 17:4). And how many things the Apostle says concerning this matter, we know. "For we say," he says, "that faith was reputed to Abraham for justice." How then was it reputed? when he was in circumcision, or when he was in uncircumcision? Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision. And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the justice of faith, which is in uncircumcision: that he might be the father of all who believe through uncircumcision, that it might be reputed to them also for justice; that he might be the father of circumcision, not only to those who are from circumcision, but also to those who follow the footsteps of the faith which is in the uncircumcision of our father Abraham." And a little after: "Therefore," he says, "it is from faith, that according to grace the promise might be firm to all seed; not to that only which is from the Law, but also to that which is from the faith of Abraham, who is the father of all of us, as it is written: Because I have placed you as a father of many nations" (Rom. 4:9-17). Likewise to the Galatians: "Just as Abraham," he says, "believed God, and it was reputed to him for justice." Understand therefore that they who are from faith, these are the children of Abraham. But the Scripture foreseeing that God justifies the nations from faith, foretold to Abraham: Because in you shall all nations be blessed: so that they who are from faith are blessed with faithful Abraham." Already somewhat after in the same Epistle: "Brethren," he says, "I speak according to man; yet no one makes void or adds to a confirmed testament of a man." The promises were spoken to Abraham and to his seed. He does not say, And to seeds, as in many; but as in one, And to your seed, which is Christ." Likewise a little after: "For all of you," he says, "are one in Christ Jesus; but if you are Christ's, therefore you are the seed of Abraham, heirs according to the promise" (Gal. 3:6-29).

11. Secundum istum ergo intellectum apostolicum inveniuntur Judaei qui Christiani non sunt, cum ex carne Abrahae originem ducant, non esse filii Abrahae. Cum enim dicit, Intelligite ergo quoniam qui ex fide, hi sunt filii Abrahae; profecto significat eos qui ex fide non sunt, non esse filios Abrahae. Ac per hoc, nisi Judaeis eo modo sit pater Abraham, quomodo est nobis, quid eis prodest, quod de carne ejus exorti sunt, et nomen sine virtute tenuerunt? Cum autem ad Christum transeunt, et incipiunt esse ex fide filii Abrahae, tunc erunt Judaei, non in manifesto, sed in abscondito, circumcisione cordis; spiritu, non littera; quorum laus non sit ex hominibus, sed ex Deo. Ab hac autem fide alienati, in ramis fractis deputabuntur ex illa olea in cujus radicem idem dicit apostolus inseri oleastrum, id est gentes (Rom. XI, 16-25); quod utique non fit per carnem, sed per fidem; neque per Legem, sed per gratiam; nec per litteram, sed per spiritum; neque carnis circumcisione, sed cordis; nec in manifesto, sed in abscondito; nec laude ex hominibus, sed ex Deo: ut sit unusquisque Christianus, sicut non carnalis sed spiritualis Abrahae filius; ita non carnalis sed spiritualis Judaeus, nec carnalis sed spiritualis Israelita. Nam et de isto nomine sic Apostolus loquitur: Non enim omnes qui ex Israel, hi sunt Israel: neque qui sunt semen Abraham, omnes filii; sed in Isaac vocabitur tibi semen: hoc est, non ii qui filii carnis, hi filii Dei, sed filii promissionis deputantur in semen (Id. IX, 6-8). Nonne mirabilia magna sunt ista, profundumque mysterium, ut multi ex Israel nati, non sint Israel , et multi non sint filii, cum sint semen Abrahae? Quomodo enim non sunt, quomodo nos sumus? nisi quia non sunt filii promissionis ad Christi gratiam pertinentes, sed filii carnis nomen inane gestantes? Ac per hoc nec illi sunt Israel, sicut sumus nos; nec nos sumus Israel, sicut sunt illi. Nos enim sumus secundum spiritualem regenerationem, illi secundum carnalem generationem.

12. Intuendum est quippe ac discernendum, alium esse Israel qui propter carnem nomen accepit, alium vero qui propter spiritum, rem quae illo nomine significatur, obtinuit. Numquid enim ex Agar ancilla Sarae nati sunt Israelitae? nonne Ismael ex illa natus est, et non Israelitarum, sed Ismaelitarum gentem suo semine propagavit? De Sara namque venit Israel per Isaac, qui ex promissione natus est Abrahae.

11. According to this apostolic understanding, there are found Jews who are not Christians, since they draw their origin from the flesh of Abraham, not to be the children of Abraham. For when he says, "Understand therefore that they who are from faith, these are the children of Abraham"; he surely signifies that those who are not from faith are not the children of Abraham. And by this, unless Abraham be a father to the Jews in that manner in which he is to us, what does it profit them that they have arisen from his flesh, and have held the name without the virtue? But when they pass over to Christ, and begin to be the children of Abraham from faith, then they will be Jews, not in manifest, but in secret, by the circumcision of the heart; in the spirit, not the letter; whose praise is not from men, but from God. But alienated from this faith, they shall be counted as broken branches from that olive tree in whose root the same Apostle says the wild olive, that is, the nations, is grafted (Rom. 11:16-25); which certainly does not happen through the flesh, but through faith; nor through the Law, but through grace; nor through the letter, but through the spirit; nor by the circumcision of the flesh, but of the heart; nor in manifest, but in secret; nor with praise from men, but from God: so that each one may be a Christian, as a child of Abraham not carnal but spiritual; thus a Jew not carnal but spiritual, and an Israelite not carnal but spiritual. For also concerning this name the Apostle speaks thus: "For not all who are from Israel, these are Israel: nor they who are the seed of Abraham, all [are] children; but in Isaac shall your seed be called: that is, not they who are the children of the flesh, these are the children of God, but the children of the promise are counted as the seed" (Id. 9:6-8). Are not those great wonders, and a profound mystery, that many born from Israel are not Israel, and many are not children, although they be the seed of Abraham? For how are they not, how are we [children]? except because they are not children of the promise pertaining to the grace of Christ, but children of the flesh carrying an empty name? And by this neither are they Israel, as we are; nor are we Israel, as they are. For we are according to spiritual regeneration, they according to carnal generation.

12. For it is to be intuited and discerned, that one is Israel who received the name on account of the flesh, but another who obtained the thing which is signified by that name on account of the spirit. For were the Israelites born from Hagar the handmaid of Sarah? was not Ishmael born from her, and he propagated by his seed not the nation of the Israelites, but of the Ishmaelites? For from Sarah came Israel through Isaac, who was born to Abraham from the promise.

Tamen cum secundum propaginem carnis se ita res habeat, venitur ad intellectum spiritualem, et inveniuntur ad Saram non pertinere carnales Israelitae, qui ex illa carnis originem ducunt; et pertinere ad eam potius Christiani, qui non secundum Ismael filii sunt carnis, sed secundum Isaac filii sunt promissionis, non ad ipsius Isaac carnale semen, sed ad spirituale mysterium pertinentes. Ita quippe ad Galatas Apostolus loquitur, Dicite mihi, sub Lege esse volentes, Legem non audistis? Scriptum est enim quod Abraham duos filios habuit, unum de ancilla, et unum de libera. Sed ille quidem qui de ancilla, secundum carnem natus est: qui autem de libera, per repromissionem; quae sunt in allegoria. Haec enim sunt duo Testamenta. Unum quidem a monte Sina, in servitutem generans, quod est Agar: Sina enim mons est in Arabia, qui conjunctus est huic quae nunc est Jerusalem, et servit cum filiis suis. Quae autem sursum est Jerusalem, libera est; quae est mater nostra. Scriptum est enim, Laetare sterilis, quae non paris, erumpe et exclama, quae non parturis; quia multi filii desertae, magis quam ejus quae habet virum. Nos autem, fratres, secundum Isaac promissionis filii sumus. Sed sicut tunc, qui secundum carnem natus fuerat, persequebatur eum qui secundum spiritum, ita et nunc. Sed quid dicit Scriptura? Ejice ancillam et filium ejus; non enim haeres erit filius ancillae cum filio liberae. Nos autem, fratres, non sumus ancillae filii, sed liberae; qua libertate Christus nos liberavit (Galat. IV, 21-31).

13. Ecce secundum istam spiritualem atque apostolicam intelligentiam nos potius pertinemus ad liberam Saram, qui ex illa nullam carnis propaginem trahimus: Judaei autem, qui ex illa carnis propaginem trahunt, ad Agar potius ancillam pertinere monstrantur, de qua carnis propagationem non trahunt. In nepotibus etiam Abrahae et Sarae, id est filiis Isaac et Rebeccae, illis geminis Esau et Jacob, qui postea vocatus est Israel, hoc ipsum magnum et profundum mysterium reperitur. De quo idem apostolus loquens, cum per Isaac promissionis filios commemorasset ad Christi gratiam pertinentes: Non solum autem, inquit, sed et Rebecca ex uno concubitu habens, Isaac patris nostri. Nondum enim natis, nec qui egerint aliquid boni aut mali, ut secundum electionem propositum Dei maneret, non ex operibus, sed ex vocante dictum est ei, Quia major serviet minori; sicut scriptum est, Jacob dilexi, Esau autem odio habui (Rom. IX, 16-13).

Nevertheless, since according to the propagation of the flesh the matter so holds itself, one comes to a spiritual understanding, and carnal Israelites are found not to pertain to Sarah, who draw their origin of the flesh from her; and Christians rather to pertain to her, who are children not according to Ishmael of the flesh, but according to Isaac children of the promise, pertaining not to the carnal seed of Isaac himself, but to the spiritual mystery. For thus to the Galatians the Apostle speaks: "Tell me, you who will to be under the Law, have you not heard the Law? For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one from a handmaid, and one from a free woman. But he indeed who was from the handmaid was born according to the flesh: but he who was from the free woman, through the repromise; which are in allegory. For these are two Testaments. One indeed from Mount Sinai, generating into servitude, which is Hagar: for Sinai is a mountain in Arabia, which is conjoined to this which now is Jerusalem, and serves with her children. But she who is Jerusalem above is free; who is our mother. For it is written: Rejoice, you sterile who do not bear, break forth and exclaim, you who do not travail; because many are the children of the deserted woman, more than of her who has a husband. But we, brethren, according to Isaac are the children of the promise. But just as then, he who had been born according to the flesh persecuted him who was according to the spirit, so also now. But what does the Scripture say? Cast out the handmaid and her son; for the son of the handmaid shall not be heir with the son of the free woman. But we, brethren, are not the children of the handmaid, but of the free woman; with which liberty Christ has liberated us" (Gal. 4:21-31).

13. Behold, according to that spiritual and apostolic understanding, we rather pertain to the free Sarah, who draw no propagation of the flesh from her: but the Jews, who draw a propagation of the flesh from her, are demonstrated rather to pertain to Hagar the handmaid, from whom they do not draw a propagation of the flesh. In the grandsons also of Abraham and Sarah, that is, the sons of Isaac and Rebecca, those twins Esau and Jacob, who was afterwards called Israel, this same great and profound mystery is found. Concerning which the same Apostle speaking, when through Isaac he had commemorated the children of the promise pertaining to the grace of Christ: "And not only so," he says, "but also Rebecca having [twins] from one cohabitation with Isaac our father. For they being not yet born, nor having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might remain, not from works but from him who calls, it was said to her: Because the elder shall serve the younger; as it is written: Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated" (Rom. 9:10-13).

Haec certe doctrina apostolica atque catholica satis evidenter indicat nobis, secundum originem carnis ad Saram Judaeos, id est Israelitas; ad Agar vero Ismaelitas pertinere: secundum autem mysterium spiritus, ad Saram Christianos, ad Agar Judaeos. Item secundum originem carnis ad Esau, qui dictus est etiam Edom, gentem Idumaeorum; ad Jacob autem, qui dictus est etiam Israel, gentem Judaeorum: porro secundum mysterium spiritus, ad Esau Judaeos, ad Israel pertinere Christianos. Ita quippe impletur quod scriptum est, Major serviet minori, id est, prior natus populus Judaeorum posteriori nato populo Christianorum. Ecce quemadmodum sumus Israel adoptione divina, non humana cognatione gloriantes; nec in manifesto, sed in occulto; nec littera, sed spiritu; nec carnis, sed cordis circumcisione Judaei.

CAPUT IV.

14. Quae cum ita se habeant, non tamen debemus consuetudinem sermonis humani inepta loquacitate confundere, et in rebus discernendis frequentata vocabula perturbata significatione miscere, ut eos qui Christiani sunt et appellatione usitatissima Christiani vocantur, inusitato vocabulo aliquis affectet appellare Judaeos; vel cum sit ipse voceturque Christianus, Israelitae potius nomine delectetur; et quod in mysterio debet semper intelligere, parcius autem ore proferre, hoc in quotidiana loquendi consuetudine magis eligat frequentare inepta insolentia, et, si dici potest, imperita scientia. Numquid enim Apostoli, per quos ea didicimus, ista nesciebant, quomodo nos potius simus semen Abrahae secundum Isaac promissionis haeredes; et Judaei spiritu, non littera; cordis circumcisione, non carnis; et non secundum carnem Israel, sed Israel Dei? Sciebant utique ista multo sapientius certiusque quam nos; et tamen in loquendi consuetudine Judaeos et Israelitas eos appellabant, qui secundum carnem de Abrahae stirpe venientes, ab omnibus vocitabantur hoc nomine.

15. Judaei signa petunt, ait apostolus Paulus, et Graeci sapientiam quaerunt: nos autem praedicamus Christum crucifixum, Judaeis quidem scandalum, Gentibus autem stultitiam; ipsis autem vocatis Judaeis et Graecis, Christum Dei Virtutem, et Dei Sapientiam (I Cor. XI, 22-24). Quos dixit Graecos, hos etiam Gentium nomine significavit, eo quod haec lingua maxime excellit in Gentibus: Judaeos tamen ipsos vocavit, quos omnes hoc nomine appellant. Nam si Christiani ipsi sunt Judaei, Christianis est ergo scandalum Christus crucifixus, de quo dictum est: Judaeis quidem scandalum.

This certainly apostolic and Catholic doctrine indicates to us evidently enough, that according to the origin of the flesh the Jews, that is, the Israelites, pertain to Sarah; but to Hagar indeed the Ishmaelites: but according to the mystery of the spirit, Christians pertain to Sarah, [and] the Jews to Hagar. Likewise according to the origin of the flesh the nation of the Edomites pertains to Esau, who was also called Edom; but the nation of the Jews to Jacob, who was also called Israel: furthermore according to the mystery of the spirit, the Jews pertain to Esau, [and] Christians pertain to Israel. For thus is fulfilled that which is written: "The elder shall serve the younger," that is, the prior born people of the Jews to the posterior born people of Christians. Behold in what manner we are Israel by divine adoption, not glorying in human cognation; nor in manifest, but in secret; nor in letter, but in spirit; nor by the circumcision of the flesh, but of the heart, [as] Jews.

CHAPTER IV.

14. Although these things are so, we ought not, however, to confound the custom of human speech with inept loquacity, nor mix, in matters to be distinguished, words in common use with confused meaning, so that someone should affect to call by an unaccustomed term "Jews" those who are Christians and are called Christians by a most customary appellation; or that one who is himself a Christian and is called such should rather delight in the name "Israelite"; and that what he ought always to understand as a mystery, but utter more sparingly with his mouth, he should choose to make more frequent in daily speech, with inept insolence, and, if it may be so said, unskilled knowledge. For did the Apostles, through whom we have learned these things, not know this — how we are rather the seed of Abraham, heirs of the promise according to Isaac; and Jews in spirit, not in letter; by circumcision of the heart, not of the flesh; and not Israel according to the flesh, but the Israel of God? They knew these things, indeed, much more wisely and certainly than we; and yet in the custom of speech they called by the names Jews and Israelites those who, coming according to the flesh from the stock of Abraham, were called by this name by everyone.

15. "The Jews seek signs," says the apostle Paul, "and the Greeks seek wisdom: but we preach Christ crucified, to the Jews indeed a stumbling block, but to the Gentiles foolishness; but to those who are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the Power of God and the Wisdom of God" (I Cor. XI, 22-24). Those whom he called Greeks, these he also signified by the name of Gentiles, because this language excels most among the Gentiles: yet he called Jews themselves those whom all call by this name. For if Christians themselves are Jews, then Christ crucified is a stumbling block to Christians, of whom it was said: "to the Jews indeed a stumbling block."

Quis hoc nisi insanissimus sentiat? Item dicit: Sine offensione estote Judaeis et Graecis et Ecclesiae Dei (Id. X, 32). Quomodo ista distingueret, si et Ecclesiam Dei in quotidiana loquendi consuetudine Judaeos appellare deberet? Item ait: Quos et vocavit nos, non solum ex Judaeis, sed etiam ex Gentibus. Quomodo vocavit ex Judaeis, si potius ex non Judaeis vocavit, ut essent Judaei? Item de Israelitis: Quid ergo dicemus? inquit: Quia gentes quae non sectabantur 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 quasi ex operibus: offenderunt enim in lapidem offensionis (Rom. IX, 24, 30-32). Item: Ad Israel autem quid dicit? Tota die extendi manus meas ad populum non credentem et contradicentem (Id. X, 21). Et secutus adjungit: Dico ergo, Numquid repulit Deus plebem suam? Absit. Nam et ego Israelita sum, ex semine Abrahae de tribu Benjamin. Non repulit Deus plebem suam, quam praescivit (Id. XI, 1, 2). Quomodo hic appellavit Apostolus Israel non credentem et contradicentem, si Christiani sunt Israel, vel quomodo se appellavit Israelitam? Numquid ex eo quod Christianus factus erat? Non utique; sed ex eo quod secundum carnem fuerat ex semine Abraham, de tribu Benjamin; quod non sumus nos secundum carnem, quamvis secundum fidem simus semen Abrahae, ac per hoc et Israel. Sed aliud est quod agnoscit altioris intelligentia sacramenti, aliud quod exposcit quotidiana consuetudo vocabuli

16. Denique Aptus iste nescio quis, de quo scripsisti quod doceat judaizare Christianos, eo modo se, sicut insinuavit Sanctitas tua, Judaeum et Israelitam vocat, ut ab escis prohibeat, a quibus pro temporis illius congruentia Lex per sanctum famulum Dei Moysen data prohibebat, et caeteras illius temporis observationes, jam nunc apud Christianos abolitas remotasque, persuadeat; quas umbras futurorum appellat Apostolus (Coloss. II, 16, 17), ut et prophetia in illis intelligatur, et eorum observatio jam evacuata monstretur: unde apparet quare se iste Aptus velit Israelitam Judaeumque vocitari, non spiritualiter, sed omnino carnaliter. Nos autem nec illis observationibus, quae Novo Testamento revelato evacuatae sunt, tenemur obstricti, et praecepta Legis, huic etiam tempori necessaria, qualia sunt, Non adulterabis, Non homicidium facies, Non concupisces (Exod. XX, 13-17),

Who but a most insane man would think this? Likewise he says: "Be without offense to Jews and to Greeks and to the Church of God" (Id. X, 32). How would he distinguish these, if he ought also to call the Church of God "Jews" in the daily custom of speech? Likewise he says: "whom he also called us, not only from among the Jews, but also from among the Gentiles." How did he call from among the Jews, if he rather called from among non-Jews, that they might become Jews? Likewise concerning the Israelites: "What then shall we say?" he says: "That the Gentiles who were not pursuing justice, apprehended justice; but the justice which is of faith." But Israel, pursuing the law of justice, did not arrive at the law of justice. Why? Because not from faith, but as it were from works: for they stumbled at the stone of stumbling (Rom. IX, 24, 30-32). Likewise: "But to Israel what does he say?" "All day long I have stretched out my hands to a people not believing and contradicting" (Id. X, 21). And following he adds: "I say then, has God cast away his people?" By no means. "For I too am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin." "God has not cast away his people, whom he foreknew" (Id. XI, 1, 2). How did the Apostle here call Israel not believing and contradicting, if Christians are Israel, or how did he call himself an Israelite? Was it perhaps because he had become a Christian? Not at all; but because he had been, according to the flesh, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin; which we are not according to the flesh, although according to faith we are the seed of Abraham, and through this also Israel. But one thing is what the understanding of a higher mystery recognizes, another is what the daily custom of the word demands.

16. Finally, that Aptus, whoever he is, concerning whom you wrote that he teaches Christians to Judaize, calls himself a Jew and an Israelite in such a way, as your Holiness has intimated, that he prohibits from foods, from which according to the congruence of that time the Law given through the holy servant of God Moses prohibited, and persuades to the other observations of that time, already now abolished and removed among Christians; which the Apostle calls shadows of things to come (Col. 2:16, 17), so that both prophecy may be understood in them, and their observation may be shown to be already made void: whence it appears why that Aptus wishes to be called an Israelite and a Jew, not spiritually, but entirely carnally. But we are not held bound by those observations, which were made void by the New Testament being revealed, and the precepts of the Law, necessary even for this time, such as, "Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not do murder, Thou shalt not covet" (Ex. 20:13-17),

et si quod est aliud mandatum, quod in hoc sermone recapitulatur, Diliges proximum tuum tanquam teipsum (Rom. XIII, 9); non viribus humanis, quasi nostram constituentes justitiam, sed gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, in ea justitia, quae nobis ab illo est, observanda esse didicimus et docemus. Nec tamen ideo nos negamus semen Abrahae, quibus dicit Apostolus, Vos ergo Abrahae semen estis (Galat. III, 29); aut Judaeos in abscondito, de qualibus idem dicit, Non enim qui in manifesto Judaeus est, neque quae in manifesto in carne est circumcisio; sed qui in abscondito Judaeus est, et circumcisio cordis, quae est spiritu, non littera, cujus laus non ex hominibus, sed ex Deo est (Rom. II, 28, 29); aut Israelitas spirituales, ad eum scilicet pertinentes cui minori praedictum est serviturum esse majorem: sed haec vocabula nobis non indecenter imponimus; eaque mysteriorum intelligentia continemus, non verborum insolentia ventilamus.

Epistola CXCVII.

Augustinus Hesychio Salonitano episcopo, de die supremo mundi non inquirendo, deque Hebdomadibus Danielis.

Domino beatissimo HESYCHIO , AUGUSTINUS.

1. Ad Sanctitatem tuam filio tuo compresbytero nostro remeante Cornuto , per quem litteras tuae Venerationis accepi, quibus exiguitatem meam visitare dignatus es, tandem rescripta persolvo, et debitum resalutationis obsequium, multum me commendans acceptissimis Domino precibus tuis, domine beatissime frater. De propheticis autem dictis sive praedictis, de quibus voluisti ut aliquid scriberem, melius mihi visum est sancti Hieronymi hominis doctissimi expositiones eorumdem verborum (ne illas forte non habeas) de opusculis ejus excerptas dirigere Beatitudini tuae. Si autem jam eas habebas, nec inquisitioni tuae satisfaciebant, quid de his sentias, peto mihi rescribere non graveris; et quemadmodum ipse eadem prophetica oracula intelligas. Ego enim maxime illud de Hebdomadibus Danielis secundum tempus quod jam transactum est, intelligendum puto: nam de Salvatoris adventu, qui exspectatur in fine, tempora dinumerare non audeo; nec aliquem prophetam de hac re numerum annorum existimo praefiniisse, sed illud potius praevalere, quod ipse Dominus ait, Nemo potest cognoscere tempora, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate (Act. I, 7).

and if there is any other commandment, which is recapitulated in this word, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Rom. 13:9); not by human forces, as if establishing our own justice, but by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord, in that justice which is from him to us, we have learned and do teach that they are to be observed. Nor yet on that account do we deny that we are the seed of Abraham, to whom the Apostle says, "You therefore are the seed of Abraham" (Gal. 3:29); or Jews in secret, concerning such as the same says, "For he is not a Jew who is one manifestly, nor is that circumcision which is manifest in the flesh; but he is a Jew who is one in secret, and the circumcision of the heart, which is in spirit, not in letter, whose praise is not from men, but from God" (Rom. 2:28, 29); or spiritual Israelites, pertaining namely to him to whom it was foretold that the elder should serve the younger: but these terms we do not indecently impose upon ourselves; and we contain them by the intelligence of mysteries, not ventilate them by the insolence of words.

Letter CXCVII.

Augustine to Hesychius, bishop of Salona, concerning not inquiring about the last day of the world, and concerning the Weeks of Daniel.

To the most blessed lord HESYCHIUS, AUGUSTINE.

1. To your Holiness, our son and fellow-priest Cornutus returning, through whom I received the letters of your Veneration, by which you deigned to visit my insignificance, I at last pay back my reply, and the due service of re-salutation, much commending myself to your prayers most acceptable to the Lord, most blessed lord brother. But concerning the prophetic things said or foretold, concerning which you wished that I should write something, it seemed better to me to direct to your Beatitude the expositions of those same words by the most learned man Saint Jerome (lest perchance you do not have them) excerpted from his works. If however you already had them, and they did not satisfy your inquiry, I ask that you do not think it a burden to write back to me what you feel concerning these; and in what manner you yourself understand those same prophetic oracles. For I think that that concerning the Weeks of Daniel is especially to be understood according to the time which has already passed: for concerning the coming of the Savior, which is expected at the end, I do not dare to number the times; nor do I think any prophet has pre-defined a number of years concerning this thing, but that that rather prevails, which the Lord himself says: "No one can know the times, which the Father has put in his own power" (Acts 1:7).

2. Quod enim in alio loco ait, De die autem illa et hora nemo scit (Matth. XXIV, 36), sunt qui sic accipiunt, ut putent se posse computare tempora; diem vero tantummodo ipsum et horam neminem scire: ubi omitto dicere quemadmodum soleant Scripturae diem vel horam etiam pro tempore ponere. Sed certe illud de ignorantia temporum apertissime dictum est. Nam cum hinc Dominus interrogatus esset a discipulis suis: Nemo, inquit, potest cognoscere tempora, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate. Non enim dixit, Diem, vel, Horam, sed, tempora; quae in brevi spatio non solent diei, sicut dies vel hora, maxime si graecum intueamur eloquium, ex qua lingua in nostram eumdem librum, ubi hoc scriptum est, scimus esse translatum; quamvis latine satis exprimi non potuerit. Ibi enim graece legitur, χρόνους ἢ καιρούς. Nostri autem utrumque hoc verbum tempora appellant, sive χρόνους, sive καιροὺς, cum habeant haec duo inter se non negligendam differentiam. Καιροὺς quippe appellant Graeci tempora quaedam, non tamen quae in spatiorum voluminibus transeunt, sed quae in rebus ad aliquid opportunis vel importunis sentiuntur; sicut messis, vindemia, calor, frigus, pax, bellum, et si qua similia: χρόνους autem ipsa spatia temporum vocant.

3. Et hoc certe ipsi Apostoli non ita quaesierunt, quasi unum novissimum diem vel horam, id est exiguam diei partem scire voluissent; sed utrum jam esset opportunum tempus quo regnum repraesentaretur Israel. Tunc audierunt, Nemo potest cognoscere tempora, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate, id est χρόνους ἢ καιρούς: quod si latine diceretur, tempora aut opportunitates, nec sic quod dictum est, esset expressum; quia sive opportuna, sive importuna sint tempora, καιροὶ dicuntur. Tempora ergo computare, hoc est, χρόνους, ut sciamus quando sit finis hujus saeculi vel adventus Domini, nihil mihi aliud videtur, quam scire velle quod ipse ait scire neminem posse.

4. Opportunitas vero illius temporis profecto non erit antequam praedicetur Evangelium in universo orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus. Apertissima enim de hac re legitur sententia Salvatoris dicentis: Et praedicabitur hoc Evangelium regni in universo orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus, et tunc veniet finis (Matth. XXIV, 14). Tunc veniet, quid est, nisi ante non veniet? Quanto post ergo veniat, incertum nobis est; ante tamen non esse venturum dubitare utique non debemus. Si ergo susciperent hunc laborem servi Dei, ut, peragrato orbe terrarum, quantum possent colligerent quid remanet gentium ubi nondum est Evangelium praedicatum, hinc advertere utcumque possemus quantum hoc tempus longe sit a fine saeculi.

2. For what he says in another place, "But of that day and hour no one knows" (Matt. 24:36), there are some who so take it, as to think they can compute the times; but that no one knows only the day and hour itself: where I omit to say in what manner the Scriptures are accustomed to put even day or hour for time. But certainly that concerning the ignorance of the times was most openly said. For when on this account the Lord was interrogated by his disciples: "No one," he said, "can know the times, which the Father has put in his own power." For he did not say, Day, or, Hour, but, "times"; which in a brief space are not accustomed [to be said] of a day, like day or hour, especially if we look at the Greek eloquence, from which language into ours we know the same book, where this is written, to have been translated; although in Latin it could not be expressed enough. For there it is read in Greek, "chronous ē kairous." Our [translators] however call both these words "times," whether "chronous" or "kairous," although these two have between them a difference not to be neglected. For the Greeks call "kairous" certain times, yet not those which pass in the volumes of spaces, but those which are felt in things opportune or inopportune for something; like harvest, vintage, heat, cold, peace, war, and if there are any such similar: but "chronous" they call the spaces of times themselves.

3. And this certainly the Apostles themselves did not so seek, as if they had wished to know one last day or hour, that is, a small part of a day; but whether it was already the opportune time in which the kingdom should be represented to Israel. Then they heard, "No one can know the times, which the Father has put in his own power," that is, "chronous ē kairous": which if it were said in Latin, "times or opportunities," even so what was said would not be expressed; because whether the times be opportune or inopportune, they are called "kairoi." Therefore to compute times, that is, "chronous," that we may know when the end of this world or the coming of the Lord is, seems to me to be nothing else than to wish to know what he himself said no one could know.

4. But the opportunity of that time surely will not be before the Gospel is preached in the whole world for a testimony to all nations. For the most open sentence of the Savior is read concerning this matter, saying: "And this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony to all nations, and then shall the end come" (Matt. 24:14). "Then shall it come," what is it, except that before it will not come? How long after then it may come, is uncertain to us; however we ought not to doubt that it is not going to come before. If therefore the servants of God should take up this labor, so that, having traversed the world, they should collect as much as they could what remains of nations where the Gospel has not yet been preached, from this we could in some way perceive how far this time is from the end of the world.

Quod si propter quaedam loca inaccessibilia et inhospita fieri posse non creditur, ut a servis Dei peragretur orbis, et quot quantaeque sint adhuc gentes sine Christi Evangelio, fideliter renuntietur; multo minus existimo in Scripturis posse comprehendi, quanta usque ad finem futura sint tempora, quandoquidem in eis legimus: Nemo potest cognoscere tempora, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate. Unde si jam nobis certissime nuntiatum fuisset in omnibus gentibus Evangelium praedicari, nec sic possemus dicere quantum temporis remaneret usque ad finem; sed magis magisque jam propinquare merito diceremus. Nisi quis forte respondeat, tanta celeritate praedicato Evangelio Romanas gentes et plerasque barbaras occupatas, atque ita nonnullas non paulatim, sed subito ad fidem Christi fuisse conversas, ut non sit incredibile paucis annis, etsi non vitae nostrae qui jam senuimus, certe juvenum qui venturi sunt ad senectam, universas omnino residuas gentes Evangelio posse compleri. Sed si ita erit, facilius, cum factum fuerit, probari experiendo, quam legendo, antequam fiat, inveniri potest.

5. Hoc me compulit dicere cujusdam opinio, quem presbyter quoque Hieronymus temeritatis notat , quod ausus fuerit Danielis Hebdomadas de adventu Christi futuro, non de praeterito exponere. Si quid autem pro meritis potioribus, sanctae humilitati cordis tui Dominus melius revelavit sive revelaverit, peto nobiscum communicare digneris, et haec nostra rescripta sic accipere, tanquam hominis, qui mallem quidem eorum quae a me inquisisti, habere scientiam quam ignorantiam; sed quia id nondum potui, magis eligo cautam ignorantiam confiteri, quam falsam scientiam profiteri.

EPISTOLA CXCVIII . Hesychius Augustino, significans consideratis divinis testimoniis de saeculi fine videri sibi diem quidem et horam frustra inquiri; attamen cognosci posse ex signis num jam instet tempus adventus Christi, quem ut cito venturum pie exspectari docet.

Domino beatissimo, et charitate sincerissima venerando fratri et coepiscopo AUGUSTINO, HESYCHIUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Desideranti et exspectanti mihi sanctus compresbyter noster Cornutus litteras pertulit quas misisti, quae me laetificarunt, quia memoriam nostri bonam habere dignatus es, qui et mihi paucis, sermone proprio sanctae mentis tuae, de his quae petieram, in transitu significasti. Aliquanta autem de opusculis sancti compresbyteri Hieronymi adjunxisti, ut meam quaestionem lectione ejus operis de sanctis Scripturis explere possem.

But if because of certain inaccessible and inhospitable places it is not believed to be possible for the world to be traversed by the servants of God, and how many and how great nations are still without the Gospel of Christ to be faithfully reported; much less do I think it can be comprehended in the Scriptures, how great the times are going to be until the end, since in them we read: "No one can know the times, which the Father has put in his own power." Whence if it had already been most certainly announced to us that the Gospel is being preached in all nations, not even thus could we say how much time would remain until the end; but we would more and more rightly say that it already approaches. Unless perchance someone should answer, that with such celerity the Gospel has been preached that it has occupied the Roman nations and many barbarous ones, and so some not gradually, but suddenly have been converted to the faith of Christ, that it is not incredible in a few years, even if not of our life who have already grown old, certainly of the youths who are going to come to old age, all the remaining nations entirely can be filled with the Gospel. But if it shall be so, it can more easily be proved by experiencing when it shall have been done, than be found by reading before it happens.

5. This the opinion of a certain person compelled me to say, whom the priest Jerome also notes for temerity, because he dared to expose the Weeks of Daniel concerning the future coming of Christ, not the past. If however according to better merits, the Lord has revealed or shall reveal something better to the holy humility of your heart, I ask that you deign to communicate it with us, and to receive these our replies as of a man who would indeed prefer to have knowledge rather than ignorance of those things which you have inquired of me; but because I have not yet been able to, I choose rather to confess a cautious ignorance than to profess a false science.

LETTER CXCVIII. Hesychius to Augustine, signifying that having considered the divine testimonies concerning the end of the world, it seems to him that the day indeed and hour are in vain inquired; yet that it can be known from signs whether the time of the coming of Christ already presses, which he teaches is to be piously expected as coming quickly.

To the most blessed lord, and by most sincere charity to be venerated brother and fellow-bishop AUGUSTINE, HESICHIUS [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. To me desiring and expecting, our holy fellow-priest Cornutus brought the letters which you sent, which gladdened me, because you deigned to have a good memory of us, you who also in a few words, by the proper speech of your holy mind, signified to me in passing concerning those things which I had asked. But you added some things from the works of the holy fellow-priest Jerome, that I might be able to fulfill my question by the reading of his work concerning the holy Scriptures.

Et quia dignatus es id petere a nobis, ut quid senserimus de ipsis quaestionibus, per litteras tuae sincerissimae charitati insinuaremus; ad ea de quibus scripta legi, prout intellectus exiguus meae mediocritatis sentire potuit aut intelligere, infra scripsi.

2. Cum Dei omnipotentis conditoris totius creaturae arbitrio et potestate cuncta gerantur; vel quae facta sunt, vel quae etiam futura sunt, sanctorum Prophetarum vocibus cognoscuntur, qui priusquam fierent ea quae futura erant, voluntate divina hominibus sunt locuti. Unde satis admiratione plenum est si ea Deus quae praedici voluit, ad hominum sensus penitus non posse pervenire constituit, secundum hoc capitulum quod Dominus beatis Apostolis locutus est, dicens: «Nemo potest cognoscere tempora, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate.» Primum quia in antiquissimis libris Ecclesiarum non ita scriptum est, «Nemo potest;» sed scriptum est, «Non est vestrum nosse tempora vel momenta, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate:» quae ratio sermonis sequenti verbo recte completur, cum dicit, «Sed eritis mihi testes in Jerusalem, et in Judaea, et in Samaria, et usque ad ultimum terrae» (Act. I, 7, 8). Non ergo Apostolos testes consummationis mundi, sed nominis et resurrectionis suae voluit intelligi.

3. Nam de temporibus cognoscendis ipse Dominus monet: «Quisnam est fidelis servus et prudens, quem constituit Dominus super familiam suam, ut det illis cibum in tempore? Beatus ille servus quem veniens Dominus ejus invenerit sic facientem» Familia Christi verbo praedicationis pascitur, et fidelis famulus invenitur, qui in tempore exspectantibus Dominum, necessariam escam credentibus praestat. Malus enim servus sic reprehenditur: «Quod si dixerit malus servus, Moram facit dominus meus venire; veniet dominus ejus in die qua nescit, et hora qua ignorat;» et reliqua. Item arguit quare tempus non agnoscatur, dicendo: «Hypocritae, faciem coeli nostis probare, tempus hoc quare non agnoscitis» (Luc. XII, 42, 43, 45, 56)? Item Apostolus «In novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa» (II Tim. III, 1): et reliqua. Item Apostolus: «De temporibus autem et momentis non necesse habemus vobis scribere: vos enim ipsi diligenter scitis quia dies Domini, sicut fur in nocte, ita veniet. Cum enim dixerint, Pax et securitas; tunc subitaneus illis apparebit interitus, quomodo dolores parturientis, et non effugient» (I Thess. V, 1-3).

And because you deigned to ask this from us, that we might intimate what we have felt concerning those same questions by letters to your most sincere charity; to those things concerning which I have read the writings, as far as the small understanding of my mediocrity could feel or understand, I have written below.

2. Since all things are managed by the judgment and power of God the omnipotent founder of the whole creature; whether those things which have been done, or those which also are going to be, they are known by the voices of the holy Prophets, who before those things happened which were going to be, spoke to men by the divine will. Whence it is full enough of admiration if God established that those things which he willed to be foretold, could not entirely reach the senses of men, according to this chapter which the Lord spoke to the blessed Apostles, saying: "No one can know the times, which the Father has put in his own power." First, because in the most ancient books of the Churches it is not written thus, "No one can"; but it is written, "It is not for you to know the times or moments, which the Father has put in his own power": which reason of speech is rightly completed by the following word, when he says, "But you shall be witnesses to me in Jerusalem, and in Judea, and in Samaria, and even to the end of the earth" (Acts 1:7, 8). He did not therefore wish the Apostles to be understood as witnesses of the consummation of the world, but of his name and resurrection.

3. For concerning the knowing of the times the Lord himself warns: "Who then is the faithful and prudent servant, whom the Lord has established over his family, that he may give them food in time? Blessed is that servant whom his Lord coming shall find so doing." The family of Christ is fed by the word of preaching, and he is found a faithful servant, who in time to those expecting the Lord, affords necessary food to the believers. For the evil servant is thus rebuked: "But if the evil servant shall say, My lord makes delay to come; his lord shall come in a day in which he knows not, and an hour which he is ignorant of;" and the rest. Likewise he argues why the time should not be recognized, saying: "Hypocrites, you know how to prove the face of the sky, why do you not recognize this time?" (Luke 12:42, 43, 45, 56). Likewise the Apostle: "In the last days dangerous times shall press" (2 Tim. 3:1): and the rest. Likewise the Apostle: "But concerning the times and moments we have no need to write to you: for you yourselves diligently know that the day of the Lord, as a thief in the night, so shall it come. For when they shall say, Peace and security; then sudden destruction shall appear to them, as the pains of one bringing forth, and they shall not escape" (1 Thess. 5:1-3).

Item Apostolus: «Non retinetis memoria quia cum essem apud vos, haec dicebam vobis? Et nunc quid detineat, scitis, ut reveletur in suo tempore. Nam mysterium iniquitatis jam operatur; tantum qui tenet, modo teneat, donec de medio fiat: et tunc revelabitur ille iniquus, quem Dominus Jesus interficiet spiritu oris sui» (II Thess. II, 5-8). Item Dominus in Evangelio increpat Judaeos: «Et tu, si cognovisses tempus visitationis tuae, forsitan permansisses; nunc autem abscondita sunt ab oculis tuis» (Luc. XIX, 42). Et Dominus sic praedicat ad Judaeos: «Poenitentiam agite; completa sunt tempora, credite Evangelio» (Marc. I, 15). Et ad Judaeos quidem recte completa dicebat, quia eorum tempora post ejus praedicationem et triginta et quinque, vel quadraginta annos finita sunt. Et in Daniele: «Quoadusque interfecta est bestia, et periit, et corpus ejus datum est ut comburatur; et reliquarum bestiarum regnum translatum est, et magnitudo vitae data est eis usque ad tempus et tempus;» quod graece dicitur, ἕως χρόνου καὶ καιροῦ. Et insequitur: «Et ecce cum nubibus coeli quasi Filius hominis veniens» (Dan. VII, 11-13). Mysterium bestiae e reliquarum bestiarum translatione intelligentibus Scripturam manifestum est.

4. Adventus Domini diligendus est et exspectandus. Est enim magna beatitudo diligentibus ejus adventum, sicut testimonium perhibet beatus apostolus Paulus: «De coetero,» inquit, «reposita est mihi corona justitiae, quam reddet mihi Dominus justus judex in illa die: non autem mihi solum, sed et iis qui diligunt adventum Domini» (II Tim. IV, 8). Et Dominus in Evangelio: «Tunc justi fulgebunt sicut sol in regno patris sui» (Matth. XIII, 43). Item propheta: «Ecce enim tenebrae et caligo operient terram super gentes; in te vero apparebit Dominus, et majestas ejus in te videbitur» (Isai. LX, 2). Item propheta: «Qui vero exspectant Dominum, exsultabunt cum virtute; producent pennas sicut aquilae, current et non laborabunt, ambulabunt et non esurient» (Id. XL, 31). Et plurima talia, quae ad beatitudinem eorum pertinere, qui diligunt adventum Domini, inveniuntur.

5. Quod autem nemo possit mensuras temporum colligere, manifestum est. Evangelium quidem dicit, «De die illa et hora nemo scit:» ego autem pro possibilitate intellectus mei dico, neque diem, neque mensem, neque annum adventus ipsius sciri posse; sed signa quae sunt adventus videndo et credendo, et exspectare me convenit, et credentibus escam hanc retribuere, ut exspectantes diligant adventum ejus, qui dixit, «Haec omnia cum videritis, scitote quoniam prope est in januis.» Signa ergo evangelica et prophetica quae in nobis completa sunt, adventum Domini manifestant.

Likewise the Apostle: "Do you not retain in memory that when I was with you, I said these things to you? And now what hinders, you know, that he may be revealed in his own time. For the mystery of iniquity already works; only he who holds, let him hold now, until he be made out of the midst: and then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall kill with the spirit of his mouth" (2 Thess. 2:5-8). Likewise the Lord in the Gospel rebukes the Jews: "And thou, if thou hadst known the time of thy visitation, perhaps thou wouldst have remained; but now they are hidden from thy eyes" (Luke 19:42). And the Lord thus preaches to the Jews: "Do penance; the times are completed, believe the Gospel" (Mark 1:15). And to the Jews indeed he rightly said they were completed, because their times after his preaching and thirty-five, or forty years were finished. And in Daniel: "Until the beast was killed, and perished, and its body was given to be burned; and the kingdom of the remaining beasts was translated, and magnitude of life was given to them until a time and a time;" which in Greek is said, "heōs chronou kai kairou." And it follows: "And behold with the clouds of heaven as it were the Son of man coming" (Dan. 7:11-13). The mystery of the beast from the translation of the remaining beasts is manifest to those understanding the Scripture.

4. The coming of the Lord is to be loved and expected. For there is great beatitude to those loving his coming, as the blessed Apostle Paul bears testimony: "For the rest," he says, "there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord the just judge shall render to me in that day: but not to me only, but also to those who love the coming of the Lord" (2 Tim. 4:8). And the Lord in the Gospel: "Then shall the just shine as the sun in the kingdom of their father" (Matt. 13:43). Likewise the prophet: "For behold darkness and a mist shall cover the earth over the nations; but in thee shall the Lord appear, and his majesty shall be seen in thee" (Isa. 60:2). Likewise the prophet: "But they who expect the Lord, shall exult with virtue; they shall produce feathers like eagles, they shall run and not labor, they shall walk and not hunger" (Id. 40:31). And very many such things, which are found to pertain to the beatitude of those who love the coming of the Lord.

5. But that no one can collect the measures of the times, is manifest. The Gospel indeed says, "Of that day and hour no one knows": I however according to the possibility of my understanding say, that neither the day, nor the month, nor the year of his coming can be known; but by seeing and believing the signs which are of the coming, it is fitting for me both to expect, and to pay back this food to the believers, that expecting they may love the coming of him, who said, "When you shall see all these things, know that he is near, at the doors." The evangelical and prophetic signs therefore which have been completed in us, manifest the coming of the Lord.

Nam frustra aut qui quaerunt, aut qui calumniantur, dies et annos in computo comprehendere quaerunt, cum scriptum sit, quia «nisi abbreviati fuissent dies illi, non fieret salva omnis caro: sed propter electos breviabuntur dies illi» (Matt. XXIV, 36, 33, 22). Certum est tempus carere computo, quod breviandum est a Domino, qui tempora constituit; appropinquasse autem adventum ejus, cujus signa adventus aliqua videmus ex iis quae facta sunt, esse completa, et iterum dicit: «His autem fieri incipientibus, respirabitis et levabitis capita vestra, quoniam appropinquabit redemptio vestra.» Quae autem signa dixit videnda, manifestum est in Evangelio sancti Lucae: «Et Jerusalem calcabitur a gentibus, donec impleantur tempora gentium.» Hoc factum est, et fieri nulli dubium est. Et insequitur: «Et erunt signa in sole, et luna, et in stellis, et in terra pressura gentium.» Ea quae patimur confiteri et poena compellit, si forte non curet voluntas: nam in uno tempore et signa in coelo, et pressuram gentium in terris ab hominibus videri et sustineri manifestum est . Et insequitur: «Arescentibus hominibus prae timore, et exspectatione quae supervenient universo orbi.» Nullam patriam, nullum locum nostris temporibus non affligi, aut humiliari certum est, sicut dictum est, «prae timore, et exspectatione quae supervenient universo orbi» (Luc. XXI, 24-28): et omnia signa, quae superius Evangelium legentibus manifestat, ex maxima parte completa sunt.

6. Quod autem dictum est, «Et praedicabitur hoc Evangelium in universo mundo, et tunc veniet finis» (Matth. XXIV, 14); primum quod ipsius Domini repromissio talis fuit, ut ipsi Apostoli ejus nominis et resurrectionis testes fierent in Jerusalem, et in Judaea, et in Samaria, et usque ad extremum terrae, et Apostolus hae auctoritate docet: «Sed dico, numquid non audierunt? In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum» (Rom. X, 18). Item: «Propter spem quae reposita est vobis, quam ante audistis in verbo veritatis Evangelii, quod advenit in vos, sicut et in omni mundo est fructificans et crescens» (Coloss. I, 5, 6). Sed ab Apostolis nuntiata fides in gentibus, habuit multos persecutores, ut retenta tardius invalesceret, ut illud impleretur, «Ante haec omnia, primum in vos manus immittent suas, et persequentur, et tradent vos in synagogas et in custodias, ducentes ad reges et ad praesides, propter nomen meum» (Luc. XXI, 12): ut illud impleretur quod scriptum erat; «Et velociter reaedificaberis a quibus destructa es.» Nam ex quo clementissimi imperatores christiani Dei voluntate esse coeperunt; quanquam paulatim fides, causa persecutionis, crescebat in saeculo, factis regibus Christianis, ubique in parvo tempore Christi Evangelium penetravit.

For in vain either they who seek, or they who calumniate, seek to comprehend days and years in a computation, since it is written, that "unless those days had been shortened, all flesh would not be saved: but because of the elect those days shall be shortened" (Matt. 24:36, 33, 22). It is certain that the time lacks computation, which is to be shortened by the Lord, who established the times; but that his coming has approached, some signs of whose coming we see from those things which have been done, to be completed, and again he says: "But when these things begin to happen, you shall breathe and lift up your heads, because your redemption shall approach." But what signs he said were to be seen, is manifest in the Gospel of Saint Luke: "And Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the nations, until the times of the nations be fulfilled." This has been done, and that it is being done is a doubt to no one. And it follows: "And there shall be signs in the sun, and the moon, and in the stars, and on the earth pressure of nations." Those things which we suffer even punishment compels to confess, if perchance the will should not care: for at one time both signs in heaven, and pressure of nations on the lands is manifest to be seen and sustained by men. And it follows: "Men withering away for fear, and expectation of what things shall come upon the whole world." That no country, no place in our times is not afflicted, or humiliated, is certain, as it was said, "for fear, and expectation of what things shall come upon the whole world" (Luke 21:24-28): and all the signs, which the Gospel above manifests to those reading, have been for the greatest part completed.

6. But as to what was said, "And this Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, and then shall the end come" (Matt. 24:14); first because the repromise of the Lord himself was such, that the Apostles themselves should become witnesses of his name and resurrection in Jerusalem, and in Judea, and in Samaria, and even to the end of the earth, and the Apostle teaches by this authority: "But I say, have they not heard? Into all the earth went forth their sound, and into the ends of the world their words" (Rom. 10:18). Likewise: "Because of the hope which is laid up for you, which before you heard in the word of the truth of the Gospel, which has come unto you, even as in all the world it is fructifying and increasing" (Col. 1:5, 6). But the faith announced by the Apostles among the nations, had many persecutors, so that being held back it might grow strong more slowly, that that might be fulfilled, "Before all these things, first they shall lay their hands upon you, and shall persecute, and shall deliver you into synagogues and into custodies, leading you to kings and to presidents, because of my name" (Luke 21:12): that that might be fulfilled which was written; "And quickly shalt thou be rebuilt by those by whom thou wast destroyed." For from the time that most clement Christian emperors began to be by the will of God; although gradually the faith, because of persecution, was increasing in the world, Christian kings having been made, everywhere in a small time the Gospel of Christ has penetrated.

7. Expositio sane beati Danielis de Hebdomadibus, quam vir sanctus compresbyter noster Hieronymus exposuit, qualiter doctores Ecclesiarum tradidissent, lectorem suspendit. Nam si ipse doctissimus vir compresbyter noster ait periculosum esse de magistrorum Ecclesiarum judicare sententiis, et alterum praeferre alteri; quanto magis hoc lector facere non potest, quod magister facere dubitavit! Nos autem credimus quod Dominus ait: «Quia coelum et terra transient; iota autem unum, vel unus apex non transiet a Lege, donec omnia fiant» (Matth. V, 18). Quomodo ergo mysterium Hebdomadarum sit impletum usque ad nativitatem et passionem Christi, admiror; cum illud in dimidio hebdomadae Propheta locutus est, dicendo: «In dimidio hebdomadae tolletur sacrificium meum, et supplicatio, desolationum interitus, et ad sacrificium abominatio» (Dan. IX, 27). Haec ergo abominatio si jam completa fuerat, quomodo Dominus monet et dicit: «Cum videritis abominationem desolationis, quod dictum est per Danielem prophetam, stantem in loco sancto, qui legit, intelligat» (Matth. XXIV, 15)? Ego autem ne petitionis Beatitudinis tuae contemptor essem, haec quemadmodum sensi, scripsi ad tuam Charitatem. Plenius autem dignare nos verbo gratiae tuae rescribendo instruere et laetificare.

EPISTOLA CXCIX . DE FINE SAECULI . Augustinus Hesychio, commonstrans quomodo sint intelligentia Scripturae loca quae varie loquuntur de fine saeculi; quodque praestat non inquirere tempus adventus Christi, sed hoc agere ut unusquisque ad excipiendum illum sit paratus.

Domino beatissimo, et venerabiliter suspiciendo fratri et coepiscopo HESYCHIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Accepi litteras Venerationis tuae, quibus valde salubriter exhortaris ut Salvatoris nostri diligatur et desideretur adventus. Facis hoc ut servus bonus ejusdem patrisfamilias, avidus lucrorum Domini tui, et volens habere plurimos socios dilectionis qua ipse praecipue et perseveranter accenderis. Intuentes igitur quod commemorasti de Apostolo, quia Dominum dixit redditurum coronam justitiae, non tantum sibi, sed et omnibus qui diligunt manifestationem ejus (II Tim. IV, 8), ita recte vivimus, et in hoc saeculo tanquam peregrini agimus, cum se in hac dilectione cor nostrum proficienter extendit; sive citius sive tardius veniat quam putatur, cujus manifestationatio fideli charitate diligitur, et pio desideratur affectu. Servus quippe ille qui dicit, Moram facit dominus meus; et percutit conservos suos, manducat et bibit cum ebriosis (Luc. XII, 45), non utique diligit manifestationem ejus.

7. The exposition indeed of the blessed Daniel concerning the Weeks, which that holy man our fellow-priest Jerome exposed, according as the doctors of the Churches had handed down, leaves the reader in suspense. For if that most learned man our fellow-priest says it is dangerous to judge concerning the sentences of the masters of the Churches, and to prefer one to another; how much more can a reader not do this, which the master hesitated to do! We however believe what the Lord says: "Because heaven and earth shall pass away; but one iota, or one tittle shall not pass from the Law, until all things be done" (Matt. 5:18). How then the mystery of the Weeks should be fulfilled until the birth and passion of Christ, I admire; since the Prophet spoke that in the half of the week, saying: "In the half of the week my sacrifice and supplication shall be taken away, and the destruction of desolations, and unto the sacrifice abomination" (Dan. 9:27). If therefore this abomination had already been completed, how does the Lord warn and say: "When you shall see the abomination of desolation, which was said through Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place, he who reads, let him understand" (Matt. 24:15)? I however, lest I should be a contemner of the petition of your Beatitude, have written these things to your Charity as I have felt. But deign to instruct and gladden us more fully by writing back with the word of your grace.

LETTER CXCIX. CONCERNING THE END OF THE WORLD. Augustine to Hesychius, showing how the places of Scripture are to be understood which speak variously concerning the end of the world; and that it is better not to inquire the time of the coming of Christ, but to act so that each one may be prepared to receive him.

To the most blessed lord, and venerably to be regarded brother and fellow-bishop HESYCHIUS, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. I received the letters of your Veneration, in which you very wholesomely exhort that the coming of our Savior should be loved and desired. You do this as a good servant of the same master of the family, greedy for the gains of your Lord, and wishing to have many associates of the love by which you especially and perseveringly are inflamed. Intending therefore what you commemorated from the Apostle, that he said the Lord would render a crown of justice, not only to himself, but also to all who love his manifestation (2 Tim. 4:8), so we live rightly, and act in this world as pilgrims, when our heart extends itself proficiently in this love; whether he comes more quickly or more slowly than is thought, whose manifestation is loved with faithful charity, and is desired with pious affection. For that servant who says, "My lord makes delay"; and strikes his fellow-servants, eats and drinks with drunkards (Luke 12:45), does not certainly love his manifestation.

Ex moribus enim apparet animus ejus; quos mores, licet breviter, ideo magister bonus curavit exprimere, id est superbiam atque luxuriam, ne quod dicebat, Moram facit dominus meus, desiderio domini sui dicere crederetur, quo ardebat ille qui dicebat: Sitivit anima mea ad Deum vivum: quando veniam, et apparebo ante faciem Dei (Psal. XLI, 3)? Dicendo enim, quando veniam? moras se perpeti moleste ferebat; quia etiam quod tempore acceleratur, desiderio tardum videtur. Quomodo autem tardus est ejus adventus, vel quomodo longe futurus est, cum ipsi Apostoli, tempore quo adhuc erant in carne, dixerint, Novissima hora est (I Joan. II, 18)? quamvis a Domino audierint, Non est vestrum scire tempora. Hoc ergo nesciebant quod nescimus et nos (quantum ad me attinet dico, et eos qui hoc mecum nesciunt); et tamen quibus dictum est, Non est vestrum scire tempora, quae pater posuit in sua potestate (Act. I, 7), diligebant ejus manifestationem, et dabant conservis suis in tempore cibaria, nec percutiebant eos dominando eis, nec luxuriabantur cum amatoribus mundi, dicentes, Moram facit Dominus meus.

2. Alia est ergo ignorantia temporum, alia labes morum amorque vitiorum. Nam et apostolus Paulus quando dicebat, Non cito moveamini mente, neque terreamini, sive per verbum sive per epistolam, tanquam per nos missam, quasi instet dies Domini (II Thess. II, 2); nolebat utique ut crederent eis qui jam propinquare Domini arbitrabantur adventum: nec tamen volebat ut, tanquam servus ille, dicerent, Moram facit Dominus meus venire, et traderent se superbiae luxuriaeque perdendos; sed sic eos nolebat de propinquante die novissimo falsis auscultare rumoribus, ut tamen vellet eos paratos adventum Domini sui, lumbis accinctis et lucernis ardentibus opperiri (Luc. XII, 35, 36): quibus dicit, Vos autem, fratres, non estis in tenebris, ut vos dies ille tanquam fur comprehendat. Omnes enim vos filii lucis estis et filii diei; non sumus noctis neque tenebrarum (I Thess. V, 4, 5). Ille autem qui sic dicit. Moram facit Dominus meus venire, ut percutiat conservos suos, et epuletur cum ebriosis, non est filius lucis, sed tenebrarum; et ideo eum tanquam fur dies ille comprehendet: quod unusquisque debet etiam de die hujus vitae suae novissimo formidare. In quo enim quemque invenerit suus novissimus dies, in hoc eum comprehendet mundi novissimus dies; quoniam qualis in die isto quisque moritur, talis in die illo judicabitur.

For from his manners his mind appears; which manners, although briefly, the good master therefore took care to express, that is, pride and luxury, lest what he said, "My lord makes delay," should be believed to be said from desire of his lord, with which he was burning who said: "My soul has thirsted for the living God: when shall I come, and appear before the face of God" (Ps. 41:3)? For by saying, "when shall I come?" he was taking it ill that he suffered delays; because even that which is accelerated by time, seems slow to desire. But how is his coming slow, or how is it going to be far off, when the Apostles themselves, at the time when they were still in the flesh, said, "It is the last hour" (1 John 2:18)? although they heard from the Lord, "It is not for you to know the times." This therefore they did not know which we also do not know (as far as pertains to me I say, and those who with me do not know this); and yet to whom it was said, "It is not for you to know the times, which the Father has put in his own power" (Acts 1:7), they loved his manifestation, and gave food to their fellow-servants in time, nor did they strike them by dominating them, nor did they live luxuriously with the lovers of the world, saying, "My Lord makes delay."

2. One thing therefore is the ignorance of the times, another the lapse of manners and love of vices. For also the Apostle Paul when he said, "Be not quickly moved in mind, nor terrified, whether by word or by letter, as if sent by us, as though the day of the Lord were at hand" (2 Thess. 2:2); he did not certainly want them to believe those who thought the coming of the Lord already to be approaching: nor yet did he want that, like that servant, they should say, "My Lord makes delay to come," and deliver themselves to be destroyed by pride and luxury; but he so wanted them not to listen to false rumors concerning the approaching last day, that yet he wanted them [to be] prepared to wait for the coming of their Lord, with loins girt and lamps burning (Luke 12:35, 36): to whom he says, "But you, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief." For you are all children of light and children of the day; we are not of the night nor of darkness" (1 Thess. 5:4, 5). But he who so says, "My Lord makes delay to come," that he strikes his fellow-servants, and feasts with drunkards, is not a child of light, but of darkness; and therefore that day shall overtake him as a thief: which each one ought to dread even concerning the last day of this his life. For in what [state] his own last day shall find each one, in that the last day of the world shall overtake him; since such as each one dies in that day, such shall he be judged in that day.

3. Ad hoc pertinet quod in Evangelio secundum Marcum ita scriptum est: Vigilate ergo, quia nescitis quando dominus domus veniat; sero, an media nocte, an galli cantu, an mane, ne cum venerit repente, inveniat vos dormientes. Quod autem vobis dico, omnibus dico, Vigilate (Marc. XIII, 35, 37). Quibus enim omnibus dicit, nisi electis et dilectis suis ad corpus ejus pertinentibus, quod est Ecclesia? Non solum ergo illis dixit, quibus tunc audientibus loquebatur; sed etiam illis qui fuerunt post illos ante nos, et ad nos ipsos, et qui erunt post nos usque ad ejus novissimum adventum. Numquid autem omnes inventurus est dies ille in hac vita, aut quisquam dicturus est quod ad defunctos etiam pertineat quod ait, Vigilate, ne cum repente venerit, inveniat vos dormientes? Cur itaque omnibus dicit, quod ad eos solos pertineat qui tunc erunt, nisi quia eo modo ad omnes pertinet, quomodo dixi? Tunc enim unicuique veniet dies ille, cum venerit ei dies ut talis hinc exeat, qualis judicandus est illo die. Ac per hoc vigilare debet omnis christianus, ne imparatum inveniat eum Domini adventus. Imparatum autem inveniet ille dies, quem imparatum invenerit suae vitae hujus ultimus dies. Certe enim hoc saltem manifestum erat Apostolis, non eorum temporibus, cum hic in carne viverent, Dominum esse venturum: et tamen quis dubitet eos praecipue vigilasse et servasse quod omnibus dixit, ne imparatos repente veniens inveniret?

CAPUT III.

7. Dicit etiam, sicut admones, apostolus Paulus, In novissimis temporibus instabunt tempora periculosa, et reliqua (II Tim. III, 1). Sed numquid ideo docet tempora, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate? aut ideo quisquam novit quam longa vel brevia sint eadem ipsa, quae fatendum est esse novissima? Cogitare quippe debemus quam olim dictum sit, Filioli, novissima hora est (I Joan. II, 18).

8. Rursus eumdem apostolum dixisse commemoras: De temporibus autem et momentis non necesse habemus scribere vobis: vos enim ipsi diligenter scitis quia dies Domini sicut fur in nocte, ita veniet; et cum dixerint, Pax et securitas, tunc subitaneus illis apparebit interitus, quomodo dolores parturientis, et non effugient (I Thess. V, 1-3). Et hic non dixit post quantum temporis hoc futurum sit, sed quomodo futurum sit; id est, non quanta erit aetatis brevitas vel prolixitas, sed quantumlibet intervallum sit spatiumque temporis, non tamen eis hoc veniet malum novissimum, nisi cum dixerint, Pax et securitas. Quibus verbis videtur Apostolus hujus novissimi diei vel spem vel timorem ab hoc nostro tempore removisse: non enim videmus ipsos amatores hujus saeculi, quibus subitaneus apparebit interitus, jam dicere, Pax et securitas.

3. To this pertains what is thus written in the Gospel according to Mark: "Watch therefore, for you know not when the lord of the house comes; at evening, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning, lest coming suddenly, he find you sleeping. And what I say to you, I say to all, Watch" (Mark 13:35, 37). For to what "all" does he speak, except to his elect and beloved pertaining to his body, which is the Church? He did not only therefore say it to those to whom he was then speaking as they heard; but also to those who were after them before us, and to ourselves, and to those who shall be after us even to his last coming. But is that day going to find all in this life, or is anyone going to say that what he says, "Watch, lest when he comes suddenly, he find you sleeping," pertains also to the dead? Why therefore does he say to all, that which pertains to those alone who then shall be, except because in that manner it pertains to all, in the way I have said? For then to each one shall that day come, when the day shall have come to him that he should go out from hence such as he is to be judged on that day. And by this every Christian ought to watch, lest the coming of the Lord find him unprepared. But that day shall find [him] unprepared, whom the last day of this his life shall have found unprepared. For certainly this at least was manifest to the Apostles, that the Lord was not going to come in their times, while they lived here in the flesh: and yet who would doubt that they especially watched and observed what he said to all, lest coming suddenly he should find them unprepared?

CHAPTER III.

7. The Apostle Paul also says, as you remind me: In the last days perilous times shall come, and the rest (2 Tim. 3:1). But does he therefore teach the times which the Father has put in His own power? Or does anyone therefore know how long or short those very times are, which it must be confessed are the last? For we ought to consider how long ago it was said: Little children, it is the last hour (1 John 2:18).

8. Again, you mention that the same Apostle said: But of the times and the moments, we have no need to write to you: for you yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord shall so come as a thief in the night; and when they shall say, Peace and security, then sudden destruction shall come upon them, as the pains of a woman in labor, and they shall not escape (1 Thess. 5:1-3). And here he did not say after how much time this is to be, but in what manner it is to be; that is, not how great the brevity or length of the age shall be, but no matter how great the interval and space of time may be, yet this last evil shall not come upon them except when they shall say: Peace and security. By which words the Apostle seems to have removed either the hope or the fear of this last day from this our time; for we do not see those lovers of this world, upon whom sudden destruction shall come, already saying: Peace and security.

9. Quid ergo scire sufficiat, satis ipse demonstrat Apostolus, dicendo, De temporibus et momentis non opus habemus vobis scribere; vel sicut alii codices habent, Non opus habetis vobis scribi. Nec secutus adjunxit, Vos enim ipsi diligenter scitis quantum temporis restet; sed ait, Vos enim ipsi diligenter scitis, quia hora Domini sicut fur in nocte, ita veniet. Hoc ergo scire opus est, ut curent filii lucis esse et parato corde vigilare, qui nolunt ab illa hora sicut a nocturno fure comprehendi. Nam si ad cavendum hoc malum, id est, ne hora Domini tanquam fur inveniat imparatum, opus esset nosse temporum spatia, non diceret Apostolus non opus esse ut hoc scriberet, sed hoc potius eis esse scribendum tanquam doctor providentissimus judicaret. Nunc autem nec illis hoc opus esse monstravit, quibus sufficiebat ut scirent imparatis atque dormientibus horam Domini sicut furem esse venturam, atque hoc sciendo essent ipsi vigilanter parati post quantalibet tempora veniret; et suum servavit modum, ut licet apostolus, non tamen praesumeret alios docere quod Apostolis Dominum dixisse cognoverat, Non est vestrum scire.

10. Ponis etiam quod idem ipse dixit apestolus: Non retinetis memoria quia cum essem apud vos, haec dicebam vobis? Et nunc quid detineat, scitis, ut reveletur in suo tempore. Nam mysterium jam operatur iniquitatis; tantum qui tenet, modo teneat, donec de medio fiat: et tunc revelabitur ille iniquus, quem Dominus Jesus interficiet spiritu oris sui (II Thess. II, 5-8. Vid. Lib. 20 de Civitate Dei, c. 19). Quae verba apostolica utinam non tantummodo ponere, verum etiam exponere dignareris: ita sane obscura sunt et mystice dicta, ut tamen appareat eum nihil de statutis dixisse temporibus, nullumque eorum intervallum spatiumque apernisse. Ait enim, ut reveletur in suo tempore: nec dixit post quantum temporis hoc futurum sit. Deinde subjunxit, Jam enim mysterium operatur iniquitatis. Hoc iniquitatis mysterium quomodolibet intelligatur quid sit, ab alio sic, ab alio autem sic; quamdiu tamen operetur, occultum est. Neque id expressit Apostolus tanquam homo ex eorum numero quibus dictum est, Non est vestrum scire tempora: quamvis enim nondum inter eos erat, quando eis hoc dictum est; ad eorum tamen collegium atque societatem etiam ipsum non ambigimus pertinere.

11. Item quod sequitur, Tantum qui modo tenet, teneat, donec de medio fiat: et tunc revelabitur ille iniquus, quem Dominus Jesus interficiet spiritu oris sui, docet nos Antichristum manifestum futurum: siquidem ipsum videtur aliquanto evidentiori significatione tetigisse interficiendum spiritu oris Domini Jesu Christi; sed post quantum temporis istud erit, nec saltem obscure locutus est.

9. What therefore may suffice to know, the Apostle himself demonstrates enough by saying: Of the times and moments we have no need to write to you; or as other codices have it: You have no need that it be written to you. Nor did he follow up by adding: For you yourselves know perfectly how much time remains; but he said: For you yourselves know perfectly, that the hour of the Lord shall so come as a thief in the night. This, therefore, is what it is necessary to know, that the children of light may take care to be so and to watch with a prepared heart, who do not wish to be overtaken by that hour as by a thief in the night. For if to avoid this evil—that is, lest the hour of the Lord find one unprepared like a thief—it were necessary to know the spaces of time, the Apostle would not say there was no need for him to write this, but would rather have judged that this ought to be written to them as a most provident teacher. But now he has shown that this was not necessary even for them, for whom it sufficed that they should know that the hour of the Lord was to come like a thief upon the unprepared and sleeping, and that by knowing this they themselves should be watchfully prepared after however much time it might come; and he kept his own measure, so that although an apostle, yet he would not presume to teach others what he had known the Lord to have said to the Apostles: It is not for you to know.

10. You also put what the same Apostle said: Do you not remember that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now you know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his own time. For the mystery of iniquity already worketh; only he who now holdeth, let him hold, until he be taken out of the way: and then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the spirit of his mouth (2 Thess. 2:5-8). These apostolic words I wish you had deigned not only to put forward, but also to explain: indeed, they are so obscure and mystically spoken, that it nevertheless appears he said nothing about fixed times, and opened no interval or space of them. For he says: that he might be revealed in his own time; nor did he say after how much time this is to be. Then he added: For the mystery of iniquity already worketh. In whatever way this mystery of iniquity is understood to be, by one in this way, and by another in that way; yet for how long it may work is hidden. Nor did the Apostle express it as a man from the number of those to whom it was said: It is not for you to know the times; for although he was not yet among them when this was said to them, yet we do not doubt that he pertains to their college and society.

11. Likewise, that which follows: Only he who now holdeth, let him hold, until he be taken out of the way: and then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the spirit of his mouth, teaches us that the Antichrist shall be manifest; since he seems to have touched upon him with a somewhat more evident significance as being to be slain by the spirit of the mouth of the Lord Jesus Christ; but after how much time this shall be, he has not spoken even obscurely.

Quisnam sit enim qui modo tenet, vel quid teneat, vel quid sibi velit quod ait, de medio fiat, potest quisque se coarctare ut intelligat, vel aliquatenus suspicetur, quoniam quoquo modo scriptum legit: quamdiu autem teneat, et post quanta temporum spatia de medio fiat, hic omnino tacetur.

CAPUT IV.

12. Item Dominus, inquis, in Evangelio increpat Judaeos, dicens: «Et tu, si cognovisses tempus visitationis tuae, forsitan permansisses; nunc autem abscondita sunt de oculis tuis» (Luc. XIX, 42). Sed hoc ad tempus primi adventus Domini pertinet, non secundi, de quo nunc quaestio est. De secundo quippe adventu suo dixit, Non est vestrum scire tempora, non de primo: de illo enim ab eo quaesierunt Discipuli quem sperabant, non de isto quem jam videbant. Si enim primum ejus adventum Judaei cognovissent, nunquam Dominum gloriae crucifixissent (I Cor. II, 8); et ideo non everti, sed permanere potuissent. Jamvero quod ait ad eos, Poenitentiam agite; completa sunt tempora, credite Evangelio (Marc. I, 15), etiam ipse firmasti de iis temporibus dictum esse Judaeorum, quae continuo post paucos annos fuerant transitura, et nunc novimus jam esse transacta, eversa scilicet civitate in qua regnum eorum fuerat constitutum.

13. Proinde quod ex Daniele de interfecta bestia posuit Venerabilitas tua, et de reliquarum bestiarum regno, et inter haec de filio hominis veniente cum nubibus coeli, manifestum esse dixisti intelligentibus Scripturam. Sed si dignatus fueris exponere quomodo ista pertineant ad cognoscendum temporis spatium post quod erit Salvatoris adventus, ita ut inveniantur sine ulla ambiguitate manifesta; fatebor etiam ipse cum magna actione gratiarum, illud quod ait Dominus, Non est vestrum scire tempora, tantummodo Apostolis esse dictum, non posteris eorum, qui ea fuerant cognituri.

CAPUT V.

14. Diligendus ergo est, et exspectandus Domini, sicut sancte hortaris, adventus; magnamque dicis esse beatitudinem diligentibus ejus adventum, et adhibes Apostoli testimonium, cujus verba sic ponis: De caetero reposita est mihi corona justitiae, quam reddet mihi Dominus justus judex in illa die: non solum autem mihi, sed et his qui diligunt adventum Domini (II Tim IV, 8).

For as to who it is who now holdeth, or what he holds, or what he means by saying until he be taken out of the way, anyone can constrain himself to understand, or to suspect to some extent, since he reads it written in whatever way; but for how long he may hold, and after how great spaces of time he may be taken out of the way, here it is altogether silent.

CHAPTER IV.

12. Likewise the Lord, you say, in the Gospel rebukes the Jews, saying: And you, if you had known the time of your visitation, perhaps you would have remained; but now they are hidden from your eyes (Luke 19:42). But this pertains to the time of the first advent of the Lord, not the second, concerning which is now the question. For concerning His second advent He said: It is not for you to know the times, not concerning the first; for concerning that one the Disciples asked Him which they were hoping for, not concerning this one which they already saw. For if the Jews had known His first advent, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory (1 Cor. 2:8); and therefore they might have been able not to be overthrown, but to remain. Now indeed, as to what He said to them: Do penance; the times are fulfilled, believe the Gospel (Mark 1:15), you yourself also confirmed that it was said of those times of the Jews, which were to pass away immediately after a few years, and now we know that they have already passed, the city in which their kingdom had been established having been, of course, overthrown.

13. Furthermore, that which your Veneration has put forward from Daniel concerning the slain beast, and concerning the kingdom of the remaining beasts, and among these concerning the Son of Man coming with the clouds of heaven, you said was manifest to those understanding the Scripture. But if you would deign to explain how these things pertain to knowing the space of time after which shall be the advent of the Savior, so that they may be found manifest without any ambiguity; I myself will also confess with great giving of thanks, that what the Lord said, It is not for you to know the times, was said only to the Apostles, not to their posterity who were to know them.

CHAPTER V.

14. Therefore the advent of the Lord is to be loved and expected, as you holily exhort; and you say there is great beatitude for those who love His advent, and you apply the testimony of the Apostle, whose words you put thus: As for the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord the just judge will render to me in that day: and not only to me, but also to those who love the advent of the Lord (2 Tim. 4:8).

Tunc enim, sicut ex Evangelio commemoras, Justi fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris sui (Matth. XIII, 43): et quod propheta dicit, Ecce enim caligo et tenebrae operient terram super gentes; in te vero apparebit Dominus, et majestas ejus in te videbitur (Isai. LX, 2): item quod scriptum est, Qui vero exspectant Dominum, exsultabunt cum virtute; producent pennas sicut aquilae, current et non laborabunt, ambulabunt et non esurient (Id. XL, 31).

15. Hoc plane piissime et verissime dicis, commendans eorum beatitudinem, qui diligunt adventum Domini. Sed et illi quibus dicebat Apostolus, Non cito moveamini mente, quasi instet dies Domini, diligebant utique adventum Domini: nec eos hoc dicens Doctor Gentium ab illa dilectione frangebat, qua ut inflammarentur volebat; et ideo nolebat ut crederent eis a quibus audiebant instare diem Domini, ne forte cum transisset tempus quo cum crediderant esse venturum, et venisse non cernerent, etiam caetera fallaciter sibi promitti arbitrantes, et de ipsa mercede fidei desperarent. Non ergo ille diligit adventum Domini, qui eum asserit propinquare, aut ille qui asserit non propinquare; sed ille potius qui eum, sive prope sive longe sit, sinceritate fidei, firmitate spei, ardore charitatis exspectat. Nam si tanto magis diligitur Dominus, quanto magis creditur et praedicatur citius esse venturus; magis eum diligebant qui ejus adventum jam instare dicebant, quam hi quos Apostolus eis credere prohibebat, vel ipse Apostolus qui hoc utique non credebat.

CAPUT VI.

16. Si autem onerosa non est infirmitas mea Sanctitati tuae, peto apertius non graveris exponere quomodo dixeris neminem posse temporum mensuras colligere; ne forte et hoc mihi videatur quod etiam Charitati tuae, et frustra quilibet nostrum instrui exspectet ab altero. Cum hoc enim dixisses, deinde subdidisti et aisti: Evangelium quidem dicit, «De die et hora nemo scit» (Matth. XXIV, 36): ego autem, inquis, pro possibilitate intellectus mei dico, neque mensem neque annum adventus ipsius sciri posse.

For then, as you mention from the Gospel, The just shall shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father (Matt. 13:43): and what the prophet says, For behold darkness and a mist shall cover the earth over the nations; but in you the Lord shall appear, and His majesty shall be seen in you (Isa. 60:2): likewise what is written, But those who expect the Lord shall exult with strength; they shall put forth wings as eagles, they shall run and not labor, they shall walk and not hunger (Id. 40:31).

15. This indeed you say most piously and most truly, commending the beatitude of those who love the advent of the Lord. But even those to whom the Apostle said, Be not quickly moved in mind, as if the day of the Lord were at hand, certainly loved the advent of the Lord: nor by saying this did the Teacher of the Gentiles break them from that love by which he wished them to be inflamed; and therefore he did not wish them to believe those from whom they heard that the day of the Lord was at hand, lest perhaps when the time had passed in which they had believed He was to come, and they did not see Him come, they should think that other things also were promised them fallaciously, and should despair of the very reward of faith. Therefore, he does not love the advent of the Lord who asserts that it is approaching, or he who asserts it is not approaching; but rather he who, whether it be near or far, expects it with sincerity of faith, firmness of hope, and ardor of charity. For if the Lord is loved so much more, by how much more He is believed and preached as being about to come sooner; those who said His advent was already at hand loved Him more than those whom the Apostle prohibited from believing them, or the Apostle himself who certainly did not believe this.

CHAPTER VI.

16. But if my infirmity is not burdensome to your Holiness, I ask that you would not be reluctant to explain more clearly how you said that no one can gather the measures of the times; lest perhaps this also should seem to me as it does to your Charity, and in vain any of us should expect to be instructed by the other. For when you had said this, you then added and said: The Gospel indeed says, "Of the day and the hour no one knows" (Matt. 24:36): but I, you say, according to the possibility of my understanding, say that neither the month nor the year of His advent can be known.

Ita enim hoc videtur sonare, tanquam non possit sciri quo anno venturus sit, sed possit sciri qua hebdomade annorum, vel qua decade; tanquam dici possit atque definiri intra illos vel illos septem annos, aut intra illos vel illos decem annos. Quod si ne hoc quidem comprehendi potest, quaero utrum sic saltem possit definiri tempus adventus ejus, ut cum venturum esse dicamus intra istos, verbi gratia, quinquaginta vel centum annos, vel quotlibet seu majoris numeri seu minoris annorum, sed in quo eorum, nos ignorare. Hoc si jam comprehendisti, multum est quod comprehendere potuisti. Idipsum est autem quod rogo ut nobis benignus impertias, adhibens idonea documenta quibus id potueris indagare: si autem neque hoc te comprehendisse praesumis, hoc sentis quod ego.

17. Novissima enim esse ista tempora, multis rerum signis apparentibus, quae Dominum praedixisse legimus, omnes qui ea credimus, cernimus. Sed et mille annorum tempus, si eorum finis esset saeculi finis, posset universum dici novissimum tempus, vel etiam novissimus dies, quia scriptum est, Mille anni ante oculos tuos, tanquam dies unus (Psal. LXXXIX, 4); ut quidquid per eosdem mille annos gereretur, novissimo tempore vel novissimo die diceretur geri Iterum enim dico, quod in hac causa saepe dicendum est: consideremus ante quam multos annos dixerit beatus Joannes evangelista, Novissima hora est. Nam si tunc essemus, hoc audito, quando crederemus tot annos postea transituros, ac non potius, ipso adhuc Joanne in corpore constituto, Dominum speraremus esse venturum? Neque enim dixit, Novissimum tempus est, aut novissimus annus, aut mensis, aut dies; sed, Novissima hora est: et ecce ista hora quam longa est! nec tamen est ille mentitus: sed utique intelligendus est horam pro tempore posuisse. Quod nonnulli sic accipiunt, ut sex annorum millia constituant velut unum diem, eumque in partes velut horas duodecim partiantur, ut sic quingentos annos postremos hora videatur habere postrema: in quibus annis jam Joannes, inquiunt, loquebatur, quando novissimam horam esse dicebat.

18. Sed aliud est nosse aliquid, aliud suspicari. Cur enim non potius, si sex annorum millia deputandus est unus dies, non duodecima, sed vicesima quarta pars ejus una hora est, id est, non quingenti, sed ducenti quinquaginta anni? Totus enim dies, totus circumitus solis verius nuncupatur, non ab Oriente usque in Occidentem, sed ab Oriente usque in Orientem, unde toto die peracto, id est viginti et quatuor horis, rursus exoritur: ac per hoc hora ista novissima, ex quo tempore id locutus est Joannes, ante ferme septuaginta annos, ut minimum, jam reperitur esse transacta, et nondum venit terminus saeculi. Huc accedit, quia inspecta diligenter ecclesiastica historia, reperitur Joannes apostolus longe ante fuisse defunctus, quam quinque millia quingenti anni a generis humani exordio complerentur.

For this seems to sound as if it cannot be known in what year He is to come, but it can be known in what week of years, or in what decade; as if it could be said and defined within those or those seven years, or within those or those ten years. But if not even this can be comprehended, I ask whether at least the time of His advent can be defined in such a way that, while we say He is to come within these, for example, fifty or a hundred years, or any number of years whether greater or lesser, yet in which of them, we are ignorant. If you have already comprehended this, it is much that you have been able to comprehend. It is that very thing, however, which I ask that you would benignly impart to us, applying suitable documents by which you have been able to investigate it: but if you do not presume to have comprehended even this, you feel what I do.

17. For that these are the last times, from many appearing signs of things which we read the Lord to have predicted, all we who believe them, perceive. But even a time of a thousand years, if their end were the end of the age, could be called the whole of the last time, or even the last day, because it is written: A thousand years before your eyes are as one day (Psalm 89:4); so that whatever was done through those same thousand years would be said to be done in the last time or on the last day. For again I say, what is often to be said in this cause: let us consider before how many years the blessed John the Evangelist said: It is the last hour. For if we were then, having heard this, when would we believe that so many years were to pass afterwards, and would we not rather, while John was still present in the body, hope that the Lord was to come? For he did not say: It is the last time, or the last year, or month, or day; but, It is the last hour: and behold how long that hour is! nor yet has he lied: but he is certainly to be understood to have put "hour" for "time". Which some take in such a way that they constitute six thousand years as one day, and divide it into parts like twelve hours, so that thus the last five hundred years seem to have the last hour: in which years, they say, John was already speaking when he said it was the last hour.

18. But it is one thing to know something, another to suspect it. For why rather, if six thousand years are to be counted as one day, is not one hour the twenty-fourth part of it, rather than the twelfth—that is, not five hundred, but two hundred and fifty years? For a whole day is more truly called the whole circuit of the sun, not from East to West, but from East to East, whence the whole day being completed, that is twenty-four hours, it rises again: and by this that last hour, from the time John spoke it, is already found to have passed almost seventy years ago, at the minimum, and the end of the age has not yet come. To this is added, that ecclesiastical history having been diligently inspected, it is found that John the Apostle had died long before five thousand five hundred years from the beginning of the human race were completed.

Nondum erat itaque hora novissima, si sex millium annorum pars duodecima, id est quingenti anni, velut unius horae spatium deputatur. Perro si secundum Scripturas unum diem mille annos esse ponamus, multo magis olim transiit tam longae diei hora novissima; non dico si vicesima quarta pars ejus, qui sunt anni paulo amplius quadraginta, sed si duodecima deputetur, quae illos annos duplos habet. Unde convenientius ille apostolus creditur horam posuisse pro tempore; quae hora quam longa sit, ignoramus, quia non est nostrum scire tempora, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate: quamvis eam novissimam esse noverimus, multo magis utique nos, quam qui fuerunt ante nos, ex quo esse vel dici coepit hora novissima.

CAPUT VII.

19. Quod autem ideo videtur Venerationi tuae comprehendi non posse temporum mensuras, ut definiatur quo anno futurus est finis, quia secundum promissionem Domini breviabuntur dies illi, prorsus non intelligo. Si enim sic breviabuntur, ut fiant ex pluribus pauciores; quaero secundum quam veritatem futuri eraent plures, nisi breviarentur? Hebdomades enim sancti Danielis non ad primum Domini adventum, sicut pluribus visum est, sed ad secundum potius existimas pertinere. Itanc ergo breviabuntur, ut vel una in eis hebdomada minus futura sit, et falsa erit prophetia, quae tanta diligentia numerum hebdomadarum definire curavit, ut quiddam diceret etiam dimidio hebdomadis implendum? Miror si per prophetiam Christi destruitur prophetia Danielis. Deinde quale est ut putemus ignorasse Danielem, vel potius angelum, a quo ista dicebat breviaturum Dominum dies illos, et errasse ut hoc diceret; vel scisse quidem, sed ei quem docebat fuisse mentitum? Quod si absurdum est, cur non potius credimus secundum id quod breviaturus est Dominus dies illos, tot hebdomadas prophetasse Danielem? si tamen ad secundum Domini adventum (quod nescio quemadmodum possit ostendi), ille numerus refertur annorum.

20. Postremo, multo certius securiusque dicitur Domini adventum intra septuaginta, aut, ut plurimum, intra centum annos futurum, si hebdomades istae ipsum praenuntiant. Anni enim quadringenti nonaginta sunt in hebdomadibus septuaginta: a nativitate autem Domini hodie computantur anni ferme quadringenti viginti; a resurrectione autem vel ascensione ejus, anni plus minus trecenti nonaginta.

It was not yet, therefore, the last hour, if the twelfth part of six thousand years—that is five hundred years—is counted as the space of one hour. Furthermore, if according to the Scriptures we put one day to be a thousand years, much more long ago has the last hour of so long a day passed; I do not say if the twenty-fourth part of it, which are years a little more than forty, but if the twelfth part be counted, which has double those years. Whence that Apostle is more suitably believed to have put "hour" for "time"; which hour how long it is, we are ignorant, because it is not for us to know the times, which the Father has put in His own power: although we know it to be the last, certainly much more we, than those who were before us, since the last hour began to be or to be called so.

CHAPTER VII.

19. But as to why it seems to your Veneration that the measures of the times cannot be comprehended so as to define in what year the end is to be, because according to the promise of the Lord those days shall be shortened, I simply do not understand. For if they shall be so shortened, that from many they become few; I ask according to what truth were they to be many, unless they were shortened? For you think that the weeks of holy Daniel pertain not to the first advent of the Lord, as it has seemed to many, but rather to the second. Is it then so that they shall be shortened, that even one week in them shall be missing, and the prophecy will be false, which with such diligence took care to define the number of weeks, so that it said something was to be fulfilled even in the half of a week? I wonder if by the prophecy of Christ the prophecy of Daniel is destroyed. Then what is it like that we should think Daniel was ignorant, or rather the angel from whom he spoke these things, that the Lord would shorten those days, and erred so as to say this; or knew it indeed, but lied to him whom he taught? But if this is absurd, why do we not rather believe that Daniel prophesied so many weeks according to that which the Lord was going to shorten those days? if yet that number of years is referred to the second advent of the Lord (which I know not how it can be shown).

Finally, it is said much more certainly and securely that the advent of the Lord shall be within seventy, or, at most, within a hundred years, if those weeks foretell it. For there are four hundred and ninety years in seventy weeks: but from the nativity of the Lord today are computed almost four hundred and twenty years; but from His resurrection or ascension, three hundred and ninety years more or less.

Ac per hoc, si ex quo natus est computetur, septuaginta sunt reliqui; si ex quo passus est, circiter centum remanent: intra quos Danielis omnes hebdomades, si de novissimo ejus adventu prophetatae sunt, implebuntur. Qui ergo dicit, Intra tot annos erit, tunc falsum dicit si ultra erit: sed quia breviabuntur, pauciores poterunt esse, non plures. Recte itaque dicitur, Intra hos erit, quoniam quantumlibet brevientur, verum erit: ipsa namque breviatio si eo modo intelligenda est ut pauciores fiant, ultra eos diem Domini venire non patitur, sed magis magisque intra eos quanto fuerint pauciores. Non igitur ista breviatio turbat computatorem qui eo modo definierit, ut dicat intra tot annos diem Domini esse venturum; sed adjuvat potius, quoniam quanto magis ad paucitatem redigentur dies, tanto magis erit intra, et ultra esse non poterit: atque ideo verum erit quod ita definitur, ut dicatur, Intra tot annos erit, quamvis nesciatur quo anno futurum sit.

21. Proinde tota quaestio est utrum Danielis Hebdomades primo adventu Domini impletae sint, an finem saeculi prophetaverint, an ad utrumque pertineant. Neque enim qui etiam hoc saperent, defuerunt dicentes, tempore primi adventus Christi esse completas, et inde usque ad finem saeculi totidem rursus esse complendas. Equidem video quia si primus eas non complevit adventus, necesse est ut secundus eas compleat; quoniam prophetia illa non potest esse falsa: quae si tempore primi adventus impleta est, non cogit intelligi quod etiam de fine saeculi implebitur. Ac per hoc incertum est, etiamsi verum est; neque negandum quidem, sed neque praesumendum est id futurum. Relinquitur itaque, ut qui vult cogere istam prophetiam credi saeculi fine complendam, contendat quantum potest, et ostendat si potest, primo adventu Domini non fuisse completam, contra tot expositores divinorum eloquiorum, qui hinc non solum computatione temporum, verum etiam rebus ipsis completam fuisse demonstrant, maxime quod ibi scriptum est, Et ungetur Sanctus sanctorum: vel propter quod in eadem prophetia hebraei codices expressius habent, Occidetur Christus, et non erit ejus (Dan. IX, 24, 26). id est, non erit ejus civitatis; quoniam sic alienatus est a Judaeis, qui eum propterea Salvatorem redemptoremque suum non esse crediderunt, quia occidere potuerunt. Neque enim in fine saeculi ungendus aut occidendus est Christus, ut ista prophetia Danielis tunc exspectetur implenda, quae nondum credatur impleta.

CAPUT VIII.

And by this, if it be computed from when He was born, there are seventy remaining; if from when He suffered, about a hundred remain: within which all the weeks of Daniel, if they were prophesied concerning His last advent, shall be fulfilled. He therefore who says, It shall be within so many years, then says what is false if it shall be beyond them: but because they shall be shortened, they can be fewer, not more. Rightly therefore it is said, It shall be within these, since however much they may be shortened, it shall be true: for that very shortening, if it is to be understood in that way that they become fewer, does not allow the day of the Lord to come beyond them, but more and more within them as much as they shall be fewer. Therefore that shortening does not disturb the calculator who has defined it in that way, so as to say that within so many years the day of the Lord is to come; but it rather helps him, since by how much more the days shall be reduced to fewness, so much more shall it be within, and it cannot be beyond: and therefore it shall be true what is so defined, so as to be said, It shall be within so many years, although it be not known in what year it shall be.

21. Therefore the whole question is whether the Weeks of Daniel were fulfilled in the first advent of the Lord, or whether they prophesied the end of the world, or whether they pertain to both. For there have not been lacking those who were wise even in this, saying that they were completed at the time of the first advent of Christ, and from then until the end of the world just as many are to be completed again. Indeed I see that if the first advent did not complete them, it is necessary that the second should complete them; since that prophecy cannot be false: which, if it was fulfilled at the time of the first advent, does not force it to be understood that it will also be fulfilled concerning the end of the world. And by this it is uncertain, even if it is true; and it is not to be denied indeed, but neither is it to be presumed that it will be so. It remains, therefore, that he who wishes to force this prophecy to be believed as to be completed at the end of the world, should contend as much as he can, and show if he can, that it was not completed in the first advent of the Lord, against so many expositors of the divine oracles, who from this demonstrate that it was completed not only by the computation of times, but even by the things themselves, especially because it is written there, And the Holy of holies shall be anointed: or because in the same prophecy the Hebrew codices have more expressly, Christ shall be slain, and he shall not be his (Dan. IX, 24, 26). that is, he shall not be of that city; since he was so alienated from the Jews, who for that reason believed Him not to be their Savior and Redeemer, because they were able to kill Him. For Christ is not to be anointed or slain at the end of the world, so that this prophecy of Daniel should then be expected to be fulfilled, which is not yet believed to have been fulfilled.

CHAPTER VIII.

22. Quod autem de signis evangelicis et propheticis, quae fieri cernimus, propinquum Domini adventum sperare debeamus, quis negat? quotidie quippe magis magisque fit proximus. Sed quanto intervallo propinquet, hoc, dictum est, non est vestrum scire. Vide quando dixit Apostolus, Nunc enim propior est nostra salus, quam cum credidimus. Nox praecessit, dies autem appropinquavit (Rom. XIII, 11, 12): et ecce quot anni transierunt! nec tamen quod dixit falsum est. Quanto magis nunc dicendum est propinquare Domini adventum; quando tantus est ad finem factus accessus! Apostolus certe, Spiritus, inquit, manifeste dicit quia in novissimis temporibus recedent quidam a fide (I Tim. IV, 1). Nondum utique erant eadem tempora, haereticorum scilicet et talium, quales eodem sermone describit; sed jam venerunt: ac per hoc in novissimis temporibus videmur etiam per ipsos de fine saeculi commoneri. Itemque alibi dicens, Hoc autem scitote, quoniam in novissimis diebus instabunt tempora saeva, vel, sicut alii codices habent, periculosa: deinde qualia futura sint exprimens, Erunt enim homines, inquit, seipsos amantes, amatores pecuniae, elati, superbi, blasphemi, parentibus non obedientes, ingrati, scelesti, irreligiosi, sine affectione, detractores, incontinentes, immites, sine benignitate. proditores, procaces, caecati, voluptatum amatores magis quam Dei, habentes speciem pietatis, virtutem autem ejus abnegantes. Mirum si tales homines aliquando defuerunt. Denique quia et tunc erant, adjungit ac dicit. Et hos devita. Ex his enim sunt qui penetrant domos. Non ait, Penetrabunt, tanquam et hic futurum praenuntians, sicut supra dixerat, Instabunt tempora periculosa; sed ait, Penetrant domos, et captivas ducunt mulierculas (II Tim. III, 1-6): non ait, Ducent, vel, ducturi sunt; sed, jam ducunt.

23. Nec putandus est hoc loco, pro temporis futuri verbis, praesentis temporis verba posuisse; quandoquidem illos ab eo cui scribit, evitari admonebat. Nec tamen frustra dixit, In novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa; et hinc ea periculosa futura demonstrans tales homines futuros esse praedixit, nisi quia tanto plures erunt, magisque abundabunt, quanto magis propinquatur ad finem. Videmus ergo tales nunc abundare. Sed quid, si abundantiores erunt post nos, et omnino abundantissimi quando jam jamque ipse finis instabit, qui quamdiu aberit ignoratur? Novissimi quippe dies dicti sunt, et in ipsis primis Apostolorum diebus, cum Domini in coelum recens esset ascensus, quando die Pentecostes misit promissum Spiritum sanctum, et quidam stupebant admirantes eos qui linguis quas non didicerant, loquebantur, quidam vero irridentes, musto plenos esse dicebant. Quo die Petrus loquens ad illos qui de hac re varie movebantur: Non enim sicut, inquit, suspicamini, ebrii sunt isti, cum sit hora diei tertia.

22. For who denies that we ought to hope for the approach of the advent of the Lord from the evangelical and prophetic signs which we see coming to pass? since indeed every day it becomes nearer and nearer. But by how great an interval it approaches, of this it is said, *it is not for you to know*. See when the Apostle said, *For now our salvation is nearer than when we believed. The night is far spent, but the day is at hand* (Rom. XIII, 11, 12): and behold how many years have passed! yet what he said is not false. By how much more is it now to be said that the advent of the Lord is approaching; when so great an approach has been made to the end! The Apostle certainly says, *The Spirit manifestly says that in the last times some shall depart from the faith* (I Tim. IV, 1). Those times were not yet there, namely of the heretics and such like, whom he describes in the same discourse; but they have already come: and by this in the last times we seem even through them to be warned of the end of the world. And likewise in another place saying, *But know this, that in the last days shall come dangerous times*, or, as other codices have it, *perilous*: then expressing of what sort they are to be, *For men*, he says, *shall be lovers of themselves, lovers of money, elated, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, ungrateful, wicked, irreligious, without affection, detractors, incontinent, unmerciful, without benignity, traitors, reckless, blinded, lovers of pleasures more than of God, having a form of piety, but denying the power thereof*. It is a wonder if such men have ever been lacking. Finally, because they were even then present, he adds and says. *And avoid these. For of these are they who creep into houses*. He does not say, *They shall creep*, as if foretelling it here as future, just as he had said above, *Dangerous times shall come*; but he says, *They creep into houses, and lead captive silly women* (II Tim. III, 1-6): he does not say, *They shall lead*, or, *are about to lead*; but, they already *lead*.

23. Nor is it to be thought in this place that he put words of the present time for words of the future time; since indeed he was admonishing him to whom he wrote that they should be avoided. Nor yet in vain did he say, *In the last days shall come dangerous times*; and from this demonstrating that they would be dangerous, he predicted that such men would be, except because they shall be so many more, and shall more abound, by how much more the end is approached. We see therefore such now to abound. But what if they shall be more abundant after us, and altogether most abundant when the end itself shall be just now imminent, which it is ignored how long it shall be away? For the last days were said to be even in those first days of the Apostles, when the ascension of the Lord into heaven was recent, when on the day of Pentecost He sent the promised Holy Spirit, and some stood still wondering at those who spoke in tongues which they had not learned, but others mocking said they were full of new wine. On which day Peter, speaking to those who were variously moved by this matter: *For these*, he said, *are not as you suppose, drunk, since it is the third hour of the day.

Sed attendite quoniam hoc est quod dictum est per prophetam, Erit in novissimis diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem, etc. (Act. II, 1, 17).

24. Jam tunc ergo erant dies novissimi; quanto magis nunc, etiamsi tantum dierum remansit usque in finem, quantum ad hunc diem a Domini ascensione transactum est, vel aliquid sive minus restet sive amplius? quod profecto nescimus, quia non est nostrum scire tempora vel momenta, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate: cum tamen sciamus, in novissimis temporibus, in novissimis diebus, in novissima hora nos agere, sicut Apostoli; sed multo magis qui fuerunt post illos ante nos, et multo magis nos, et magis quam nos qui erunt post nos, donec ad illos veniatur qui erunt, si dici potest, novissimorum novissimi, atque ad ipsum omnino novissimum, quem vult intelligi Dominus, ubi dicit, Et resuscitabo eum in novissimo die (Joan. VI, 40): qui quam longe absit, comprehendi non potest.

CAPUT IX.

25. Signa quae in Evangelio futura praedicta sunt, sicut commemorat Sanctitas tua, secundum Lucam (Luc. XXI, 7-33), eadem sunt secundum Matthaeum (Matth. XXIV, 1-44), et secundum Marcum (Marc. XIII). Hi enim tres narrant quae dixerit Dominus, cum interrogatus esset a discipulis suis, quando futura essent quae de templi eversione praedixerat, et quod signum esset adventus ejus, et consummationis saeculi. Non enim discrepant rebus, si alius aliquid dicit quod alius tacet, aut alio modo dicit: magis autem collata invicem juvant, ut legentis intellectus regatur. Sed de omnibus disputare nunc longum est. Interrogantibus enim Dominus ea respondit, quae jam ex illo tempore fuerant secutura, sive de excidio Jerusalem, unde orta est ipsius interrogationis occasio; sive de adventu suo per Ecclesiam, in qua usque ad finem venire non cessat: in suis enim veniens agnoscitur, dum ejus quotidie membra nascuntur; de quo adventu ait, Amodo videbitis Filium hominis venientem in nubibus (Matth. XXVI, 64): de quibus nubibus dictum est per prophetam, Mandabo nubibus meis ne pluant super eam (Isai. V, 6): sive de ipso fine, in quo apparebit vivos judicaturus et mortuos.

But attend, because this is that which was said by the prophet: It shall be in the last days, says the Lord, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh*, etc. (Acts II, 1, 17).

24. Even then, therefore, were the last days; by how much more now, even if as many days remain until the end as have passed to this day since the ascension of the Lord, or whether something less or more remains? which indeed we know not, because it is not for us to know the times or the moments, which the Father has put in His own power: while yet we know that we act in the last times, in the last days, in the last hour, as did the Apostles; but much more those who were after them before us, and much more we, and more than we those who shall be after us, until it comes to those who shall be, if it can be said, the newest of the newest, and to the altogether newest, which the Lord wishes to be understood where He says, *And I will raise him up in the last day* (John VI, 40): of which how far off it may be, cannot be comprehended.

CHAPTER IX.

25. The signs which are predicted in the Gospel as future, as your Holiness mentions, according to Luke (Luke XXI, 7-33), are the same according to Matthew (Matth. XXIV, 1-44), and according to Mark (Mark XIII). For these three narrate what the Lord said, when He was asked by His disciples when those things should be which He had predicted concerning the destruction of the temple, and what should be the sign of His advent, and of the consummation of the world. For they do not disagree in facts, if one says something which another is silent about, or says it in another way: but rather compared with each other they help, so that the understanding of the reader may be guided. But it is long now to dispute about all. For to those asking the Lord responded those things which were already to follow from that time, whether concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, whence the occasion of the interrogation itself arose; or concerning His advent through the Church, in which until the end He does not cease to come: for coming in His own He is recognized, while His members are daily born; concerning which advent He says, *Henceforth you shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds* (Matth. XXVI, 64): concerning which clouds it is said by the prophet, *I will command my clouds that they rain no rain upon it* (Isai. V, 6): or concerning the end itself, in which He shall appear to judge the living and the dead.

26. Cum itaque signa dicat, quae ad ista tria pertinent, id est, ad excidium illius civitatis; ad adventum ejus in corpore suo, quod est Ecclesia; ad adventum ejus in capite Ecclesiae, quod est ipse: quod eorum signorum ad quod horum trium referendum sit, diligenti consideratione ceruendum est, ne forte quod pertinet ad eversionem Jerusalem, ad finem saeculi referendum putemus; aut e contrario quod ad finem saeculi pertinet, affirmemus ad civitatis illius excidium pertinere; aut quod pertinet ad ejus adventum in corpore suo, quod est Ecclesia, dicamus pertinere ad ejus adventum novissimum in corpore suo, quod est caput Ecclesiae; aut rursus quod pertinet ad adventum ejus novissimum per seipsum, ad eum pertinere asseveremus adventum qui est per Ecclesiam. In quibus omnibus sunt quaedam manifesta, quaedam vero sic obscura, ut vel laboriosum sit ea dijudicare, vel temerarium, quamdiu non intelliguntur, de his aliquid definire.

27. Quis enim non videat ad illam civitatem pertinere quod dictum est, Cum autem videritis circumdari ab exercitu Jerusalem, tunc scitote quia appropinquavit desolatio ejus (Luc. XXI, 20)? Item quis non videat ad adventum Domini novissimum pertinere quod dictum est, Cum videritis haec fieri, scitote quoniam prope est regnum Dei? Illud autem quod dictum est, Vae praegnantibus et nutrientibus in illis diebus. Orate autem ut non fiat fuga vestra hieme vel sabbato. Erit enim tunc tribulatio magna, qualis non fuit ab initio mundi, neque fiet; sic est positum secundum Matthaeum, et secundum Marcum, ut incertum sit utrum de excidio illius civitatis, an de saeculi fine intelligi debeat. Sic enim hoc ipsum legitur apud Marcum, Vae autem praegnantibus et nutrientibus in illis diebus. Orate ut hieme non fiant. Erunt enim dies illi tribulationis tales, quales non fuerunt ab initio creaturae quam condidit Deus, usque nunc, neque fient. Et nisi breviasset Dominus dies illos, non fuisset salva omnis caro: sed propter electos, quos elegit, breviavit dies. Non dissimiliter et Matthaeus. Hoc autem Lucas ita posuit, ut appareat ad illius civitatis excidium pertinere; nam sic apud eum legitur: Vae autem praegnantibus et nutrientibus in illis diebus. Erit enim pressura magna super terram, et ira populo huic; et cadent in ore gladii, et captivi ducentur in omnes gentes; et Jerusalem calcabitur a gentibus, donec impleantur tempora nationum.

26. Since, therefore, He mentions signs which pertain to these three things—that is, to the destruction of that city; to His advent in His body, which is the Church; to His advent in the head of the Church, which is Himself— it must be discerned with diligent consideration which of those signs is to be referred to which of these three, lest perhaps we should think that what pertains to the destruction of Jerusalem is to be referred to the end of the world; or on the contrary, should assert that what pertains to the end of the world pertains to the destruction of that city; or that what pertains to His advent in His body, which is the Church, we should say pertains to His last advent in His body, which is the head of the Church; or again, that what pertains to His last advent by Himself, we should assert pertains to that advent which is through the Church. In all of which some things are manifest, but some indeed so obscure, that it is either laborious to judge them, or rash, so long as they are not understood, to define anything concerning them.

27. For who would not see that what was said pertains to that city: *But when you shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, then know that its desolation is at hand* (Luke XXI, 20)? Likewise, who would not see that what was said pertains to the last advent of the Lord: *When you shall see these things come to pass, know that the kingdom of God is at hand*? But that which was said: *Woe to those who are pregnant and those who give suck in those days. But pray that your flight be not in the winter or on the sabbath. For there shall be then great tribulation, such as has not been from the beginning of the world, nor shall be*; is so placed according to Matthew, and according to Mark, that it is uncertain whether it ought to be understood of the destruction of that city, or of the end of the world. For thus this very thing is read in Mark: *But woe to those who are pregnant and those who give suck in those days. Pray that they be not in the winter. For those days of tribulation shall be such as have not been from the beginning of the creature which God created, until now, nor shall be. And unless the Lord had shortened those days, no flesh should have been saved: but for the sake of the elect, whom He has chosen, He has shortened the days*. Not dissimilarly also Matthew. But Luke placed this so that it appears to pertain to the destruction of that city; for thus it is read in him: *But woe to those who are pregnant and those who give suck in those days. For there shall be great distress upon the land, and wrath upon this people; and they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captives into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the nations, until the times of the nations be fulfilled*.

28. Unde autem ad hoc ventum est, Matthaeus ita scribit: Cum ergo videritis abominationem desolationis, quae dicta est a Daniele propheta, stantem in loco sancto, qui legit, intelligat: tunc qui in Judaea sunt, fugiant in montes; et qui in tecto, non descendat tollere aliquid de domo sua; et qui in agro, non revertatur tollere tunicam suam. Vae autem praegnantibus et nutrientibus in illis diebus, etc. Marcus vero ita: Cum autem videritis abominationem desolationis stantem ubi non debet, qui legit, intelligat: tunc qui in Judaea sunt, fugiant in montes; et qui super tectum, ne descendat in domum, nec introeat ut tollat quid de domo sua; et qui in agro erit, non revertatur retro tollere vestimentum suum. Vae autem praegnantibus et nutrientibus in illis diebus, et reliqua. Lucas vero ut ostenderet tunc factam fuisse abominationem desolationis, quae a Daniele praedicta est, quando expugnata est Jerusalem, haec eodem loco Domini verba commemorat: Cum autem videritis circumdari ab exercitu Jerusalem, tunc scitote quia appropinquavit desolatio ejus. Apparet itaque tunc ibi positam desolationis abominationem, de qua duo illi evangelistae locuti sunt. Denique etiam iste similiter sequitur: Tunc qui in Judaea sunt, fugiant in montes. Et pro eo quod dixerunt illi, et qui super tectum, ne descendat in domum, nec introeat ut tollat quid de domo; iste dixit, et qui in medio ejus sunt, discedant: ut ostenderetur illis verbis apud alios evangelistas positis, festinationem fugae fuisse praeceptam. Et pro eo quod illi posuerunt, et qui in agro erit, non revertatur retro tollere vestimentum suum; apertius iste ait, et qui in regionibus, non intrent in eam; quia dies ultionis hi sunt, ut impleantur omnia quae scripta sunt. Deinde similiter etiam iste sequitur, ut prorsus manifestum sit de hac re ipsa omnium trium esse hunc Evangelii locum, Vae autem praegnantibus et nutrientibus in illis diebus, et caetera ad hoc pertinentia, quae jam commemoravi superius.

29. Lucas ergo patefecit quod esse posse incertum non ad saeculi finem, sed ad expugnationem Jerusalem pertinere id quod dictum est de abominatione desolationis, et quod dictum est de dierum breviatione propter electos; quia etsi ea ipse non dixit, dixit tamen apertius caetera de hoc ipso, quo et ista pertinere monstravit. Non enim debemus ambigere, quando eversa est Jerusalem, fuisse in illo populo electos Dei, qui ex circumcisione crediderant, sive fuerant crediturí, electi ante constitutionem mundi, propter quos breviarentur dies illi, ut tolerabilia mala fierent.

28. But whence it comes to this, Matthew writes thus: *When therefore you shall see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place: he that readeth let him understand. Then they that are in Judea, let them flee to the mountains: and he that is on the house-top, let them not come down to take anything out of his house: and he that is in the field, let him not go back to take his coat. But woe to them that are with child and that give suck in those days*, etc. But Mark thus: *But when you shall see the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not: he that readeth let him understand. Then let them that are in Judea flee to the mountains: and let him that is on the house-top, not go down into the house, nor enter therein to take anything out of his house: and let him that shall be in the field, not turn back to take up his garment. But woe to them that are with child and that give suck in those days*, and the rest. But Luke, that he might show that the abomination of desolation, which was foretold by Daniel, had then come to pass when Jerusalem was besieged, mentions these words of the Lord in the same place: *But when you shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, then know that its desolation is at hand*. It appears therefore that then the abomination of desolation was placed there, of which those two evangelists spoke. Finally even he follows similarly: *Then let them that are in Judea flee to the mountains*. And for that which they said, *and let him that is on the house-top not go down into the house, nor enter therein to take anything out of his house*; he said, *and let them that are in the midst thereof depart*: so that it might be shown by those words placed in the other evangelists, that haste of flight was commanded. And for that which they put, *and let him that shall be in the field not turn back to take up his garment*; more clearly he says, *and let not them that are in the countries enter into it; for these are the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled*. Then similarly even he follows, so that it is altogether manifest that this place of the Gospel belongs to all three concerning this very matter, *But woe to them that are with child and that give suck in those days*, and other things pertaining to this, which I have already mentioned above.

29. Luke therefore laid open that what could be uncertain pertains not to the end of the world, but to the siege of Jerusalem—that which was said concerning the abomination of desolation, and that which was said concerning the shortening of the days for the sake of the elect; because although he himself did not say those things, he yet said more clearly other things concerning this very matter, by which he showed that these also pertain to it. For we ought not to doubt that when Jerusalem was overthrown, there were in that people the elect of God, who had believed from the circumcision, or were about to believe, chosen before the foundation of the world, for whose sake those days should be shortened, that the evils might become tolerable.

Nam quidam convenientius intellexisse mihi videntur, mala ipsa significata nomine dierum, sicut dicti sunt dies mali in aliis divinae Scripturae locis (Ephes. V, 16): neque enim dies ipsi mali sunt, sed ea quae fiunt in eis. Ipsa ergo dicta sunt breviari, ut Deo donante tolerantiam minus sentirentur, ac sic quae magna essent brevia fierent.

30. Sed sive isto modo intelligenda sit dierum illa breviatio, sive quod ad paucitatem redigerentur, sive quod cursu solis celeriore breviarentur; non enim desunt qui et hoc existiment, ita scilicet dictos breviores dies futuros, sicut fuit longior dies, orante Jesu Nave (Josue X, 12-14): tamen Lucas evangelista et hanc dierum breviationem, et abominationem desolationis, quae duo ipse non dixit, sed Matthaeus Marcusque dixerunt, ad eversionem Jerusalem docuit pertinere, alia cum eis dicens apertius de hac eadem re, quae illi posuerunt obscurius. Nam Josephus qui Judaicam scripsit historiam, talia mala dicit illi populo tunc accidisse, ut vix credibilia videantur: uode non immerito dictum est, talem tribulationem nec fuisse a creaturae initio, nec futuram. Sed etsi tempore Antichristi talis aut major forsitan erit, intelligendum est de illo populo dictum, quod ei talis amplius futura non erit: si enim Antichristum illi primitus et praecipue recepturi sunt, facturus est tunc idem populus tribulationem potius quam passurus.

31. Non est ergo cur putemus Hebdomadas prophetae Danielis, vel propter dierum breviationem fuisse turbatas, vel illo jam tempore non fuisse completas, sed in fine saeculi esse complendas. Non enim ante passionem Domini impletae sunt. Quod qui putant, rectissime tua sententia refelluntur, qua dixisti: Haec ergo abominatio si jam completa fuerat, quomodo Dominus monet et dicit, «Cum videritis abominationem desolationis, quod dictum est per Danielem prophetam, stantem in loco sancto, qui legit, intelligat» (Matth. XXIV, 15)? His verbis Beatitudinis tuae illi merito corrigendi sunt, qui dicunt eam, cum haec Dominus loqueretur, vel ante passionem resurrectionemque ejus fuisse completam. Qui autem dicunt, sicut apertissime etiam Lucas evangelista testatur, tunc fuisse factam, quando eversa est Jerusalem, quid eis respondeatur, videre debent qui in fine saeculi vel circa finem existimant haec futura; quanquam ipsa desolationis abominatio propter obscuritatem dicti non uno modo ab omnibus potuerit intelligi.

For some seem to me to have understood more conveniently that the evils themselves were signified by the name of *days*, just as *evil days* are spoken of in other places of divine Scripture (Eph. V, 16): for the days themselves are not evil, but the things which are done in them. These things therefore were said to be shortened, that by God giving endurance they might be less felt, and thus what things were great might become brief.

30. But whether that shortening of the days is to be understood in this way, or that they were reduced to fewness, or that they were shortened by a swifter course of the sun (for there are not lacking those who think this also, namely that the days were so called to be shorter, as the day was longer when Joshua the son of Nun prayed [Joshua X, 12-14]); yet Luke the evangelist taught that both this shortening of the days and the abomination of desolation—which two he himself did not say, but Matthew and Mark said—pertain to the overthrow of Jerusalem, saying other things with them more clearly concerning this same matter, which they placed more obscurely. For Josephus, who wrote the Jewish history, says that such evils then happened to that people, that they seem scarcely credible: whence it was not undeservedly said that such tribulation had neither been from the beginning of the creature, nor was to be. But even if in the time of Antichrist there shall be such or perhaps greater, it is to be understood as said of that people, that to them such shall no more be future: for if they are to receive Antichrist first and principally, that same people is then to do tribulation rather than to suffer it.

31. There is no reason, therefore, why we should think that the Weeks of the prophet Daniel were either disturbed on account of the shortening of the days, or were not completed at that time, but are to be completed at the end of the world. For they were not fulfilled before the passion of the Lord. Those who think so are most rightly refuted by your own sentence, in which you said: *If this abomination had therefore already been completed, how does the Lord warn and say, "When you shall see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place, he that readeth let him understand"* (Matth. XXIV, 15)? By these words of your Beatitude those are deservedly to be corrected who say that it was completed when the Lord was speaking these things, or before His passion and resurrection. But as for those who say, as even Luke the evangelist most clearly witnesses, that it took place then, when Jerusalem was overthrown, those who think that these things are future at the end of the world or around the end ought to see what should be responded to them; although the abomination of desolation itself, on account of the obscurity of the saying, could not be understood in only one way by all.

32. Et quod dictum est, Qui est in tecto, non descendat tollere aliquid de domo sua; et qui in agro, non revertatur tollere tunicam suam; potest congruentius intelligi spiritualiter, quod in tribulationibus omnibus est cavendum, ne quisque devictus ad carnalem vitam de spirituali sublimitate descendat, aut qui profecerat in anteriora se extendens, deficiendo in posteriora respiciat. Quod si in omni tribulatione, quanto magis in illa cavendum praecipi debuit, quae talis futura praedicta est illi civitati, qualis non fuit ab initio, neque fiet; et si in ista, quanto magis in illa, quae novissima futura est orbi terrae, id est Ecclesiae toto orbe diffusae! Nam et ipse Lucas, non quidem quando a discipulis suis de adventu suo Dominus interrogatus est, ubi hoc Matthaeus commemoravit et Marcus, sed alio loco ubi Pharisaei quaesierunt ab illo quando veniet regnum Dei, tale aliquid eum dixisse narravit: In illa, inquit, hora, qui fuerit in tecto, et vasa ejus in domo, ne descendat tollere illa; et qui in agro, similiter non redeat retro (Luc. XVII, 20-31).

33. Sed nunc propter computatione temporum de Danielis Hebdomadibus agitur, quae si circa tempora primi adventus Domini completae non sunt, atque in fine complendae sunt, Apostolos hoc ignorasse, vel scisse quidem, sed docere prohibitos fuisse quis credat? Quanquam si hoc ita est, utiliter nesciunt gentes quod Dominus docere prohibuit eos quos gentium voluit esse doctores. Si autem jam completae sunt, quia jam est unctus Sanctus sanctorum, jam occisus est Christus, ut non esset civitatis ejus, jam de templo illo sublatum est sacrificium, sublata est unctio, merito Apostolis de fine quaerentibus responsum est, Non est vestrum scire tempora, quae Pater in sua potestate posuit; quoniam tempora quae per Danielis prophetiam scire poterant, non ad finem saeculi, de quo quaesierant, pertinebant.

CAPUT X.

34. Signa vero de coelo et terra, numquid majora nos vidimus, quam qui fuerunt ante nos? Nonne si gentium legatur historia, tanta mira reperiuntur extitisse de coelo terraque, ut aliqua etiam non credantur? Sed, ut multa omittam quae persequi longum est, duos soles quando nos vidimus? quos visos litteris mandaverunt qui tunc fuerunt, antequam Dominus venisset in carne. Quando nos vidimus solem sic obscuratum, quemadmodum obscuratus est, cum Lumen mundi penderet in ligno?

32. And that which was said, *He who is on the house-top, let him not come down to take anything out of his house; and he who is in the field, let him not turn back to take his coat*; can more congruously be understood spiritually, that in all tribulations caution must be taken lest anyone, being overcome, should descend from spiritual sublimity to carnal life, or lest he who had made progress, stretching himself forward to the things that are before, should by failing look back to the things that are behind. But if in every tribulation, how much more ought caution to have been commanded in that one which was predicted to be such for that city as has not been from the beginning, nor shall be; and if in that one, how much more in that which is to be the last for the whole world, that is, for the Church diffused throughout the whole world! For Luke himself also narrated that He said something of the kind, not indeed when the Lord was questioned by His disciples concerning His advent, where Matthew and Mark mentioned this, but in another place where the Pharisees asked Him when the kingdom of God should come: *In that hour*, He says, *he who shall be on the house-top, and his vessels in the house, let him not come down to take them; and he who is in the field, let him likewise not return back* (Luke XVII, 20-31).

33. But now, on account of the computation of times, the Weeks of Daniel are being dealt with; which if they were not completed around the times of the first advent of the Lord, and are to be completed at the end, who would believe that the Apostles were ignorant of this, or indeed knew it, but were prohibited from teaching it? Although if it be so, the nations usefully are ignorant of what the Lord prohibited those from teaching whom He willed to be the teachers of the nations. But if they are already completed, because the Holy of holies is already anointed, Christ is already slain so that He should not be of that city, already the sacrifice has been taken away from that temple, the anointing has been taken away, deservedly was it responded to the Apostles inquiring about the end, *It is not for you to know the times, which the Father has put in His own power*; since the times which they could know through Daniel's prophecy did not pertain to the end of the world, concerning which they had inquired.

CHAPTER X.

34. But as for signs from heaven and earth, have we seen any greater than those who were before us? Is it not so that if the history of the nations be read, so many wonders are found to have existed from heaven and earth, that some are not even believed? But, to omit many which it is long to pursue, when did we see two suns? which were seen and committed to letters by those who were then, before the Lord had come in the flesh. When did we see the sun so obscured, as it was obscured when the Light of the world hung upon the tree?

nisi forte defectus solis et lunae, quos consueverunt computatores siderum annotare atque praedicere, inter coelestia prodigia numerabimus, quia lunam saepius in sua plenitudine, solem vero rarius, sed tamen vidimus in fine lunae secundum eorum computum defecisse. Non erat talis solis ille defectus, quando crucifixus est Christus, et ideo vere mirabilis erat et prodigiosus. Pascha quippe fuerat Judaeorum, quod nonnisi in lunae plenitudine celebratur: secundum astrologorum autem numeros certum est solem, quando luna plena est, non posse deficere, sed quando finis est lunae; non quidem semper, sed aliter nunquam, cum secundum illos numeros deficit. Quid ergo tale unquam quisquam meminit apparuisse de coelo, ex quo Dominus illa praedixit, quale apparuit quando passus est? Quare si apparebunt etiam talia, si non spiritualiter potius intelligenda sunt, tunc apparebunt, quando finis sic appropinquabit ut debeant apparere.

35. Bellis autem per diverse intervalla temporum et locorum quando non terra contrita est? Nam, ut nimis antiqua praeteream, sub imperatore Gallieno, cum Romanas provincias barbaries usquequaque pervaderet, quam multos fratres nostros qui tunc erant in carne, putamus propinquum finem credere potuisse, quoniam longe post ascensionem Domini factum est! ac per hoc etiam ista qualia futura sint, cum fuerit omnino finis proximus, ignoramus; si tamen haec non ita praedicta sunt, ut in Ecclesia potius intelligi debeant. Duae quippe gentes sunt, et duo regna; unum scilicet Christi, alterum diaboli, de quibus dici potuit, Exsurget gens super gentem, et regnum super regnum: quod non desinit fieri, ex quo dictum est, Agite poenitentiam; appropinquavit enim regnum coelorum (Matth. III, 2). Quod vide quando dictum est, et ex illo quot anni transierunt; et tamen verissime dictum est. Novissimis enim diebus Dominus per virginem venit: nec diceretur ista hora novissima, nisi regno appropinquante coelorum, per quam totam horam fiunt quae Dominus propinquante suo regno futura praedixit: sed haec hora quanto spatio protendatur, si Apostolis dictum est, Non est vestrum scire; quanto magis quilibet homo, qualis ego sum, modum suum debet agnoscere, ne plus sapiat quam oportet sapere (Rom. XII, 3).

CAPUT XI.

unless perhaps we shall number among the celestial prodigies the eclipses of the sun and moon, which the computers of the stars are accustomed to note and predict, because we have seen the moon more often in its fullness, but the sun more rarely, yet still at the end of the moon according to their computation, to have failed. That eclipse of the sun was not such as that, when Christ was crucified, and therefore it was truly wonderful and prodigious. For it had been the Passover of the Jews, which is not celebrated except in the fullness of the moon: but according to the numbers of the astrologers it is certain that the sun, when the moon is full, cannot fail, but only when it is the end of the moon; not indeed always, but otherwise never, when it fails according to those numbers. What therefore does anyone remember ever to have appeared from heaven such as that, since the Lord predicted those things, as appeared when He suffered? Wherefore if such things shall appear also, if they are not rather to be understood spiritually, they shall then appear when the end shall so approach that they ought to appear.

35. But as for wars at various intervals of times and places, when has the earth not been bruised by them? For, to pass over those things that are too ancient, under the emperor Gallienus, when barbarism was pervading the Roman provinces everywhere, how many of our brothers who were then in the flesh do we think could have believed the end to be near, since it happened long after the ascension of the Lord! And by this we are also ignorant of what sort those things shall be when the end is altogether at hand; unless yet these things were not so predicted but that they ought rather to be understood in the Church. For there are indeed two nations and two kingdoms; one namely of Christ, the other of the devil, of which it could be said, *Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom*: which does not cease to happen, since it was said, *Repent; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand* (Matth. III, 2). See when that was said, and how many years have passed since then; and yet it was most truly said. For in the last days the Lord came through the virgin: nor would this be called the last hour, except for the approaching kingdom of heaven, throughout which whole hour those things come to pass which the Lord predicted as future when His kingdom was approaching: but how great a space this hour may extend, if it was said to the Apostles, *It is not for you to know*; how much more ought any man, such as I am, to acknowledge his own measure, lest he should be wise more than it behooves to be wise (Rom. XII, 3).

CHAPTER XI.

36. Sed confiteri nos, inquis, poena nostra compellit adesse jam finem, dum impletur quod praenuntiatum est: «Arescentibus hominibus prae timore et exspectatione quae supervenient universo orbi». Nullam, inquis, patriam, nullum locum nostris temporibus non affligi aut tribulari certum est; sicut dictum est, «Prae timore, et exspectatione quae supervenient universo orbi.» Si ergo ista mala quae nunc patitur genus humanum, certa sunt indicia jam Dominum esse venturum, quid est quod ait Apostolus, Cum dixerint, Pax et securitas (I Thess. V, 3)? Cum enim dixisset Evangelium, arescentibus hominibus prae timore et exspectatione; continuo subjunxit, Nam virtutes coelorum movebuntur: et tunc videbunt Filium hominis venientem in nube cum potestate magna et majestate.

37. Videamus itaque ne forte melius intelligatur non ea modo impleri quae praedicta sunt illis verbis, sed tunc potius esse ventura, quando sic erit tribulatio universo orbi; ut ad Ecclesiam pertineat quae universo orbe tribulabitur, non ad eos qui tribulabunt eam. Ipsi enim dicturi sunt, Pax et securitas; ut repentinus illis superveniat interitus, et eos adventus Domini sicut fur in nocte comprehendat; quando e contrario gaudebunt, et exsultabunt qui diligunt manifestationem Domini. Nunc autem ista mala, quae tanquam summa et extrema creduntur, utrique genti et utrique regno, et Christi scilicet, et diaboli, videmus esse communia: pariter quippe his et boni affliguntur et mali; nec est qui dicat, Pax et securitas, ubicumque contingunt, vel metuitur ne contingant. Inter quae tamen mala adhuc usquequaque frequentantur luxuriosa convivia, fervet ebriositas, avaritia grassatur, perstrepunt lascivi cantus, organa, tibiae, lyrae, citharae, tesserae, multa et varia genera sonorum atque ludorum: hoccine est arescere prae timore, an potius madescere prae libidine? Sed hac filii tenebrarum abundantius habebunt, et exercebunt, cum dixerint, Pax et securitas.

38. Quid ipsi filii lucis et filii diei, qui non sunt in tenebris, ut eos tanquam fur dies ille comprehendat? nonne adhuc utuntur hoc mundo tanquam non utentes? Quia etsi ante multos annos, Apostolorum temporibus dictum est, pia tamen sollicitudine cogitant quod dictum est, Tempus breve est (I Cor. VII, 29). Nonne a maxima parte eorum novellatur, aedificatur, emitur, possidetur, geruntur adhuc honores, ducuntur uxores?

36. But our own punishment, you say, compels us to confess that the end is already present, while that which was foretold is being fulfilled: "Men withering away for fear and expectation of what shall come upon the whole world." No country, you say, no place in our times is certain not to be afflicted or troubled; as it was said, "For fear and expectation of what shall come upon the whole world." If therefore those evils which the human race now suffers are certain indications that the Lord is already coming, what is it that the Apostle says, *When they shall say, Peace and security* (I Thess. V, 3)? For when the Gospel had said, *men withering away for fear and expectation*; it immediately added, *For the powers of the heavens shall be moved: and then they shall see the Son of man coming in a cloud with great power and majesty*.

37. Let us see therefore lest perhaps it be better understood that not only are those things being fulfilled which were predicted in those words, but rather that they are then to come, when there shall be such tribulation to the whole world; so that it pertains to the Church which shall be troubled in the whole world, not to those who shall trouble it. For they themselves are to say, *Peace and security*; so that sudden destruction may come upon them, and the advent of the Lord may overtake them as a thief in the night; when on the contrary those who love the manifestation of the Lord shall rejoice and exult. But now we see that these evils, which are believed as if they were the highest and extreme, are common to both nations and both kingdoms, namely of Christ and of the devil: for both the good and the evil are equally afflicted by these; nor is there anyone who says, *Peace and security*, wherever they happen, or it is feared lest they happen. Among which evils, nevertheless, luxurious banquets are still everywhere frequented, drunkenness fervently glows, avarice prowls, lascivious songs resound, organs, pipes, lyres, harps, dice, many and various kinds of sounds and games: is this to wither for fear, or rather to be soaked in lust? But these things the children of darkness shall have more abundantly, and shall exercise, when they shall say, *Peace and security*.

38. What of the children of light themselves and the children of the day, who are not in darkness, so that that day should overtake them as a thief? do they not still use this world as though they used it not? Because although it was said many years ago, in the times of the Apostles, they yet think with pious solicitude upon what was said, *The time is short* (I Cor. VII, 29). Is it not by the greatest part of them that planting is done, building is done, buying is done, possessing is done, honors are still held, wives are led?

De iis loquor, qui exspectantes Dominum suum, quando veniat a nuptiis (Luc. XII, 36), non se tamen abstinent a carnalibus nuptiis, sed obedientissima charitate audiunt Apostolum praecipientem quemadmodum vivere debeant uxores cum viris, viri cum uxoribus, filii cum parentibus, parentes cum filiis, servi cum dominis, domini cum servis: nonne hi omnes in his omnibus utuntur hoc mundo? Arant, navigant, comparant, generant, militant, administrant. Puto quod non erunt sic, quando erunt, quae in Evangelio praedicta sunt, signa in sole, et luna, et stellis, et in terris pressura gentium, prae confusione sonitus maris et fluctuum; arescentibus hominibus prae timore, et exspectatione quae supervenient universo orbi: nam virtutes coelorum movebuntur.

CAPUT XII.

46. Nescio tamen utrum intueri aliquid certius in hac quaestione possemus, si ulla ratione seu facultate possemus, quam illud quod in epistola priore jam posui, quando Evangelio mundus universus impleatur. Quod enim putat Venerabilitas tua jam hoc per ipsos Apostolos factum, non ita esse certis documentis probavi. Sunt enim apud nos, hoc est, in Africa, barbarae innumerabiles gentes, in quibus nondum esse praedicatum Evangelium, ex iis qui ducuntur inde captivi, et Romanorum servitiis jam miscentur, quotidie nobis addiscere in promptu est. Pauci tamen anni sunt, ex quo quidam eorum rarissimi atque pancissimi, qui pucati Romanis finibus adhaerent, ita ut non habeant reges suos, sed super eos praefecti a Romano constituantur imperio, et illi et ipsi eorum praefecti christiani esse coeperunt. Interiores autem, qui sub nulla sunt potestate Romana, prorsus nec religione christiana in suorum aliquibus detinentur, neque ullo modo recte dici potest istos ad promissionem Dei non pertinere.

47. Non enim Romanos, sed omnes gentes Dominus semini Abrahae, media quoque juratione promisit (Gen. XXII, 16-18): ex qua promissione jam factum est ut nonnullae gentes quae non tenentur ditione Romana, reciperent Evangelium, et adjungerentur Ecclesiae, quae fructificat et crescit in universo mundo. Adhuc enim habet quo crescat, donec fiat quod de Christo in Salomonis figura prophetatum est: Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrae (Psal. LXXI, 8).

I speak of those who, expecting their Lord when He shall return from the wedding (Luke XII, 36), yet do not abstain from carnal weddings, but with most obedient charity hear the Apostle prescribing how wives ought to live with husbands, husbands with wives, children with parents, parents with children, servants with masters, masters with servants: do not all these in all these things use this world? They plow, they sail, they buy, they beget, they serve in war, they administer. I think that they will not be thus, when those things shall be which were predicted in the Gospel: *signs in the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and on the earth distress of nations, for the confusion of the sound of the sea and the waves; men withering for fear, and for expectation of those things which shall come upon the whole world: for the powers of the heavens shall be moved*.

CHAPTER XII.

46. However, I do not know whether we could look at anything more certain in this question, if by any reason or faculty we were able, than that which I already set down in my previous letter, as to when the whole world shall be filled with the Gospel. For that which your Veneration thinks was already done through the Apostles themselves, I have proved by certain documents not to be so. For there are among us, that is, in Africa, innumerable barbarian nations, in which it is easy for us to learn daily, from those who are led from there as captives and are already mixed in the services of the Romans, that the Gospel has not yet been preached. Yet it is but a few years since some of them, very rare and very few, who dwell adjacent to the Roman borders, so that they do not have their own kings but have prefects appointed over them by the Roman empire, both they and their prefects themselves have begun to be Christians. But those further inland, who are under no Roman power, are altogether not held by the Christian religion in any of their members; nor can it in any way rightly be said that these do not pertain to the promise of God.

47. For the Lord promised to the seed of Abraham, also by an intervening oath, not the Romans, but all nations (Gen. XXII, 16-18): from which promise it has already come to pass that several nations which are not held by Roman rule, received the Gospel, and were joined to the Church, which brings forth fruit and increases in the whole world. For it still has room where it may increase, until that be fulfilled which was prophesied of Christ in the figure of Solomon: *He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the world* (Psal. LXXI, 8).

A flumine scilicet ubi baptizatus est, quia inde coepit Evangelium praedicare: a mari autem usque ad mare totus est orbis cum omnibus gentibus, quoniam mari oceano cingitur universus. Quomodo autem implebitur aliter illa prophetia: Omnes gentes, quotquot fecisti, venient, et adorabunt coram te, Domine (Psal. LXXXV, 9)? Non enim de locis suis migrando venient, sed in locis suis credendo. De credentibus quippe Dominus dixit: Nemo potest venire ad me, nisi datum fuerit ei a Patre meo (Joan. VI, 66). Propheta autem dicit: Et adorabunt eum unusquisque de loco suo, omnes insulae gentium (Sophon. II, 11). Omnes insulae dixit, tanquam diceret, Etiam omnes insulae; hinc ostendens quam nulla relinquatur terrarum ubi non sit Ecclesia, quando nulla relinquirur insularum, quarum nonnullae etiam in Oceano sunt constitutae, et quasdam earum Evangelium jam suscepisse didicimus. Atque ita et in insulis singulis quibusque impletur quod dictum est, Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, quo unaquaeque insula cingitur; sicut in universo orbe terrarum, quae tammam omnium quodammodo maxima est insula, quia et ipsam cingit Oceanus, ad cujus littora in occidentalibus partibus Ecclesiam pervenisse jam novimus, et quocumque littorum nondum pervenit, perventura est utique fructificando atque crescendo.

48. Si ergo quia prophetia veritatis mentiri non potest, necesse est ut omnes gentes, quotquot fecit Deus, adorent eum; quomodo adorabunt eum, nisi invocent eum? Quomodo autem invocabunt, in quem non crediderunt? aut quomodo credent quem non audierunt? quomodo autem audient sine praedicante? aut quomodo praedicabunt, nisi mittantur (Rom. X, 14)? Mittit enim Angelos suos, et congregat electos suos a quatuor ventis (Matth. XXIV, 31), id est ab universo orbe terrarum. In quibus ergo gentibus nondum est Ecclesia, oportet ut sit, non ut omnes qui ibi fuerint credant; omnes enim gentes promissae sunt, non omnes homines omnium gentium: non enim omnium est fides (II Thess. III, 2). Credit itaque omnis gens in omnibus qui electi sunt ante constitutionem mundi (Eph. I, 4), in caeteris non credit, et credentes odit. Quomodo enim et illud implebitur, Eritis odio omnibus gentibus propter nomen meum (Matth. XXIV, 9); nisi in omnibus gentibus sint et qui oderint, et quos oderint?

49. Quo pacto igitur ab Apostolis est praedicatio ista completa, quando adhuc usque sunt gentes (quod certissimum est nobis) in quibus modo coepit, et in quibus nondum coepit impleri?

From the river namely where He was baptized, because from there He began to preach the Gospel: but *from sea even unto sea* is the whole world with all nations, since the whole is girded by the ocean sea. For how otherwise shall that prophecy be fulfilled: *All nations, whomsoever Thou hast made, shall come and worship before Thee, O Lord* (Psal. LXXXV, 9)? For they shall not come by migrating from their places, but by believing in their places. For concerning those who believe the Lord said: *No man can come to me, except it were given unto him of my Father* (John VI, 66). But the prophet says: *And each one shall worship Him from his own place, all the islands of the nations* (Zeph. II, 11). *All islands* he said, as if he said, Even all islands; showing by this how no land is left where the Church is not, when no island is left, some of which are even situated in the Ocean, and some of which we have learned have already received the Gospel. And so also in each and every island that is fulfilled which was said, *He shall have dominion from sea to sea*, by which each island is girded; just as in the whole orb of the lands, which is as it were the greatest island of all, because the Ocean also girds it, to whose shores in the western parts we know the Church has already reached, and to whatever shores it has not yet reached, it is certainly to reach by bringing forth fruit and increasing.

48. If therefore, because the prophecy of truth cannot lie, it is necessary that all nations, as many as God has made, worship Him; how shall they worship Him, unless they call upon Him? *But how shall they call upon Him, in whom they have not believed? or how shall they believe in Him whom they have not heard? but how shall they hear without a preacher? or how shall they preach, unless they be sent?* (Rom. X, 14). For *He sends His angels, and gathers His elect from the four winds* (Matth. XXIV, 31), that is from the whole world. In those nations therefore where the Church is not yet, it is necessary that it be, not so that all who are there believe; for all nations are promised, not all men of all nations: *for all men have not faith* (II Thess. III, 2). Every nation therefore believes in all those who were chosen before the foundation of the world (Eph. I, 4), in the rest it does not believe, and it hates the believers. For how also shall that be fulfilled, *Ye shall be hated by all nations for my name's sake* (Matth. XXIV, 9); unless in all nations there be both those who hate, and those whom they hate?

49. In what way therefore was this preaching completed by the Apostles, since there are still nations (as is most certain to us) in which it has only just begun, and in which it has not yet begun to be fulfilled?

Non itaque sic dictum est Apostolis, Eritis mihi testes in Jerusalem, et in tota Judaea, et Samaria, et usque in extremum terrae (Act. I, 8), tanquam ipsi soli, quibus tunc loquebatur, tantum munus fuerint impleturi: sed sicut eis solis videtur dixisse quod dixit, Ecce vobiscum sum usque in consummationem saeculi (Matth. XXVIII, 20); quod tamen eum universae Ecclesiae promisisse, quae aliis morientibus, aliis nascentibus hic usque in saeculi consummationem futura est, quis non intelligat? sicut eis et illud ait, quod ad eos omnino non pertinet, et tamen sic dictum est tanquam ad solos etiam pertineret, Cum videritis haec omnia, scitote quia prope est in januis (Id. XXIV, 33): ad quos enim hoc pertinet, nisi ad eos qui in carne tunc erunt, cum omnia complebuntur? quanto magis illud quod ex magna parte per eos agendum fuit, quamvis et posteris eorum eadem actio servaretur?

50. Quod autem dixit Apostolus, Numquid non audierunt? In omnem terram exiit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum (Rom. X, 18, et Psal. XVIII, 5): quamvis locutus sit praeteriti temporis verbis, tamen quod futurum fuerat dixit, non quod jam factum atque completum; sicut ipse propheta quo usus est teste, non ait, In omnem terram exiturus, sed, Exiit, inquit, sonus eorum, quod utique nondum factum erat: quale est etiam illud, Foderunt manus meas et pedes (Psal. XXI, 17); quod tam longe postea factum novimus. Sed ne istas tantum propheticas locutiones, non et apostolicas fuisse credamus, nonne idem ipse apostolus ait: Quae est Ecclesia Dei vivi, columna et firmamentum veritatis. Et sine dubio magnum est pietatis Sacramentum, quod manifestatum est in carne, justificatum est in spiritu, apparuit Angelis, praedicatum est in gentibus, creditum est in mundo, assumptum est in gloria (I Tim. III, 15, 16)? Nempe manifestum est hoc, quod in extremo posuit, etiam nunc nondum esse completum; quanto magis tunc quando ista dicebat?

51. Multo minus mirandum est quod etiam verbis praesentis temporis usus est in eo quod illum identidem dixisse memorasti, Propter spem, quae reposita est nobis, quam ante audistis in verbo veritatis Evangelii, quod advenit in vos, sicut et in omni mundo est fructificans et crescens (Coloss. I, 5, 6), quamvis Evangelium nondum mundum tenebat universum: sed fructificare illud in universo mundo dixit et crescere, ut ita significaret quousque fuisset fructificando et crescendo venturum. Si ergo latet quando Ecclesia fructificante atque crescente universus omnino a mari usque ad mare orbis implebitur, procul dubio latet quando finis erit; ante quippe non erit.

CAPUT XIII.

For it was not so said to the Apostles, *Ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth* (Acts I, 8), as if they alone, to whom He was then speaking, were to fulfill so great a task: but just as He seems to have said to them alone what He said, *Behold, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world* (Matth. XXVIII, 20); yet who does not understand that He promised this to the whole Church, which, some dying and others being born, is to be here even unto the end of the world? just as He also said to them that which does not pertain to them at all, and yet it was so said as if it pertained to them alone, *When ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors* (Matth. XXIV, 33): for to whom does this pertain, except to those who shall then be in the flesh when all things shall be fulfilled? how much more that which was in great part to be done by them, although the same action was preserved also for their posterity?

But as for what the Apostle said, *Have they not heard? Their sound went out into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world* (Rom. X, 18, and Psal. XVIII, 5): although he spoke in words of the past tense, yet he said what was to be in the future, not what was already done and completed; just as the prophet himself whom he used as a witness did not say, *Their sound* shall go out into all the earth, but *has gone out*, which certainly was not yet done: such also is that, *They pierced my hands and my feet* (Psal. XXI, 17); which we know was done so long afterwards. But lest we should believe that these were only prophetic locutions and not also apostolic, did not the same apostle say: *Which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth. And without doubt great is the Sacrament of piety, which was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, appeared to angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, taken up in glory* (I Tim. III, 15, 16)? Surely it is manifest that this which he placed last is even now not yet completed; how much more then when he was saying these things?

51. It is much less to be wondered at that he also used words of the present tense in that which you remembered him to have said repeatedly: *For the hope which is laid up for us, whereof ye heard before in the word of the truth of the Gospel, which is come unto you, as it is also in all the world, bringing forth fruit and increasing* (Coloss. I, 5, 6), although the Gospel did not yet hold the whole world: but he said it was bringing forth fruit and increasing in the whole world, so that he might thus signify unto what extent it was to come by bringing forth fruit and increasing. If therefore it is hidden when the Church, by bringing forth fruit and increasing, shall fill the whole world altogether from sea to sea, without doubt it is hidden when the end shall be; for before that it shall not be.

CHAPTER XIII.

52. Ut autem tibi tanquam sancto homini Dei et sincerissimo fratri aperiam de hac quaestione quid sentiam: error quidem in utroque vitandus est, quantum ab homine vitari potest, sive citius sive tardius quam futurum est, Dominus venturus esse credatur; sed mihi quisquam non videtur errare, cum aliquid nescire se scit, sed cum se putat scire quod nescit. Removeamus itaque de medio servum illum malum, qui dicens in corde suo, Moram facit Dominus meus venire, dominatur conservis suis, et ebriosis convivando miscetur (Matth. XXIV, 48, 49, et Luc. XII, 45): iste quippe procul dubio Domini sui odit adventum. Quo servo malo remoto, constituamus ante oculos tres servos bonos, familiam dominicam diligenter sobrieque tractantes, adventum Domini sui sitienter desiderantes, vigilanter exspectantes, fideliter amantes: si unus eorum citius, alter tardius Dominum putat esse venturum, tertius vero suam de hac re ignorantiam confitetur; quanquam omnes consonent Evangelio, quia omnes diligunt manifestationem Domini, et eam desidoranter et vigilanter exspectant, videamus tamen quis amplius consonet.

53. Unus dicit, Vigilemus et oremus, quia citius venturus est Dominus: alter dicit, Vigilemus et oremus, quia brevis et incerta est ista vita, quamvis tardius venturus sit Dominus: tertius dicit, Vigilemus et oremus, quia et brevis et incerta est ista vita, et nescimus tempus quando venturus est Dominus. Evangelium dicit: Videte, vigilate, et orate; nescitis enim quando tempus sit (Marc. XIII, 33). Obsecro te, quid aliud dicere audimus hunc tertium, quam quod dicere audimus Evangelium? Omnes quidem, prae desiderio regni Dei, hoc volunt esse verum quod dicit primus; sed hoc secundus negat; tertius vero non negat aliquid horum, sed ignorare se fatetur quis verum dicat illorum. Proinde si hoc factum fuerit quod praedixerat primus, gaudebunt cum illo secundus et tertius; omnes enim manifestationem Domini diligunt. Exsultabunt itaque citius venisse quod diligunt. Si autem factum non fuerit, et apparere coeperit hoc potius esse verum quod dicebat secundus, metuendum est ne inter ipsas moras perturbentur qui crediderant quod dixerat primus, et incipiant Domini adventum non tardum putare, sed nullum: qui vides quantus sit interitus animarum. Quod si tantae fidei fuerint, ut se ad secundi praedicta convertant, et Dominum etiam tardantem fideliter et patienter exspectent; abundabunt tamen opprobria et insultationes atque irrisiones inimicorum multos infirmos a christiana fide avertentiam, dicendo tam fallaciter eis regnum esse promissum, quam fallaciter dicebatur cito esse venturum. Qui autem credunt quod secundus dicit, tardius Dominum esse venturum, si falsum fuerit inventum, citius Domino veniente; nullo modo qui ei crediderant turbabuntur in fide, sed inopinato gaudio perfruentur.

52. But that I may open to you, as to a holy man of God and a most sincere brother, what I think concerning this question: an error indeed is to be avoided in both, as much as can be avoided by a man, whether the Lord be believed to be coming sooner or later than it is to be; but no one seems to me to err when he knows that he knows not something, but when he thinks he knows what he knows not. Let us therefore remove from the midst that evil servant, who saying in his heart, *My lord delayeth his coming*, dominates his fellow-servants, and is mixed with the drunkards in feasting (Matth. XXIV, 48, 49, and Luke XII, 45): for this one without doubt hates the advent of his Lord. That evil servant being removed, let us set before our eyes three good servants, diligently and soberly handling the Lord's household, thirstily desiring the advent of their Lord, vigilantly expecting, faithfully loving: if one of them thinks the Lord is to come sooner, another later, while the third confesses his ignorance about this matter; although all harmonize with the Gospel, because all love the manifestation of the Lord, and expect it desirously and vigilantly, let us see nevertheless who harmonizes more fully.

53. One says, Let us watch and pray, because the Lord is to come sooner: another says, Let us watch and pray, because this life is short and uncertain, although the Lord is to come later: the third says, Let us watch and pray, because this life is both short and uncertain, and we know not the time when the Lord is to come. The Gospel says: *Take heed, watch and pray; for ye know not when the time is* (Mark XIII, 33). I beseech you, what else do we hear this third one say, than what we hear the Gospel say? All indeed, for the desire of the kingdom of God, wish this to be true which the first says; but the second denies this; the third however denies nothing of these, but confesses that he is ignorant which of them says the truth. Therefore if that happens which the first had predicted, the second and the third will rejoice with him; for all love the manifestation of the Lord. They will exult therefore that what they love has come sooner. But if it shall not have happened, and it shall begin to appear that this is rather true which the second was saying, it is to be feared lest among those very delays they be perturbed who had believed what the first had said, and begin to think the Lord's advent not slow, but none at all: which you see how great a destruction of souls it is. But if they shall be of such great faith that they turn themselves to the predictions of the second, and faithfully and patiently expect the Lord even when He delays; yet reproaches and insults and mockeries of enemies will abound, turning away many weak ones from the Christian faith, saying that the kingdom was as fallaciously promised to them as it was fallaciously said to be coming quickly. But those who believe what the second says, that the Lord is to come later, if it shall have been found false by the Lord coming sooner; in no way will they who had believed him be perturbed in faith, but they will enjoy an unexpected joy.

54. Quapropter qui dicit Dominum citius esse venturum, optabilius loquitur, sed periculosius fallitur. Utinam ergo sit verum; quia erit molestum, si non erit verum! Qui autem dicit Dominum tardius esse venturum, et tamen credit, sperat, amat ejus adventum; profecto de tarditate ejus etiamsi fallitur, feliciter fallitur: habebit enim majorem patientiam, si hoc ita erit; majorem laetitiam, si non erit. Ac per hoc ab eis qui diligunt manifestationem Domini, ille auditur suavius, isti creditur tutius: qui autem quid horum sit verum ignorare se confitetur, illud optat, hoc tolerat, in nullo eorum errat, quia nihil eorum aut affirmat aut negat. Obsecro te ut me talem non spernas; quia et ego te diligo id affirmantem quod verum esse desidero, et tanto magis nolo fallaris, quanto magis amo quod polliceris, et quanto magis video periculosum si falleris. Da veniam, si onerosus fui sanctis sensibus tuis: quanto enim rarius provenit, tanto me tecum saltem per litteras loqui diutius delectavit.

Epistola CC.

Augustinus Valerio comiti, transmittens nuncupatum ipsi librum primum de Nuptiis et Concupiscentia.

Domino illustri et merito praestantissimo, atque in Christi dilectione charissimo filio VALERIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Cum diu moleste haberem quod aliquoties scripserim, et nulla tuae Sublimitatis rescripta meruerim, repente epistolas tres tuae Benignitatis accepi: unam non ad me solum datam per coepiscopum meum Vindemialem, et non longe post per compresbyterum Firmum duas; qui vir sanctus, nobisque, ut ab illo scire potuisti, familiarissima charitate conjunctus, multa nobiscum de tua excellentia colloquendo, et veraciter insinuando qualem et in Christi visceribus noverit, non solum eas quas memoratus episcopus, vel quas ipse attulit, sed etiam illas quas non accepisse querebamur, litteras vicit. Et ideo de te narratio ejus suavior nobis erat, quia ea dicebat quae ipse non posses, ne quidem me inquirente, rescribere, ne tuarum laudum, quod sancta Scriptura prohibet (Prov. XXVII, 2), fieres praedicator. Quanquam et ego verear haec ad te scribere, ne suspicionem adulantis incurram, domine illustris et merito praestantissime, atque in Christi dilectione charissime fili.

54. Wherefore he who says the Lord is to come sooner, speaks more desirably, but is more dangerously deceived. Would that it were true, therefore; because it will be troublesome if it shall not be true! But he who says the Lord is to come later, and yet believes, hopes, and loves His advent; surely concerning its delay, even if he is deceived, he is happily deceived: for he will have greater patience if it shall be so; greater joy if it shall not be. And by this, by those who love the manifestation of the Lord, the former is heard more pleasantly, the latter is believed more safely: but he who confesses that he is ignorant which of these is true, wishes for the former, tolerates the latter, and errs in neither of them, because he neither affirms nor denies anything of them. I beseech you that you do not despise me being such a one; because I also love you affirming that which I desire to be true, and I am the more unwilling that you be deceived, the more I love what you promise, and the more I see how dangerous it is if you are deceived. Grant pardon if I have been a burden to your holy senses: for the more rarely it happens, the more it has delighted me to speak with you longer, at least by letters.

Letter CC.

Augustine to Count Valerius, transmitting the first book on Marriage and Concupiscence, addressed to him.

To the illustrious and deservedly most excellent lord, and most dear son in the love of Christ, VALERIUS, AUGUSTINE, sends greeting in the Lord.

1. Although I was long troubled because I had written several times and had deserved no reply from your Sublimity, I suddenly received three letters from your Benignity: one given not to me alone through my fellow-bishop Vindemialis, and not long after two through our fellow-priest Firmus; which holy man, joined to us, as you could know from him, by most familiar charity, by speaking much with us concerning your excellence, and by truthfully suggesting what kind of person he has known you to be in the bowels of Christ, surpassed not only those letters which the aforementioned bishop brought, or which he himself brought, but even those which we were complaining that we had not received. And therefore his narrative concerning you was more pleasant to us, because he said those things which you yourself would not be able to write back, not even at my inquiry, lest you should become a preacher of your own praises, which holy Scripture forbids (Prov. XXVII, 2). Although I also fear to write these things to you, lest I should incur the suspicion of a flatterer, illustrious lord and deservedly most excellent, and most dear son in the love of Christ.

2. Laudes itaque tuas in Christo, sive magis in te laudes Christi, vide quid mihi delectationis et laetitiae fuit audire ab illo qui nec fallere me posset propter fidem suam, et eas ignorare non posset propter amicitiam tuam. Sed alia et ab aliis, etsi non tam multa vel certa, verumtamen audivimus, fides tua quam sit sana et catholica, quam pia exspectatio futurorum, quae Dei fratrumque dilectio, quam non superbe sapias in excelsis honoribus, nec speres in incerto divitiarum, sed in Deo vivo, et dives sis in operibus bonis; quam sit domus tua requies solatiumque sanctorum, et terror impiorum; quanta tibi cura sit ne quis insidietur membris Christi, coopertus velamine nominis Christi sive in veteribus ejus, sive in recentioribus inimicis; quamque sis eorumdem inimicorum providus saluti, infestus errori. Haec atque hujusmodi, ut dixi, et ab aliis solemus audire; sed nunc ea per supra dictum fratrem plura et testatiora cognovimus.

3. Porro autem de pudicitia conjugali, ut eam quoque in te laudare et amare possimus, numquid audiremus, nisi ab aliquo interiore familiari tuo, qui vitam tuam, non in superficie, sed penitus nosset? De hoc itaque tuo bono, Dei dono, me quoque delectat familiarius et aliquanto diutius loqui tecum. Scio me non esse oneri tibi, si aliquid proli xum mitto, quod legendo, diutius sis nobiscum. Nam et hoc comperi, quod inter tuas multas magnasque curas, facile ac libenter legas, nostrisque opusculis, etiam quae ad alios conscripsimus, si qua in manus tuas venire potuerunt, admodum delecteris; quanto magis quod ad te scribitur, ubi tanquam praesenti loquar, et advertere dignaberis attentius, et accipere gratius? Ab hac ergo epistola perge ad librum quem simul misi, qui tuae Reverentiae et cur conscriptus sit, et cur ad te potissimum missus, ipse suo principio commodius intimabit.

EPISTOLA CCI . Imperatores nova in Pelagianos eorumque fautores sanctione edita, mandant Aurelio, necnon Augustino per ejusdem tenoris litteras seorsum ipsi inscriptas, ut adversus damnatam haeresim subscriptionem exigant a caeteris episcopis.

Imperatores HONORIUS et THEODOSIUS Augusti, AURELIO episcopo, salutem.

1. Dudum quidem fuerat constitutum ut Pelagius atque Celestius infandi dogmatis repertores ab urbe Roma, velut quaedam catholicae veritatis contagia, pellerentur, ne ignorantium mentes saeva persuasione perverterent. In quo secuta est clementia nostra judicium Sanctitatis tuae, quo constat eos ab universis justa sententiae examinatione damnatos.

2. Therefore see what a delight and joy it was to me to hear your praises in Christ, or rather the praises of Christ in you, from him who could neither deceive me on account of his faith, nor be ignorant of them on account of your friendship. But we had heard other things also from others, even if not so many or so certain: how sound and catholic is your faith, how pious your expectation of future things, what your love of God and the brethren, how you do not think proudly in high honors, nor hope in the uncertainty of riches, but in the living God, and are rich in good works; how your house is a rest and solace of the holy, and a terror of the impious; how great is your care lest anyone should lie in wait for the members of Christ, covered with the veil of the name of Christ, whether in His old enemies or in more recent ones; and how you are provident for the safety of those same enemies, and hostile to their error. These and such things as these, as I said, we are accustomed to hear from others also; but now we have known them through the above-mentioned brother as more numerous and more attested.

3. Furthermore, concerning conjugal modesty, that we might be able to praise and love it also in you, would we have heard of it except from some interior familiar of yours, who knew your life, not on the surface, but deep within? Concerning this good of yours, therefore, a gift of God, it delights me also to speak with you more familiarly and somewhat longer. I know that I am not a burden to you if I send something lengthy, so that by reading you may be with us longer. For I have also found this, that among your many and great cares, you read easily and willingly, and are quite delighted with our little works, even those which we have written to others, if any have been able to come into your hands; how much more that which is written to you, where I speak as if to one present, and you will deign to notice more attentively, and receive more gratefully? From this letter, therefore, proceed to the book which I sent at the same time, which will more conveniently intimate to your Reverence both why it was written and why it was sent to you especially, in its own beginning.

LETTER CCI. The Emperors, by a new sanction issued against the Pelagians and their supporters, command Aurelius, and also Augustine by letters of the same tenor inscribed separately to him, that they should exact a subscription against the condemned heresy from the other bishops.

The Emperors HONORIUS and THEODOSIUS Augusti, to bishop AURELIUS, greeting.

1. It had indeed long ago been established that Pelagius and Celestius, the discoverers of an unspeakable dogma, should be driven from the city of Rome, as if certain contagions of the catholic truth, lest they should pervert the minds of the ignorant by cruel persuasion. In which our clemency followed the judgment of your Holiness, by which it is clear that they were condemned by all after a just examination of the sentence.

Sed quia obstinati criminis pertinax malum, ut constitutio geminaretur, exegit; recenti quoque sanctione decrevimus ut si quis eos in quacumque provinciarum parte latitare non nesciens, aut propellere aut prodere distulisset, praescriptae poenae, velut particeps, subjaceret.

2. Praecipue tamen ad quorumdam episcoporum pertinaciam corrigendam, qui pravas eorum disputationes vel tacito consensu astruunt, vel publica oppugnatione non destruunt, pater charissime atque amantissime, Sanctitatis tuae auctoritatem imminere conveniet; quatenus in abolitionem praeposterae haeresis omnium devotio christiana consentiat. Religio itaque tua competentibus scriptis universos faciat admoneri, scituros definitione Sanctimonii tui hanc definitionem sibi esse praescriptam, ut quicumque damnationi memoratorum, quo pateat mens pura, subscribere impia obstinatione neglexerint, episcopatus amissione multati, interdicta, in perpetuum expulsi civitatibus, communione priventur. Nam cum ipsi juxta synodum Nicaenam confessione sincera conditorem rerum omnium Deum, imperiique nostri veneremur auctorem; non patietur tua Sanctitas sectae detestabilis homines in injuriam religionis nova et inusitata meditantes, secretis tractibus occultare sacrilegium semel publica auctoritate damnatum. Una enim eademque culpa est eorum qui aut dissimulando conniventiam, aut non damnando, favorem noxium praestiterint, pater charissime atque amantissime. (Et alia manu): Divinitas te per multos annos servet incolumem. Data V iduum juniarum, Ravennae, Monaxio et Plinta consulibus. Eodem tenore etiam ad sanctum Augustinum episcopum data.

Epistola CCII.

Hieronymus Alypio et Augustino gratulatur, quorum opera Celestiana haeresis exstincta sit; et excusat cur nondum refellerit libros Anniani Pelagiani.

Dominis vere sanctis atque omni affectione ac jure venerandis, ALYPIO ei AUGUSTINO episcopis HIERONYMUS, in Christo salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Sanctus Innocentius presbyter, qui hujus sermonis est portitor, anno praeterito, quasi nequaquam in Africam reversurus, mea ad Dignationem vestram scripta non sumpsit. Tamen Deo gratias agimus quod ita evenit, ut nostrum silentium vestris epistolis vinceretis.

But because the persistent evil of an obstinate crime has required that the constitution be doubled; we have also decreed by a recent sanction that if anyone, not being ignorant that they were lurking in any part of the provinces, should have delayed either to drive them out or to betray them, he should be subject to the prescribed penalty, as if a participant.

2. Especially, however, for correcting the pertinacity of certain bishops, who either support their depraved disputations by silent consent, or do not destroy them by public opposition, most dear and most beloved father, it will be appropriate for the authority of your Holiness to be imminent; so that the Christian devotion of all may consent to the abolition of the preposterous heresy. Let your Religion therefore cause all to be admonished by competent writings, that they shall know by the definition of your Sanctity that this definition has been prescribed for them: that whoever, in order that a pure mind may be manifest, shall have neglected to subscribe to the condemnation of the aforementioned by impious obstinacy, being punished by the loss of their bishopric, interdicted, and expelled forever from the cities, shall be deprived of communion. For since we ourselves, according to the Nicene synod, with sincere confession venerate God the founder of all things and the author of our empire; your Holiness will not suffer men of a detestable sect, meditating new and unusual things to the injury of religion, to hide in secret tracts a sacrilege once condemned by public authority. For one and the same is the fault of those who either by dissembling have shown connivance, or by not condemning have shown harmful favor, most dear and most beloved father. (And by another hand): May the Divinity keep you safe for many years. Data on the 5th of the ides of June, at Ravenna, Monaxius and Plinta being consuls. Given by the same tenor also to the holy bishop Augustine.

Letter CCII.

Jerome congratulates Alypius and Augustine, by whose labor the Celestian heresy has been extinguished; and excuses why he has not yet refuted the books of Annianus the Pelagian.

To the truly holy lords and to be venerated with all affection and by right, bishops ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE, JEROME sends greeting in Christ.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. The holy presbyter Innocentius, who is the bearer of this discourse, went last year, as if by no means to return to Africa, and did not take my writings to your Worthiness. Yet we give thanks to God that it so happened that you overcame our silence by your letters.

Mihi enim omnis occasio gratissima est, per quam scribo vestrae Reverentiae; testem invocans Deum quod si posset fieri, assumptis alis columbae, vestris amplexibus implicarer, semper quidem pro merito virtutum vestrarum, sed nunc maxime, quia cooperatoribus et auctoribus vobis , haeresis Celestiana jugulata est: quae ita infecit corda multorum, ut cum superatos damnatosque esse se sentiant, tamen venena mentium non omittant; et, quod solum possunt, nos oderint, per quos putant se libertatem docendae haereseos perdidisse.

CAPUT II.

2. Quod autem quaeritis utrum rescripserim contra libros Anniani , pseudodiaconi Celedensis, qui copiosissime pascitur, ut alienae blasphemiae verba frivola subministret: sciatis me ipsos libros in schedulis missos a sancto fratre Eusebio presbytero suscepisse, non ante multum temporis; et exinde vel ingruentibus morbis, vel dormitione sanctae et venerabilis filiae vestrae Eustochii, ita doluisse, ut propemodum contemnendos putarem. In eodem enim luto haesitat, et exceptis verbis tinnulis atque emendicatis, nihil aliud loquitur. Tamen multum egimus; ut dum epistolae meae respondere conatur, apertius se proderet, et blasphemias suas omnibus patefaceret. Quidquid enim in illa miserabili synodo Diospolitana dixisse se denegat, in hoc opere profitetur; nec grande est ineptissimis naeniis respondere. Si autem Dominus vitam tribuerit et notariorum habuerimus copiam, paucis lucubratiunculis respondebimus; non ut convincamus haeresim emortuam, sed ut imperitiam atque blasphemiam ejus, nostris sermonibus confutemus: meliusque hoc faceret Sanctitas vestra; ne compellamur contra haereticum nostra laudare. Sancti filii communes, Albina, Pinianus et Melania, plurimum vos salutant. Has litterulas de sancta Bethlehem sancto presbytero Innocentio dedi perferendas. Neptis vestra Paula miserabiliter precatur ut memores ejus sitis, et multum vos salutat. Incolumes vos, et memores mei, Domini nostri Jesu Christi tueatur clementia, domini vere sancti, atque omni affectione venerabiles patres.

EPISTOLA CCII BIS . Optato significat suae de animae origine consultationi abs Hieronymum non fuisse responsum, neque se hactenus quidquam de hac quaestione asserere ausum fuisse. Ut se imitetur non suo tantum exemplo, sed etiam ipsius Optati litterarum instituto ac ratione hortatur. Petit denuo ut Libellum Fidei ad se mittat, ac ne doctorum episcoporum traditiones, doctor novellus et rudis corrumpere aggrediatur. Tandem quid de anima fides doceat, breviter exponit, occurrentesque aliquot quaestiones obiter solvit.

For to me every occasion is most welcome through which I write to your Reverence; invoking God as witness that if it could be done, having taken up the wings of a dove, I would be entwined in your embraces, always indeed for the merit of your virtues, but now especially, because with you as cooperators and authors, the Celestian heresy has been slaughtered: which has so infected the hearts of many, that although they feel themselves to be overcome and condemned, yet they do not omit the poisons of their minds; and, what alone they can do, they hate us, through whom they think they have lost the liberty of teaching their heresy.

CHAPTER II.

2. But as for your asking whether I have written back against the books of Annianus, the pseudo-deacon of Celeda, who is copiously fed so that he may supply frivolous words for the blasphemy of another: know that I received those very books in sheets sent by the holy brother Eusebius the presbyter, not long ago; and since then, either by encroaching diseases, or by the falling asleep of your holy and venerable daughter Eustochium, I have so grieved that I thought them almost to be contemned. For he sticks in the same mud, and except for jingling and begged words, he speaks nothing else. Yet we have done much; so that while he tries to answer my letter, he might more openly betray himself and make his blasphemies manifest to all. For whatever he denies that he said in that miserable synod of Diospolis, he professes in this work; nor is it a great thing to answer the most inept trifles. But if the Lord shall grant life and we shall have an abundance of notaries, we will answer with a few short night-works; not so that we may convince a dead heresy, but so that we may confute his ignorance and blasphemy with our discourses: and your Holiness would do this better, lest we be compelled to praise our own against a heretic. The common holy children, Albina, Pinianus, and Melania, greet you very much. These little letters from holy Bethlehem I have given to the holy presbyter Innocentius to be carried. Your niece Paula miserably prays that you be mindful of her, and greets you much. May the clemency of our Lord Jesus Christ keep you safe and mindful of me, lords truly holy, and venerable fathers with all affection.

LETTER CCII BIS. He signifies to Optatus that no response has been made by Jerome to his consultation concerning the origin of the soul, nor has he so far dared to assert anything concerning this question. He exhorts him to imitate him not only by his own example, but also by the institute and reason of the letters of Optatus himself. He asks again that he send the *Libellum Fidei* to him, and lest a new and rude teacher should attempt to corrupt the traditions of learned bishops. Finally he briefly explains what faith teaches concerning the soul, and solves some occurring questions by the way.

Domino beatissimo, sinceriterque charissimo, et desiderantissimo fratri et coepiscopo OPTATO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAP. PRIMUM.

1. Per religiosum presbyterum Saturninum tuae Venerationis litteras sumpsi, hoc a me magno studio, quod nondum habeo, flagitantis. Sed cur hoc feceris causam mihi aperuisti, quod scilicet credas de hac re mihi consulenti jam fuisse responsum. Utinam ita esset! absit ut te, cujus exspectationem avidissimam noverim, hujus muneris communicatione fraudarem. Sed si quid credis, frater charissime, quinque ferme anni ecce evoluti sunt, ex quo in Orientem misi librum non praesumptionis sed consultationis meae; et adhuc rescripta non merui, quibus mihi enodaretur haec quaestio in qua me cupis ad te certam ferre sententiam. Utrumque ergo misissem, si utrumque haberem.

2. Hoc autem quod habeo, sine altero quod nondum habeo, cuiquam debere me jam mittere vel edere non videtur ; ne ille qui mihi fortasse, ut desidero, responsurus est, interrogationem meam disceptatione operosissima elaboratam, sine sua responsione, quae adhuc desperanda non est, per manus hominum notitiamque diffundi jure succenseat, idque jactantius quam utilius fecisse me judicet, quasi ego potuerim quaerere, quod ille non potuerit enodare, cum forsitan possit, idque dum faciat, exspectandum sit . Magis enim scio, quod aliis occupatur, quae minime differenda sunt, plurisque pendenda.

CAPUT IV.

8. Improbari enim abs te eos qui affirmant omnes animas hominum ex illa una quae protoplasto data est, per generationum successionem propagari atque traduci, sufficienter quidem in nostram notitiam protulisti; sed qua ratione quibusve divinarum Scripturarum testimoniis id falsum esse monstraveris, quia tuae litterae non continent, quid ignoramus.

To the most blessed lord, and sincerely most dear and most desired brother and fellow-bishop OPTATUS, AUGUSTINE, sends greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. I received the letters of your Veneration through the religious presbyter Saturninus, demanding this of me with great study, which I do not yet have. But you have opened to me the cause why you did this, namely because you believe that a response has already been made to me consulting about this matter. Would that it were so! far be it from me that I should defraud you, whose most avid expectation I have known, of the communication of this gift. But if you believe anything, most dear brother, behold five years have almost revolved since I sent to the East a book not of my presumption but of my consultation; and so far I have not deserved a reply, by which this question in which you desire me to bring a certain sentence to you might be unknotted for me. Both therefore I would have sent, if I had both.

2. But this which I have, without the other which I do not yet have, it does not seem that I ought now to send or publish to anyone; lest he who perhaps is to answer me as I desire, should justly be incensed that my interrogation, elaborated with most laborious discussion, is spread through the hands and knowledge of men without his response, which is not yet to be despaired of, and should judge that I have done this more boastfully than usefully, as if I had been able to ask what he could not unknot, when perhaps he can, and while he does it, he is to be expected. For I know rather that he is occupied with other things, which are by no means to be deferred and are to be weighed more.

CHAPTER IV.

8. For you have sufficiently brought to our notice that those are disapproved of by you who affirm that all the souls of men are propagated and transmitted from that one which was given to the first-formed man (*protoplasto*), through the succession of generations; but by what reason or by what testimonies of the divine Scriptures you have shown that to be false, because your letters do not contain it, we are ignorant.

Deinde quid ipse pro isto quod improbas, teneas, legenti mihi epistolam tuam, et quam fratribus antea Caesareensibus, et quam mihi nuperrime direxisti, non evidenter apparet; nisi quod video te credere, sicut scribis, Deum fecisse homines, et facere, et facturum esse; neque aliquid esse in coelis aut in terra, quod non ipso constiterit et constet auctore. Hoc sane ita verum est, ut dubitare hinc nullus debeat. Sed adhuc te oportet exprimere, unde faciat animas Deus, quas negas ex propagine fieri: utrum aliunde; et si ita est, quidnam illud sit: an omnino de nihilo. Nam illud Origenis et Priscilliani, vel si qui alii tale aliquid sentiunt, quod pro meritis vitae prioris terrena atque mortalia contradantur an corpora, absit ut sentias: huic quippe opinioni prorsus apostolica contradicit auctoritas, dicens, Esau et Jacob, antequam nati fuissent, nihil operatos boni vel mali (Rom. IX, 11). Igitur non ex toto, sed ex parte nobis est tua de hac re nota sententia; assertio vero ejus, id est, unde doceatur verum esse, quod sentis, nos penitus latet.

9. Propterea petiveram prioribus litteris meis , ut Libellum Fidei, quem te scripsisse commemoras, eique nescio quem presbyterum fallaciter subscripsisse conquereris, mihi mittere dignareris; quod etiam nunc peto, et quid testimoniorum divinorum huic quaestioni reserandae adhibere potuisti. Dicis enim in epistola ad Caesareenses placuisse vobis, ut omnem veritatis ad probationem, etiam judices cognoscerent saeculares, quibus ex communi deprecatione residentibus, et ad fidem universa rimantibus id Divinitas, ut scribis, misericordiae suae infusione largita est; ut majorem affirmationem pro suis sensibus assertionemque proferrent, quam vestra circa eos mediocritas cum ingentium testimoniorum auctoritatibus retentabat. Has ergo testimoniorum ingentium auctoritates ingenti studio scire desidero.

10. Solam quippe unam causam videris secutus, qua contradictores tuos refelleres; quod scilicet negarent esse opus Dei animas nostras. Quod si sentiunt, merito eorum sententia judicatur esse damnanda. Nam hoc si de ipsis corporibus dicerent, procul dubio fuerant emendandi, vel detestandi. Quis enim Christianus neget, opera Dei esse corpora singulorum quorumque nascentium? nec tamen ea propterea negamus a parentibus gigni, quia fatemur divinitus fingi.

Then what you yourself hold in place of that which you disapprove, does not clearly appear to me reading your letter, both that which you directed to the brethren at Caesarea before, and that which you directed to me most recently; except that I see you believe, as you write, that God made men, and makes them, and will make them; and that there is not anything in heaven or on earth which did not consist and does not consist with him as author. This indeed is so true that no one ought to doubt it. But it still behooves you to express whence God makes souls, which you deny are made from propagation: whether from elsewhere; and if it be so, what that may be: or altogether from nothing. For far be it from you to feel that of Origen and Priscillian, or if any others feel such a thing, that they are delivered to earthly and mortal bodies for the merits of a prior life: for the apostolic authority indeed flatly contradicts this opinion, saying that Esau and Jacob, before they had been born, had worked nothing of good or evil (Rom. IX, 11). Therefore your opinion concerning this matter is known to us not in whole, but in part; but its assertion, that is, whence it is taught to be true what you feel, is entirely hidden from us.

9. For that reason I had asked in my prior letters, that you would deign to send to me the *Libellum Fidei*, which you commemorate that you have written, and that I know not what priest you complain has fallaciously subscribed to it; which I also now ask, and what of divine testimonies you were able to apply to the unlocking of this question. For you say in the letter to the Caesareans that it pleased you that even secular judges should know for the proof of every truth, who sitting from common deprecation, and searching into all things for faith, the Divinity, as you write, granted to them by the infusion of his mercy; so that they might bring forth a greater affirmation for their own senses and an assertion, than your mediocrity around them was holding with the authorities of vast testimonies. These authorities of vast testimonies therefore I desire to know with great study.

10. For you seem to have followed only one cause by which you might refute your contradictors; namely that they denied our souls to be the work of God. Which if they feel, their opinion is justly judged to be condemned. For if they said this of the bodies themselves, without doubt they would have been to be corrected or detested. For what Christian would deny that the bodies of each and everyone being born are the works of God? nor yet do we for that reason deny that they are begotten by parents, because we confess that they are formed divinely.

Quando ergo dicitur sic etiam animarum nostrarum incorporea quaedam sui generis semina, et a parentibus trahi, et tamen ex eis animas Dei opere fieri; ad hoc refutandum non humana conjectura, sed divina Scriptura testis adhibenda est. Nam de sanctis Libris canonicae auctoritatis potuit nobis testimoniorum suppetere copia, qua probatur Deus animas facere: sed testimoniis talibus ii redarguuntur, qui opera Dei esse singulas quasque animas in hominibus nascentibus negant; non ii qui hoc fatentur, et tamen eas sicut corpora Deo quidem operante formari, sed ex parentum propagatione, contendunt. Ad hos refellendos tibi divina testimonia certa quaerenda sunt; aut si jam invenisti, nobis qui nondum invenimus, cum impensissime, quantum possumus, inquiramus, mutua dilectione mittenda.

CAPUT V.

11. Tua quippe consultatio brevis atque postrema in litteris quas ad fratres Caesareenses misisti, ita se habet: Exoro, inquit, ut me filium vestrum atque discipulum, et ad haec mysteria nuper proximeque Deo juvante venientem, qua debetis et dignum est, et qua prudentes respondere convenit sacerdotes, informatione doceatis: utrum magis illa sit tenenda sententia quae animam dicit esse de traduce, et per occultam quamdam originem ordinemque secretum in omne hominum genus caeteras animas ex Adae protoplasti transfusione defluere; an potius ea, quam omnes fratres vestri, et sacerdotes hic positi retinent et affirmant, eligenda definitio, credulitasque retinenda, quae Deum auctorem universarum rerum, hominumque cunctorum et fuisse, et esse, et futurum esse testatur et credit." Horum igitur duorum quae consulens proposuisti, vis ut eligatur, tibique respondeatur alterutrum; quod fieri deberet ab scientibus, si essent inter se duo ista contraria ut, altero electo, consequenter esset alterum respuendum.

12. Nunc autem, si quispiam non alterum e duobus his eligat, sed utrumque verum esse respondeat, id est, et in omne hominum genus caeteras animas ex Adae protoplasti transfusione defluere, et nihilominus Deum auctorem universarum rerum, hominumque cunctorum et fuisse, et esse, et futurum esse credat et dicat; quid huic contradicendum esse censes? Numquidnam dicturi sumus: Si ex parentibus animae propagantur, non est Deus auctor omnium rerum, quia non facit animas?

When therefore it is said that so also certain incorporeal seeds of their own kind of our souls are both drawn from parents, and yet that from them souls are made by the work of God; for the refuting of this not human conjecture, but divine Scripture is to be applied as a witness. For from the holy Books of canonical authority a copy of testimonies could be supplied to us, by which it is proved that God makes souls: but by such testimonies those are redargued who deny that each and every soul in men being born is the work of God; not those who confess this, and yet contend that they are formed, with God indeed working, like bodies, but from the propagation of parents. To refute these, certain divine testimonies are to be sought by you; or if you have already found them, they are to be sent with mutual love to us who have not yet found them, although we inquire most intensely as much as we can.

CHAPTER V.

11. For your short and final consultation in the letters which you sent to the brethren at Caesarea, holds itself thus: "I pray," it says, "that you would teach me your son and disciple, and one coming recently and most lately to these mysteries with God helping, with the information with which you ought and it is worthy, and with which it becomes prudent priests to answer: whether that sentence is rather to be held which says that the soul is from a source (*de traduce*), and that through a certain hidden origin and secret order the other souls flow down into every race of men from the transfusion of the first-formed Adam; or rather that definition is to be chosen, and belief to be retained, which all your brethren and priests placed here retain and affirm, which witnesses and believes that God was, and is, and will be the author of all things, and of all men." Of these two things therefore which you proposed consulting, you wish that one or the other be chosen, and be answered to you; which ought to be done by those who know, if those two were contrary to each other so that, one being chosen, the other would consequently have to be rejected.

12. But now, if anyone should not choose one of these two, but should answer that both are true, that is, both that the other souls flow down into every race of men from the transfusion of the first-formed Adam, and nevertheless should believe and say that God was, and is, and will be the author of all things and of all men; what do you think ought to be contradicted to this man? Shall we perhaps say: "If souls are propagated from parents, God is not the author of all things, because he does not make souls"?

Respondebitur enim si hoc dixerimus: Ergo quia corpora ex parentibus propagantur, non est Deus auctor omnium rerum, si propter hoc dicendus est non facere corpora. Quis autem neget auctorem humanorum omnium corporum Deum, sed illius dicat solius, quod de terra primitus finxit, aut certe etiam conjugis ipsius; quia et ipsam de latere ejus ipse formavit; non autem etiam exterorum; quia ex illis caetera hominum corpora defluxisse negare non possumus?

CAPUT VI.

13. Ac per hoc, si, adversus quos tibi est in hac quaestione conflictus, sic asseverant animarum ex illius unius derivatione propaginem, ut eas jam Deum negent facere, atque formare; insta eis redarguendis, convincendis, corrigendis quantum, Domino adjuvante, potueris. Si autem initia quaedam ex illo uno et deinceps a parentibus attrahi, et tamen singulas in hominibus singulis affirmant ab auctore omnium rerum Deo creari atque formari; quid eis respondeatur, inquire, de Scripturis maxime sanctis, quod non sit ambiguum nec aliter possit intelligi. Aut si jam invenisti, ut superius postulavi, dirige et nobis. Quod si te adhuc, sicut me, latet; insta quidem omnibus viribus eos confutare, qui dicunt animas non ex opere divino, quod eos dixisti in epistola tua prima inter secretiores fabulas murmurasse, deinde propter hanc sententiam stultam atque impiam a tuo consortio et Ecclesiae servitio recessisse; atque adversus eos omnibus modis defende et tuere, quod in eadem epistola posuisti, Deum fecisse animas, et facere, et facturum esse; neque aliquid esse in coelis aut in terra, quod non ipso constiterit aut constet auctore. Hoc enim de omni omnino genere creaturae verissime atque rectissime creditur, dicitur, defenditur, comprobatur. Deus enim auctor universarum rerum hominumque cunctorum et fuit, et est, et futurus est, quod in extrema tua ad coepiscopos nostros provinciae Caesariensis consultatione posuisti, atque ut id potius eligerent, exemplo omnium fratrum et consacerdotum, qui sunt apud vos, atque id retinent, quodammodo hortatus es.

14. Sed alia quaestio est, ubi quaeritur, utrum omnium animarum et corporum auctor, effectorque Deus sit, quod veritas habet; an aliquid naturarum exoriatur, quod ipse non faciat, quae opinio prorsus erroris est: alia vero, ubi quaeritur, utrum Deus animas humanas ex propagine, an sine propagine faciat, quas tamen ab illo fieri dubitare fas non est. In qua quaestione sobrium te esse ac vigilantem volo; nec sic animarum propaginem destruas, ut haeresim Pelagianam incautus incurras.

For it will be answered if we say this: "Therefore because bodies are propagated from parents, God is not the author of all things, if for this reason he is to be said not to make bodies." But who would deny that God is the author of all human bodies, but should say he is the author of that one alone, which he first formed from the earth, or certainly also of his wife; because he himself formed her also from his side; but not also of others; because we cannot deny that the rest of the bodies of men flowed down from those?

CHAPTER VI.

13. And by this, if those against whom you have a conflict in this question, so assert the offspring of souls from the derivation of that one, that they now deny that God makes and forms them; persist in refuting them, convincing them, and correcting them as much as you can, with the Lord helping. But if they affirm that certain beginnings are drawn from that one and thereafter from parents, and yet that individual souls in individual men are created and formed by God the author of all things; inquire what may be answered to them, especially from the holy Scriptures, which is not ambiguous nor can be understood otherwise. Or if you have already found it, as I asked above, direct it also to us. But if it still lies hidden from you, as from me; persist indeed with all your strength to confute those who say that souls are not from a divine work, which you said in your first letter that they had murmured among more secret fables, and thereafter because of this foolish and impious sentence had recessed from your fellowship and the service of the Church; and against them defend and protect in every way what you placed in the same letter, that God made souls, and makes them, and will make them; and that there is not anything in heaven or on earth which did not consist or does not consist with him as author. For this is most truly and most rightly believed, said, defended, and proved concerning every kind of creature altogether. For God was, and is, and will be the author of all things and of all men, which you placed in your final consultation to our fellow-bishops of the province of Caesarea, and you exhorted them in a certain way that they should rather choose that, by the example of all the brethren and fellow-priests who are with you, and who retain that.

14. But it is another question where it is asked whether God be the author and effector of all souls and bodies, which the truth holds; or whether anything of natures arises which he himself does not make, which opinion is entirely of error: but another where it is asked whether God makes human souls from propagation, or without propagation, which nevertheless it is not lawful to doubt that they are made by him. In which question I wish you to be sober and vigilant; nor so destroy the propagation of souls that you incautiously incur the Pelagian heresy.

Nam si humanorum corporum, quorum propagatio est omnibus nota, dicimus tamen Deum, vereque dicimus, non illius tantum primi hominis, conjugumve primorum, sed omnium ex illis propagatorum esse creatorem; puto facile intelligi eos, qui animarum defendunt propaginem, non ex hoc nos habere velle destruere, quando Deus animas facit, cum et corpora facit, quae de propagine fieri negare non possumus; sed alia documenta esse quaerenda, quibus hi, qui sentiunt propagari animas, repellantur, si eos errare veritas loquitur: de qua re illi magis fuerant, si fieri posset, interrogandi, propter quorum injuriam defunctorum, sicut scribis in epistola, quam mihi posteriorem misisti in meliorem partem convertere homines formidabas. Hos enim defunctos, tales tantosque et tam doctos episcopos fuisse dixisti, ut eorum traditiones timeres doctor novellus rudisque corrumpere velle. Itaque si scire possem, tales, ac tanti, et tam docti viri istam de animarum propagatione sententiam, quibus vel testimoniis asserebant: quam tamen in litteris ad Caesareenses datis, illorum auctoritatem nequaquam respiciens, inventionem novam et inauditum dogma esse dixisti; cum profecto, etsi error est, novum tamen eum non esse noverimus, sed vetustum et antiquum.

CAPUT VII.

15. Quando autem nos aliquae causae in aliqua quaestione non immerito dubitare compellunt, non etiam hinc dubitare debemus utrum dubitare debeamus. De dubiis quippe rebus sine dubitatione dubitandum est. Vides quemadmodum Apostolus de se ipso dubitare non dubitet , utrum in corpore, an extra corpus raptus sit in tertium coelum; sive hoc, sive illud, nescio, Deus scit (II Cor. XII, 2, 3). Cur ergo mihi, quamdiu nescio, dubitare non liceat, utrum anima mea in istam vitam ex propagine an sine propagine venerit; cum ea utrolibet modo a summo et vero Deo factam esse non dubitem? Cur mihi fas non sit dicere: Scio animam meam ex opere Dei subsistere, et prorsus opus Dei esse; sive ex propagine sicut corpus, sive extra propaginem sicut illa quae primo homini data est, nescio, Deus scit? Utrum horum vis ut confirmem. Possem, si nossem. Quod si ipse nosti, en habes me cupidiorem discere quod nescio, quam docere quod scio . Si autem nescis, sicut ego, ora sicut ego, ut sive per quemlibet servum suum , sive per se ipsum Magister ille nos doceat, qui dixit discipulis suis: Ne volitis dici ab hominibus rabbi; unus est enim magister vester Christus (Matth. XXIII, 8): si tamen scit expedire nobis, ut etiam talia noverimus, qui novit non solum quid doceat, verum etiam quid nobis dicere expediat.

For if of human bodies, whose propagation is known to all, we nevertheless say, and truly say, that God is the creator, not only of that first man, or of the first spouses, but of all propagated from them; I think it is easily understood that those who defend the propagation of souls do not wish to have us destroy from this that God makes souls, when he also makes bodies, which we cannot deny are made from propagation; but other documents are to be sought, by which these who feel that souls are propagated may be repelled, if the truth speaks that they err: concerning which matter those rather should have been interrogated, if it were possible, because of the injury to which dead men, as you write in the letter which you sent to me later, you were afraid to convert men to the better part. For you said that these dead men were such and so great and so learned bishops, that you feared to wish to corrupt their traditions, being a new and rude teacher. And so if I could know, by what testimonies such and so great and so learned men asserted that sentence concerning the propagation of souls: which nevertheless in the letters given to the Caesareans, by no means looking back at their authority, you said was a new invention and an unheard-of dogma; since indeed, even if it is an error, we know it not to be new, but ancient and of old.

CHAPTER VII.

15. But when some causes in some question not undeservedly compel us to doubt, we ought not also for this reason to doubt whether we ought to doubt. For concerning doubtful things one must doubt without doubt. You see how the Apostle does not doubt to doubt about himself, whether he was caught up into the third heaven in the body or out of the body; whether this or that, "I know not, God knows" (2 Cor. XII, 2, 3). Why therefore should it not be lawful for me, as long as I know not, to doubt whether my soul has come into this life from propagation or without propagation; since I do not doubt that in either way it was made by the highest and true God? Why should it not be lawful for me to say: I know that my soul exists from the work of God, and is altogether the work of God; whether from propagation like the body, or outside propagation like that which was given to the first man, "I know not, God knows"? Which of these do you wish that I should confirm. I could, if I knew. But if you yourself know, behold you have me more desirous to learn what I know not, than to teach what I know. But if you know not, as I, pray as I, that whether through any servant of his, or through himself, that Master may teach us, who said to his disciples: "Be not willing to be called rabbi by men; for one is your master, Christ" (Matth. XXIII, 8): if nevertheless he knows it is expedient for us that we also should know such things, who knows not only what he may teach, but even what it is expedient to say to us.

16. Nam confiteor Dilectioni tuae cupiditatem meam. Cupio quidem et hoc scire, quod quaeris; sed multo magis cuperem scire, si fieri posset, quando praesentetur . Desideratus omnibus gentibus, et quando regnum futurum sit sanctorum, quam unde in hanc terram venire coeperim: et tamen illud cum ab illo, qui scit omnia, discipuli sui, nostri Apostoli, quaererent, responsum acceperunt: Non est vestrum nosse tempus, aut tempora, quae Deus posuit in sua potestate (Act. I, 17). Quid si et hoc scit , non esse nostrum scire, qui profecto scit, quid nobis sit utile scire? Et illud quidem per illum scio, non esse nostri scire tempora quae Pater posuit in sua potestate. Utrum autem originem animarum, quam nondum scio, nostrum sit scire, id est, pertineat ad nos id scire, nec hoc quidem scio. Nam si saltem hoc scirem, quod nostrum non sit id scire, non solum affirmare quamdiu nescio, verum etiam quaerere jam desisterem. Nunc autem, quamvis tam sit obscurum ac profundum, ut plus illic docendi caveam temeritatem, quam discendi habeam cupiditatem; tamen etiam hoc volo scire, si possum. Et licet multo amplius sit necessarium, quod ait ille sanctus, Notum mihi fac, Domine, finem meum (Psal. XXXVIII. 5), (non enim ait, initium meum) quod ad istam quaestionem attinet, me lateret.

CAPUT VIII.

17. Verum de ipso quoque initio meo ingratus Doctori meo non sum, quod animam humanam spiritum esse non corpus, eamque rationabilem, vel intellectualem scio; nec eam Dei esse naturam, sed potius creaturam aliquatenus mortalem , in quantum in deterius commutari, et a vita Dei, cujus participatione beata sit, alienari potest; et aliquatenus immortalem, quoniam sensum, quo ei post hanc vitam vel bene vel male sit, amittere non potest. Scio etiam non eam pro actibus ante carnem gestis includi in carne meruisse; sed nec ideo esse in homine sine sorde peccati, etsi unius dici. sicut scriptum est, fuerit vita ejus super terram (Job XIV, 5, secundum LXX). Ac per hoc scio ex Adam per seriem generationis sine peccato neminem nasci; unde et parvulis necessarium est per gratiam regenerationis in Christo renasci. Haec tam multa, nec parva, de initio vel origine animarum nostrarum, in quibus plura sunt ad eam scientiam pertinentia, quae fide constant, et didicisse me gratulor, et nosse confirmo.

16. For I confess to your Love my desire. I desire indeed to know also this which you ask; but much more would I desire to know, if it could be, when he may be presented. The desired of all nations, and when the kingdom of the saints shall be, than whence I began to come into this earth: and yet when his disciples, our Apostles, asked this of him who knows all things, they received the answer: "It is not yours to know the time or the times which God has placed in his own power" (Acts I, 17). What if he also knows this, that it is not ours to know, who indeed knows what is useful for us to know? And that indeed I know through him, that it is not ours to know the times which the Father has placed in his own power. But whether it be ours to know the origin of souls, which I do not yet know, that is, whether it pertains to us to know it, not even this do I know. For if I at least knew this, that it were not ours to know it, I would not only cease to affirm as long as I know not, but even now to seek. But now, although it be so obscure and profound that I more beware of the temerity of teaching there than I have the desire of learning; nevertheless I also wish to know this, if I can. And although it be much more necessary what that holy man says, "Make known to me, O Lord, my end" (Psalm XXXVIII, 5), (for he did not say, my beginning) nevertheless I would not wish that what pertains to this question should be hidden from me.

CHAPTER VIII.

17. But concerning my beginning itself also I am not ungrateful to my Teacher, because I know that the human soul is a spirit, not a body, and that it is rational or intellectual; and that it is not the nature of God, but rather a creature in some way mortal, in as much as it can be changed for the worse, and be alienated from the life of God, by whose participation it may be blessed; and in some way immortal, since it cannot lose the sense by which it may be well or ill with it after this life. I know also that it did not deserve to be included in the flesh for acts done before the flesh; but neither for that reason is it in man without the filth of sin, even if his life were said to be of one day upon the earth, as it is written (Job XIV, 5, according to LXX). And by this I know that no one is born from Adam through the series of generation without sin; whence it is also necessary for infants to be born again in Christ through the grace of regeneration. These things so many, and not small, concerning the beginning or origin of our souls, in which there are more things pertaining to that science which consist by faith, I both congratulate myself to have learned, and I confirm that I know.

Quapropter, si nescio in origine animarum, utrum illas Deus hominibus ex propagine, an sine propagine faciat, quas tamen ab ipso fieri non ambigo, scire quidem et hoc magis eligo, quam nescire: sed quamdiu non possum, melius hinc dubito, quam velut certum confirmare aliquid audeo, quod illi rei sit forte contrarium, de qua dubitare non debeo.

18. Tu itaque, mi frater bone, quoniam consulis me, et vis unum horum definiam; utrum animae caeterae ex illo uno homine, sicut corpora per propaginem, an sine propagine, sicut illius unius a Creatore, singulis singulae fiant (ab ipso enim fieri sive sic, seu sic non negamus); patere, ut etiam ipse consulam, quomodo inde anima peccatum originaliter trahat, unde originaliter ipsa non trahitur. Omnes enim animas ex Adam trahere originale peccatum similiter non negamus, ne in Pelagianam haeresim detestabilem irruamus. Si hoc quod ego interrogo, nec tu scis; sine me patienter utrumque nescire, et quod tu interrogas, et quod ego: si autem jam scis quod interrogo, cum hoc etiam me docueris, tunc et illud quod vis ut respondeam, nihil ibi jam intuens respondebo. Peto ergo ne succenseas, quia non potui confirmare quod quaeris, sed potui demonstrare, quid quaeras; quod cum inveneris, confirmare non dubites quod quaerebas.

19. Et hoc quidem Sanctitati tuae scribendum existimavi, qui propaginem animarum jam quasi certus improbandam putas. Caeterum si illis qui hanc asserunt, rescribendum fuisset, fortassis ostenderem, quemadmodum id, quod se nosse arbitrantur, ignorent; et ne hoc asserere auderent, quantum formidare deberent.

20. Sane in rescripto amici, quod huic epistolae inserui, ne te forte moveat quod duos libros a me missos commemoravit, quibus respondere vacuum sibi tempus non fuisse respondit: unus est de hac quaestione, non ambo; in alio autem illud ab illo consulendo et pertractando quaesivi. Quod vero admonet et hortatur, ut magis demus operam, ut perniciosissima haeresis de Ecclesiis auferatur; illam ipsam Pelagianam haeresim dicit, quam cautissime ut devites, quantum possum, frater, admoneo, cum de animarum origine sive cogitas, sive jam disputas; ne tibi subripiat esse credendum, ullam prorsus animam nisi unius Mediatoris, non ex Adam trahere originale peccatum, generatione devinctum, regeneratione solvendum.

Epistola CCIII.

Augustinus Largo, ut bona saeculi hujus vana expertus contemnat, utque ex perpessione malorum melior evadat.

Wherefore, if I know not in the origin of souls, whether God makes them for men from propagation or without propagation, which nevertheless I do not doubt are made by him, I choose indeed also to know this more than not to know: but as long as I cannot, I better doubt concerning this, than I dare to confirm anything as certain which may perhaps be contrary to that matter concerning which I ought not to doubt.

18. You therefore, my good brother, since you consult me, and wish that I define one of these; whether the rest of the souls are made from that one man, like bodies through propagation, or without propagation, individually for individuals like that of that one from the Creator (for we do not deny that they are made by him whether thus or thus); suffer that I also should consult, how the soul draws sin originally from thence, whence itself is not drawn originally. For we similarly do not deny that all souls draw original sin from Adam, lest we should rush into the detestable Pelagian heresy. If this which I ask, you also know not; suffer me patiently to be ignorant of both, both that which you ask and that which I ask: but if you already know what I ask, when you shall have taught me this also, then also that which you wish that I should answer, I will answer, intuiting nothing there now. I ask therefore that you be not incensed, because I could not confirm what you ask, but I could demonstrate what you ask; which when you shall have found, you may not doubt to confirm what you were seeking.

19. And this indeed I thought was to be written to your Holiness, who think that the propagation of souls is now to be disapproved as if certain. Otherwise if it had been to be written back to those who assert this, perhaps I would show how they are ignorant of that which they think they know; and how much they ought to fear, lest they should dare to assert this.

Indeed in the reply of a friend, which I have inserted in this letter, lest it should move you by chance that he commemorated two books sent by me, to which he answered that there was not vacant time for him to answer: one is concerning this question, not both; but in the other I asked that from him by consulting and treating of it. But as for his admonishing and exhorting that we should rather give effort so that the most pernicious heresy may be taken away from the Churches; he says that very Pelagian heresy, which I admonish as much as I can, brother, that you avoid most cautiously, when you either think or already dispute concerning the origin of souls; lest it should steal upon you to be believed, that altogether any soul except that of the one Mediator does not draw original sin from Adam, bound by generation, to be loosed by regeneration.

Letter CCIII.

Augustine to Largus, that having experienced the vain goods of this world he should contemn them, and that from the suffering of evils he may come out better.

Domino insigni et praestantissimo, et desiderantissimo filio LARGO , AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Accepi litteras Eximietatis tuae, quibus me ad te petisti ut scriberem. Quod quidem non desiderares, nisi et hoc quod me posse scribere existimasti, gratum haberes atque jucundum. Id autem est, ut vana saeculi hujus, si inexperta concupisti, experta contemnas. Fallax est enim in eis suavitas, et infructuosus labor, et perpetuus timor, et periculosa sublimitas. Initium sine providentia, et finis cum poenitentia. Ita se habent omnia quae in ista mortalitatis aerumna cupidius quam prudentius appetuntur. Alia est autem spes piorum, alius laboris fructus, alia periculorum merces. Nam in hoc mundo non timere, non dolere, non laborare, non periclitari impossibile est: sed plurimum interest qua causa, qua exspectatione, quo termino ista quisque patiatur. Ego quidem cum amatores saeculi hujus intueor, nescio quando possit esse ad eorum animos sanandos opportuna sapientia: quando enim res velut prosperas habent, fastu respuunt salubres monitus, et quasi anilem reputant cantilenam; quando autem in adversis agunt, magis cogitant evadere unde ad praesens anguntur, quam capere unde curentur, et unde perveniant ubi angi omnino non possint. Aliquando tamen quidam cordis aures admovent atque adhibent veritati, rarius inter prospera, crebrius inter adversa; sed tamen pauci sunt, ita enim praedicti sunt: inter quos te esse cupio, quia veraciter diligo, domine insignis et praestantissime, ac desiderantissime fili. Haec admonitio tibi sit mea resalutatio, quia etsi te deinceps talia perpeti qualia pertulisti, nolo; plus tamen doleo haec ipsa te sine aliqua in melius vitae mutatione fuisse perpessum.

EPISTOLA CCIV . Augustinus Dulcitio tribuno et notario, imperialiumque jussionum adversus Donatistas datarum exsecutori, ex lib. 2 Retract., c. 59, significans a se jam abunde satisfactum fuisse querelis Donatistarum; et ostendens eorum vesaniam, qui sibi necem ultro consciscebant.

Domino eximio, et honorabili filio DULCITIO, AUGUSTINUS, salutem in Domino.

To the distinguished and most excellent, and most desired son LARGUS, AUGUSTINE sends greeting in the Lord.

I received the letters of your Excellence, by which you asked me that I should write to you. Which indeed you would not desire, unless you held also this which you thought I could write, as grateful and pleasant. And that is, that you should contemn the vain things of this world, if you desired them when unexperienced, now that they are experienced. For there is in them a fallacious sweetness, and unfruitful labor, and perpetual fear, and dangerous sublimity. A beginning without providence, and an end with repentance. Thus all things hold themselves which in this hardship of mortality are sought more greedily than prudently. But the hope of the pious is other, the fruit of labor other, the reward of dangers other. For in this world it is impossible not to fear, not to grieve, not to labor, not to be in danger: but it interests very much for what cause, with what expectation, with what end each one suffers these things. I indeed when I look at the lovers of this world, I know not when there can be opportune wisdom for the healing of their minds: for when they have things as if prosperous, they reject by pride wholesome warnings, and repute them as if an old woman's song; but when they act in adversities, they rather think to evade whence they are distressed for the present, than to take whence they may be cured, and whence they may arrive where they can altogether not be distressed. Sometimes nevertheless some move and apply the ears of their heart to the truth, more rarely among prosperous things, more frequently among adversities; but yet they are few, for so they were foretold: among whom I desire you to be, because I truly love you, distinguished lord and most excellent, and most desired son. Let this admonition be my re-greeting to you, because even if thereafter I do not wish you to suffer such things as you have endured; yet I grieve more that you have suffered these very things without some mutation of life for the better.

LETTER CCIV. Augustine to Dulcitius the tribune and notary, and executor of the imperial commands given against the Donatists, from book 2 of the *Retractions*, c. 59, signifying that satisfaction has now been abundantly made by him to the complaints of the Donatists; and showing their madness, who of their own accord were inflicting death upon themselves.

To the excellent lord, and honorable son DULCITIUS, AUGUSTINE sends greeting in the Lord.

1. Non debui contemnere petitionem tuam, qua desiderasti a me institui quemadmodum te oporteat haereticis respondere, quorum salus in Domini misericordia, instantia quoque tuae strenuitatis inquiritur. Quamvis enim ingentes eorum multitudines (unde plurimum gratulamur), quid sibi beneficii conferatur intelligant; quidam tamen eorum Deo et hominibus miserabili instinctu furoris ingrati, ubi suis caedibus nos vastare non possunt, suo nos exitio terrere se credunt, aut laetitiam suam quaerentes de mortibus nostris, aut tristitiam nostram de mortibus suis. Sed non debet tot tantorumque populorum salutem furiosus error hominum impedire paucorum. Quid eis velimus non solum Deus et prudentes homines, verum etiam ipsi, cum sint nobis inimicissimi, sentiunt. Cum enim sua pernicie nos terrendos putant, non dubitant nos timere ne pereant.

2. Sed quid faciamus, videntes quod multi, adjuvante Domino, per occasionem vestram viam pacis inveniant? numquid prohibere vos possumus vel debemus ab hac unitatis instantia, dum metuimus ne quidam durissimi, et in seipsos crudelissimi, non nostra, sed propria voluntate se perdant? Optaremus quidem ut omnes qui contra Christum portant signum Christi, et contra Evangelium de ipso Evangelio, quod non intelligunt, gloriantur, a sua perversitate discederent, et nobiscum in ejus unitate gauderent. Sed quonam Deus occulta satis dispositione, sed tamen justa, nonnullos eorum poenis praedestinavit extremis; procul dubio melius, incomparabili numerositate plurimis ab illa pestifera divisione et dispersione redintegratis atque collectis, quidam suis ignibus pereunt, quam pariter universi sempiternis ignibus gehennarum merito sacrilegae dissensionis ardebunt. Sic enim pereuntes istos dolet Ecclesia, quemadmodum rebellem filium sanctus David, de cujus salute servanda sollicita dilectione mandaverat. Nam eum merito nefandae impietatis exstinctum, etiam cum testimonio lacrymosae vocis ingemuit: verumtamen superbo et maligno discedente in locum suum, populus Dei, qui fuerat illius tyrannide divisus, agnovit regem suum; et de amisso filio moerorem patris, perfectio consolata est unitatis (II Reg. XVIII, XIX).

3. Non itaque reprehendimus, domine eximie et honorabilis fili, quod tales homines apud Thamugadem prius edicto admonendos existimasti: sed quod ibi dixisti, Noveritis vos debitae neci dandos, putaverunt sicut eorum rescripta indicant, hoc te fuisse comminatum quod tu illos apprehensos fueras occisurus, non intelligentes de illa nece, quam ipsi sibi volunt ingerere, te locutum. Non enim tu in eos jus gladii ullis legibus accepisti, aut imperialibus constitutis, quorum tibi injuncta est exsecutio, hoc praeceptum est ut necentur.

1. I ought not to have contemned your petition, by which you desired to be instructed by me how it behooves you to answer the heretics, whose salvation is sought in the mercy of the Lord, and also by the instance of your activity. For although vast multitudes of them (whence we very much congratulate) understand what benefit is conferred upon them; yet some of them ungrateful to God and men by a miserable instinct of fury, where they cannot devastate us by their slaughters, they believe they terrify us by their own destruction, either seeking their own joy from our deaths, or our sadness from their own deaths. But the furious error of a few men ought not to impede the salvation of so many and such great peoples. What we wish for them not only God and prudent men, but even they themselves feel, although they are most inimical to us. For when they think that we are to be terrified by their own ruin, they do not doubt that we fear lest they perish.

2. But what should we do, seeing that many, by the help of the Lord, find the way of peace through your occasion? can we or ought we to prohibit you from this instance of unity, while we fear lest some most hard, and most cruel against themselves, should destroy themselves not by our will, but by their own? We would indeed desire that all who carry the sign of Christ against Christ, and glory in the Gospel itself which they do not understand against the Gospel, should depart from their perversity, and should rejoice with us in his unity. But since God by a sufficiently hidden disposition, but yet a just one, has predestined some of them to extreme punishments; without doubt it is better, with an incomparable numerosity very many being reintegrated and collected from that pestiferous division and dispersion, that some perish by their own fires, than that all together shall burn in the sempiternal fires of hells by the merit of sacrilegious dissension. For thus the Church grieves for these perishing ones, just as holy David for his rebellious son, concerning whose salvation to be kept he had commanded with solicitous love. For he groaned for him as one extinct by the merit of unspeakable impiety, even with the testimony of a tearful voice: nevertheless the proud and malignant one departing into his own place, the people of God, who had been divided by his tyranny, acknowledged their king; and the perfection of unity consoled the sorrow of the father for his lost son (2 Sam. XVIII, XIX).

3. We do not therefore reprehend, distinguished lord and honorable son, that you thought such men were first to be admonished by an edict at Thamugadi: but that which you said there, "Know that you are to be given to due death," they thought as their replies indicate, that you had threatened this, that you were to kill those after they were apprehended, not understanding that you spoke of that death which they wish to inflict upon themselves. For you have not received the right of the sword (*jus gladii*) against them by any laws, nor in the imperial constitutions, the execution of which is enjoined to you, is this commanded that they be killed.

Secundo sane edicto Dilectionis tuae planius quid volueris aperuisti. Quod autem etiam ipsum episcopum illorum putasti litteris alloquendum humanissime; ostendisti quanta mansuetudine temperati sint in catholica Ecclesia etiam qui potestate christiani Imperatoris, sive terrendo, sive plectendo corrigendis praeficiuntur erroribus; nisi quod honorificentioribus eum verbis tractasti quam decebat haereticum.

4. Sed quod ejus responsioni me respondere voluisti, credo te arbitratum etiam hoc Thamugadensibus debere praestari, ut fallax doctrina ipsius a quo seducebantur, aliquanto diligentius refellatur: verum nos et occupatissimi sumus, et jam in aliis plurimis opusculis nostris hujusmodi vaniloquia refutavimus. Jam enim nescio quoties disputando et scribendo monstravimus non eos posse habere martyrum mortem, quia christianorum non habent vitam; cum martyrem non faciat poena, sed causa. Docuimus etiam liberum arbitrium sic homini datum, ut tamen et divinis legibus et humanis rectissime gravium supplicia constituta sint peccatorum; et pertinere ad religiosos reges terrae, non solum adulteria vel homicidia vel hujusmodi alia flagitia seu facinora, verum etiam sacrilegia severitate congrua cohibere : multumque illos falli qui putant a nobis tales istos suscipi, quales sunt, quia non eos rebaptizamus. Quomodo enim tales suscipiuntur quales sunt, cum sint haeretici, et ad nos transeundo fiant catholici? Neque enim propterea corda depravata non licet corrigi, quia Sacramenta semel data non licet iterari.

5. De mortibus autem furiosissimis quas quidam eorum ipsi sibi inferunt, de quibus solent detestabiles et abominabiles esse multis etiam suis, quorum mentes dementia non tanta possedit, eis secundum Scripturas rationesque Christianorum saepe respondimus quoniam scriptum est: Qui sibi nequam, cui bonus (Eccli. XIV, 5)? Aut certe in eisdem positum tentationibus mori volentem occidat et proximum, qui sibi expedire et licere putat occidere seipsum, quoniam Scriptura dicit: Diliges proximum tuum tanquam teipsum (Levit. XIX, 18, et Marc. XII, 31). Nullis autem jubentibus legibus vel legitimis potestatibus, non licere alterum occidere, etiam volentem et petentem, et vivere jam non valentem, satis indicat Scriptura Regnorum, ubi rex David regis Saülis interfectorem jussit occidi, cum ille dixisset ab eo jam saucio atque semivivo petitum se fuisse ut hoc faceret, et animam corporis nexibus obluctantem solvique cupientem uno ictu vulneris ab illis cruciatibus liberaret (II Reg. I, 1-16).

Indeed by the second edict of your Love you have opened more plainly what you wished. But as for your having thought that their bishop himself was also to be addressed most humanely by letters; you have shown with how much gentleness those are tempered in the Catholic Church even who are set over the correction of errors by the power of a Christian Emperor, whether by terrifying or by punishing; except that you treated him with more honorific words than became a heretic.

4. But as for your having wished me to answer his response, I believe you thought that even this ought to be provided for the people of Thamugadi, so that his fallacious doctrine by which they were seduced, may be refuted somewhat more diligently: but we are both most occupied, and have already in very many other small works of ours refuted vain talk (*vaniloquia*) of this kind. For I know not how many times already by disputing and writing we have shown that they cannot have the death of martyrs, because they do not have the life of Christians; since not the punishment, but the cause, makes the martyr. We have also taught that free will (*liberum arbitrium*) was so given to man, that nevertheless both by divine laws and by human ones the punishments of grave sins have been most rightly constituted; and that it pertains to the religious kings of the earth to cohibit with congruent severity not only adulteries or homicides or other such outrages or crimes, but even sacrileges: and that those are much deceived who think that these men are received by us such as they are, because we do not rebaptize them. For how are they received such as they are, since they are heretics, and by passing over to us they become Catholics? For nor for that reason is it not allowed that depraved hearts be corrected, because it is not allowed that Sacraments once given be iterated.

5. But concerning the most furious deaths which some of them inflict upon themselves, by which they are accustomed to be detestable and abominable even to many of their own, whose minds dementia has not so much possessed, we have often answered them according to the Scriptures and the reasons of Christians, since it is written: "He that is evil to himself, to whom will he be good?" (Eccli. XIV, 5). Or certainly let him who thinks it expedient and lawful for him to kill himself, kill also his neighbor placed in the same temptations and wishing to die, since the Scripture says: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Levit. XIX, 18, and Mark XII, 31). But that it is not lawful to kill another, even one willing and asking, and no longer able to live, when no laws or legitimate powers command it, the Scripture of the Kingdoms sufficiently indicates, where king David commanded the slayer of king Saul to be killed, although he had said that he had been asked by him, already wounded and half-alive, that he should do this, and should liberate the soul struggling with the bonds of the body and desiring to be loosed from those torments by one stroke of a wound (2 Sam. I, 1-16).

Proinde quia omnis qui sine ulla legitimae potestatis auctoritate hominem occidit, homicida est; quisquis seipsum occidit non sit homicida, si non homo est. Haec omnia multimodis in aliis plurimis nostris sermonibus et litteris diximus.

6. Verumtamen, quod fatendum est, de isto Razio seniore, quem summa exemplorum inopia coarctati se in Machabaeorum libris, quasi ad auctoritatem sceleris quo seipsos perdunt, perscrutatis omnibus ecclesiasticis auctoritatibus, vix aliquando se invenisse gloriantur, adhuc eis nunquam respondisse me recolo. Sed, quod tuae Charitati et prudentibus quibusque sufficiat ad istos redarguendos, si ad vitam Christianorum de Judaea gente atque illis Litteris parati sunt omnium factorum exempla transferre, tunc et hoc transferant. Si autem illic sunt plurima eorum quoque hominum, qui Litterarum illarum veritate laudati sunt, vel huic jam tempori non convenientia vel etiam illo tempore non recte facta; tale etiam hoc est, quod in seipsum Razius iste commisit: qui cum esset apud suos nobilis, et multum in Judaismo profecisset (quae sibi in comparatione justitiae christianae damna et stercora fuisse dicit Apostolus [Philipp. III, 8]), et propter hoc idem Razius Judaeorum pater appellaretur; quid mirum est, si tanquam homini elatio superba subrepsit, ut mallet manu propria perimi, quam post illam in suorum aspectibus celsitudinem, sustinere indignam in hostium manibus servitutem?

7. Solent in litteris Gentilium ista laudari. In his autem Machabaeorum libris quamvis homo ipse fuerit laudatus, factum tamen ejus narratum est, non laudatum, et judicandum potius quam imitandum quasi ante oculos constitutum; non sane nostro judicio judicandum, quod nos quoque ut homines habere possemus, sed judicio doctrinae sobriae, quae in ipsis quoque Libris veteribus clara est. Longe quippe fuit iste Razius a verbis illis, ubi legitur: Omne quod tibi applicitum fuerit accipe, et in dolore sustine, et in humilitate tua patientiam habe (Eccli. II, 4). Non ergo fuit iste vir eligendae mortis sapiens, sed ferendae humilitatis impatiens.

8. Scriptum est quod voluerit nobiliter et viriliter mori; sed numquid ideo sapienter? Nobiliter scilicet, ne libertatem sui generis captivus amitteret: viriliter autem, quod tantas vires animi habereret, quibus idoneus esset ut se ipse perimeret; quod gladio cum implere non posset, de muro se praecipitem dedit, et sic adhuc vivus abruptam cucurrit ad petram, atque ibi jam exsanguis intestina sua produxit, quae utraque manu dissipata spargebat in populum, ac deinde postea defessus occubuit (II Machab. XIV, 37-46).

Therefore because everyone who kills a man without any authority of legitimate power is a homicide; let whoever kills himself not be a homicide, if he is not a man. All these things we have said in many ways in many other of our discourses and letters.

Nevertheless, what must be confessed, concerning that elder Razis, whom, constrained by the greatest scarcity of examples in the books of the Maccabees, as if to the authority of the crime by which they destroy themselves, having searched all ecclesiastical authorities, they glory that they have at last found with difficulty, I do not recall that I have yet answered them. But, what may suffice for your Charity and for all prudent persons to refute those men, if they are prepared to transfer examples of all deeds from the Jewish nation and those Letters to the life of Christians, then let them transfer also this. But if there are very many things there also of those men who were praised by the truth of those Letters, either not suitable to this time or even not rightly done at that time; such also is this which that Razis committed against himself: who since he was noble among his own, and had profited much in Judaism (which the Apostle says were to him losses and dung in comparison with Christian justice [Philipp. III, 8]), and for this reason the same Razis was called the father of the Jews; what wonder is it, if as a man proud elation stole upon him, so that he preferred to be destroyed by his own hand, than to sustain an unworthy servitude in the hands of enemies after that highness in the eyes of his own?

7. Such things are accustomed to be praised in the letters of the Gentiles. In these books of the Maccabees, however, although the man himself was praised, yet his deed was narrated, not praised, and to be judged rather than to be imitated, as if placed before the eyes; not indeed to be judged by our judgment, which we also as men could have, but by the judgment of sober doctrine, which is clear also in those old Books themselves. For that Razis was far from those words, where it is read: "Everything that shall be applied to thee, receive, and sustain in sorrow, and have patience in thy humility" (Eccli. II, 4). Therefore that man was not wise in choosing death, but impatient in bearing humility.

8. It is written that he wished to die "nobly and manfully"; but was it therefore wisely? "Nobly" indeed, lest being a captive he should lose the liberty of his race: "manfully" however, because he had such strengths of mind, by which he was fit to destroy himself; which when he could not fulfill with the sword, he gave himself headlong from the wall, and thus still alive he ran to the abrupt rock, and there already bloodless he produced his own intestines, which with both hands dissipated he was scattering among the people, and then thereafter being exhausted he lay down (2 Machab. XIV, 37-46).

Magna haec sunt, nec tamen bona: non enim bonum est omne quod magnum est; quoniam sunt magna etiam mala. Deus dixit: Innocentem et justum ne occidas (Exod. XXIII, 7). Si ergo iste innocens et justus non fuit, cur proponitur imitandus? Si autem innocens et justus fuit, quare interfector innocentis et justi, id est ipsius Razii, insuper putatur esse laudandus?

9. Haec interim, ne nimium prolixa fiat, huic epistolae implendae satis sint. Debeo autem Thamugadensibus ejusmodi ministerium charitatis, quoniam mihi et voto tuo et ab honorabili et charissimo filio meo Eleusino, qui tribunatum apud eos egit, bene insinuati sunt, ut ambabus epistolis Gaudentii Donatistarum episcopi, et maxime posteriori, quam secundum Scripturas sanctas se fecisse arbitratur, ita respondeam, ne aliquid praetermissum putetur.

Epistola CCV.

Augustinus Consentio, respondens ad illius percontationes de corpore Christi quale nunc sit, necnon de nostris corporibus qualia futura sint in resurrectione.

Dilectissimo fratri CONSENTIO, AUGUSTINUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Quantum ad oculos attinet corporales, quosdam videmus, nec novimus; quorum a nobis studia vitaque nesciuntur: quosdam novimus, nec videmus; quorum nobis charitas et affectus innotuit, in quibus et te annumeramus; et ideo te magis videre desideramus, ut in iis sis quos et videmus et novimus. Nam illi qui ignoti nostris oculis ingeruntur, non solum desiderabiles non sunt, sed vix tolerabiles sunt, nisi aliquibus signis pulchritudo in his hominis interioris appareat. Quorum autem, sicut tuus, nobis prius animus intelligendo, quam videndo corpus apparuit, jam quidem novimus eos; sed ideo etiam videre desideramus, ut per illud quod conspicitur oculis, multo jucundius et familiarius eo quem jam novimus, amico interiore perfruamur. Verum et hoc de te nobis Deus fortasse donabit, quietioribus et tranquillioribus, sicut optamus, rebus humanis, ut id honestae charitatis sit potius quam molestae necessitatis. Nunc ad ea respondeam, sicut Domino adjuvante potuero, quae praeter epistolam in alia chartula a me quaerenda misisti.

These things are great, but not good: for not everything that is great is good; since there are even great evils. God said: "The innocent and the just thou shalt not kill" (Exod. XXIII, 7). If therefore that man was not innocent and just, why is he proposed to be imitated? But if he was innocent and just, why is the killer of the innocent and the just, that is of Razis himself, moreover thought to be praised?

9. Let these things in the meantime be enough for the completing of this letter, lest it become too prolix. For I owe to the people of Thamugadi a ministry of charity of this kind, since both by your wish and by my honorable and most dear son Eleusinus, who acted as tribune among them, they have been well insinuated to me, so that I may respond to both letters of Gaudentius the bishop of the Donatists, and especially to the latter, which he thinks he made according to the holy Scriptures, so that nothing may be thought to be passed over.

Letter CCV.

Augustine to Consentius, answering his inquiries concerning the body of Christ what kind it may now be, as also concerning our bodies what kind they shall be in the resurrection.

To the most beloved brother CONSENTIUS, AUGUSTINE.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. As much as pertains to the corporal eyes, some we see, and do not know; whose studies and life are unknown to us: some we know, and do not see; whose charity and affection has become known to us, in whom we also number you; and therefore we more desire to see you, so that you may be among those whom we both see and know. For those who being unknown are forced upon our eyes, are not only not desirable, but are scarcely tolerable, unless by some signs the beauty of the interior man should appear in these. But those whose mind, like yours, appeared to us by understanding before seeing the body, we already know them; but for that reason we also desire to see them, so that through that which is conspicuous to the eyes, we may enjoy much more pleasantly and familiarly that interior friend whom we already know. But God will perhaps grant even this concerning you to us, human affairs being quieter and more tranquil as we wish, so that it may be of honest charity rather than of troublesome necessity. Now I shall answer to those things, as I shall be able with the Lord helping, which besides the letter you sent on another small paper to be asked of me.

2. Quaeris utrum nunc corpus Domini ossa et sanguinem habeat, aut reliqua carnis lineamenta. Quid si adderes, utrum etiam vestimenta? Nonne augeretur quaestio? Qua causa, nisi quia ea quae in usu vitae hujus nostrae corruptibilia novimus, sine corruptione cogitare vix possumus, cum divinorum miraculorum quaedam documenta jam data sint, ex quibus liceat conjectare majora? Nam si vestis Israelitarum per tot annos in eremo sine tritura esse potuit, si morticina pellis calceamentorum tamdiu sine labe duravit, potest ubique Deus quorumlibet corporum, per quantum voluerit tempus, incorruptam protendere qualitatem. Ego proinde Domini corpus ita in coelo esse credo, ut erat in terra, quando ascendit in coelum. Dixerat autem Discipulis, ut in Evangelio legimus, de sua resurrectione dubitantibus, et illud quod videbant, non corpus, sed spiritum esse putantibus: Videte manus meas et pedes; palpate et videte, quia spiritus ossa et carnem non habet, sicut me videtis habere (Luc. XXIV, 39). Sicut eorum, cum esset in terra, contrectatus est manibus, sic eorum est, cum iret in coelum, deductus aspectibus. Ibi vox angelica sonuit: Sic veniet, quemadmodum eum vidistis euntem in coelum (Act. I, 11). Fides adsit, et nulla quaestio remanebit.

3. Nisi forte de sanguine requirendum est, quia cum dixisset, Palpate et videte, quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet, non addidit, sanguinem. Non ergo et nos addamus inquirere quod ille non addidit dicere: et de compendio, si placet, finita sit quaestio. Fortassis enim, accepta occasione sanguinis, urgebit nos molestior perscrutator, et dicet: Si sanguis, cur non et pituita, cur non et fel flavum et fel nigrum, quibus quatuor humoribus naturam carnis temperari etiam medicinae disciplina testatur? Sed quodlibet quisque addat, corruptionem addere caveat, ne suae fidei sanitatem castitatemque corrumpat.

4. Ex consuetudine rerum expertarum, inexperta opera divina, infirmitas metitur humana, et acutule se garrire arbitratur, cum dicit: Si caro est, et sanguis est; si sanguis, et caeteri humores; si caeteri humores, ergo et corruptio. Eo modo diceret: Si flamma est, et ardet; si ardet, et urit; si urit, ergo virorum trium in fornacem ignis ab impio rege missorum corpora incendit.

2. You ask "whether the body of the Lord now has bones and blood, or the rest of the lineaments of the flesh." What if you added, whether also garments? Would not the question be increased? For what cause, except because those things which we know as corruptible in the use of this our life, we can scarcely think of without corruption, when certain documents of divine miracles have already been given, from which it is allowed to conjecture greater things? For if the garment of the Israelites through so many years in the desert could be without wearing out, if the dead skin of their shoes lasted so long without blemish, God can everywhere extend the incorrupt quality of any bodies whatsoever, through as much time as he shall wish. I therefore believe the body of the Lord to be in heaven so as it was on earth, when he ascended into heaven. For he had said to the Disciples, as we read in the Gospel, when they were doubting concerning his resurrection, and thinking that that which they saw was not a body but a spirit: "See my hands and feet; feel and see, because a spirit has not bones and flesh, as you see me have" (Luke XXIV, 39). Just as he was touched by their hands when he was on earth, so he was led away from their sights when he went into heaven. There the angelic voice sounded: "So he shall come, just as you have seen him going into heaven" (Acts I, 11). Let faith be present, and no question will remain.

3. Unless perhaps it is to be required concerning the blood, because when he had said, "Feel and see, because a spirit has not flesh and bones," he did not add, blood. Let us therefore not add to inquire what he did not add to say: and from a shortcut, if it please, let the question be finished. For perhaps, the occasion of blood being accepted, a more troublesome searcher will urge us, and will say: "If blood, why not also phlegm, why not also yellow bile and black bile, by which four humors the discipline of medicine also witnesses the nature of the flesh to be tempered?" But whatever anyone adds, let him beware to add corruption, lest he should corrupt the health and chastity of his faith.

4. From the custom of experienced things, human weakness measures the unexperienced divine works, and thinks that it babbles somewhat sharply when it says: "If there is flesh, there is also blood; if blood, also the other humors; if the other humors, therefore also corruption." In that way it would say: "If there is flame, it also burns; if it burns, it also scorches; if it scorches, therefore it consumed the bodies of the three men sent into the furnace of fire by the impious king."

Si autem hoc in tribus viris miraculum (Dan. III) factum esse non dubitat quisquis de divinis operibus recte sapit; cur non credatur qui fecit illa corpora non posse igne corrumpi, fecisse illud corpus nec posse corrumpi igne, nec fame, nec morbo, nec senio, nec ulla vi alia qua solet humana corpora labefactare corruptio? Quod si quisquam dicit, non carni trium illorum virorum additam contra ignem incorruptionem, sed ipsi igni detractam corrumpendi facultatem; quid veremur ne carnem facere nequiverit non posse corrumpi, qui fecit ignem non posse corrumpere? Nam si illud non de carnis, sed de ignis mutatione intelligitur, multo est mirabilius: simul enim et hominum corpora non urebat ne posset nocere, et ligna fornacis urebat ut posset ardere. Sed qui etiam ista non credunt, nimium de divina potestate diffidunt, nec cum eis vel ad eos nunc sermo nobis est: qui autem ista credunt, ex his etiam illa utcumque conjiciant quae fideliter quaerunt. Valet igitur divina potentia de ista visibili atque tractabili natura corporum, quibusdam manentibus, auferre quas voluerit qualitates: ac per hoc valet etiam membra mortalia, formae lineamentis manentibus, corruptione vero mortalitatis emortua, stabili vigore firmare; ut absit labes, adsit effigies; adsit motio, absit fatigatio; adsit vescendi potestas, absit esuriendi necessitas.

CAPUT II.

5. Quod ergo legitur apud Apostolum, Caro et sanguis regnum Dei non possidebunt (I Cor. XV, 50), solvitur quidem quaestio etiam isto modo quem tu commemorasti, ut carnis et sanguinis nomine opera carnis et sanguinis intelligantur: verum, quia non de operibus, sed de modo resurrectionis loquebatur Apostolus, et eam quaestionem disputando versabat, melius eo loco intelligitur caro et sanguis pro corruptione carnis et sanguinis posita. Si enim nomen carnis significat operationem, cur non significet etiam corruptionem, sicut dictum est, Omnis caro fenum? Nam et hic ipsa corruptibilitas significata est: sequitur enim, et omnis honor carnis ut flos feni; fenum aruit, flos decidit (Isai. XL, 6, 7). Numquidnam hoc etiam illi carni competit, de qua dictum est: Palpate et videte, quia spiritus ossa et carnem non habet, sicut me videtis habere? Nam quomodo arescat aut decidat, cum scriptum sit quod Christus surgens a mortuis, jam non moritur, et mors ei ultra non dominabitur (Rom. VI, 9)?

But if anyone who tastes rightly of divine works does not doubt that this miracle (Dan. III) was done in the three men; why should it not be believed that he who made those bodies not to be able to be corrupted by fire, made that body neither able to be corrupted by fire, nor by hunger, nor by disease, nor by old age, nor by any other force by which corruption is accustomed to weaken human bodies? But if anyone says that incorruption was not added to the flesh of those three men against the fire, but the faculty of corrupting was taken away from the fire itself; why do we fear lest he should have been unable to make flesh not able to be corrupted, who made fire not able to corrupt? For if that is understood not concerning the mutation of the flesh, but of the fire, it is much more wonderful: for at once he both did not burn the bodies of the men so that it might not be able to harm, and he burned the wood of the furnace so that it might be able to blaze. But those who also do not believe these things, distrust divine power too much, nor is our speech now with them or to them: but let those who believe these things, also from these things somehow conjecture those things which they faithfully seek. The divine power therefore is able, concerning this visible and touchable nature of bodies, certain qualities remaining, to take away those which it shall have wished: and through this it is also able to confirm mortal members, the lineaments of form remaining, but the corruption of mortality being dead, with stable vigor; so that blemish may be absent, the image present; motion present, fatigue absent; the power of eating present, the necessity of hungering absent.

CHAPTER II.

5. What therefore is read in the Apostle, "Flesh and blood shall not possess the kingdom of God" (1 Cor. XV, 50), the question is indeed solved even in that way which you commemorated, so that by the name of flesh and blood the works of flesh and blood may be understood: but, because the Apostle was speaking not of works, but of the manner of resurrection, and was turning that question by disputing, it is better understood in that place that flesh and blood is put for the corruption of flesh and blood. For if the name of flesh signifies operation, why should it not also signify corruption, as it is said, "All flesh is grass"? For here also corruptibility itself was signified: for it follows, "and all the honor of flesh as the flower of grass; the grass withered, the flower fell" (Isai. XL, 6, 7). Does this also fit that flesh, of which it is said: "Feel and see, because a spirit has not bones and flesh, as you see me have"? For how should it wither or fall, when it is written that "Christ rising from the dead, now dies no more, and death shall no more have dominion over him" (Rom. VI, 9)?

6. Proinde ipsam apostolicam sententiam desuper inspice, totamque considera. Cum resurrectionem mortuorum persuadere vellet eis qui dicebant quod resurrectio mortuorum non est, Christi resurrectione praemissa in exemplum, inter caetera quae ibi disseruit, intulit sibi quaestionem atque ait: Sed dicet aliquis, Quomodo resurgent mortui? quo autem corpore venient? id est, quali corpore? Deinde adhibens documenta seminum: Stulte, inquit, tu quod seminas, non vivificatur, nisi prius moriatur; et quod seminas, non corpus quod futurum est seminas, sed nudum granum, ut puta tritici, aut alicujus caeterorum; Deus autem illi dat corpus quomodo voluerit, et unicuique seminum proprium corpus. Secundum hoc ergo dixerat, non corpus quod futurum est seminas. Neque enim non triticum erit ex tritico; sed quia nemo seminat herbam, vel stipulam, et multiplicia in palea tegumenta granorum, cum quibus tamen semina exsurgunt, ideo ait, sed nudum granum: hinc voleus ostendere quia si Deus potest addere quod non erat in nudo semine, multo magis potest reparare quod erat in hominis corpore.

7. Jamvero quod adjungit, ad differentiam pertinet resurgentium, propter diversas glorias fidelium atque sanctorum. Non omnis, inquit, caro eadem caro: alia quidem hominum, alia autem caro pecorum, alia volucrum, alia piscium. Et corpora coelestia, et corpora terrestria; sed alia est coelestium gloria, et alia terrestrium. Et alia gloria solis, alia gloria lunae, et alia gloria stellarum. Stella enim a stella differt in gloria: sic et resurrectio mortuorum. In his omnibus iste sensus est: Si genera carnis cum sint cuncta mortalia, differunt tamen inter se pro diversitatibus animantium; et si corpora cum sint omnia visibilia, differunt tamen pro diversitatibus locorum, unde alia est coelestium gloria, alia terrestrium; et si in locis sublimibus cum sint cuncta coelestia, differunt etiam ipsa claritatibus luminum; non mirum est quod in resurrectione mortuorum distabit gloria meritorum.

8. Hinc jam venit ad illud quod communiter habet omnis caro quae ad vitam resurgit aeternam, et dicit: Seminatur in corruptione, surget in incorruptione; seminatur in contumelia, surget in gloria; seminatur in infirmitate, surget in virtute; seminatur corpus animale, surget corpus spirituale. In iis verbis Apostoli, numquid fas est putare melius corpora nostra resurrectura quam Christi; cum de illo sit propositum exemplum, quod fideliter intendere, et per ejus gratiam sperare debeamus?

6. Therefore look upon that apostolic sentence from above, and consider it all. When he wished to persuade the resurrection of the dead to those who were saying that there is no resurrection of the dead, Christ's resurrection having been sent before as an example, among the other things which he discussed there, he brought in a question to himself and said: "But someone will say, How do the dead rise? with what body do they come?" that is, with what kind of body? Then applying the documents of seeds: "Fool," he said, "that which you sow is not quickened unless it first die; and that which you sow, you do not sow the body that is to be, but a naked grain, as for instance of wheat, or of any of the rest; but God gives to it a body as he shall have wished, and to each of the seeds its own body." According to this therefore he had said, "you do not sow the body that is to be." For neither will it not be wheat from wheat; but because no one sows the herb, or the stalk, and the manifold coverings of the grains in the chaff, with which however the seeds spring up, therefore he said, "but a naked grain": wishing from this to show that if God can add what was not in the naked seed, much more can he repair what was in the body of man.

7. Now that which he adds, pertains to the difference of those rising again, on account of the diverse glories of the faithful and the saints. "Not all," he said, "flesh is the same flesh: one indeed of men, another flesh of cattle, another of birds, another of fishes. And celestial bodies, and terrestrial bodies; but one is the glory of the celestial, and another of the terrestrial. And one glory of the sun, another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars. For star differs from star in glory: so also is the resurrection of the dead." In all these this is the sense: If the kinds of flesh although they are all mortal, yet differ among themselves for the diversities of living things; and if bodies although they are all visible, yet differ for the diversities of places, whence one is the glory of the celestial, another of the terrestrial; and if in sublime places although they are all celestial, they also differ among themselves by the brightnesses of lights; it is no wonder that in the resurrection of the dead the glory of merits will differ.

8. From here he now comes to that which all flesh which rises to eternal life has in common, and says: "It is sown in corruption, it shall rise in incorruption; it is sown in dishonor, it shall rise in glory; it is sown in weakness, it shall rise in power; it is sown an animal body, it shall rise a spiritual body." In these words of the Apostle, is it lawful to think that our bodies are to rise better than Christ's; when from him the example is proposed, which we ought faithfully to intend, and through his grace to hope for?

Ac per hoc nullo modo potuit corpus Christi cum corruptione resurgere, si nostrum in incorruptione resurrecturum promittitur; nec potuit illud sine gloria, si nostrum resurget in gloria. Quae autem ibi gloria, ubi adhuc corruptio? Nimis itaque absurdum est ut credamus illud corpus et in infirmitate esse seminatum, id est mortificatum, et in infirmitate resurrexisse; cum corpus nostrum seminetur in infirmitate, resurgat in virtute; et dicat idem apostolus de Christo: Etsi crucifixus est ex infirmitate, sed vivit ex virtute Dei (II Cor. XIII, 4). Quis vero tam absurde sapiat, ut credat illud corpus animale seminatum, animale resuscitatum, si nostrum seminatur animale, surget spirituale?

9. Constat itaque, neque ullo modo dubitandum est, corpus Christi, quod licet corruptionem putredinis in sepulcro non viderit, unde scriptum est, Nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem (Psal. XV, 10), clavis tamen et lancea perrumpi potuit, nunc omnino in incorruptione consistere; et quod in contumelia passionis mortisque seminatum est, nunc esse in gloria vitae aeternae; et quod ex infirmitate potuit crucifigi, nunc in virtute regnare; et quod erat corpus animale, quoniam ex Adam sumptum est, nunc esse spirituale, quoniam spiritui jam inseparabiliter copulatum est. Cum enim vellet Apostolus de corpore animali adhibere testimonium Scripturarum, illud posuit quod in Genesi legitur: Si est, inquit, corpus animale, est et spirituale; sicut scriptum est, Factus est primus Adam in animam viventem, vel, in animam vivam (I Cor. XV, 44). Recolis certe quemadmodum scriptum sit: Et insufflavit Deus in faciem ejus flatum vitae; et factus est homo in animam vivam (Gen. II, 7). Dictum est autem etiam de animalibus: Producat terra animam vivam (Id. I, 24). Intelligitur ergo corpus animale dici simile caeteris animalibus propter mortis dissolutionem et corruptionem, quae quotidie cibo reficitur, et postea, separata animantis compage, dissolvitur. Spirituale autem corpus, quod jam cum spiritu immortale est.

10. Quamvis nonnulli arbitrentur tunc fieri corpus spirituale, cum jam et ipsum corpus mutatur in spiritum, et quod homo erat ex corpore et spiritu, utrumque ac totum spiritus erit, quasi dixerit Apostolus, Seminatur corpus, surget spiritus. Dixit autem, Seminatur corpus animale, surget corpus spirituale: proinde, sicut animale corpus non est anima, sed corpus, ita et spirituale corpus non spiritum debemus putare, sed corpus. Quis porro audeat opinari, vel Christi corpus non spirituale resurrexisse; vel si spirituale surrexit, jam non corpus fuisse, sed spiritum: cum hanc opinionem Discipulorum refellat, ubi, cum eum videntes existimarent se spiritum videre, ait, Palpate et videte, quia spiritus ossa et carnem non habet, sicut me videtis habere?

And through this in no way could the body of Christ rise with corruption, if ours is promised to rise in incorruption; nor could that be without glory, if ours shall rise in glory. But what glory is there, where corruption still is? It is therefore too absurd that we should believe that body both to have been sown in weakness, that is, mortified, and to have risen in weakness; when our body is sown in weakness, and rises in power; and the same apostle says of Christ: "Although he was crucified from weakness, yet he lives from the power of God" (2 Cor. XIII, 4). But who should taste so absurdly, as to believe that body sown an animal body, raised an animal body, if ours is sown an animal body, and shall rise a spiritual body?

9. It is therefore certain, and in no way to be doubted, that the body of Christ, which although it did not see the corruption of rottenness in the sepulcher, whence it is written, "Nor will you give your holy one to see corruption" (Psal. XV, 10), yet could be pierced by nails and a lance, now consists entirely in incorruption; and that which was sown in the dishonor of passion and death, now is in the glory of eternal life; and that which could be crucified from weakness, now reigns in power; and that which was an animal body, since it was taken from Adam, now is spiritual, since it is now inseparably coupled to the spirit. For when the Apostle wished to apply a testimony of the Scriptures concerning the animal body, he put that which is read in Genesis: "If there is," he said, "an animal body, there is also a spiritual one; as it is written, The first Adam was made into a living soul," or, "into a living soul" (1 Cor. XV, 44). You certainly recall how it is written: "And God breathed into his face the breath of life; and man was made into a living soul" (Gen. II, 7). But it was also said of the animals: "Let the earth bring forth a living soul" (Id. I, 24). It is understood therefore that a body is called animal as being like the other animals on account of the dissolution of death and corruption, which is daily refreshed by food, and afterwards, the frame of the living being being separated, is dissolved. But the spiritual body, which is now immortal with the spirit.

10. Although some think that it then becomes a spiritual body, when the body itself is changed into spirit, and that what was man from body and spirit, the whole and both will be spirit, as if the Apostle had said, "A body is sown, a spirit shall rise." But he said, "An animal body is sown, a spiritual body shall rise": therefore, just as an animal body is not a soul, but a body, so also we ought not to think a spiritual body to be a spirit, but a body. Who moreover would dare to opine, either that the body of Christ did not rise spiritual; or if it rose spiritual, that it was no longer a body, but a spirit: when he refutes this opinion of the Disciples, where, when they seeing him thought they saw a spirit, he says, "Feel and see, because a spirit has not bones and flesh, as you see me have"?

Jam igitur illa caro spirituale erat corpus, nec tamen spiritus erat, sed corpus, nulla ulterius morte ab anima resolvendum atque separandum: sicut corpus animale, quale animatum est Dei flatu, cum factus est homo in animam vivam, etiam ipsum ex animali spirituale sine mortis interventu fuerat futurum, nisi transgressio praecepti prius commisso peccato infligeret poenam, quam Deus servatae justitiae daret coronam.

11. Unde Dominus Christus per nos ad nos venit, cum peccatores justus invenit; per stratum quodammodo humilitatis nostrae, sed non cum morbo iniquitatis nostrae. Nam per animale nobis, hoc est per mortale corpus apparuit; qui utique si voluisset, cum corpore immortali primitus advenisset. Sed quia nos humilitate Filii Dei sanari oportebat, usque ad nostram infirmitatem descendit, et fidei nostrae meritum ac praemium, virtute suae resurrectionis ostendit. Ideo sequitur Apostolus et dicit: Novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem. Sive intelligatur primus Adam, qui de pulvere ante formatus est, novissimus autem Adam, qui de virgine procreatus est; sive in unoquoque homine utrumque compleatur, ut primus Adam sit homo in corpore mortali, novissimus Adam idem ipse in corpore immortali: tamen inter animam viventem et spiritum vivificantem hoc interesse voluit, ut illic sit corpus animale, hic spirituale. Anima quippe in corpore animali vivit quidem, sed non vivificat usque ad auferendam corruptionem: in corpore vero spirituali, quoniam perfecte adhaerens Domino, unus spiritus est (I Cor. VI, 17), sic vivificat ut spirituale corpus efficiat, absumens omnem corruptionem, nullam metuens separationem.

Proinde sequitur: Sed non prius quod spirituale est, sed quod animale; postea quod 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. Quid est, Qualis terrenus, tales et terreni; nisi, mortales ex mortali? et quid est, Qualis coelestis, tales et coelestes; nisi, immortales per immortalem? Illud per Adam, hoc per Christum. Dominus enim ad hoc terrenus factus est, cum esset coelestis, ut eos qui terreni erant, faceret coelestes; hoc est, ideo ex immortali mortalis factus est, assumendo servi formam, non Domini mutando naturam, ut eos qui mortales erant faceret immortales, impertiendo dominicam gratiam, non servilem injuriam retinendo.

Now therefore that flesh was a spiritual body, and yet it was not a spirit, but a body, to be resolved and separated from the soul by no death further: just as an animal body, such as was animated by the breath of God, when man was made into a living soul, even itself was to have been from an animal to a spiritual one without the intervention of death, unless the transgression of the precept had inflicted punishment on the sin first committed, before God should give a crown to the justice preserved.

11. Whence the Lord Christ came through us to us, when the just one found sinners; through the bed as it were of our humility, but not with the disease of our iniquity. For he appeared to us through an animal, that is through a mortal body; who certainly if he had wished, would have first arrived with an immortal body. But because it was necessary for us to be healed by the humility of the Son of God, he descended even to our weakness, and showed the merit and reward of our faith by the power of his resurrection. Therefore the Apostle follows and says: "The last Adam into a quickening spirit." Whether the first Adam is understood, who was formed before from the dust, but the last Adam, who was procreated from a virgin; or whether in each man both are fulfilled, so that the first Adam is man in a mortal body, the last Adam the very same in an immortal body: yet he wished this to interest between a living soul and a quickening spirit, that there it is an animal body, here a spiritual one. For the soul indeed lives in an animal body, but it does not quicken so far as to take away corruption: but in a spiritual body, since perfectly adhering to the Lord it is one spirit (1 Cor. VI, 17), it so quickens as to effect a spiritual body, consuming all corruption, fearing no separation.

Therefore it follows: "But not first that which is spiritual, but that which is animal; afterwards that which is spiritual. The first man from the earth, earthly; the second man from heaven, heavenly. Such as the earthly, such also the earthly; and such as the heavenly, such also the heavenly. As we have borne the image of the earthly, let us also bear the image of him who is from heaven." What is, "Such as the earthly, such also the earthly," except mortals from a mortal? and what is, "Such as the heavenly, such also the heavenly," except immortals through the immortal? That through Adam, this through Christ. For the Lord for this was made earthly, when he was heavenly, so that he might make those who were earthly, heavenly; that is, for this reason from an immortal he was made mortal, by assuming the form of a servant, not by changing the nature of the Lord, so that he might make those who were mortal, immortal, by imparting the Lord's grace, not by retaining the servant's injury.

13. Cum igitur de resurrectione corporis Apostolus disputans, doceret nostra corpora futura ex corruptibilibus incorruptibilia, ex contemptibilibus gloriosa, ex infirmis fortia, ex animalibus spiritualia, hoc est, ex mortalibus immortalia, subjecit unde agitur, atque ait: Hoc autem dico, fratres, quia caro et sanguis regnum Dei possidere non possunt. Et ne quisquam putaret secundum substantiam carnis hoc Apostolum definiisse, aperuit quid diceret, subjungendo: neque corruptio incorruptionem possidebit. Tanquam diceret, Quod dixi, Caro et sanguis regnum Dei non possidebunt, ideo dixi, quia corruptio incorruptionem non possidebit. Hoc ergo loco nomine carnis et sanguinis, corruptionem mortalitatis intelligi voluit.

14. Denique, tanquam ei diceretur, Quomodo caro erit, et caro non erit? caro quippe erit, quoniam Dominus post resurrectionem ait, Palpate et videte, quia spiritus ossa et carnem non habet, sicut me videtis habere; caro autem non erit, quoniam caro et sanguis regnum Dei non possidebunt: exponit quid dixerit, adjiciens, Ecce mysterium vobis dico, omnes quidem resurgemus; vel sicut graeci codices habent, omnes quidem dormiemus, non tamen omnes immutabimur. Hanc immutationem utrum in deterius, an in melius intelligi voluerit, inferiora demonstrant. In atomo, inquit, hoc est, in puncto temporis, quod dividi non potest; in ictu oculi, hoc est in summa celeritate; in novissima tuba, hoc est, in novissimo signo quod dabitur, ut ista compleantur: canet enim tuba, inquit, et mortui resurgent incorrupti, et nos commutabimur. Ergo istam commutationem in melius sine dubitatione oportet intelligi, quia omnes et justi et injusti resurrecturi sunt: sed, sicut Dominus in Evangelio loquitur, qui bene fecerunt, in resurrectionem vitae: qui vero male egerunt, in resurrectionem judicii (Joan. V, 29); judicium appellans poenam sempiternam, sicut alio loco, Qui non credit, inquit, jam judicatus est (Id. III, 18). Proinde illi qui ad judicium resurrecturi sunt, non commutabuntur in illam incorruptelam quae nec doloris corruptionem pati potest. Illa namque fidelium est atque sanctorum: isti vero perpetua corruptione cruciabuntur; quia ignis eorum non exstinguetur, et vermis eorum non morietur (Isai LXVI, 24).

13. When therefore the Apostle, disputing concerning the resurrection of the body, was teaching that our bodies are to be from corruptible ones incorruptible, from contemptible ones glorious, from weak ones strong, from animal ones spiritual, that is, from mortal ones immortal, he subjected that which is being acted upon, and said: "But this I say, brethren, because flesh and blood cannot possess the kingdom of God." And lest anyone should think that the Apostle had defined this according to the substance of the flesh, he opened what he was saying, by subjoining: "neither shall corruption possess incorruption." As if he were saying, "That which I said, Flesh and blood shall not possess the kingdom of God, I said for this reason, because corruption shall not possess incorruption." In this place therefore by the name of flesh and blood, he wished the corruption of mortality to be understood.

14. Finally, as if it were said to him, "How will there be flesh, and will there not be flesh? for indeed there will be flesh, since the Lord after the resurrection says, Feel and see, because a spirit has not bones and flesh, as you see me have; but flesh will not be, since flesh and blood shall not possess the kingdom of God": he explains what he said, adding, "Behold I tell you a mystery, we shall all indeed rise;" or as the Greek codices have, "we shall all indeed sleep, yet we shall not all be changed." Whether he wished this change to be understood for the worse, or for the better, the lower things demonstrate. "In an atom," he said, that is, in a point of time, which cannot be divided; "in the twinkling of an eye," that is in the highest speed; "at the last trumpet," that is, at the last sign which will be given, so that those things may be fulfilled: "for the trumpet shall sound," he said, "and the dead shall rise incorrupt, and we shall be changed." Therefore it is necessary that that change into the better be understood without doubt, because all both the just and the unjust are to rise: but, as the Lord speaks in the Gospel, "they who have done well, into the resurrection of life: but they who have done evil, into the resurrection of judgment" (John V, 29); calling judgment eternal punishment, as in another place, "He who does not believe," he said, "is already judged" (Id. III, 18). Therefore those who are to rise to judgment, will not be changed into that incorruption which can suffer neither the corruption of pain. For that is of the faithful and the saints: but these will be tortured with perpetual corruption; because their fire shall not be extinguished, and their worm shall not die (Isai LXVI, 24).

Quid sibi ergo vult ista distinctio, Et mortui resurgent incorrupti, et nos commutabimur; nisi quia omnes incorrupti resurgent, sed ex his etiam justi immutabuntur in illam incorruptelam cui omnino nulla possit nocere corruptio? Ac per hoc, qui in eam non commutabuntur, incorrupti quidem resurgent integritate membrorum, sed tamen corrumpendi dolore poenarum, cum audierint: Ite, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus (Matth. XXV, 41). A quo auditu malo justus non timebit (Psal. CXI, 7). De illa vero commutatione justorum cum dixisset, nos commutabimur; tanquam quaereremus quomodo istud fiat, vel qualis illa commutatio futura sit, adjungit et dicit: Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptelam, et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem (I Cor. XV, 35-53). Non, ut opinor, dubitandum est secundum hoc dictum, Caro et sanguis regnum Dei non possidebunt, quia non ibi erit corruptio et mortality carnis et sanguinis: secundum has enim qualitates, hoc loco carnem et sanguinem nuncupavit.

16. Quocirca, ut aliquid exempli gratia ponam quod interim occurrit: sicut scriptum est. Ne forte tentaverit vos qui tentat, et inanis sit labor noster (I Thess. III, 51); atque hic intelligitur diabolus, tanquam Deus omnino non tentet, de quo alio loco Scriptura dicit, Ipse autem neminem tentat (Jacobi I, 13): nec contraria est ista sententia ei qua dicitur, Tentat vos Dominus Deus vester (Deut. XIII, 3); sed solvitur quaestio, cum vocabulum tentationis diversas intelligentias habeat, eo quod alia sit tentatio deceptionis, alia tentatio probationis; secundum illam non intelligitur qui tentat, nisi diabolus, secundum hanc vero tentat Deus: ita cum dicitur, Caro possidebit regnum Dei, et, Caro non possidebit regnum Dei; etiam hujus nominis intelligentia discernatur, et nulla erit quaestio: quoniam caro secundum substantiam, secundum quam dictum est, Spiritus ossa et carnem non habet, sicut me videtis habere, possidebit regnum Dei; caro autem cum secundum corruptionem intelligitur, non possidebit. Hoc enim expositum est cum diceretur, Caro et sanguis regnum Dei non possidebunt, in eo quod continuo additum est, neque corruptio incorruptionem possidebit; sicut satis, quantum arbitror, disseruimus.

CAPUT III.

What therefore does that distinction mean, "And the dead shall rise incorrupt, and we shall be changed;" except because all shall rise incorrupt, but from these also the just shall be changed into that incorruption which entirely no corruption can harm? And through this, they who shall not be changed into it, shall indeed rise incorrupt by the integrity of members, but yet with the pain of punishments to be corrupted, when they shall have heard: "Go, cursed ones, into the eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matth. XXV, 41). From which evil hearing the just man will not fear (Psal. CXI, 7). But concerning that change of the just when he had said, "we shall be changed;" as if we were asking how that is done, or what kind of change that is to be, he subjoins and says: "For it behooves this corruptible to put on incorruption, and this mortal to put on immortality" (1 Cor. XV, 35-53). It is not, as I think, to be doubted according to this saying, "Flesh and blood shall not possess the kingdom of God," because there will not be there the corruption and mortality of flesh and blood: for according to these qualities, in this place he named flesh and blood.

16. Wherefore, so that I may put something for the sake of example which in the meantime occurs: as it is written, "Lest perhaps he who tempts should have tempted you, and our labor be in vain" (1 Thess. III, 51); and here the devil is understood, as if God entirely does not tempt, concerning whom in another place the Scripture says, "But he himself tempts no one" (James I, 13): nor is that sentence contrary to that by which it is said, "The Lord your God tempts you" (Deut. XIII, 3); but the question is solved, since the word of temptation has diverse understandings, by that that one is the temptation of deception, another the temptation of probation; according to the former no one is understood who tempts, except the devil, according to the latter however God tempts: so when it is said, "Flesh shall possess the kingdom of God," and, "Flesh shall not possess the kingdom of God;" let also the understanding of this name be discerned, and there will be no question: since flesh according to substance, according to which it was said, "A spirit has not bones and flesh, as you see me have," shall possess the kingdom of God; but flesh when it is understood according to corruption, shall not possess. For this was explained when it was said, "Flesh and blood shall not possess the kingdom of God," in that that immediately was added, "neither shall corruption possess incorruption;" as enough, as I think, we have discussed.

CHAPTER III.

17. Quod autem quaeris, utrum singillatim a creatore Deo corporum lineamenta formentur; non te movebit, si quantum potest humana mens, potentiam divinae operationis intelligas. Quomodo enim negare poterimus Deum etiam nunc operari cuncta quae creantur, cum Dominus dicat: Pater meus usque nunc operatur (Joan. V, 17)? Unde illa cessatio septimi diei ab ipsis naturis condendis intelligenda est facta, non ab earum administratione quae conditae referuntur. Cum ergo natura rerum a Creatore administratur, et per ordines praefinitis locis et temporibus suis cuncta nascuntur, Deus usque nunc operatur. Nam si Deus nunc ista non format, quomodo legitur, Priusquam te formarem in utero, novi te (Jerem. I, 5)! quomodo etiam accipi potest, Quod si fenum agri, quod hodie est, et cras in clibanum mittitur, Deus sic vestit (Matth. VI, 30)? Nisi forte credendum est, fenum a Deo vestiri, et a Deo corpora non formari! Cum enim dixit, vestit, non de praeterita ordinatione, sed de praesenti operatione satis indicat. Unde est etiam illud Apostoli de seminibus, quod supra commemoravi: Non, inquit, corpus quod futurum est, seminas, sed nudum granum, ut puta tritici, aut alicujus caeterorum; Deus autem illi dat corpus, quomodo voluerit. Non dixit, Dedit, aut, disposuit; sed, dat: ut Creatorem intelligas efficaciam sapientiae suae rebus, quae quotidie suis temporibus oriuntur, condendis adhibere. De qua sapientia dictum est, Pertendit a fine usque in finem fortiter: et non dixit, Disposuit; sed, disponit omnia suaviter (Sap. VIII, 1). Multum est autem vel tenuiter sapere quomodo commutabilia et temporalia, non commutabilibus et temporalibus Creatoris motibus, sed aeterna et stabili virtute condantur.

CAPUT IV.

18. De illo sane quod percontandum putasti, utrum baptizati omnes, si absque poenitentia, diversis criminibus irretiti de corpore exierint, veniam quolibet tempore consecuturi sint, librum non parvae quantitatis jam scripsi; quem si describere curaveris, fortasse nihil ulterius hinc requires.

19. Vis etiam per me scire utrum Dei flatus ille in Adam, idem ipse sit anima. Breviter respondeo: aut ipse est, aut ipso anima facta est. Sed et si ipse est, factus est. De anima quippe loquitur per Isaiam prophetam Deus, ubi dicit, Omnem flatum ego feci; quod sequentia satis indicant: sequitur enim, Propter peccatum modicum quid contristavi illum (Isai. LVII, 16, 17), id est, ipsum flatum; et caetera, quae nisi de anima humana intelligi nequeunt.

17. But as to that which you ask, whether the lineaments of bodies are formed individually by God the creator; it will not move you, if as much as the human mind can, you understand the power of divine operation. For how shall we be able to deny that God even now works all things which are created, when the Lord says: "My Father works until now" (John V, 17)? Whence that cessation of the seventh day is to be understood as having been made from the founding of the natures themselves, not from their administration which are related as having been founded. When therefore the nature of things is administered by the Creator, and all things are born through orders in their prefined places and times, God works until now. For if God does not form those things now, how is it read, "Before I formed you in the womb, I knew you" (Jerem. I, 5)! how also can it be accepted, "But if God so clothes the grass of the field, which is today, and tomorrow is sent into the oven" (Matth. VI, 30)? Unless perhaps it is to be believed, that grass is clothed by God, and bodies are not formed by God! For when he said, "he clothes," he indicates enough not concerning past ordination, but concerning present operation. Whence is also that of the Apostle concerning seeds, which I commemorated above: "You do not," he said, "sow the body that is to be, but a naked grain, as for instance of wheat, or of any of the rest; but God gives to it a body, as he shall have wished." He did not say, "He gave," or, "he disposed;" but, "he gives:" so that you may understand the Creator to apply the efficacy of his wisdom to founding the things, which daily arise in their own times. Concerning which wisdom it is said, "It reaches from end even to end strongly:" and he did not say, "It disposed;" but, "it disposes all things sweetly" (Wisd. VIII, 1). But it is much to taste even thinly how changeable and temporal things are founded not by changeable and temporal motions of the Creator, but by eternal and stable power.

CHAPTER IV.

18. Concerning that certainly which you thought was to be inquired, whether all the baptized, if without penitence, entangled in diverse crimes, they shall have gone out from the body, are to follow pardon at any time, I have already written a book of no small quantity; which if you shall have cared to describe, perhaps you will require nothing further from here.

19. You wish also to know through me whether that breath of God into Adam, was the soul itself. I answer briefly: either it is itself, or the soul was made by it. But even if it is itself, it was made. For concerning the soul God speaks through Isaiah the prophet, where he says, "I made every breath;" which the following things indicate enough: for it follows, "On account of sin I grieved him for a little while" (Isai. LVII, 16, 17), that is, the breath itself; and the rest, which cannot be understood except concerning the human soul.

In hac quaestione enim maxime cavendum est ne anima non a Deo facta natura, sed ipsius Dei substantia tanquam unigenitus Filius, quod est Verbum ejus, aut aliqua ejus particula esse credatur; tanquam illa natura atque substantia, qua Deus est quidquid est, commutabilis esse possit: quod esse animam nemo non sentit, qui se animam habere sentit. Cum ista dictarem, perlator jam ventum exspectans, me vehementer, ut navigaret, urgebat. Itaque si quid hic incondite atque inculte dictum legeris, vel si totum ita esse perspexeris, doctrinae da operam, linguae veniam. Et alia manu: Deo vivas, dilectissime fili.

Epistola CCVI.

Valerio comiti Felicem episcopum commendat.

Domino merito illustri et praestantissimo, atque in Christo charissimo filio VALERIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Quotiescumque a me petunt homines, ut eos tuae benignitati fideique commendem, si non facio, non mihi recte videor de tua vel erga opis indigos misericordia, vel erga nos benevolentia judicare. Itaque facio, et maxime ministros Christi, qui Ecclesiae curam gerunt, cujus te cohaeredem et filium esse gaudemus, tuae Praestantiae commendare non dubito, domine merito illustris atque praestantissime, atque in Christo charissime fili. Sanctus itaque frater et coepiscopus noster Felix cum hoc me rogasset, utique negare non debui. Commendo ergo tibi episcopum Christi egentem auxilio viri sublimis: fac ergo quod potes; quoniam tibi plurimum posse praestitit Dominus, cujus te lucrorum avidissimum novimus.

Epistola CCVII.

Augustinus Claudio episcopo, transmittens ipsi libros contra Julianum elaboratos.

Beatissimo fratri et coepiscopo CLAUDIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Quoniam mihi fraterno excitatus affectu, Juliani quatuor libros, quos adversus unum meum scripsit, priusquam peterem, ipse misisti; nihil convenientius putavi esse faciendum, quam ut ea quae respondeo, potissimum tu legens judices, utrum recte congruenterque responderim. Nam de his quatuor libris nonnulla decerpta scripserat nescio quis ad illustrem et religiosum virum comitem Valerium, adversus eumdem librum meum, quem me ad illum scripsisse cognoverat: quae cum in manus meas eodem sublimi viro curante venissent, illi primo non distuli secundum volumen adjungere, in quo illa omnia, sicut potui, refutavi.

For in this question it is most to be avoided lest the soul be believed not a nature made by God, but the substance of God himself as the only-begotten Son, which is his Word, or some particle of him; as if that nature and substance, by which God is whatever he is, could be changeable: which that the soul is no one does not feel, who feels that he has a soul. When I was dictating these things, the carrier already expecting the wind, was urging me vehemently, so that he might sail. Therefore if you shall have read anything here inconditely and uncultivatedly said, or if you shall have perceived it all to be so, give labor to the doctrine, pardon to the tongue. And by another hand: Live to God, most beloved son.

Letter CCVI.

He commends Bishop Felix to Count Valerius.

To the deservedly illustrious and most excellent Lord, and most beloved son in Christ, VALERIUS, AUGUSTINE, greetings in the Lord.

As often as men ask of me, that I should commend them to your benignity and faith, if I do not do it, I do not seem to myself rightly to judge concerning either your mercy toward those in need of help, or your benevolence toward us. Therefore I do it, and especially I do not doubt to commend the ministers of Christ, who carry the care of the Church, of which we rejoice that you are a co-heir and son, to your Excellence, deservedly illustrious and most excellent lord, and most beloved son in Christ. Therefore the holy brother and our co-bishop Felix when he had asked this of me, certainly I ought not to deny. I commend therefore to you a bishop of Christ needing the help of a sublime man: do therefore what you can; since the Lord granted to you to be able very much, of whose gains we know you to be most greedy.

Letter CCVII.

Augustine to Bishop Claudius, transmitting to him the books elaborated against Julian.

To the most blessed brother and co-bishop CLAUDIUS, AUGUSTINE, greetings in the Lord.

Since excited by fraternal affection, you yourself sent the four books of Julian, which he wrote against one of mine, before I asked; I thought nothing more convenient was to be done, than that you especially reading those things which I answer, should judge whether I have answered rightly and congruously. For concerning these four books someone or other had written some excerpts to the illustrious and religious man Count Valerius, against that same book of mine, which he had known me to have written to him: which when they had come into my hands by the care of the same sublime man, I did not delay to add to that first a second volume, in which I refuted all those things, as I was able.

Sed nunc cum eosdem libros diligentius inspicerem, comperi illum qui nonnulla inde selegerat, non omnia ita posuisse ut in his libris leguntur: unde videri poterit Juliano, vel cuilibet illorum, me potius fuisse mentitum, quia non utique sicut hi quatuor libri, ita illa quae de his excerpta et memorato comiti missa sunt, innotescere potuerunt. Quisquis ergo et illum secundum librum meum ad comitem identidem Valerium sicut primum conscriptum legit, noverit me in quibusdam non respondisse Juliano; sed ei potius qui de libris ejus illa selegit, et non ita posuit ut invenit, sed aliquantum putavit esse mutanda, fortasse ut eo modo quasi sua faceret quae aliena esse constaret. Nunc autem veriora credens exemplaria quae tua Sanctitas misit, ipsi auctori video respondendum, qui unum meum quatuor libris suis refellisse jactat, et usquequaque spargere fidei venena non cessat. Aggressus sum igitur hoc opus in adjutorio Salvatoris pusillorum atque magnorum; et scio te, ut id implerem orasse pro me, et pro iis quibus hujuscemodi labores nostros profuturos credimus et optamus. Attende ergo jam responsionem meam, cujus principium hanc epistolam subsequetur. Vale in Domino memor nostri, beatissime frater.

EPISTOLA CCVIII. Augustinus Feliciae virgini, quae malam quorumdam Ecclesiae pastorum vitam iniquiori animo ferebat (an Antonii Fussalensis de quo in subsequente epistola?), monens ne, scandalis offensa, ab Ecclesia catholica recedat.

Dominae merito suscipiendae, et in Christi membris honorandae filiae FELICIAE, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Non dubito animum tuum et pro tua fide et pro aliorum infirmitate vel iniquitate turbatum; cum sanctus Apostolus plenus visceribus charitatis confiteatur et dicat: Quis infirmatur, et non ego infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et non ego uror (II Cor. XI, 29)? Unde etiam ego ipse compunctus, et pro tua quae in Christo est, salute sollicitus, has vel consolatorias, vel exhortatorias litteras ad tuam Sanctitatem dandas putavi: quoniam in Domini nostri Jesu Christi corpore, quod est Ecclesia ejus et unitas membrorum ejus, germanissima nobis facta es, quae tanquam honorabile membrum in ejus compage diligeris, et nobiscum illius sancto Spiritu vivis.

But now when I was inspecting the same books more diligently, I found that he who had selected some things from there, had not put all things so as they are read in these books: whence it will be able to seem to Julian, or to any of them, that I have rather lied, because not certainly just as these four books, so those things which were excerpted from these and sent to the mentioned count, could become known. Whoever therefore also reads that second book of mine written to the count likewise Valerius just as the first, let him know that I did not answer Julian in certain things; but rather to him who selected those things from his books, and did not put them so as he found them, but thought that some things were to be changed, perhaps so that in that way he might make as his own those things which it was constant were another's. But now believing more true the copies which your Holiness sent, I see that the author himself is to be answered, who boasts to have refilled one of mine with his four books, and does not cease to scatter the poisons of faith everywhere. I have therefore attacked this work in the help of the Savior of the small and the great; and I know that you, so that I might fulfill it, have prayed for me, and for those to whom we believe and wish labors of this sort to be profitable. Attend therefore now to my answer, the beginning of which will follow this letter. Farewell in the Lord mindful of us, most blessed brother.

LETTER CCVIII. Augustine to the virgin Felicia, who was bearing with a more unjust mind the bad life of certain pastors of the Church (whether of Antonius of Fussala concerning whom in the following letter?), warning lest, offended by scandals, she should depart from the Catholic Church.

To the deservedly to be received Lady, and to the daughter to be honored in the members of Christ, FELICIA, AUGUSTINE, greetings in the Lord.

1. I do not doubt that your mind is troubled both for your faith and for the weakness or iniquity of others; since the holy Apostle full of the bowels of charity confesses and says: "Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is scandalized, and I do not burn" (2 Cor. XI, 29)? Whence also I myself being compunct, and solicitous for your salvation which is in Christ, thought that these either consolatory or exhortatory letters were to be given to your Holiness: since in the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is his Church and the unity of his members, you have been made most sisterly to us, who are loved as an honorable member in its frame, and live with us by his holy Spirit.

2. Unde te admoneo ne gravius perturberis his scandalis, quae ideo ventura praedicta sunt, ut quando venirent reminisceremur esse praedicta, et non eis valde commoveremur. Nam haec ipse Dominus in Evangelio ita praedixit: Vae mundo ab scandalis! oportet venire scandala: vae autem homini illi per quem scandalum venit (Matth. XVIII, 7)! Qui sunt ipsi homines, nisi de quibus dicit Apostolus: Sua quaerentes, non quae Jesu Christi (Philipp. II, 21). Alii sunt ergo qui propterea tenent pastorales cathedras, ut Christi gregibus consulant; alii vero qui propterea in eis sedent, ut suis honoribus temporalibus et commodis saecularibus gaudeant. Ista duo genera pastorum, aliis morientibus, aliis nascentibus, in ipsa Catholica necesse est usque ad finem saeculi et usque ad Domini judicium perseverent. Si enim temporibus Apostolorum fuerunt tales, inter quos falsos fratres Apostolus gemeret, et diceret. Periculis in falsis fratribus (II Cor. XI, 26); nec eos per superbiam separaret, sed per tolerantiam sustineret; quanto magis temporibus nostris necesse est ut sint, cum de tempore hujus saeculi, quod propinquat ad finem, apertissime Dominus dicat: Quoniam abundabit iniquitas, refrigescet charitas multorum? Sed quod sequitur, nos debet consolari et exhortari: Qui perseveraverit, inquit, usque in finem, hic salvus erit (Matth. XXIV, 12, 13).

3. Sicut autem sunt pastores boni et mali, sic etiam in ipsis gregibus sunt et boni et mali. Boni, ovium nomine significantur; mali vero, hoedi appellantur: sed commixti pariter pascunt, donec veniat princeps pastorum, qui dictus est unus Pastor (Joan. X, 16); et quemadmodum ipse promisit, separet sicut pastor oves ab hoedis (Matth. XXV, 32). Nobis enim imperavit congregationem, sibi autem servavit separationem: quia ille debet separare, qui nescit errare. Nam qui separare ante tempus, quod sibi Dominus servavit, superbi servi facile ausi sunt; ipsi potius ab unitate catholica separati sunt: nam schismate immundi, mundum gregem unde habere potuerunt?

4. Ut ergo in unitate maneamus, nec offensi scandalis palearum aream dominicam deseramus, sed potius usque in finem ventilationis frumenta perseveremus (Id. III, 12), et comminutam stipulam firmo charitatis pondere toleremus; ipse Pastor noster in Evangelio de pastoribus bonis nos admonet, ut propter bona opera eorum nec in eis ipsis nostram spem ponamus; sed eum qui tales illos fecit, Patrem qui in coelis est, glorificemus et de pastoribus malis, quos nomine Scribarum et Pharisaeorum significare voluit, docentes bona, et facientes mala.

2. Whence I advise you not to be too heavily troubled by these scandals, which were predicted to be about to come for this reason, that when they should come we might remember that they were predicted, and not be greatly moved by them. For the Lord himself in the Gospel predicted these things thus: "Woe to the world from scandals! it behooves that scandals come: but woe to that man through whom the scandal comes" (Matth. XVIII, 7)! Who are those men, except those of whom the Apostle says: "Seeking their own things, not those which are of Jesus Christ" (Philipp. II, 21). There are some therefore who for this reason hold pastoral chairs, so that they may consult for the flocks of Christ; but others who for this reason sit in them, so that they may rejoice in their temporal honors and secular advantages. These two kinds of pastors, others dying, others being born, must necessarily persevere in the Catholic Church herself even to the end of the age and even to the judgment of the Lord. For if in the times of the Apostles there were such, among whom the Apostle groaned over false brethren, and said: "In perils in false brethren" (2 Cor. XI, 26); nor did he separate them through pride, but sustained them through tolerance; how much more is it necessary that they should be in our times, since concerning the time of this age, which approaches to the end, the Lord says most openly: "Because iniquity shall abound, the charity of many shall grow cold?" But that which follows, ought to console and exhort us: "He who shall have persevered," he said, "even to the end, he shall be saved" (Matth. XXIV, 12, 13).

3. But just as there are good and bad pastors, so also in the flocks themselves there are both good and bad. The good, are signified by the name of sheep; but the bad, are called goats: but being mixed they feed together, until the prince of pastors comes, who is called "one Pastor" (John X, 16); and just as he himself promised, he may separate just as a shepherd the sheep from the goats (Matth. XXV, 32). For to us he commanded the congregation, but to himself he reserved the separation: because he ought to separate, who knows not how to err. For those proud servants who easily dared to separate before the time, which the Lord reserved to himself; they themselves rather were separated from the catholic unity: for being unclean by schism, whence could they have a clean flock?

4. So that therefore we may remain in unity, nor being offended by the scandals of the chaff should we desert the Lord's threshing-floor, but rather let us persevere as wheat even to the end of the ventilation (Id. III, 12), and let us tolerate the crushed stalk with the firm weight of charity; our Pastor himself in the Gospel admonishes us concerning good pastors, so that on account of their good works we should not place our hope even in them themselves; but let us glorify him who made them such, the Father who is in heaven: and concerning bad pastors, whom he wished to signify by the name of Scribes and Pharisees, teaching good things, and doing bad things.

5. Nam de bonis pastoribus ita loquitur: Vos estis lumen mundi. Non potest civitas abscondi super montem constituta; neque accendunt lucernam, et ponunt eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt. Sic luceat lumen vestrum coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent Patrem vestrum qui in coelis est (Id. V, 14-16). De malis autem pastoribus oves admonet dicens: Super cathedram Moysi sedent. Quae dicunt, facite; quae autem faciunt, facere nolite: dicunt enim, et non faciunt (Id. XXIII, 2, 3). His auditis, oves Christi etiam per malos doctores vocem ipsius audiunt, et unitatem illius non relinquunt; quia bonum quod eos audiunt dicere, non est ipsorum, sed illius: et ideo securae oves pascuntur, quia et sub malis pastoribus pascuis dominicis nutriuntur. Non autem faciunt malorum facta pastorum; quia talia opera non sunt illius, sed ipsorum. Quos autem bonos vident, non solum audiunt bona quae dicunt; sed etiam imitantur bona quae faciunt. De talibus erat Apostolus, qui dicebat: Imitatores mei estote, sicut et ego Christi (Id. XI, 1). Iste lumen erat illuminatum a Lumine sempiterno, ipso Domino Jesu Christo, et in candelabro positum erat, quia in ejus cruce gloriabatur: unde ait: Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi (Galat. VI, 14). Et quia non sua quaerebat, sed quae Jesu Christi: quamvis ad imitationem suam quos per Evangelium genuerat (I Cor. IV, 15), hortatur; tamen corripit graviter eos qui per Apostolorum nomina schismata fecerunt; et objurgat illos qui dicebant, Ego sum Pauli: Numquid Paulus pro vobis, inquit, crucifixus est? aut in nomine Pauli baptizati estis (Id. I, 12, 13)?

6. Hinc intelligimus et bonos pastores, non sua quaerentes, sed quae Jesu Christi; et bonas oves, quamvis imitentur facta pastorum bonorum, tamen in eis non ponere spem suam, quorum ministerio sunt congregatae; sed in Domino potius, cujus sanguine sunt redemptae: ut quando forte incurrerint in pastores malos, doctrinam illius praedicantes et sua mala opera facientes, quae dicunt, faciant; quae autem faciunt, non faciant; nec propter filios iniquitatis, pascua deserant unitatis. In catholica enim Ecclesia, quae non in sola Africa, sicut pars Donati, sed per omnes gentes, sicut promissa est, dilatatur atque diffunditur, in universo mundo, sicut dicit Apostolus, fructificans et crescens (Coloss. I, 6), et boni sunt et mali. Ab ea vero separati, quamdiu contra illam sentiunt, boni esse non possunt; quia etsi aliquos eorum bonos videtur ostendere quasi laudabilis conversatio, malos eos facit ipsa divisio, dicente Domino: Qui mecum non est, adversum me est; et qui mecum non colligit, spargit (Matth. XII, 30).

5. For concerning good pastors he speaks thus: "You are the light of the world. A city set upon a mountain cannot be hidden; neither do they light a lamp, and put it under a bushel, but upon a lampstand, so that it may shine to all who are in the house. So let your light shine before men, so that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven" (Id. V, 14-16). But concerning bad pastors he admonishes the sheep saying: "They sit upon the chair of Moses. What they say, do; but what they do, do not do: for they say, and do not" (Id. XXIII, 2, 3). These things being heard, the sheep of Christ even through bad teachers hear his voice, and do not leave his unity; because the good which they hear them say, is not their own, but his: and therefore the sheep feed secure, because even under bad pastors they are nourished in the Lord's pastures. But they do not do the deeds of bad pastors; because such works are not his, but their own. But those whom they see to be good, they not only hear the good things which they say; but they also imitate the good things which they do. Of such was the Apostle, who was saying: "Be imitators of me, just as I also am of Christ" (Id. XI, 1). He was a light illuminated by the Eternal Light, the Lord Jesus Christ himself, and was placed on a lampstand, because he was glorying in his cross: whence he says: "But far be it from me to glory, except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Galat. VI, 14). And because he was not seeking his own things, but those which are of Jesus Christ: although he exhorts to his imitation those whom he had begotten through the Gospel (1 Cor. IV, 15); yet he rebukes gravely those who through the names of the Apostles made schisms; and upbraids those who were saying, "I am of Paul: Was Paul crucified for you," he said, "or were you baptized in the name of Paul" (Id. I, 12, 13)?

6. From this we understand both good pastors, not seeking their own things, but those which are of Jesus Christ; and good sheep, although they imitate the deeds of good pastors, yet not to place their hope in them, by whose ministry they have been gathered; but rather in the Lord, by whose blood they have been redeemed: so that when perhaps they shall have run into bad pastors, preaching his doctrine and doing their own bad works, what they say, they may do; but what they do, they may not do; nor on account of the sons of iniquity, should they desert the pastures of unity. For in the catholic Church, which is not in Africa alone, like the part of Donatus, but through all nations, as it was promised, is dilated and diffused, "in the whole world," as the Apostle says, "fructifying and increasing" (Coloss. I, 6), there are both good and bad. But separated from her, as long as they feel against her, they cannot be good; because even if a commendable conversation seems to show some of them as good, the division itself makes them bad, the Lord saying: "He who is not with me, is against me; and he who does not gather with me, scatters" (Matth. XII, 30).

7. Unde et exhortor, domina merito suscipienda, et in Christi membris honoranda filia, ut quod tibi Dominus praestitit, fideliter teneas; eumque corde toto diligas et ejus Ecclesiam, qui te non permisit virginitatis tuae fructum cum perditis perdere vel perire. Si enim de isto saeculo exires separata ab unitate corporis Christi, nihil tibi prodesset, servata integritas corporis tui. Sed Deus qui dives est in misericordia, fecit juxta te quod in Evangelio scriptum est; cum se excusarent invitati ad coenam patrisfamilias, inter caetera dixit servis suis: Exite in vias et sepes, et quoscumque inveneritis, cogite intrare (Id. XXII, 9). Tu ergo quamvis dilectionem sincerissimam debeas etiam bonis servis ejus, per quorum ministerium intrare coacta es; in illo tamen debes spem ponere, qui convivium praeparavit, cui et tu ad vitam aeternam beatamque sollicita es. Ei quippe commendans cor tuum, et propositum tuum, et sanctam virginitatem tuam, et fidem, et spem, et charitatem tuam, non moveberis scandalis, quae abundabunt usque in finem; sed stabili robore pietatis salva eris, atque in Domino gloriosa, in ejus unitate perseverando usque in finem. Quomodo autem hanc acceperis pro te sollicitudinem meam, quam quibus potui litteris tibi insinuare curavi, fac ut noverim rescriptis tuis. Dei misericordia et gratia te semper protegat.

EPISTOLA CCIX . Augustinus Coelestino Romano Pontifici, de ipsius electione pacifice facta (quae ad finem anni 422 referri potest) gratulatur: tum exponit causam Antonii episcopi Fussalensis, qui administratione Ecclesiae suae ob scelera privatus appellaverat ad apostolicam Sedem; atque obtestatur ut latam in ipsum sententiam vigere sinat.

Domino beatissimo, et debita charitate venerando sancto papae COELESTINO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Primum gratulationem reddo meritis tuis, quod te in illa Sede Dominus Deus noster sine ulla, sicut audivimus, plebis suae discissione constituit. Deinde insinuo Sanctitati tuae, quae sint circa nos, ut non solum orando pro nobis, verum etiam consulendo et opitulando subvenias. In magna quippe tribulatione positus, haec ad tuam Beatitudinem scripta direxi: quoniam volens prodesse quibusdam in nostra vicinitate membris Christi, magnam illis cladem improvidus et incautus ingessi.

2. Fussala dicitur Hipponensi territorio confine castellum: antea ibi nunquam episcopus fuit, sed simul cum contigua sibi regione ad paroeciam Hipponensis Ecclesiae pertinebat. Paucos habebat illa terra catholicos; caeteras plebes illic in magna multitudine hominum constitutas Donatistarum error miserabiliter obtinebat, ita ut in eodem castello nullus esset omnino catholicus.

7. Whence I also exhort you, lady deservedly to be respected, and daughter to be honored in the members of Christ, that you faithfully hold what the Lord has granted to you; and that you love him with your whole heart and his Church, who did not permit you to lose the fruit of your virginity with the lost or to perish. For if you were to depart from this world separated from the unity of the body of Christ, the integrity of your body being preserved would profit you nothing. But God, who is rich in mercy, did near you what is written in the Gospel; when those invited to the supper of the head of the family excused themselves, he said among other things to his servants: "Go out into the ways and hedges, and whomsoever you find, compel them to enter" (Id. XXII, 9). You, therefore, although you owe a most sincere love even to his good servants, through whose ministry you were compelled to enter; yet you ought to place your hope in him, who prepared the banquet, for whom you also are concerned for the eternal and blessed life. Truly, commending to him your heart, and your purpose, and your holy virginity, and your faith, and hope, and your love, you will not be moved by the scandals, which will abound until the end; but you will be safe by the stable strength of piety, and glorious in the Lord, by persevering in his unity until the end. But how you have received this my concern for you, which I have taken care to insinuate to you with what letters I could, make that I may know by your replies. May the mercy and grace of God always protect you.

LETTER CCIX. Augustine congratulates Celestine, the Roman Pontiff, on his election being peacefully accomplished (which can be referred to the end of the year 422): then he explains the cause of Anthony, bishop of Fussala, who had been deprived of the administration of his Church on account of crimes and had appealed to the apostolic See; and he beseeches that he may allow the sentence passed against him to remain in force.

To the most blessed Lord, and holy Pope CELESTINE, to be venerated with due love, AUGUSTINE, sends greeting in the Lord.

1. First I return congratulation to your merits, because our Lord God has established you in that See without any, as we have heard, division of his people. Then I insinuate to your Holiness, what things are around us, so that not only by praying for us, but also by consulting and helping you may assist. Positioned in great tribulation, I have directed these writings to your Beatitude: since wishing to be of profit to certain members of Christ in our neighborhood, I, improvident and incautious, have brought a great calamity upon them.

2. Fussala is the name of a fortress (castellum) bordering the territory of Hippo: formerly there was never a bishop there, but together with the region contiguous to it, it belonged to the parish of the Church of Hippo. That land had few catholics; the error of the Donatists was miserably possessing the other peoples established there in a great multitude of men, so that in the same fortress there was absolutely no catholic.

Actum est in Dei misericordia ut omnia ipsa loca unitati Ecclesiae cohaererent; per quantos labores et pericula nostra, longum est explicare, ita ut ibi presbyteri qui eis congregandis a nobis primitus constituti sunt, exspoliarentur, caederentur, debilitarentur, excaecarentur, occiderentur: quorum tamen passiones inutiles ac steriles non fuerunt, unitatis illic securitate perfecta. Sed quod ab Hippone memoratum castellum millibus quadraginta sejungitur, cum in eis regendis, et eorum reliquiis licet exiguis colligendis, quae in utroque sexu aberrabant non minaces ulterius, sed fugaces, me viderem latius quam oportebat extendi, nec adhibendae sufficere diligentiae quam certissima ratione adhiberi debere cernebam, episcopum ibi ordinandum constituendumque curavi.

3. Quod ut fieret, aptum loco illi congruumque requirebam, qui et Punica lingua esset instructus; et habebam de quo cogitabam paratum presbyterum, propter quem ordinandum, sanctum senem qui tunc primatum Numidiae gerebat de longinquo ut veniret rogans litteris impetravi. Quo jam praesente, omniumque in re tanta suspensis animis, ad horam nos ille, qui mihi paratus videbatur, omnimodo resistendo destituit. Ego autem qui utique, sicut exitus docuit, differre potius debui, quam periculosum praecipitare negotium, dum nolo gravissimum et sanctissimum senem ad nos usque fatigatum sine effectu propter quem venerat tam longe, ad propria remeare, obtuli non petentibus quemdam adolescentem Antonium qui mecum tunc erat; in monasterio quidem a nobis a parvula aetate nutritum, sed praeter lectionis officium nullis clericatus gradibus et laboribus notum. At illi miseri, quod futurum fuerat ignorantes, offerenti eum mihi obedientissime crediderunt. Quid plura? factum est; esse illis episcopus coepit.

4. Quid faciam? Nolo apud tuam Venerationem gravare quem nutriendum collegi; nolo deserere quos colligendos timoribus et doloribus parturivi; et quomodo utrumque agam reperire non possum. Res quippe ad tantum scandalum venit, ut in eum hic apud nos causas dicerent, qui de illius episcopatu suscipiendo, tanquam bene sibi consulentibus, obtemperaverant nobis. In quibus causis cum stuprorum crimina capitalia, quae non ab ipsis quibus episcopus erat, sed ab aliis quibusdam objecta fuerant, probari minime potuissent, atque ab iis quae invidiosissime jactabantur, videretur esse purgatus; tam miserandus factus est et nobis et aliis, ut quidquid a castellanis et illius regionis hominibus de intolerabili dominatione, de rapinis et diversis oppressionibus et contritionibus objiciebatur, nequaquam nobis tale videretur, ut propter hoc vel propter simul cuncta congesta, episcopatu eum putaremus esse privandum, sed restituenda quae probarentur ablata.

It was brought about in the mercy of God that all those places should cohere to the unity of the Church; through how many labors and dangers of ours, it is long to explain, so that there the priests who were first established by us for gathering them, were despoiled, beaten, weakened, blinded, killed: whose passions however were not useless or sterile, the security of unity there being perfected. But because the mentioned fortress is separated from Hippo by forty miles, since in ruling them, and in gathering their remains although small, which were wandering in both sexes no longer threatening, but fleeing, I saw myself extended wider than was fitting, nor sufficient to apply the diligence which I was perceiving ought to be applied by the most certain reason, I took care that a bishop should be ordained and established there.

3. In order that this might be done, I was seeking one apt and suitable for that place, who was also instructed in the Punic language; and I had a priest ready of whom I was thinking, on account of whose ordination I obtained by letters, asking that he should come from afar, the holy old man who then held the primacy of Numidia. When he was already present, and the minds of all were suspended in so great a matter, he, who seemed ready to me, at the hour failed us by resisting in every way. But I, who certainly, as the outcome showed, ought rather to have deferred than to precipitate a dangerous business, while I am unwilling that the most grave and holy old man, fatigued even to us, should return to his own without the effect for which he had come so far, I offered, to those not asking, a certain young man Anthony who was then with me; nourished in the monastery indeed by us from a small age, but known for no clerical grades and labors besides the office of reading. But those wretched ones, ignorant of what was to be, most obediently believed me offering him. What more? It was done; he began to be their bishop.

4. What shall I do? I am unwilling to burden before your Veneration him whom I gathered to be nourished; I am unwilling to desert those whom I travailed to gather with fears and sorrows; and how I may do both I cannot find. Truly the matter came to so great a scandal, that they spoke causes against him here with us, who had obeyed us concerning the receiving of his episcopate, as if consulting well for themselves. In which causes since the capital crimes of debaucheries, which had been objected not by those for whom he was bishop, but by certain others, could by no means be proved, and he seemed to be purged from those things which were most invidiously being cast; he was made so pitiable both to us and to others, that whatever was objected by the fortress-dwellers and the men of that region concerning intolerable domination, concerning robberies and diverse oppressions and crushings, by no means seemed such to us, that on account of this or on account of all things heaped together at once, we should think him ought to be deprived of the episcopate, but those things which were proved taken away should be restored.

5. Denique sententias nostras sic temperavimus, ut salvo episcopatu, non tamen omnino impunita relinquerentur quae non deberent vel eidem ipsi deinceps iterumque facienda, vel caeteris imitanda proponi. Honorem itaque integrum servavimus juveni corrigendo; sed corripiendo minuimus potestatem, ne scilicet eis praeesset ulterius, cum quibus sic egerat, ut dolore justo eum sibi praeesse ferre omnino non possent, et cum suo illiusque periculo in aliquod scelus forsitan erupturam impatientiam sui doloris ostenderent. Quorum talis animus etiam tunc, quando cum eis de illo episcopi egerunt, evidenter apparuit; cum jam vir spectabilis Celer, de cujus adversum se praepotenti administratione conquestus est, nullam gerat, vel in Africa, vel uspiam potestatem.

6. Sed quid multis morer? Collabora, obsecro, nobiscum, pietate venerabilis domine beatissime, et debita charitate venerande sancte Papa, et jube tibi quae directa sunt omnia recitari. Vide episcopatum qualiter gesserit; quemadmodum judicio nostro usque adeo consenserit, communione privatus, nisi prius Fussalensibus omnia redderentur, jam postea ut re acta aestimatis rebus solidos seposuerit, ut ei communio redderetur; quam versuta suasione sanctum senem primatem nostrum gravissimum virum, ut ei cuncta crederet, quem velut omni modo inculpatum venerando Papae Bonifacio commendaret, induxerit; et caetera quae a me quid opus est recoli, cum memoratus venerabilis senex ad tuam Sanctimoniam universa retulerit?

7. In illis autem multiplicibus Gestis, quibus de illo nostrum judicium continetur, magis deberem vereri ne tibi minus severe, quam oporteret, judicasse videamur, nisi scirem vos tam propensos ad misericordiam, ut non solum nobis quia illi pepercimus, verum etiam ipsi existimetis esse parcendum. Sed ille quod a nobis aut benigne aut remisse factum est, in praescriptionem vertere atque usurpare conatur. Clamat, Aut in mea cathedra sedere debui, aut episcopus esse non debui; quasi nunc sedeat nisi in sua. Propter hoc enim loca illa eidem dimissa atque permissa sunt, in quibus et prius episcopus erat, ne in alienam cathedram contra statuta patrum translatus illicite diceretur. Aut vero quisquam ita esse debet, sive severitatis, sive lenitatis exactor, ut qui non visi fuerint episcopatus honore privandi, nullo modo in eis aliquid vindicetur; aut in quibus aliquid visum fuerit vindicandum, episcopatus honore priventur?

5. Finally we tempered our sentences in such a way, that the episcopate being safe, yet those things should not be left entirely unpunished which ought not to be proposed either to the same man hereafter and again to be done, or to the rest to be imitated. Therefore we preserved the entire honor to the young man to be corrected; but we diminished the power by rebuking him, namely so that he should not preside further over those with whom he had so acted, that with just sorrow they could by no means bear him to preside over them, and they showed that the impatience of their sorrow would perhaps erupt into some crime with their danger and his. Whose mind of such sort even then, when they acted concerning that bishop with them, appeared evidently; when already the remarkable man Celer, concerning whose over-powerful administration against himself he complained, bears no power, either in Africa, or anywhere.

6. But why should I delay with many things? Labor together, I beseech you, with us, most blessed Lord venerable for piety, and holy Pope to be venerated with due love, and command all things which have been directed to be recited to you. See how he conducted the episcopate; how he agreed with our judgment even so far as being deprived of communion, unless all things were first restored to the people of Fussala, now afterwards, as the matter was done, having set aside gold pieces (solidos) for the estimated things, so that communion might be restored to him; with how crafty a persuasion he induced the holy old man our primate, a most grave man, to believe everything to him, whom as if in every way unblamable he might commend to the venerable Pope Boniface; and the other things which what need is there for me to recount, since the mentioned venerable old man has related everything to your Holiness?

7. But in those manifold Acts, in which our judgment concerning him is contained, I ought rather to fear lest we should seem to you to have judged less severely than was proper, unless I knew you to be so prone to mercy, that you would think that we ought to be spared not only because we spared him, but also that he himself ought to be spared. But he attempts to turn into a prescription and to usurp what was done by us either kindly or remissly. He cries out: "Either I ought to have sat in my chair, or I ought not to have been a bishop"; as if he were sitting now except in his own. For on this account those places were left and permitted to the same man, in which he was also previously bishop, lest he should be said to have been translated illicitly into another's chair against the statutes of the fathers. Or indeed ought anyone to be such an exactor, whether of severity or of lenity, that those who have not seemed to be deprived of the honor of the episcopate, should in no way have anything vindicated in them; or those in whom it has seemed that something ought to be vindicated, should be deprived of the honor of the episcopate?

8. Existunt exempla, ipsa Sede apostolica judicante, vel aliorum judicata firmante, quosdam pro culpis quibusdam, nec episcopali spoliatos honore, nec relictos omnimodis impunitos. Quae ut a nostris temporibus remotissima non requiram, recentia memorabo . Clamet Priscus provinciae Caesareensis episcopus: Aut ad primatum locus sicut caeteris et mihi patere debuit, aut episcopatus mihi remanere non debuit. Clamet alius ejusdem provinciae Victor episcopus, cui relicto in eadem poena in qua et Priscus fuit, nusquam nisi in dioecesi ejus ab aliquo communicatur episcopo; clamet, inquam: Aut ubique communicare debui, aut etiam in meis locis communicare non debui. Clamet tertius ejusdem provinciae Laurentius episcopus, et prorsus hujus vocibus clamet: Aut in cathedra cui ordinatus sum, sedere debui, aut episcopus esse non debui. Sed quis ista vituperet, nisi qui parum attendit nec inulta omnia relinquenda, nec uno modo omnia vindicanda?

9. Quia ergo pastorali vigilique cautela beatissimus Papa Bonifacius in epistola sua posuit, de Antonio loquens episcopo, et ait, Si ordinem rerum nobis fideliter indicavit; accipe nunc ordinem rerum quem ille in suo libello reticuit, ac deinde quae post ejus sanctae memoriae viri in Africa lectas litteras gesta sunt; et subveni hominibus opem tuam in Christi misericordia multo avidius quam ille poscentibus, a cujus inquietudine desiderant liberari. Judicia quippe illis, et publicas potestates, et militares impetus tanquam exsecuturos apostolicae Sedis sententiam, sive ipse, sive rumores creberrimi comminantur , ut miseri homines christiani catholici graviora formident a catholico episcopo, quam, cum essent haeretici, a catholicorum imperatorum legibus formidabant. Non sinas ista fieri, obsecro te per Christi sanguinem, per apostoli Petri memoriam, qui christianorum praepositos populorum monuit ne violenter dominentur in fratres (I Petr. V, 3). Ego Fussalenses catholicos filios in Christo meos, et Antonium episcopum filium in Christo meum, benignitati charitatis Sanctitatis tuae, quia utrosque diligo, utrosque commendo. Neque Fussalensibus succenseo, quia justam de me querimoniam ingerunt auribus tuis, quod eis hominem nondum mihi probatum, nondum saltem aetate firmatum, a quo sic affligerentur, inflixi: neque huic noceri volo, cui quanto magis sinceram habeo charitatem, tanto magis pravae ejus cupiditati obsisto. Utrique misericordiam mereantur tuam; illi ne mala patiantur, iste ne faciat: illi, ne oderint Catholicam, si a catholicis episcopis, maximeque ab ipsa Sede apostolica, contra catholicum non eis subvenitur episcopum; iste autem, ne se tanto scelere obstringat, ut quos molitur invitos facere suos, a Christo faciat alienos.

8. Examples exist, the apostolic See itself judging, or confirming the judged things of others, that certain persons for certain faults were neither despoiled of the episcopal honor, nor left entirely unpunished. That I may not seek those things very remote from our times, I shall mention recent ones. Let Priscus, bishop of the province of Caesarea, cry out: "Either the place for the primacy ought to have been open to me as to the rest, or the episcopate ought not to have remained to me." Let another, Victor, bishop of the same province, cry out—to whom, being left in the same penalty in which Priscus also was, communion is held with him nowhere by any bishop except in his own diocese—let him cry out, I say: "Either I ought to have communicated everywhere, or I ought not to have communicated even in my own places." Let a third, Laurentius, bishop of the same province, cry out, and clearly cry out with the voices of this man: "Either I ought to have sat in the chair to which I was ordained, or I ought not to have been a bishop." But who would blame those things, except he who little attends that neither are all things to be left unpunished, nor are all things to be vindicated in one way?

9. Because therefore with pastoral and vigilant caution the most blessed Pope Boniface put in his letter, speaking of bishop Anthony, and said: "If he has indicated the order of things faithfully to us"; receive now the order of things which he kept silent in his book, and then what things were done in Africa after the letters of that man of holy memory were read; and help the men asking for your aid in the mercy of Christ much more eagerly than he who desires to be liberated from his restlessness. For he, or very frequent rumors, threaten them with judgments, and public powers, and military attacks as if about to execute the sentence of the apostolic See, so that wretched Christian catholic men should fear more grave things from a catholic bishop, than, when they were heretics, they were fearing from the laws of the catholic emperors. Do not allow those things to happen, I beseech you by the blood of Christ, by the memory of the apostle Peter, who warned the leaders of Christian peoples not to dominate violently over the brothers (1 Pet. V, 3). I commend the catholic Fussalensians my sons in Christ, and bishop Anthony my son in Christ, to the benignity of the charity of your Holiness, because I love both, I commend both. Neither am I angry with the Fussalensians, because they bring a just complaint concerning me to your ears, that I inflicted upon them a man not yet proved to me, not even yet established in age, by whom they should be so afflicted: nor do I wish this man to be harmed, to whom the more sincere charity I have, the more I oppose his depraved cupidity. May both merit your mercy; those, that they may not suffer evils, this one, that he may not do them: those, lest they hate the Catholic Church, if they are not assisted against a catholic bishop by catholic bishops, and especially by the apostolic See itself; but this one, lest he bind himself with so great a crime, that those whom he strives to make his own against their will, he makes aliens from Christ.

10. Me sane, quod confitendum est Beatitudini tuae, in isto utrorumque periculo tantus timor et moeror excruciat, ut ab officio cogitem gerendi episcopatus abscedere, et me lamentis errori meo convenientibus dedere, si per eum cujus episcopatui per imprudentiam suffragatus sum, vastari Ecclesiam Dei, et, quod ipse Deus avertat, etiam cum vastantis perditione perire conspexero. Recolens enim quod ait Apostolus, Si nosmetipsos judicaremus, a Domino non judicaremur (I Cor. XI, 31), judicabo meipsum, ut parcat mihi, qui judicaturus est vivos et mortuos. Si autem et membra Christi, quae in illa regione sunt, ab exitiabili timore ac tristitia recreaveris, et meam senectutem hac misericordi justitia fueris consolatus, retribuet tibi, et in praesenti et in futura vita, bona pro bonis, qui per te nobis in ista tribulatione succurrit, et qui te in illa Sede constituit.

EPISTOLA CCX . Augustinus Felicitati et Rustico, de malis tolerandis et de fraterna correptione; forte occasione tumultus in sanctimonialium conventu exorti, de quo in epistola proxime post hanc subsequente.

Dilectissimae et sanctissimae matri FELICITATI, et fratri RUSTICO, et sororibus quae vobiscum sunt, AUGUSTINUS, et qui mecum sunt, in Domino salutem.

1. Bonus est Dominus, et misericordia ejus ubique diffusa, quae nos de vestra charitate in suis visceribus consolatur. Quantum enim diligat credentes et sperantes in se, et illum atque in vicem diligentes, et quid eis in posterum servet, hinc maxime ostendit, cum infidelibus, et desperatis, et perversis , quibus in mala voluntate usque in finem perseverantibus ignem cum diabolo aeternum minatur, in hoc tamen saeculo bona tanta largitur; Qui facit oriri solem suum super bonos et malos, et pluit super justos et injustos (Matth. V, 45): breviter enim aliquid dictum est, ut plura cogitentur. Quam multa enim habeant impii in hac vita munera et dona gratuita ab illo quem contemnunt, enumerare quis potest? Inter quae illud magnum, quod exemplis interpositarum tribulationum quas hujus saeculi dulcedini tanquam bonus medicus miscet, admonet eos, si attendere velint, fugere ab ira ventura; et cum in via sunt, id est in hac vita, concordare cum sermone Dei, quem sibi adversarium fecerunt male vivendo. Quid ergo non misericorditer praestatur hominibus a Domino Deo, a quo etiam tribulatio beneficium est?

10. Truly, what must be confessed to your Beatitude, in that danger of both, so great a fear and sorrow tortures me, that I think of departing from the office of conducting the episcopate, and of giving myself to lamentations suitable to my error, if through him for whose episcopate I through imprudence gave my suffrage, I shall see the Church of God to be laid waste, and, which may God himself avert, to perish even with the perdition of the one wasting it. For recollecting what the Apostle says: "If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged by the Lord" (1 Cor. XI, 31), I will judge myself, so that he may spare me, who is about to judge the living and the dead. But if you shall have recreated both the members of Christ, who are in that region, from deadly fear and sadness, and shall have consoled my old age by this merciful justice, he will repay to you, both in the present and in the future life, good things for good things, who through you succors us in that tribulation, and who established you in that See.

LETTER CCX. Augustine to Felicitas and Rusticus, concerning the toleration of evils and concerning fraternal correction; perhaps on the occasion of a tumult arisen in a convent of nuns, concerning which in the letter immediately following after this.

To the most beloved and holy mother FELICITAS, and to brother RUSTICUS, and to the sisters who are with you, AUGUSTINE, and those who are with me, send greeting in the Lord.

1. The Lord is good, and his mercy is diffused everywhere, which consoles us concerning your charity in his own bowels. For how much he loves those believing and hoping in him, and loving him and each other in turn, and what he keeps for them in the future, he shows from this especially, since to the infidels, and the desperate, and the perverse, to whom persevering in a bad will until the end he threatens eternal fire with the devil, yet in this world he bestows so great good things; "Who makes his sun to rise upon the good and the bad, and rains upon the just and the unjust" (Matth. V, 45): for something has been said briefly, so that more things may be thought. For how many gifts and gratuitous presents the impious have in this life from him whom they contemn, who can enumerate? Among which that great thing, that by examples of interposed tribulations which he, like a good physician, mixes with the sweetness of this world, he admonishes them, if they wish to attend, to flee from the wrath to come; and when they are on the way, that is in this life, to agree with the word of God, whom they have made an adversary to themselves by living badly. What therefore is not mercifully granted to men by the Lord God, from whom even tribulation is a benefit?

Nam res prospera donum est consolantis; res autem adversa donum est admonentis Dei: et si haec praestat, ut dixi, etiam malis, quid praeparat sustinentibus se? quorum in numero vos per illius gratiam congregatos esse gaudete, sustinentes invicem in dilectione, studentes servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis (Eph. IV, 3). Non enim deerit quod in vobis invicem sufferatis, nisi cum vos ita purgaverit Dominus, absorpta morte in victoriam, ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 54, 28).

2. Dissensiones autem nunquam debent amari; sed aliquando tamen aut a charitate nascuntur, aut charitatem probant. Quis enim facile invenitur qui velit reprehendi? et ubi est ille sapiens de quo dictum est, Corripe sapientem, et amabit te? Numquid tamen ideo non debemus reprehendere et corripere fratrem, ne securus tendat in mortem? Solet enim fieri, et frequenter accidit ut ad horam contristetur cum reprehenditur, et resistat, et contendat; et tamen postea consideret secum in silentio, ubi nemo est nisi Deus et ipse, nec timet displicere hominibus, quia corripitur; sed timet displicere Deo, quia non corrigitur, et deinceps non faciat illud in quo juste reprehensus est, et quantum odit peccatum suum, tantum diligat fratrem quem sensit hostem peccati sui. Si autem de illo numero est, de quo dictum est, Corripe stultum, et adjiciet ut oderit te (Prov. IX, 8); non de charitate illius dissensio nascitur, sed tamen charitatem reprehensoris sui exercet et probat: quia non ei rependitur odium; sed dilectio quae cogit reprehendere, imperturbata perdurat, etiam cum ille qui reprehensus est, odit. Si autem ille qui corripit, reddere vult malum pro malo ei qui corripienti indignatur, non fuit dignus qui corriperet, sed dignus plane qui etiam ipse corripi deberet. Haec agite ut inter vos aut non exsistant indignationes, aut exortae statim celerrima pace perimantur. Majorem date operam concordandis vobis quam redarguendis. Quia sicut acetum corrumpit vas, si diutius ibi fuerit; sic ira corrumpit cor, si in alium diem duraverit. Haec ergo agite, et Deus pacis erit vobiscum, orantes simul et pro nobis, ut ea quae bene monemus, alacriter impleamus.

Epistola CCXI.

Augustinus monachas quae dum student mutare praepositam, indecenter fuerant tumultuatae, revocat ad concordiam, et praescribit illis vitae regulam.

For a prosperous thing is a gift of God consoling; but an adverse thing is a gift of God admonishing: and if he grants these things, as I said, even to the bad, what does he prepare for those sustaining him? in whose number rejoice that you have been gathered through his grace, sustaining each other in love, studying to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace (Eph. IV, 3). For there will not be lacking what you may suffer in each other in turn, unless when the Lord shall have so purged you, death being swallowed up in victory, that God may be all in all (1 Cor. XV, 54, 28).

2. But dissensions ought never to be loved; yet sometimes they either are born from charity, or they prove charity. For who is easily found who wishes to be rebuked? and where is that wise man of whom it was said: "Rebuke a wise man, and he will love you"? Ought we not however on that account to rebuke and correct a brother, lest he should tend secure into death? For it is accustomed to happen, and frequently occurs, that he is saddened for the hour when he is rebuked, and resists, and contends; and yet afterwards he considers within himself in silence, where no one is except God and himself, and he does not fear to displease men, because he is rebuked; but he fears to displease God, because he is not corrected, and thenceforward he does not do that in which he was justly rebuked, and as much as he hates his sin, so much he loves the brother whom he perceived as an enemy of his sin. But if he is of that number, of whom it was said: "Rebuke a fool, and he will add to hate you" (Prov. IX, 8); the dissension is not born from the charity of that man, but yet it exercises and proves the charity of his rebuker: because hatred is not repaid to him; but the love which compels to rebuke, endures imperturbed, even when he who has been rebuked, hates. But if he who rebukes, wishes to return evil for evil to him who is indignant at the one rebuking, he was not worthy who should rebuke, but clearly worthy who also himself ought to be rebuked. Do these things so that either indignations may not exist among you, or being arisen they may be immediately destroyed by the swiftest peace. Give greater effort to bringing yourselves to concord than to refuting each other. Because as vinegar corrupts the vessel, if it shall have been there longer; so anger corrupts the heart, if it shall have endured into another day. Do these things, therefore, and the God of peace will be with you, praying together also for us, that those things which we well admonish, we may alacritously fulfill.

Letter CCXI.

Augustine recalls to concord the nuns who, while they study to change their superior (praeposita), had been indecently tumultuous, and he prescribes for them a rule of life.

1. Sicut parata est severitas peccata quae invenerit vindicare; ita non vult charitas quod vindicet invenire. Haec causa fecit ut ad vos non venirem, cum meam praesentiam quaereretis, non ad pacis vestrae gaudium, sed ad dissensionis vestrae augmentum. Quomodo enim contemnerem, et impunitum relinquerem, si et me presente tantus vester tumultus exsisteret, quantus me absente, etsi oculos meos latuit, tamen aures meas vestris vocibus verberavit? Nam fortassis etiam major esset vesta seditio in praesentia mea, cum necesse esset vobis non concedi, quae in perniciosissimum exemplum contra sanam disciplinam, quod vobis non expedit, petebatis; ac sic quales non volo, invenirem vos, et ipse invenirer a vobis qualem non volebatis.

2. Cum ergo scribat Apostolus ad Corinthios, dicens, Testem Deum facio super animam meam, quia parcens vobis nondum veni Corinthum; non quia dominamur fidei vestrae, sed cooperatores sumus gaudii vestri (II Cor. I, 23); hoc ego etiam dico vobis, quia parcens vobis non ad vos veni. Peperci etiam mihi, ne tristitiam super tristitiam haberem; et elegi non ut exhiberem faciem meam vobis, sed effunderem cor meum Deo pro vobis, et causam magni periculi vestri, non apud vos verbis, sed apud Deum lacrymis agerem, ne convertat in luctum gaudium meum quo soleo gaudere de vobis, et inter tanta scandala quibus ubique abundat hic mundus aliquando consolari, cogitans copiosam congregationem, et castam dilectionem, et sanctam conversationem vestram, et largiorem gratiam Dei, quae data est vobis, ut non solum carnales nuptias contemneretis, verum etiam eligeretis in domo societatem unanimes habitandi, ut sit vobis anima una et cor unum in Deum.

3. Haec in vobis bona, haec Dei dona considerans, inter multas tempestates quibus ex aliis malis quatitur cor meum, solet utcumque requiescere. Currebatis bene; quis vos fascinavit? Suasio illa non est ex Deo qui vocavit vos (Galat. V, 7). Modicum fermenti (I Cor. V, 6): nolo dicere quod sequitur; hoc enim magis cupio, et oro, et hortor, ut ipsum fermentum convertatur in melius, ne tota massa, sicut pene jam fecerat, convertatur in pejus. Si ergo repullulastis sanum sapere, orate ne intretis in tentationem, ne iterum in contentiones, aemulationes, animositates, dissensiones, detractiones, seditiones, susurrationes. Non enim sic plantavimus et rigavimus hortum dominicum in vobis, ut spinas metamus istas ex vobis. Si autem adhuc vestra tumultuatur infirmitas, orate ut eruamini de tentatione. Quae autem conturbant vos, si adhuc conturbant vos, nisi correxerint se, portabunt judicium, quaecumque illae fuerint.

1. Just as severity is ready to vindicate sins which it shall have found; so charity does not wish to find what it may vindicate. This cause brought it about that I did not come to you, when you were seeking my presence, not for the joy of your peace, but for the increase of your dissension. For how should I contemn, and leave unpunished, if even in my presence so great a tumult of yours should exist, as much as in my absence, although it was hidden from my eyes, yet it beat upon my ears with your voices? For perhaps your sedition would even be greater in my presence, since it would be necessary that those things should not be granted to you, which you were asking for a most pernicious example against sound discipline, which is not expedient for you; and thus I would find you such as I do not wish, and I myself would be found by you such as you did not wish.

Since therefore the Apostle writes to the Corinthians, saying: "I make God a witness over my soul, because sparing you I have not yet come to Corinth; not because we dominate your faith, but we are cooperators of your joy" (2 Cor. I, 23); this I also say to you, because sparing you I have not come to you. I spared also myself, lest I should have sadness upon sadness; and I chose not that I should exhibit my face to you, but should pour out my heart to God for you, and should act the cause of your great danger, not before you with words, but before God with tears, lest he should turn into mourning my joy which I am accustomed to enjoy concerning you, and among so many scandals with which this world everywhere abounds sometimes to be consoled, thinking of your copious congregation, and chaste love, and holy conversation, and the more large grace of God, which has been given to you, so that you should not only contemn carnal nuptials, but also should choose in the house the society of living unanimous, so that there may be to you one soul and one heart in God.

3. Considering these good things in you, these gifts of God, my heart is accustomed to find rest in some way among the many tempests by which it is shaken from other evils. You were running well; who has fascinated you? That persuasion is not from God who called you (Gal. 5:7). A little leaven (1 Cor. 5:6): I do not wish to say what follows; for this I rather desire, and pray, and exhort, that the leaven itself be converted for the better, lest the whole mass, as it had almost already done, be converted for the worse. If therefore you have sprouted again to be wise healthily, pray that you enter not into temptation, lest again into contentions, emulations, animosities, dissensions, detractions, seditions, whisperings. For we have not so planted and watered the Lord's garden in you, that we should reap these thorns from you. But if your infirmity is still in tumult, pray that you may be delivered from temptation. But those who disturb you, if they still disturb you, unless they correct themselves, shall bear judgment, whoever they may be.

4. Cogitate quid mali sit, ut cum de Donatistis in unitate gaudeamus, interna schismata in monasterio lugeamus. Perseverate in bono proposito, et non desiderabitis mutare praepositam, qua in monasterio illo per tam multos annos perseverante et numero et aetate crevistis; quae vos mater non utero, sed animo suscepit. Omnes enim quae illuc venistis, ibi eam aut sanctae praepositae sorori meae servientem, placentem, aut etiam ipsam praepositam quae vos suscepit, invenistis: sub illa estis eruditae, sub illa velatae, sub illa multiplicatae; et sic tumultuamini, ut ea vobis mutetur, cum lugere deberetis, si eam vobis mutare vellemus. Ipsa est enim quam nostis, ipsa est ad quam venistis, ipsa est quam per tot annos habendo crevistis. Novum non accepistis, nisi praepositum: aut si propter illum quaeritis novitatem, et in ejus invidiam contra matrem vestram sic rebellastis, cur non potius id petistis, ut ipse vobis mutetur? Si autem hoc exhorretis; quia novi quomodo eum in Christo venerabiliter diligatis, cur non potius illam? In vobis namque regendis sic praepositi rudimenta turbantur, ut magis velit vos ipse deserere, quam istam ex vobis famam et invidiam sustinere, ut dicatur non vos aliam quaesituras fuisse praepositam, nisi ipsum coepissetis habere praepositum. Tranquillet ergo Deus et componat animos vestros; non in vobis praevaleat opus diaboli, sed pax Christi vincat in cordibus vestris: nec dolore animi, quia non fit quod vultis, vel quia pudet voluisse quod velle non debuistis, erubescendo curratis in mortem; sed potius poenitendo resumatis virtutem, nec habeatis poenitentiam Judae traditoris, sed potius lacrymas Petri pastoris.

5. Haec sunt quae ut observetis praecipimus in monasterio constitutae. Primum propter quod estis in unum congregatae, ut unanimes habitetis in domo, et sit vobis cor unum et anima una in Deo. Et non dicatis aliquid proprium, sed sint vobis omnia communia: et distribuatur unicuique vestrum a praeposita vestra victus et tegumentum; non aequaliter omnibus, quia non aequaliter valetis omnes, sed unicuique sicut opus fuerit. Sic enim legitis in Actibus Apostolorum, Quia erant eis omnia communia, et distribuebatur singulis prout cuique opus erat (Act. IV, 32, 35). Quae aliquid habebant in saeculo, quando ingressae sunt monasterium, libenter velint illud esse commune. Quae autem non habebant, non ea quaerant in monasterio, quae nec foris habere potuerunt: sed tamen earum infirmitati quod opus est tribuatur, etiamsi pauperies earum, quando foris erant, nec ipsa necessaria poterat invenire; ac nunc non ideo putent se esse felices, quia invenerunt victum et tegumentum, quale foris invenire non potuerunt.

4. Think what an evil it is, that while we rejoice over the Donatists in unity, we should mourn internal schisms in the monastery. Persevere in your good purpose, and you will not desire to change the superior, under whom, persevering in that monastery for so many years, you have increased both in number and in age; she who received you as a mother, not in her womb, but in her mind. For all of you who came there, found her either serving and pleasing my holy superior sister, or even as the superior herself who received you: under her you were educated, under her veiled, under her multiplied; and thus you are in tumult, that she should be changed for you, when you ought to mourn, if we wished to change her for you. For she is the one whom you know, she is the one to whom you came, she is the one having whom for so many years you have increased. You have not received a new one, except the superior: or if on account of him you seek novelty, and in envy of him have thus rebelled against your mother, why did you not rather ask this, that he himself be changed for you? But if you abhor this; because I know how you love him venerably in Christ, why not rather her? For in ruling you, the beginnings of the superior are so disturbed, that he himself would rather desert you, than sustain this fame and envy from you, so that it be said that you would not have sought another superior, unless you had begun to have him as superior. May God therefore quiet and compose your minds; let not the work of the devil prevail in you, but let the peace of Christ conquer in your hearts: nor in the pain of mind, because what you wish is not done, or because it shames you to have wished what you ought not to have wished, should you run into death by blushing; but rather by repenting resume virtue, nor have the repentance of Judas the traitor, but rather the tears of Peter the pastor.

5. These are the things which we command you to observe, being established in the monastery. First, for the sake of which you are congregated into one, that you may dwell unanimous in the house, and that there may be to you one heart and one soul in God. And do not say anything is your own, but let all things be common to you: and let there be distributed to each of you by your superior food and clothing; not equally to all, because you are not all equally strong, but to each as there shall be need. For so you read in the Acts of the Apostles, "That they had all things common, and it was distributed to each as there was need to each" (Acts 4:32, 35). Those who had anything in the world, when they entered the monastery, should willingly wish it to be common. But those who did not have, should not seek those things in the monastery, which they could not have even outside: but nevertheless let what is necessary be given to their infirmity, even if their poverty, when they were outside, could not find those very necessaries; and now they should not therefore think themselves happy, because they have found food and clothing, such as they could not find outside.

6. Nec erigant cervicem quia sociantur eis, ad quas foris accedere non audebant; sed sursum cor habeant, et terrena bona non quaerant, ne incipiant monasteria esse divitibus utilia, non pauperibus, si divites illic humiliantur, et pauperes illic inflantur. Sed rursus etiam illae quae aliquid esse videbantur in saeculo, non habeant fastidio sorores suas, quae ad illam sanctam societatem ex paupertate venerunt: magis autem studeant non de parentum divitum dignitate, sed de pauperum sororum societate gloriari. Nec extollantur, si communi vitae de suis facultatibus aliquid contulerunt; ne de suis divitiis magis superbiant, quia eas monasterio partiuntur, quam si eis in saeculo fruerentur. Alia quippe quaecumque iniquitas in malis operibus exercetur ut fiant; superbia vero etiam bonis operibus insidiatur ut pereant: et quid prodest dispergere dando pauperibus et pauperem fieri, si anima misera superbior efficiatur contemnendo, quam fuerat possidendo? Omnes ergo unanimiter et concorditer vivite; et honorate in vobis invicem Deum, cujus templa factae estis.

7. Orationibus instate horis et temporibus constitutis. In oratorio nemo aliquid agat, nisi ad quod est factum, unde et nomen accepit; ut si aliquae etiam praeter horas constitutas, si eis vacat, orare voluerint, non eis sint impedimento, quae ibi aliquid agere voluerint. Psalmis et hymnis cum oratis Deum, hoc versetur in corde quod profertur in voce: et nolite cantare, nisi quod legitis esse cantandum; quod autem non ita scriptum est ut cantetur, non cantetur.

8. Carnem vestram domate jejuniis et abstinentia escae et potus, quantum valetudo permittit. Quando autem aliqua non potest jejunare, non tamen extra horam prandii aliquid alimentorum sumat, nisi cum aegrotat. Cum acceditis ad mensam, donec inde surgatis, quod vobis secundum consuetudinem legitur, sine tumultu et contentionibus audite: nec solae vobis fauces sumant cibum, sed et aures percipiant Dei verbum.

9. Quae infirmae sunt ex pristina consuetudine, si aliter tractantur in victu, non debet aliis molestum esse, nec injustum videri, quas fecit alia consuetudo fortiores. Nec illas feliciores putent, quia sumunt quod non sumunt ipsae: sed sibi potius gratulentur, quia valent quod non valent illae. Et si eis quae venerunt ex moribus delicatioribus ad monasterium, aliquid alimentorum, vestimentorum, stramentorum, operimentorum datur, quod aliis fortioribus, et ideo felicioribus non datur; cogitare debent quibus non datur, quantum de sua saeculari vita illae ad istam descenderint, quamvis usque ad aliarum quae sunt corpore fortiores, frugalitatem pervenire nequiverint.

6. Nor should they lift up their necks because they are associated with those to whom they did not dare to approach outside; but they should have their heart upward, and not seek earthly goods, lest monasteries begin to be useful to the rich, not to the poor, if the rich are humbled there, and the poor are inflated there. But again, even those who seemed to be something in the world, should not have their sisters in disdain, who have come from poverty to that holy society: but they should rather study to glory not in the dignity of rich parents, but in the society of poor sisters. Nor should they be extolled if they have contributed anything to the common life from their resources; lest they be more proud of their riches because they part them to the monastery, than if they had enjoyed them in the world. For any other iniquity indeed is exercised in evil works so that they may be done; pride however lies in wait even for good works so that they may perish: and what does it profit to disperse by giving to the poor and to become poor, if the miserable soul is made more proud by contemning than it had been by possessing? All therefore live unanimously and concordantly; and honor God in one another, whose temples you have been made.

7. Be instant in prayers at the hours and times appointed. In the oratory let no one do anything, except that for which it was made, whence also it received its name; so that if some also, besides the appointed hours, if they have leisure, should wish to pray, those who wish to do something else there should not be an impediment to them. When you pray to God with psalms and hymns, let that be turned in the heart which is uttered in the voice: and do not sing, except what you read is to be sung; but what is not so written as to be sung, should not be sung.

8. Tame your flesh with fasts and abstinence from food and drink, as much as health permits. But when anyone cannot fast, she should not however take any nourishment outside the hour of lunch, except when she is sick. When you come to the table, until you rise from there, listen without tumult and contentions to what is read to you according to custom: nor let your throats alone take food, but let also your ears perceive the word of God.

9. Those who are weak from former custom, if they are treated differently in food, it ought not to be troublesome to others, nor seem unjust, whom another custom has made stronger. Nor should they think those more happy, because they take what they themselves do not take: but they should rather congratulate themselves, because they are strong where those are not. And if to those who came to the monastery from more delicate habits, something of food, clothing, bedding, or covering is given, which is not given to others who are stronger, and therefore happier; those to whom it is not given ought to think how much those others have descended from their worldly life to this one, although they could not reach the frugality of those who are stronger in body.

Nec illae debent conturbari, quod eas vident amplius, non quia honorantur, sed quia tolerantur, accipere; ne contingat detestanda perversitas, ut in monasterio, ubi, quantum possunt, fiunt divites laboriosae, fiant pauperes delicatae. Sane quemadmodum aegrotantes necesse habent minus accipere ne graventur; ita post aegritudinem sic tractandae sunt ut citius recreentur, etiamsi de humillima saeculi paupertate venerunt, tanquam hoc illis contulerit recentior aegritudo, quod divitibus anterior consuetudo. Sed cum vires pristinas reparaverint, redeant ad feliciorem consuetudinem suam, quae famulas Dei tanto amplius decet, quanto minus indigent: nec ibi eas teneat voluntas jam vegetas, quo necessitas levarat infirmas. Illae se existiment ditiores, quae fuerint in sustinenda parcitate fortiores. Melius est enim minus egere, quam plus habere.

10. Non sit notabilis habitus vester; nec affectetis vestibus placere, sed moribus. Nec sint vobis tam tenera capitum tegmina ut retiola subter appareant. Capillos ex nulla parte nudos habeatis, nec foris vel spargat negligentia, vel componat industria. Quando proceditis, simul ambulate: cum veneritis quo itis, simul state. In incessu, in statu, in habitu, in omnibus motibus vestris nihil fiat quod illiciat cujusquam libidinem, sed quod vestram deceat sanctitatem. Oculi vestri etsi jaciuntur in aliquem, figantur in neminem. Neque enim quando proceditis, viros vedere prohibemini, sed appetere, aut ipsis appeti velle. Nec solo tactu, sed affectu quoque et aspectu appetitur, et appetit femina. Nec dicatis vos habere animos pudicos, si habeatis oculos impudicos: quia impudicus oculus impudici cordis est nuntius. Et cum se invicem sibi, etiam tacente lingua, conspectu mutuo corda nuntiant impudica, et secundum concupiscentiam carnis alterutro delectantur ardore; etiam intactis ab immunda violatione corporibus, fugit castitas ipsa de moribus. Nec putare debet quae in masculum figit oculum, et illius in seipsam diligit fixum, non ab aliis videri, cum hoc facit; videtur omnino et a quibus videri non arbitratur. But behold, let her be hidden, and a nemine hominum videatur, quid faciet de illo superno inspectore quem latere nihil potest? An ideo putandus est non vedere, quia tanto videt patientius, quanto sapientius? Illi ergo timeat sancta femina displicere, ne velit viro male placere: illum cogitet omnia vedere, ne velit virum male videre. Illius namque et in hac causa commendatus est timor, ubi scriptum est: Abominatio est Domino defigens oculum (Prov. XXVII, 20, sec. LXX). Quando ergo simul estis in ecclesia, et ubicumque ubi et viri sunt, invicem vestram pudicitiam custodite. Deus enim qui habitat in vobis, etiam isto modo custodiet vos ex vobis.

Nor should those be disturbed because they see them receive more, not because they are honored, but because they are tolerated; lest that detestable perversity happen, that in the monastery, where as much as they can, the rich become laborious, the poor should become delicate. Truly, just as those who are sick have need to receive less lest they be burdened; so after sickness they are to be so treated that they may be more quickly refreshed, even if they came from the lowest poverty of the world, as if recent sickness had conferred this on them, which former custom did for the rich. But when they have repaired their former strengths, they should return to their happier custom, which becomes the handmaids of God all the more as they need less: nor should a will now healthy hold them there, where necessity had lifted them when weak. They should think themselves richer, who have been stronger in sustaining parsimony. For it is better to need less, than to have more.

10. Let your habit not be notable; nor affect to please by clothes, but by morals. Nor let the coverings of your heads be so thin that the hair-nets appear beneath. Have your hair naked on no part, nor let negligence scatter it outside, or industry compose it. When you go out, walk together: when you come where you are going, stand together. In your gait, in your posture, in your habit, in all your movements, let nothing be done which might entice anyone's lust, but what becomes your holiness. Even if your eyes are cast upon someone, let them be fixed on no one. For when you go out, you are not prohibited from seeing men, but from desiring them, or wishing to be desired by them. For not by touch alone, but by affection also and aspect is a woman desired, and she desires. Nor say that you have modest minds, if you have immodest eyes: because an immodest eye is the messenger of an immodest heart. And when hearts announce themselves to each other as immodest by mutual sight, even while the tongue is silent, and they are delighted by either ardor according to the concupiscence of the flesh; even with bodies untouched by foul violation, chastity itself flees from the morals. Nor should she who fixes her eye on a male, and loves his fixed on herself, think she is not seen by others when she does this; she is seen altogether even by those by whom she does not think she is seen. But behold, let her be hidden, and seen by no one of men, what will she do about that supernal inspector from whom nothing can be hidden? Or is he therefore to be thought not to see, because he sees with as much more patience as he does with more wisdom? Let a holy woman therefore fear to displease Him, lest she wish to please a man evilly: let her think that He sees all things, lest she wish to see a man evilly. For His fear is commended even in this cause, where it is written: "An abomination to the Lord is he who fixes his eye" (Prov. 27:20, according to LXX). Therefore, when you are together in the church, and wherever there are also men, guard your modesty mutually. For God who dwells in you, will also in this way guard you from yourselves.

11. Et si hanc de qua loquor, oculi petulantiam in aliqua vestrum adverteritis, statim admonete, ne coepta progrediantur, sed ex proximo corrigantur. Si autem et post admonitionem iterum, vel alio quocumque die idipsum eam facere videritis, jam velut vulneratam sanandam prodat quaecumque invenire potuit hoc, prius tamen et alteri vel tertiae demonstratam, ut duarum vel trium possit ore convinci (Matth. XVIII, 16), et competenti severitate coerceri. Nec vos judicetis esse malevolas, quando hoc indicatis. Magis quippe innocentes non estis, si sorores vestras, quas indicando corrigere potestis, tacendo perire permittitis. Si enim soror tua vulnus haberet in corpore, quod vellet occultari, dum timeret secari, nonne crudeliter abs te sileretur, et misericorditer indicaretur? Quanto ergo potius eam debes manifestare, ne perniciosius putrescat in corde? Sed antequam aliis demonstretur, per quas convincenda est si negaverit, praepositae debet ostendi, si admonita neglexerit corrigi, ne forte possit secretius correpta non innotescere caeteris. Si autem negaverit, tunc neganti adhibendae sunt aliae, ut jam coram omnibus possit, non ab una teste argui, sed a duabus tribusve convinci. Convicta vero, secundum praepositae vel presbyteri arbitrium debet emendatoriam sustinere vindictam : quam si ferre recusaverit, et si ipsa non abscesserit, de vestra societate projiciatur. Non enim et hoc fit crudeliter, sed misericorditer, ne contagione pestifera plurimas perdat. Et hoc quod dixi de oculo non figendo, etiam in caeteris inveniendis, prohibendis, indicandis, convincendis, vindicandisque peccatis diligenter observetur, cum dilectione hominum et odio vitiorum. Quaecumque autem in tantum progressa fuerit malum, ut occulte ab aliquo litteras vel quaelibet munuscula accipiat, si hoc ultro confitetur, parcatur illi, et oretur pro ea. Si autem deprehenditur atque convincitur, secundum arbitrium praepositae vel presbyteri, vel etiam episcopi, gravius emendetur.

12. Vestes vestras in uno loco habete sub una custode, vel duabus, vel quot sufficere potuerint ad eas excutiendas, ne a tinea laedantur: et sicut pascimini ex uno cellario, sic induamini ex uno vestiario. Et si fieri potest, non ad vos pertineat quid vobis induendum pro temporis congruentia proferatur, utrum hoc recipiat unaquaeque vestrum quod deposuerat, an aliud quod altera habuerat, dum tamen unicuique quod opus est non negetur. Si autem hinc inter vos contentiones et murmura oriuntur, et conqueritur aliqua deterius aliquid se accepisse quam prius habuerat, et indignam se judicat esse quae ita vestiatur, sicut alia soror ejus vestiebatur; hinc vos probate quantum vobis desit in illo interiore sancto habitu cordis, quae pro habitu corporis litigatis.

11. And if you observe this petulance of the eye, of which I speak, in any of you, immediately admonish her, lest what has begun should proceed, but be corrected at once. But if even after admonition, you see her doing the same thing again, or on any other day, now like a wounded person to be healed, let her be exposed by whoever could find this out, after however it has been shown to a second or a third, so that she can be convinced by the mouth of two or three (Matt. 18:16), and coerced with competent severity. Nor should you judge yourselves to be malevolent when you indicate this. Indeed you are not innocent, if you permit your sisters, whom you can correct by indicating, to perish by keeping silence. For if your sister had a wound in her body, which she wished to be hidden while she feared to be cut, would it not be cruelly kept silent by you, and mercifully indicated? How much more therefore ought you to manifest her, lest she rot more perniciously in her heart? But before she is shown to others, by whom she is to be convinced if she denies, she ought to be shown to the superior, if being admonished she has neglected to be corrected, lest perhaps being corrected more secretly she may not become known to the others. But if she denies, then others are to be applied to her denying, so that now before all she can be argued not by one witness, but convinced by two or three. Convicted however, she ought to sustain an emendatory punishment according to the judgment of the superior or the priest; which if she refuses to bear, and if she herself does not depart, let her be projected from your society. For even this is not done cruelly, but mercifully, lest she destroy many by pestiferous contagion. And this which I have said about not fixing the eye, let it also be diligently observed in finding out, prohibiting, indicating, convincing, and punishing other sins, with love of men and hatred of vices. But whoever shall have proceeded into so great an evil, as to receive letters secretly from anyone or any small gifts, if she confesses this of her own accord, let her be spared, and let prayer be made for her. But if she is caught and convinced, let her be more gravely emended according to the judgment of the superior or the priest, or even the bishop.

12. Have your clothes in one place under one guardian, or two, or as many as shall be sufficient to shake them out, lest they be damaged by the moth: and as you are fed from one cellar, so be you clothed from one wardrobe. And if it can be done, let it not pertain to you what is brought forth for you to wear according to the congruence of the time, whether each of you receives this which she had laid down, or another which another had had, provided however that what is necessary be not denied to each one. But if from this contentions and murmurs arise among you, and someone complains that she has received something worse than she had before, and judges herself to be unworthy to be so clothed, as another sister of hers was clothed; from this prove yourselves how much you lack in that interior holy habit of the heart, you who litigate for the habit of the body.

Tamen si vestra toleratur infirmitas, ut hoc recipiatis quod posueratis, in uno tamen loco sub communibus custodibus habete quod ponitis; ita sane ut nulla sibi aliquid operetur, sive unde induatur, sive ubi jaceat, sive unde cingatur, vel operiatur, vel caput contegat; sed omnia opera vestra in commune fiant majore studio et frequentiori alacritate, quam si vobis propria faceretis. Charitas enim de qua scriptum est quod non quaerit quae sua sunt (I Cor. XIII, 5), sic intelligitur, quia communia propriis, non propria communibus anteponit. And ideo quanto amplius rem communem quam propriam curaveritis, tanto amplius vos profecisse noveritis; ut in omnibus quibus utitur transitura necessitas, superemineat quae permanet charitas. Consequens ergo est ut etiam illud quod suis vel filiabus vel aliqua necessitudine ad se pertinentibus in monasterio constitutis aliquis vel aliqua contulerit, sive vestem, sive quodlibet aliud inter necessaria deputandum, non occulte accipiatur; sed sit in potestate praepositae, ut in commune redactum, cui necessarium fuerit, praebeatur. Quod si aliqua rem sibi collatam celaverit, furti judicio condemnetur.

13. Indumenta vestra secundum arbitrium praepositae laventur, sive a vobis, sive a fullonibus, ne interiores animae sordes contrahat mundae vestis nimius appetitus. Lavacrum etiam corporum, ususque balnearum non sit assiduus, sed eo quo solet intervallo temporis tribuatur, hoc est, semel in mense. Cujus autem infirmitatis necessitas cogit lavandum corpus, non longius differatur: fiat sine murmure de consilio medici, ita ut etiam si nolit, jubente praeposita faciat quod faciendum est pro salute. Si autem velit, et forte non expedit, suae cupiditati non obediatur: aliquando enim etiamsi noceat, prodesse creditur quod delectat. Denique si latens est dolor in corpore famulae Dei, dicenti quid sibi doleat, sine dubitatione credatur: sed tamen utrum sanando illi dolori, quod delectat, expediat, si non est certum, medicus consulatur. Nec eant ad balneas, sive quocumque ire necesse fuerit, minus quam tres. Nec illa quae habet aliquo eundi necessitatem, cum quibus ipsa voluerit, sed cum quibus praeposita jusserit, ire debebit.

Nevertheless if your infirmity is tolerated, so that you receive this which you had laid down, have what you lay down in one place however under common guardians; so truly that no one work anything for herself, whether for what she may be clothed with, or where she may lie, or wherewith she may be girded, or covered, or cover her head; but let all your works be done in common with greater study and more frequent alacrity, than if you were making them your own. For charity, of which it is written that "it seeks not its own" (1 Cor. 13:5), is so understood, because it prefers common things to its own, not its own to common things. And therefore by how much the more you shall have cared for the common thing than for your own, by so much the more know that you have profited; so that in all things which transitory necessity uses, charity which remains may superabound. It is consequent therefore that even that which anyone shall have contributed to her own or to her daughters or to anyone pertaining to her by some necessity established in the monastery, whether a garment, or anything else to be deputed among necessaries, let it not be received secretly; but let it be in the power of the superior, so that being reduced into common, it may be provided to whom it shall be necessary. But if anyone shall have concealed a thing conferred on her, let her be condemned by the judgment of theft.

13. Let your garments be washed according to the judgment of the superior, either by yourselves, or by fullers, lest the too much desire of a clean garment contract interior sordes of the soul. Let also the washing of bodies, and the use of baths not be assiduous, but let it be granted at that interval of time at which it is accustomed, that is, once in a month. But for whose necessity of infirmity it compels the body to be washed, let it not be deferred longer: let it be done without murmur by the counsel of a physician, so that even if she be unwilling, at the command of the superior she may do what is to be done for health. But if she should wish, and perhaps it is not expedient, let her cupidity not be obeyed: for sometimes even if it should hurt, what delights is believed to profit. Finally, if there is a latent pain in the body of a handmaid of God, let it be believed without hesitation to her saying what pains her: but however whether it be expedient for healing that pain, what delights, if it is not certain, let a physician be consulted. Nor let them go to the baths, or wherever it shall be necessary to go, fewer than three. Nor should she who has the necessity of going anywhere, go with those whom she herself shall wish, but with those whom the superior shall have commanded.

Aegrotantium cura sive post aegritudinem reficiendarum, sive aliqua imbecillitate etiam sine febribus laborantium, alicui debet injungi, ut ipsa de cellario petat quod cuique opus esse perspexerit; sive autem quae cellario, sive quae vestibus, sive quae codicibus praeponuntur, sine murmure serviant sororibus suis. Codices certa hora singulis diebus petantur; extra horam quae petiverint non accipiant. Vestimenta vero et calceamenta quando fuerint indigenti necessaria, dare non differant sub quarum custodia sunt quae poscuntur.

14. Lites aut nullas habeatis, aut quam celerrime finiatis, ne ira crescat in odium, et trabem faciat de festuca, et animam faciat homicidam. Neque enim ad solos viros pertinet quod scriptum est, Qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est (I Joan. III, 15): sed sexu masculino, quem primum Deus fecit, etiam femineus praeceptum sexus accepit. Quaecumque convicio, vel maledicto, vel etiam criminis objectu, alteram laeserit, meminerit satisfactione quantocius curare quod fecit, et illa quae laesa est, sine disceptatione dimittere. Si autem invicem se laeserunt, invicem sibi debita relaxare debebunt, propter orationes vestras; quas utique quanto crebriores habetis, tanto sanctiores habere debetis. Melior est autem quae quamvis ira saepe tentatur, tamen impetrare festinat ut sibi dimittat cui se fecisse agnoscit injuriam, quam quae tardius irascitur, et ad veniam petendam difficilius inclinatur. Quae non vult dimittere sorori, non speret accipere orationis effectum: quae autem nunquam vult petere veniam, aut non ex animo petit, sine causa est in monasterio, etiamsi non inde projiciatur. Proinde vobis a verbis durioribus parcite; quae si emissa fuerint ex ore vestro, non pigeat ex ipso ore proferre medicamenta, ex quo facta sunt vulnera. Quando autem necessitas disciplinae minoribus coercendis dicere vos verba dura compellit, si etiam in ipsis modum vos excessisse sentitis, non a vobis exigitur ut ab eis veniam postuletis, ne apud eas quas oportet esse subjectas, dum nimia servatur humilitas, regendi frangatur auctoritas: sed tamen petenda est venia ab omnium Domino, qui novit etiam eas quas plus justo forte corripitis, quanta benevolentia diligatis. Non autem carnalis, sed spiritualis inter vos debet esse dilectio: nam quae faciunt pudoris immemores, etiam feminis feminae, jocando turpiter et ludendo, non solum a viduis et intactis ancillis Christi in sancto proposito constitutis, sed omnino nec a mulieribus nuptis, nec a virginibus sunt facienda nupturis.

The care of the sick, whether of those to be refreshed after sickness, or of those laboring under some imbecility even without fevers, ought to be enjoined to someone, that she herself may seek from the cellar what she shall have perceived to be of need to each; but whether those who are set over the cellar, or over the clothes, or over the books, let them serve their sisters without murmur. Let books be sought at a certain hour every day; those who seek outside the hour should not receive them. But clothing and footwear, when they shall be necessary to the indigent, let them not defer to give under whose custody are those things which are asked for.

14. Have either no strifes, or end them as quickly as possible, lest anger grow into hatred, and make a beam out of a mote, and make the soul a murderer. For nor does it pertain to men alone what is written, "He who hates his brother is a murderer" (1 John 3:15): but the female sex also has received the precept from the masculine sex, which God made first. Whoever shall have hurt another by an insult, or a curse, or even by the objection of a crime, let her remember to cure what she did by satisfaction as soon as possible, and she who was hurt, to dismiss it without disputation. But if they have hurt each other mutually, they ought to relax their debts to each other mutually, on account of your prayers; which surely the more frequent you have them, the more holy you ought to have them. Better is she however who although she is often tempted by anger, nevertheless hastens to impetrate that she should forgive her to whom she acknowledges herself to have done an injury, than she who is more slowly angry, and is more difficultly inclined to seek pardon. She who does not wish to forgive her sister, let her not hope to receive the effect of prayer: but she who never wishes to seek pardon, or does not seek it from the heart, is in the monastery without cause, even if she be not projected from there. Accordingly spare yourselves from harsher words; which if they have been emitted from your mouth, let it not irk you to bring forth medicines from that same mouth from which the wounds were made. But when the necessity of discipline compels you to speak harsh words for coercing the minors, if even in them you feel yourself to have exceeded the measure, it is not required from you that you should ask pardon from them, lest among those whom it behooves to be subject, while too much humility is preserved, the authority of ruling be broken: but however pardon is to be sought from the Lord of all, who knows even those whom you perhaps correct more than is just, with how much benevolence you love them. But not carnal, but spiritual ought to be the love between you: for those things which they do who are unmindful of shame, even women to women, by shameful joking and playing, not only by widows and untouched handmaids of Christ established in a holy purpose, but altogether neither by married women, nor by virgins about to marry are they to be done.

15. Praepositae tanquam matri obediatur, honore servato, ne in illa offendatur Deus: multo magis presbytero qui omnium vestrum curam gerit. Ut ergo cuncta ista serventur, et si quid servatum non fuerit, non negligenter praetereatur, sed emendandum corrigendumque curetur, ad praepositam praecipue pertinet, ita ut ad presbyterum qui vobis intendit, referat quod modum vel vires ejus excedit. Ipsa vero non se existimet potestate dominante, sed charitate serviente felicem. Honore coram hominibus praelata sit vobis; timore coram Deo substrata sit pedibus vestris. Circa omnes se ipsam bonorum operum praebeat exemplum (Tit. II, 7). Corrija inquietas, consoletur pusillanimes, suscipiat infirmas, patiens sit ad omnes (I Thess. V, 14), disciplinam libens habeat, metuens imponat. Et quamvis utrumque sit necessarium, tamen plus a vobis amari appetat quam timeri; semper cogitans Deo se pro vobis reddituram esse rationem. Unde magis obediendo non solum vestri, verum etiam ipsius miseremini; quia inter vos quanto in loco superiore, tanto in periculo majore versatur.

16. Donet Dominus ut observetis haec omnia cum dilectione tanquam spiritualis pulchritudinis amatrices, et bono Christi odore de bona conversatione fragrantes, non sicut ancillae sub lege, sed sicut liberae sub gratia constitutae. Ut autem in hoc libello tanquam in speculo vos possitis inspicere, ne per oblivionem aliquid negligatis, semel in septimana vobis legatur: et ubi vos inveneritis ea quae scripta sunt facientes, agite gratias Domino bonorum omnium largitori; ubi autem sibi quaecumque vestrum videt deesse aliquid, doleat de praeterito, caveat de futuro, orans ut et debitum dimittatur, et in tentationem non inducatur.

EPISTOLA CCXII . Augustinus Quintiliano, commendat matrem viduam cum filia virgine, quae deferebant reliquias Stephani martyris. Domino beatissimo, et merito venerabili fratri et coepiscopo QUINTILIANO , AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Honorabiles Dei famulas, et pretiosa Christi membra, Gallam viduam sancti propositi, et ejus filiam Simpliciolam virginem sacram, matri aetate subditam, sanctitate praelatam, quas verbo Domini aluimus ut potuimus, Venerationi tuae in Christi dilectione commendo, et tanquam mea manu per hanc epistolam trado consolandas, et in omnibus adjuvandas, quae utilitas earum vel necessitas postulat: quod et sine mea commendatione procul dubio faceret Sanctitas tua.

15. Let the superior be obeyed as a mother, honor being preserved, lest in her God be offended: much more the priest who bears the care of all of you. That therefore all these things may be observed, and if anything shall not have been observed, it may not be negligently passed over, but care be taken for it to be emended and corrected, pertains chiefly to the superior, so that she may refer to the priest who intends to you, what exceeds her measure or strengths. Let her truly not think herself happy in the power of dominating, but in the charity of serving. In honor before men let her be preferred before you; in fear before God let her be prostrate at your feet. Toward all let her exhibit herself an example of good works (Tit. 2:7). Let her correct the restless, console the faint-hearted, support the weak, be patient toward all (1 Thess. 5:14), let her have discipline willingly, let her impose it fearing. And although both be necessary, yet let her desire more to be loved by you than to be feared; always thinking that she is to render an account to God for you. Whence by obeying more, have mercy not only on yourselves, but also on her; because among you by how much she is in a higher place, by so much is she turned in a greater danger.

16. May the Lord grant that you may observe all these things with love as lovers of spiritual beauty, and fragrant with the good odor of Christ from a good conversation, not as handmaids under the law, but as free women established under grace. But that in this little book as in a mirror you may be able to inspect yourselves, lest through oblivion you neglect anything, let it be read to you once in a week: and where you shall find yourselves doing those things which are written, give thanks to the Lord the giver of all good things; but where any of you sees herself to lack anything, let her grieve for the past, beware for the future, praying that both the debt be forgiven, and she be not induced into temptation.

LETTER CCXII. Augustine to Quintilian, commends a widowed mother with a virgin daughter, who were carrying the relics of Stephen the martyr. To the most blessed Lord, and deservedly venerable brother and co-bishop QUINTILIAN, AUGUSTINE, in the Lord sends greeting.

The honorable handmaids of God, and precious members of Christ, Galla, a widow of holy purpose, and her daughter Simpliciola, a sacred virgin, subject to her mother in age, preferred in holiness, whom we have nourished with the word of the Lord as we were able, I commend to your Veneration in the love of Christ, and as if by my own hand by this letter I deliver them to be consoled, and helped in all things which their utility or necessity requires: which also without my commendation your Holiness would doubtless do.

Si enim nos propter supernam Jerusalem, cujus nos omnes cives sumus, et in qua concupierunt habere excellentioris sanctitatis locum, non solum civicum, verum etiam fraternum eis debemus affectum: quanto magis vos, apud quos earum etiam carnalis est patria, in qua saecularem nobilitatem pro Christi amore contemnunt dominae illae? Officium quoque salutationis per illas meum ea charitate peto digneris sumere qua direxi, et meminisse nostri in orationibus tuis. Portant sane secum reliquias beatissimi et gloriosissimi martyris Stephani, quas non ignorat Sanctitas vestra, sicut et nos fecimus, quam convenienter honorare debeatis.

ACTA ECCLESIASTICA SEU EPISTOLA CCXIII . Ecclesiastica Gesta a B. Augustino confecta in designando ERACLIO qui ipsi in episcopatu succederet, atque interim senem aliqua parte curarum sublevaret.

1. Gloriosissimo Theodosio duodecies et Valentiniano Augusto iterum consulibus, sexto calendas octobris, cum Augustinus episcopus una cum Religiano et Martiniano coepiscopis suis consedisset in ecclesia Pacis Hipponensium Regiorum, praesentibus Saturnino, Leporio, Barnaba, Fortunatiano, Rustico, Lazaro, et Eraclio presbyteris , astante clero et frequenti populo, Augustinus episcopus dixit: Quod hesterno die promisi Charitati vestrae, propter quod vos volui frequentius convenire, et video frequentius convenisse, mora omni postposita hoc agendum est. Si enim aliud velim loqui, in illud suspensi minus auditis. Omnes in hac vita mortales sumus, et dies hujus vitae ultimus, omni homini est semper incertus: verumtamen in infantia speratur pueritia; et in pueritia speratur adolescentia; et in adolescentia speratur juventus; et in juventute speratur gravitas; et in gravitate speratur senectus: utrum contingat incertum est; est tamen quod speretur. Senectus autem aliam aetatem quam speret, non habet: incertum est etiam ipsa senectus quamdiu sit homini; illud tamen certum est, nullam remanere aetatem quae possit succedere senectuti. Quia voluit Deus, ad istam civitatem cum vigore aetatis adveni; sed tamen juvenis fui, et senui. Scio post obitus episcoporum, per ambitiosos aut contentiosos solere Ecclesias perturbari; et quod saepe expertus sum et dolui, debeo quantum ad me attinet, ne contingat, huic prospicere civitati. Sicuti novit Charitas vestra, in Milevitana Ecclesia modo fui: petierunt enim me fratres, et maxime servi Dei qui ibi sunt, ut venirem; quia post obitum beatae memoriae fratris et coepiscopi mei Severi, nonnulla ibi perturbatio timebatur.

For if on account of the supernal Jerusalem, of which we are all citizens, and in which they have desired to have a place of more excellent holiness, we owe them not only a civic but also a fraternal affection: how much more you, with whom their carnal fatherland also is, in which those ladies contemn secular nobility for the love of Christ? I ask also that you deign to receive my office of greeting through them with that charity with which I directed it, and to remember us in your prayers. They carry truly with them the relics of the most blessed and most glorious martyr Stephen, which your Holiness is not ignorant of, as we also did, how conveniently you ought to honor.

ECCLESIASTICAL ACTS OR LETTER CCXIII. Ecclesiastical Acts composed by Blessed Augustine in designating ERACLIUS who should succeed him in the episcopate, and in the meantime should relieve the old man of some part of his cares.

1. In the consulship of the most glorious Theodosius for the twelfth time and Valentinian Augustus for the second time, on the sixth of the calends of October, when Augustine the bishop together with Religianus and Martinianus his co-bishops had sat in the church of Peace of Hippo-Regius, there being present Saturninus, Leporius, Barnabas, Fortunatianus, Rusticus, Lazarus, and Eraclius, priests, the clergy and a frequent people standing by, Augustine the bishop said: "What I promised yesterday to your Charity, for the sake of which I wished you to convene more frequently, and I see you have convened more frequently, all delay being postponed this must be done." For if I should wish to speak of another thing, suspended upon that you hear less. We are all mortals in this life, and the last day of this life is always uncertain to every man: nevertheless in infancy boyhood is hoped for; and in boyhood adolescence is hoped for; and in adolescence youth is hoped for; and in youth gravity is hoped for; and in gravity old age is hoped for: whether it happens is uncertain; there is however what may be hoped for. Old age however has no other age which it may hope for: it is uncertain even how long old age itself may be to a man; that however is certain, that no age remains which can succeed to old age. Because God willed, I came to this city with the vigor of age; but however I was young, and I have grown old. I know that after the deaths of bishops, the Churches are accustomed to be disturbed by ambitious or contentious persons; and what I have often experienced and grieved for, I ought as much as pertains to me, lest it happen, to provide for this city. As your Charity knows, I was just now in the Church of Milevis: for the brothers, and especially the servants of God who are there, asked me to come; because after the death of the brother and my co-bishop of blessed memory Severus, no small disturbance was feared there.

Veni; et quomodo voluit Dominus, adjuvit nos pro sua misericordia, ut cum pace episcopum acciperent, quem vivus designaverat episcopus eorum: hoc enim eis cum innotuisset, voluntatem praecedentis et decedentis episcopi sui libenter amplexi sunt. Minus tamen aliquid factum erat, unde nonnulli contristabantur, quia frater Severus credidit posse sufficere ut successorem suum apud clericos designaret, ad populum inde non est locutus; et erat inde aliquorum nonnulla tristitia. Quid plura? Deo placuit; tristitia fugata est, gaudium successit: ordinatus est episcopus, quem praecedens episcopus designaverat. Ergo ne aliquis de me queratur, voluntatem meam, quam credo Dei esse, in omnium vestrum notitiam perfero: presbyterum Eraclium mihi successorem volo. A populo acclamatum est, Deo gratias, Christo laudes; dictum est vicies terties. Exaudi Christe, Augustino vita; dictum est sexies decies. Te patrem, te episcopum; dictum est octies.

2. Cumque reticeretur, Augustinus episcopus dixit: Non opus est me de laudibus ejus aliquid dicere; faveo sapientiae, et parco verecundiae: sufficit quia nostis eum; et hoc me velle dico quod vos velle scio; et si ante nescirem, hodie probarem. Hoc ergo volo: hoc a Domino Deo nostro, nunc etiam in aetate frigida, votis ferventibus posco; hoc ut mecum oretis exhortor, admoneo, rogo, ut omnium in pace Christi collatis et conflatis mentibus confirmet Deus quod operatus est in nobis (Psal. LXVII, 29). Qui misit mihi eum, servet eum; servet incolumem, servet sine crimine, ut qui facit gaudium viventis, locum suppleat morientis. A notariis Ecclesiae, sicut cernitis, excipiuntur quae dicimus, excipiuntur quae dicitis; et meus sermo, et vestrae acclamationes in terram non cadunt. Apertius ut dicam, ecclesiastica nunc Gesta conficimus: sic enim hoc esse, quantum ad homines attinet, confirmatum volo. A populo acclamatum est trigesies sexies: Deo gratias, Christo laudes. Exaudi, Christe, Augustino vita; dictum est tredecies. Te patrem, te episcopum; dictum est octies. Dignus et justus est; dictum est vicies. Bene meritus, bene dignus; dictum est quinquies. Dignus et justus est; dictum est sexies.

3. Cumque reticeretur, Augustinus episcopus dixit: Ergo, ut dicebam, voluntatem meam et voluntatem vestram Gestis ecclesiasticis, quantum ad homines attinet, confirmatam volo: quantum vero ad latentem Omnipotentis voluntatem, omnes, ut dixi, oremus ut confirmet Deus quod operatus est in nobis. A populo acclamatum est: Judicio tuo gratias agimus; dictum est sedecies. Fiat, fiat; dictum est duodecies. Te patrem, Eraclium episcopum; dictum est sexies.

I came; and as the Lord willed, he helped us according to his mercy, so that they might receive with peace the bishop whom their living bishop had designated: for when this had become known to them, they willingly embraced the will of their preceding and departing bishop. Something less however had been done, whence some were saddened, because brother Severus believed it could suffice that he should designate his successor among the clergy, he did not speak to the people about it; and there was some sadness of some from that. Why more? It pleased God; sadness was put to flight, joy succeeded: the bishop was ordained whom the preceding bishop had designated. Therefore lest anyone complain of me, my will, which I believe to be of God, I bring to the notice of all of you: I wish the priest Eraclius to be my successor. By the people it was acclaimed: "Thanks to God, praises to Christ"; it was said twenty-three times. "Hear, O Christ, life to Augustine"; it was said sixteen times. "Thee father, thee bishop"; it was said eight times.

2. And when there was silence, Augustine the bishop said: "There is no need for me to say anything concerning his praises; I favor wisdom, and I spare modesty: it suffices that you know him; and I say that I wish this which I know you wish; and if I did not know it before, I would prove it today." This therefore I wish: this I ask from the Lord our God, even now in a cold age, with fervent vows; I exhort, I admonish, I ask that you pray with me, that God may confirm what He has wrought in us, the minds of all being collected and fused together in the peace of Christ (Ps. 67:29). May He who sent him to me, keep him; keep him unharmed, keep him without crime, so that he who makes the joy of the living, may supply the place of the dying. By the notaries of the Church, as you see, what we say is taken down, what you say is taken down; and my speech, and your acclamations do not fall to the ground. To speak more openly, we are now composing ecclesiastical Acts: for thus I wish this to be confirmed, as much as pertains to men." By the people it was acclaimed thirty-six times: "Thanks to God, praises to Christ." "Hear, O Christ, life to Augustine"; it was said thirteen times. "Thee father, thee bishop"; it was said eight times. "Worthy and just is he"; it was said twenty times. "Well deserving, well worthy"; it was said five times. "Worthy and just is he"; it was said six times.

3. And when there was silence, Augustine the bishop said: "Therefore, as I was saying, I wish my will and your will to be confirmed by ecclesiastical Acts, as much as pertains to men: but as much as pertains to the hidden will of the Omnipotent, let us all, as I said, pray that God may confirm what He has wrought in us." By the people it was acclaimed: "To thy judgment we give thanks"; it was said sixteen times. "Let it be, let it be"; it was said twelve times. "Thee father, Eraclius bishop"; it was said six times.

4. Cumque reticeretur, Augustinus episcopus dixit: Scio quod scitis et vos, sed nolo de illo fieri quod de me factum est. Quid autem factum sit multi scitis; illi soli nesciunt qui tunc aut nondum nati erant, aut nondum habebant aetatem sciendi. Adhuc in corpore posito beatae memoriae patre et episcopo meo sene Valerio, episcopus ordinatus sum, et sedi cum illo: quod concilio Nicaeno prohibitum fuisse nesciebam, nec ipse sciebat. Quod ergo reprehensum est in me, nolo reprehendi in filio meo. A populo acclamatum est: Deo gratias; Christo laudes; dictum est tredecies.

5. Cumque reticeretur, Augustinus episcopus dixit: Erit presbyter ut est; quando Deus voluerit, futurus episcopus. Sed plane modo facturus sum adjuvante misericordia Christi, quod adhuc usque non feci. Nostis ante aliquot annos quid facere voluerim, et non permisistis. Placuit mihi et vobis propter curam Scripturarum, quam mihi fratres et patres mei coepiscopi duobus conciliis Numidiae et Carthaginis imponere dignati sunt, ut per quinque dies nemo mihi molestus esset. Gesta confecta sunt, placuit, acclamastis: recitatur placitum vestrum, et acclamationes vestrae. Parvo tempore servatum est circa me; et postea violenter irruptum est, et non permittor ad quod volo, vacare: ante meridiem et post meridiem occupationibus hominum implicor. Obsecro vos et obstringo per Christum, ut huic juveni, hoc est Eraclio presbytero, quem hodie in nomine Christi designo episcopum successorem mihi, patiamini me refundere onera occupationum mearum. A populo acclamatum est: Judicio tuo gratias agimus; dictum est vicies sexies.

6. Cumque reticeretur, Augustinus episcopus dixit: Ego charitati et benevolentiae vestrae apud Dominum Deum nostrum gratias ago, imo de illa Deo gratias ago. Ergo, fratres, quidquid est quod ad me perferebatur, ad illum perferatur: ubi necessarium habuerit consilium, meum non negabo auxilium; absit ut subtraham. Tamen quidquid illud est quod ad me perferebatur, ad illum perferatur. Ipse me aut consulat, si forte non invenerit quid facere debeat, aut poscat adjutorem quem novit patrem: ut et vobis nihil desit, et ego tandem aliquando, si quantulumcumque spatium mihi hujus vitae donaverit Deus, ipsam meam quantulamcumque vitam non dem segnitiei, nec donem inertiae, sed in sanctis Scripturis, quantum ipse permittit et largitur, exerceam; hoc et ipsi proderit, et per ipsum etiam vobis. Nemo ergo invideat otio meo, quia meum otium magnum habet negotium.

4. And when there was silence, Augustine the bishop said: "I know what you also know, but I do not wish that to happen concerning him which was done concerning me." What however was done many of you know; those alone do not know who then either were not yet born, or did not yet have the age for knowing. While my father and bishop of blessed memory Valerius was still placed in the body, I was ordained bishop, and I sat with him: which I did not know had been prohibited by the Council of Nicaea, nor did he know. What therefore was reprehended in me, I do not wish to be reprehended in my son." By the people it was acclaimed: "Thanks to God; praises to Christ"; it was said thirteen times.

5. And when there was silence, Augustine the bishop said: "He shall be a priest as he is; when God shall will, a future bishop." But clearly I am now about to do, the mercy of Christ helping, what I have not done until now. You know some years ago what I wished to do, and you did not permit. It pleased me and you on account of the care of the Scriptures, which my brothers and fathers my co-bishops deigned to impose on me in two councils of Numidia and Carthage, that for five days no one should be troublesome to me. Acts were composed, it pleased, you acclaimed: your pleasure and acclamations are recited. For a small time it was observed toward me; and afterwards it was violently broken in upon, and I am not permitted to be vacant for what I wish: before noon and after noon I am implicated in the occupations of men. I beseech you and I bind you through Christ, that you should suffer me to pour out the burdens of my occupations upon this young man, that is Eraclius the priest, whom today in the name of Christ I designate bishop successor to me." By the people it was acclaimed: "To thy judgment we give thanks"; it was said twenty-six times.

6. And when there was silence, Augustine the bishop said: "I give thanks to your Charity and benevolence before the Lord our God, indeed I give thanks to God for it." Therefore, brothers, whatever it is which was being brought to me, let it be brought to him: where he shall have need of counsel, I will not deny my help; far be it that I should withdraw it. Nevertheless whatever that is which was being brought to me, let it be brought to him. Let him either consult me, if perhaps he shall not have found what he ought to do, or let him ask as a helper him whom he knows as a father: so that both nothing be lacking to you, and I at length some time, if God shall have granted me any small space of this life, may not give that small life of mine to sloth, nor give it to inertia, but exercise it in the holy Scriptures, as much as He himself permits and bestows; this will also profit him, and through him also you. Let no one therefore envy my leisure, because my leisure has a great business.

Video me de hac re propter quam vos invitavi, omnia vobiscum egisse quae debui: hoc ad ultimum rogo, ut Gestis istis dignemini subscribere qui potestis. Hic mihi responsione vestra opus est: teneam responsionem vestram; de hac assensione aliquid acclamate. A populo acclamatum est: Fiat, fiat; dictum vicies quinquies. Dignum est, justum est; dictum vicies octies. Fiat, fiat; dictum quater decies. Olim dignus, olim meritus; dictum vicies quinquies. Judicio tuo gratias agimus; dictum tredecies. Exaudi, Christe, Eraclium conserva; dictum octies decies.

7. Cumque reticeretur, Augustinus episcopus dixit: Bene habet ut ea quae Dei sunt, circa sacrificium ejus agere valeamus; in qua hora supplicationis nostrae maxime commendo Charitati vestrae ut omnes vestras causas et negotia intermittatis, et pro ista Ecclesia, et pro me, et pro presbytero Eraclio, Domino precem fundatis.

EPISTOLA CCXIV . Augustinus Valentino Abbati et Monachis Adrumetinis, oborta inter eos dissensione de libero arbitrio et justitia Dei, ex prava interpretatione epistolae prolixioris ad Sixtum, docet fidem catholicam in illa epistola propugnatam hanc esse, quae neque liberum arbitrium neget, neque tantum ei tribuat, ut sine gratia Dei valeat quidquam ad bonum.

Domino dilectissimo, et in Christi membris honorando fratri VALENTINO, et fratribus qui tecum sunt, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem. 1. Venerunt ad nos duo juvenes, Cresconius et Felix, de vestra congregatione se esse dicentes, qui nobis retulerunt monasterium vestrum nonnulla dissensione turbatum, eo quod quidam in vobis sic gratiam praedicent, ut negent hominis esse liberum arbitrium; et, quod est gravius, dicant quod in die judicii non sit redditurus Deus unicuique secundum opera ejus (Matth. XVI, 27, et Rom. II, 6). Etiam hoc tamen indicaverunt, quod plures vestrum non ita sentiant, sed liberum arbitrium adjuvari fateantur per Dei gratiam, ut recta sapiamus atque faciamus; ut cum venerit Dominus reddere unicuique secundum opera ejus, inveniat opera nostra bona, quae praeparavit Deus ut in illis ambulemus (Eph. II, 10). Hoc qui sentiunt, bene sentiunt.

2. Obsecro itaque vos, fratres, sicut Corinthios obsecravit Apostolus, per nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut idipsum dicatis omnes, et non sint in vobis schismata (I Cor. I, 10). Primo enim Dominus Jesus, sicut scriptum est in Evangelio Joannis apostoli, non venit ut judicaret mundum, sed ut salvaretur mundus per ipsum (Joan. III, 17). Postea vero, sicut scribit apostolus Paulus, judicabit Deus mundum (Rom. III, 6), quando venturus est, sicut tota Ecclesia in Symbolo confitetur, judicare vivos et mortuos.

I see that I have done all things with you which I ought concerning this matter for which I invited you: this at the last I ask, that you deign to subscribe to these Acts who are able. Here I have need of your response: let me hold your response; acclaim something concerning this assent." By the people it was acclaimed: "Let it be, let it be"; it was said twenty-five times. "It is worthy, it is just"; it was said twenty-eight times. "Let it be, let it be"; it was said fourteen times. "Long ago worthy, long ago deserving"; it was said twenty-five times. "To thy judgment we give thanks"; it was said thirteen times. "Hear, O Christ, keep Eraclius"; it was said eighteen times.

7. And when there was silence, Augustine the bishop said: "It is well that we are able to do those things which are of God, around His sacrifice; in which hour of our supplication I chiefly commend to your Charity that you intermit all your causes and businesses, and pour out prayer to the Lord for this Church, and for me, and for the priest Eraclius."

LETTER CCXIV. Augustine to Valentinus the Abbot and the monks of Adrumetum, a dissension having arisen among them concerning free will and the justice of God, from a depraved interpretation of a longer letter to Sixtus, teaches that the Catholic faith defended in that letter is this, which neither denies free will, nor attributes so much to it, that without the grace of God it is able to do anything for good.

To the most beloved Lord, and brother to be honored in the members of Christ, VALENTINUS, and the brothers who are with thee, AUGUSTINE, in the Lord sends greeting. 1. Two young men came to us, Cresconius and Felix, saying themselves to be of your congregation, who reported to us your monastery to be disturbed by some dissension, because some among you so preach grace, that they deny the free will of man; and, what is more grave, they say that in the day of judgment God is not about to render to each according to his works (Matt. 16:27, and Rom. 2:6). Yet they also indicated this, that many of you do not so feel, but confess free will to be helped through the grace of God, so that we may feel and do right things; so that when the Lord shall come to render to each according to his works, he may find our works good, which God prepared so that we should walk in them (Eph. 2:10). Those who feel this, feel well.

2. I beseech you therefore, brothers, as the Apostle besought the Corinthians, through the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you all say the same thing, and that there be no schisms among you (1 Cor. 1:10). For first the Lord Jesus, as it is written in the Gospel of John the apostle, "came not that he should judge the world, but that the world should be saved through him" (John 3:17). Afterwards truly, as the apostle Paul writes, "God shall judge the world" (Rom. 3:6), when he is about to come, as the whole Church confesses in the Creed, to judge the living and the dead.

Si igitur non est Dei gratia, quomodo salvat mundum? et si non est liberum arbitrium, quomodo judicat mundum? Proinde librum vel epistolam meam, quam secum ad nos supradicti attulerunt, secundum hanc fidem intelligite, ut neque negetis Dei gratiam, neque liberum arbitrium sic defendatis, ut a Dei gratia separetis, tanquam sine illa vel cogitare aliquid vel agere secundum Deum ulla ratione possimus; quod omnino non possumus. Propter hoc enim Dominus cum de fructu justitiae loqueretur, ait discipulis suis: Sine me nihil potestis facere (Joan. XV, 5).

3. Unde supradictam epistolam ad Sixtum Romanae Ecclesiae presbyterum , contra novos haereticos Pelagianos noveritis esse conscriptam, qui dicunt gratiam Dei secundum merita nostra dari, ut qui gloriatur, non in Domino, sed in seipso glorietur, hoc est in homine, non in Domino. Quod prohibet Apostolus, dicens, Nemo glorietur in homine (I Cor. III, 21); et alio loco, Qui gloriatur, inquit, in Domino glorietur (Id. I, 31). Illi vero haeretici seipsos a seipsis justos fieri putantes, quasi hoc eis non dederit Deus, sed ipsi sibi; non utique in Domino, sed in semetipsis gloriantur. Talibus enim dicit Apostolus: Quis enim te discernit? Quodideo dicit, quia de massa illius perditionis quae facta est ex Adam, non discernit hominem, ut eum faciat vas in honorem, non in contumeliam, nisi Deus. Sed quoniam homo carnalis et inaniter inflatus cum audisset, Quis enim te discernit? posset respondere vel voce vel cogitatione et dicere, Discernit me fides mea, discernit me oratio mea, discernit me justitia mea; mox Apostolus occurrit cogitationibus ejus et dixit: Quid enim habes quod non accepisti? Si autem accepisti, quid gloriaris, quasi non acceperis (Id. IV, 7)? Sic autem gloriantur quasi non acceperint, qui se a seipsis justificari putant; ac per hoc in semetipsis, non in Domino gloriantur.

4. Propter quod ego in hac epistola quae ad vos pervenit, probavi per testimonia sanctarum Scripturarum, quae ibi potestis inspicere, et bona opera nostra, et pias orationes, et rectam fidem nullo modo in nobis esse potuisse, nisi haec acciperemus ab illo de quo dicit apostolus Jacobus, Omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum desursum est, descendens a patre luminum (Jacobi I, 17); ne quisquam dicat meritis operum suorum, vel meritis orationum suarum, vel meritis fidei suae, sibi traditam Dei gratiam, et putetur verum esse quod illi haeretici dicunt, gratiam Dei secundum merita nostra dari; quod omnino falsissimum est: non quia nullum est meritum, vel bonum piorum, vel malum impiorum; alioquin quomodo judicabit Deus mundum? sed misericordia et gratia Dei convertit hominem, de qua Psalmus dicit, Deus meus, misericordia ejus praeveniet me (Psal. LVIII, 11); ut justificetur impius, hoc est ex impio fiat justus, et incipiat habere meritum bonum, quod Dominus coronabit, quando judicabitur mundus.

If therefore there is no grace of God, how does he save the world? and if there is no free will, how does he judge the world? Accordingly understand my book or letter, which the aforementioned brought with them to us, according to this faith, so that you neither deny the grace of God, nor so defend free will, that you separate it from the grace of God, as if without it we could in any way think anything or do anything according to God; which we are altogether unable to do. For on account of this the Lord when he was speaking of the fruit of justice, said to his disciples: "Without me you can do nothing" (John 15:5).

3. Whence you should know the aforementioned letter to Sixtus a priest of the Roman Church, to have been written against the new Pelagian heretics, who say the grace of God to be given according to our merits, so that he who glories, should glory not in the Lord, but in himself, that is in man, not in the Lord. Which the Apostle prohibits, saying, "Let no one glory in man" (1 Cor. 3:21); and in another place, "He who glories," he says, "let him glory in the Lord" (Id. 1:31). Those heretics truly thinking themselves to become just from themselves, as if God had not given this to them, but they to themselves; they glory not in the Lord, but in themselves. For to such the Apostle says: "For who discerns thee?" Which he therefore says, because from that mass of perdition which was made from Adam, no one discerns man, so as to make him a vessel unto honor, not unto contumely, except God. But since carnal man and vainly inflated when he had heard, "For who discerns thee?" could respond either with voice or with thought and say, my faith discerns me, my prayer discerns me, my justice discerns me; soon the Apostle meets his thoughts and said: "For what hast thou which thou hast not received? But if thou hast received, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received (Id. 4:7)? But they so glory as if they had not received, who think themselves to be justified from themselves; and by this they glory in themselves, not in the Lord.

4. On account of which I in this letter which has come to you, proved through the testimonies of the holy Scriptures, which you can inspect there, that both our good works, and pious prayers, and right faith could in no way be in us, unless we received these from Him of whom the apostle James says, "Every best gift, and every perfect gift is from above, descending from the father of lights" (James 1:17); lest anyone should say that the grace of God was delivered to him by the merits of his works, or by the merits of his prayers, or by the merits of his faith, and it should be thought to be true what those heretics say, that the grace of God is given according to our merits; which is altogether most false: not because there is no merit, either good of the pious, or evil of the impious; otherwise how shall God judge the world? but the mercy and grace of God converts man, of which the Psalm says, "My God, his mercy shall prevent me" (Ps. 58:11); so that the impious may be justified, that is from an impious person become just, and begin to have good merit, which the Lord will crown, when the world shall be judged.

1. Cresconium, Felicem et alium Felicem Dei servos, qui ex vestra congregatione ad nos venerunt, nobiscum egisse Pascha, noverit Charitas vestra. Quos ideo tenuimus aliquanto diutius, ut instructiores ad vox redirent adversus novos haereticos Pelagianos, in quorum errorem cadit qui putat secundum aliqua merita humana dari gratiam Dei, quae sola hominem liberat per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Sed rursum qui putat, quando ad judicium Dominus venerit, non judicari hominem secundum opera sua, qui jam per aetatem uti potuit libero voluntatis arbitrio, nihilominus in errore est. Soli enim parvuli qui nondum habent opera propria vel bona vel mala, secundum solum originale peccatum damnabuntur, quibus per lavacrum regenerationis non subvenit gratia Salvatoris. Caeteri autem omnes qui jam utentes libero arbitrio, sua propria peccata originali peccato insuper addiderunt, si de potestate tenebrarum per gratiam Dei non eruuntur, nec transferuntur ad regnum Christi, non solum secundum originis, verum etiam secundum propriae voluntatis merita, judicium reportabunt. Boni vero etiam ipsi quidem secundum suae bonae voluntatis merita praemium consequentur, sed etiam ipsam bonam voluntatem per Dei gratiam consecuti sunt. Ac sic impletur quod scriptum est: Ira et indignatio, tribulatio et angustia in omnem animam hominis operantis malum, Judaei primum, et Graeci: gloria autem, et honor, et pax operanti bonum, Judaeo primum, et Graeco (Rom. II, 9, 10).

2. De qua difficillima quaestione, hoc est de voluntate et gratia, non opus habui etiam in hac epistola diutius disputare; quoniam et aliam jam eis dederam, tanquam citius redituris. Et scripsi ad vos etiam librum, quem si, adjuvante Domino, diligenter legeritis, et vivaciter intellexeritis, nullas existimo inter vos de hac re dissensiones ulterius jam futuras. Portant autem secum et alia, quae vobis dirigenda esse credidimus, quibus cognoscatis quemadmodum catholica Ecclesia, in Dei misericordia, Pelagianae haeresis venena repulerit. Quod enim scriptum est ad papam Innocentium Romanae urbis episcopum, de concilio provinciae Carthaginensis et de concilio Numidiae, et aliquanto diligentius a quinque episcopis, et quae ipse ad tria ista rescripsit; item quod papae Zosimo de Africano concilio scriptum est, ejusque rescriptum ad universos totius orbis episcopos missum; et quod posteriori concilio plenario totius Africae contra ipsum errorem breviter constituimus; et supra memoratum librum meum, quem modo ad vos scripsi: haec omnia et in praesenti legimus cum ipsis, et per eos misimus vobis.

1. Your Charity should know that Cresconius, Felix, and another Felix, servants of God, who came to us from your congregation, celebrated Easter with us. We therefore held them somewhat longer, so that they might return to you better instructed against the new Pelagian heretics, into whose error he falls who thinks that the grace of God is given according to some human merits, which alone liberates man through our Lord Jesus Christ. But again, he who thinks that, when the Lord shall come to judgment, man is not judged according to his works, who already by age could use the free choice of the will, is nevertheless in error. For only infants who do not yet have their own works, either good or evil, shall be condemned according to original sin alone, whom the grace of the Savior does not assist through the washing of regeneration. But all others who, already using free will, have added their own sins on top of original sin, if they are not rescued from the power of darkness through the grace of God, nor transferred to the kingdom of Christ, shall receive judgment not only according to the merits of origin, but also according to those of their own will. Truly the good also shall indeed follow after the reward according to the merits of their good will, but they have also attained that good will through the grace of God. And so is fulfilled what is written: "Wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man working evil, of the Jew first, and of the Greek: but glory, and honor, and peace to everyone working good, to the Jew first, and to the Greek" (Rom. 2:9, 10).

2. Concerning which most difficult question, that is concerning will and grace, I have not had need to dispute longer even in this letter; since I had already given them another, as if they were about to return sooner. And I also wrote a book to you, which if, with the Lord's help, you read diligently, and understand vivaciously, I think that no dissensions concerning this matter will henceforth exist among you. But they carry with them also other things, which we believed should be directed to you, by which you may know how the Catholic Church, in the mercy of God, has repelled the poisons of the Pelagian heresy. For what was written to Pope Innocent, bishop of the Roman city, concerning the council of the province of Carthage and concerning the council of Numidia, and somewhat more diligently by five bishops, and what he himself wrote back to these three; likewise what was written to Pope Zosimus concerning the African council, and his rescript sent to all the bishops of the whole world; and what we briefly established in a later plenary council of all Africa against that error; and my above-mentioned book, which I just wrote to you: all these things we both read at present with them, and through them we sent to you.

3. Legimus eis etiam librum beatissimi martyris Cypriani de Oratione Dominica, et ostendimus quemadmodum docuerit omnia quae ad mores nostros pertinent, quibus recte vivimus, a Patre nostro qui in coelis est, esse poscenda, ne de libero praesumentes arbitrio, a divina gratia decidamus. Ubi etiam demonstravimus quomodo admonuerit idem gloriosissimus martyr, etiam pro inimicis nostris, qui nondum in Christum crediderunt, nos ut credant orare debere: quod utique inaniter fieret, nisi Ecclesia crederet etiam malas atque infideles hominum voluntates, per Dei gratiam in bonum posse converti. Sed hunc librum sancti Cypriani, quia dixerunt etiam illic apud vos esse, non misimus. Meam quoque epistolam ad Sixtum Romanae Ecclesiae presbyterum datam, quam secum ad nos attulerunt, legimus cum eis; et ostendimus adversus eos esse conscriptam, qui dicunt gratiam Dei secundum merita nostra dari, hoc est adversus eosdem Pelagianos.

4. Quantum ergo potuimus, egimus cum istis et vestris et nostris fratribus, ut in fide sana catholica perseverent: quae neque liberum arbitrium negat, sive in vitam malam sive in bonam, neque tantum ei tribuit, ut sine gratia Dei valeat aliquid, sive ut ex malo convertatur in bonum, sive ut in bono perseveranter proficiat, sive ut ad bonum sempiternum perveniat, ubi jam non timeat ne deficiat. Vos quoque, charissimi, etiam in hac epistola exhortor, quod nos omnes exhortatur Apostolus, non plus sapere quam oportet sapere; sed sapere ad temperantiam, sicut unicuique Deus partitus est mensuram fidei (Rom. XII, 3).

5. Attendite quid per Salomonem moneat Spiritus sanctus: Rectos cursus, inquit, fac pedibus tuis, et vias tuas dirige: ne declines in dexteram, neque in sinistram; averte autem pedem tuum a via mala. Vias enim quae a dextris sunt, novit Dominus: perversae vero sunt quae a sinistris sunt. Ipse autem rectos faciet cursus tuos; itinera autem tua in pace producet (Prov. IV, 26, 27). In his verbis sanctae Scripturae considerate, fratres, quia si non esset liberum arbitrium, non diceretur, Rectos cursus fac pedibus tuis, et vias tuas dirige; ne declines in dexteram, neque in sinistram. Et tamen sine Dei gratia, si posset hoc fieri, non postea diceretur, Ipse autem rectos faciet cursus tuos, et itinera tua in pace producet.

6. Nolite ergo declinare in dexteram neque in sinistram; quamvis laudentur viae quae a dextris sunt, et vituperentur quae sunt a sinistris. Hoc est enim propter quod addidit, Averte autem pedem tuum a via mala, hoc est a sinistra: quod manifestat in consequentibus, dicens, Vias enim quae a dextris sunt, novit Dominus: perversae vero sunt quae a sinistris sunt. Eas utique vias ambulare debemus, quas novit Dominus: de quibus in Psalmo legitur, Novit Dominus viam justorum, et via impiorum peribit (Psal. I, 6).

3. We read to them also the book of the most blessed martyr Cyprian "On the Lord's Prayer," and we showed how he taught that all things which pertain to our morals, by which we live rightly, are to be asked from our Father who is in heaven, lest by presuming on free will, we fall away from divine grace. Where we also demonstrated how the same most glorious martyr admonished that we ought to pray even for our enemies, who have not yet believed in Christ, so that they may believe: which would certainly be done in vain, unless the Church believed that even the evil and unfaithful wills of men could be converted into good through the grace of God. But this book of Saint Cyprian, because they said it is also there with you, we have not sent. We read with them also my letter given to Sixtus, priest of the Roman Church, which they brought with them to us; and we showed it to have been written against those who say that the grace of God is given according to our merits, that is, against those same Pelagians.

4. As much therefore as we were able, we dealt with these brothers, both yours and ours, so that they might persevere in the sound Catholic faith: which neither denies free will, whether for an evil life or for a good one, nor attributes so much to it, that without the grace of God it is worth anything, either that it may be converted from evil into good, or that it may perseveringly profit in good, or that it may arrive at eternal good, where it no longer fears lest it fail. You also, most dearly beloved, I exhort even in this letter, as the Apostle exhorts us all, "not to be more wise than it behooveth to be wise; but to be wise unto sobriety, according as God hath divided to every one the measure of faith" (Rom. 12:3).

5. Attend to what the Holy Spirit admonishes through Solomon: "Make straight paths," he says, "for thy feet, and direct thy ways: decline not to the right hand, nor to the left; but turn away thy foot from the evil way. For the ways which are on the right, the Lord knoweth: but those which are on the left are perverse. But he himself shall make thy paths straight; and shall bring forward thy journeys in peace" (Prov. 4:26, 27). In these words of holy Scripture consider, brothers, that if there were no free will, it would not be said, "Make straight paths for thy feet, and direct thy ways; decline not to the right hand, nor to the left." And yet without the grace of God, if this could be done, it would not afterwards be said, "But he himself shall make thy paths straight, and shall bring forward thy journeys in peace."

6. Do not therefore decline to the right hand nor to the left; although the ways which are on the right are praised, and those which are on the left are blamed. For this is why he added, "But turn away thy foot from the evil way," that is from the left: which he manifests in what follows, saying, "For the ways which are on the right, the Lord knoweth: but those which are on the left are perverse." Certainly we ought to walk those ways, which the Lord knoweth: of which it is read in the Psalm, "The Lord knoweth the way of the just, and the way of the impious shall perish" (Ps. 1:6).

Hanc enim non novit Dominus, quia sinistra est: sicut dicturus est etiam illis ad sinistram constitutis, Non novi vos (Matth. XXV, 12, et Luc. XIII, 27). Quid est autem quod ille non novit, qui utique novit omnia sive bona hominum, sive mala? Sed quid est, Non vos novi, nisi tales vos ego non feci? Quemadmodum illud quod dictum est de ipso Domino Jesu Christo, quia non noverat peccatum (II Cor. V, 21); quid est non noverat, nisi quia non fecerat? Ac per hoc quod dictum est, Vias quae a dextris sunt, novit Dominus, quomodo intelligendum est, nisi quia ipse fecit vias dextras, id est vias justorum, quae sunt utique opera bona, quae praeparavit Deus, sicut dicit Apostolus, ut in illis ambulemus (Eph. II, 10)? Vias autem sinistras perversas, id est vias impiorum, non utique novit, quia non eas ipse fecit homini, sed homo sibi: propter quod dicit, Odivi autem ego perversas vias malorum, ipsae sunt a sinistris.

7. Sed respondetur nobis, Cur ergo dixit, Ne declines in dexteram, neque in sinistram; cum potius dicere debuisse videatur, Tene dexteram, et ne declines in sinistram; si bonae sunt viae quae a dextris sunt? Cur, putamus, nisi quia ita viae sunt bonae quae a dextris sunt, ut in dexteram tamen declinare non sit bonum? Declinare quippe ille est intelligendus in dexteram, qui bona ipsa opera, quae ad vias dexteras pertinent, sibi vult assignare, non Deo. Et ideo cum dixisset, Vias enim quae a dextris sunt, novit Dominus: perversae autem sunt quae a sinistris sunt; tanquam diceretur ei, Quomodo ergo non vis ut declinemus ad dexteram; secutus adjunxit, Ipse autem rectos faciet cursus tuos; itinera autem tua in pace producet. Sic ergo intellige, quod tibi praeceptum est, Rectos cursus fac pedibus tuis, et vias tuas dirige, ut noveris, cum hoc facis, a Domino Deo tibi praestari ut hoc facias; et non declinabis ad dexteram, quamvis ambules in viis dextris, non confidens in virtute tua: et ipse erit virtus tua, qui rectos faciet cursus tuos, et itinera tua in pace producet.

8. Quapropter, dilectissimi, quicumque dicit, Voluntas mea mihi sufficit ad facienda opera bona, declinat in dexteram. Sed rursus illi qui putant bonam vitam esse deserendam, quando audiunt sic Dei gratiam praedicari, ut credatur et intelligatur voluntates hominum ipsa ex malis bonas facere, ipsa etiam quas fecerit custodire, et propterea dicunt, Faciamus mala, ut veniant bona (Rom. III, 8); in sinistram declinant.

For this way the Lord knoweth not, because it is the left: as he is about to say even to those placed on the left, "I know you not" (Matt. 25:12, and Luke 13:27). But what is it that he knoweth not, who certainly knoweth all things, whether the good or the evil of men? But what is, "I know you not," unless that I did not make you such? Just as that which was said of the Lord Jesus Christ himself, that "he had not known sin" (2 Cor. 5:21); what is "he had not known," unless because he had not done it? And through this, how is it to be understood what was said, "The ways which are on the right, the Lord knoweth," unless because he himself made the right ways, that is the ways of the just, which are certainly the good works, "which God hath prepared," as the Apostle says, "that we should walk in them" (Eph. 2:10)? But the perverse left ways, that is the ways of the impious, he certainly knoweth not, because he himself did not make them for man, but man for himself: on account of which he says, "But I have hated the perverse ways of the evil, those are on the left."

7. But it is answered to us, Why therefore did he say, "Decline not to the right hand, nor to the left"; when it would rather seem he ought to have said, "Hold the right, and decline not to the left"; if the ways which are on the right are good? Why, do we think, unless because the ways which are on the right are so good, that nevertheless to decline to the right hand is not good? For he is to be understood to decline to the right, who wishes to assign to himself, and not to God, those same good works which pertain to the right ways. And therefore when he had said, "For the ways which are on the right, the Lord knoweth: but those which are on the left are perverse"; as if it were said to him, "How then dost thou not wish that we should decline to the right?"; following he added, "But he himself shall make thy paths straight; and shall bring forward thy journeys in peace." So therefore understand what was commanded to thee, "Make straight paths for thy feet, and direct thy ways," that thou mayest know, when thou doest this, that it is granted to thee by the Lord God that thou doest this; and thou shalt not decline to the right, although thou walkest in the right ways, not trusting in thy own strength: and he himself shall be thy strength, who "shall make thy paths straight, and shall bring forward thy journeys in peace."

8. Wherefore, dearly beloved, whoever says, "My will suffices me for doing good works," declines to the right. But again those who think that a good life is to be deserted, when they hear the grace of God so preached, that it is believed and understood that it makes the wills of men good from evil ones, and also guards those which it has made, and therefore say, "Let us do evil, that good may come" (Rom. 3:8); they decline to the left.

Ideo vobis dixit, Non declinetis in dexteram, neque in sinistram, hoc est, non sic defendatis liberum arbitrium, ut ei bona opera sine Dei gratia tribuatis; nec sic defendatis gratiam, ut quasi de illa securi, mala opera diligatis: quod ipsa gratia Dei avertat a vobis. Talium quippe verba sibi proponens Apostolus ait, Quid ergo dicemus? permanebimus in peccato, ut gratia abundet? atque his verbis hominum errantium, et Dei gratiam non intelligentium, respondit ut debuit, dicens, Absit. Si enim mortui sumus peccato, quomodo vivemus in eo (Id. VI, 1, 2)? Nihil potuit dici brevius et melius. Quid enim nobis gratia Dei utilius confert in hoc praesenti saeculo maligno, nisi ut moriamur peccato? Ac per hoc ipsi gratiae invenietur ingratus, qui propter illam vult vivere in peccato, per quam morimur peccato. Deus autem qui dives est in misericordia, det vobis et sanum sapere, et usque in finem proficienter in bono proposito permanere. Hoc pro vobis, hoc pro nobis, hoc pro omnibus qui vos diligunt, et pro eis qui vos oderunt, instanter in pace fraterna et vigilanter orate. Deo vivatis. Si quid de vobis mereor, veniat ad me frater Florus.

EPISTOLA CCXVI. Valentinus Augustino, renuntians quae exstiterit causa dissidii, quive auctores tumultus in suo coenobio; tum declarans fidem suam de libero arbitrio et de justitia Dei remunerantis; ac denique Florum, quem ipsi mittit, ab erroris suspicione liberans. Domino vere sancto, ac nobis venerabiliter super omnia praeferendo, et pia exsultatione colendo beatissimo papae AUGUSTINO, VALENTINUS servus tuae Sanctitatis, et omnis congregatio quae tuis orationibus mecum sperat in Domino, salutem.

1. Venerabilia scripta, et librum tuae Sanctitatis, ita tremebundo corde suscepimus, ut sicut beatus Elias, cum in speluncae limine staret, faciem suam gloria Domini transeunte velavit; ita nos objurgatos oculos teximus, quia per rusticitatem fratrum nostrorum nostro judicio erubuimus, quorum inordinata profectione tuam meruimus Beatitudinem salutare; quia tempus loquendi, et tempus tacendi, ne dum per dubitantes et de veritate fluctuantes scriberemus, de dictis sapientiae tuae, quae est sicut angeli Dei, dubitare cum dubitantibus videremur. Non enim erat nobis necessarium interrogare de beatitudine, et de sapientia tua, quae est nobis nota per Dei gratiam. Nam ad librum dulcissimum Sanctitatis tuae ita sumus alacriter jucundati, ut sicut Apostoli Dominum post resurrectionem prandentem secum non audebant interrogare quis esset; sciebant enim quia Jesus est (Joan. XXI, 12): ita et nos nec voluimus, nec ausi sumus interrogare de libro, utrum tuae Sanctitatis esset; cum ipsa fidelium gratia quae in eo liberaliter commendatur, nobis tuum, domine sancte papa, eloquiis vivasissimis contestetur.

Therefore he said to you, "Decline not to the right hand, nor to the left," that is, do not so defend free will, that you attribute good works to it without the grace of God; nor so defend grace, that as if secure concerning it, you love evil works: which the grace of God itself avert from you. For the Apostle, proposing to himself the words of such, says, "What therefore shall we say? shall we remain in sin, that grace may abound?" and to these words of men erring, and not understanding the grace of God, he responded as he ought, saying, "God forbid. For if we are dead to sin, how shall we live in it?" (Id. 6:1, 2). Nothing could be said more briefly and better. For what does the grace of God confer more usefully upon us in this present evil age, except that we may die to sin? And through this he will be found ungrateful to grace itself, who on account of it wishes to live in sin, through which we die to sin. But God, who is rich in mercy, give to you both to be soundly wise, and to remain proficiently in the good purpose even unto the end. Pray for this for yourselves, for this for us, for this for all who love you, and for those who hate you, instantly in fraternal peace and vigilantly. Live unto God. If I deserve anything from you, let brother Florus come to me.

LETTER 216. Valentinus to Augustine, reporting what was the cause of the dissension, and who were the authors of the tumult in his monastery; then declaring his faith concerning free will and concerning the justice of God who rewards; and finally liberating Florus, whom he sends to him, from the suspicion of error. To the truly holy Lord, and to be venerably preferred by us above all things, and to be cultivated with pious exultation, the most blessed Pope AUGUSTINE, VALENTINUS servant of thy Holiness, and the whole congregation which with me hopes in the Lord through thy prayers, greeting.

1. We received the venerable writings, and the book of thy Holiness, with such a trembling heart, that as the blessed Elias, when he stood on the threshold of the cave, veiled his face while the glory of the Lord was passing by; so we covered our rebuked eyes, because we blushed in our judgment through the rusticity of our brothers, by whose inordinate setting out we deserved to salute thy Beatitude; because there is a time for speaking, and a time for being silent, lest while we wrote through those doubting and fluctuating concerning the truth, we should seem to doubt with the doubters concerning the sayings of thy wisdom, which is as that of an angel of God. For it was not necessary for us to interrogate concerning thy beatitude and thy wisdom, which is known to us through the grace of God. For we were so eagerly delighted at the most sweet book of thy Holiness, that as the Apostles did not dare to interrogate the Lord dining with them after the resurrection who he was; for they knew that it is Jesus (John 21:12): so also we neither wished, nor dared to interrogate concerning the book, whether it were of thy Holiness; since that same grace of the faithful which is liberally commended in it, attests to us thine, O holy lord pope, with most vivacious eloquence.

2. Incipiamus autem, domine beatissime papa, ipsius ordinem perturbationis exponere. Charissimus frater noster Florus servus Paternitatis tuae, cum ad Uzalensem patriam fuisset suadente charitate profectus, eulogias monasterii inter suae civitatis moras, de opusculis nobis tuae attulit Sanctitatis, uno fratre Felice, qui ad tuam Sanctitatem tarde post comites suos venisse dignoscitur, eumdem librum devote dictante; ventum est ad monasterium cum eodem libello, fratre Floro ad Carthaginem de Uzalensi civitate profecto. Mihi non monstrato libro, imperitis fratribus recitare coeperunt; qui quorumdam non intelligentium corda commovit, quia cum diceret Dominus «Qui non manducaverit carnem filii hominis, neque biberit sanguinem ejus, non habebit vitam in semetipso» (Id. VI, 54), discesserunt qui impie intellexerunt, non culpa Domini dicentis, sed duritia impiissimi cordis.

3. Coeperunt memorati fratres, qui omnia subverterunt, innocentum animas commovere, mea parvitate penitus ignorante; in tantum conventus illorum murmurantis nescii, ut nisi frater Florus de Carthagine repedans, eorum perturbationes agnoscens, mihi sollicite nuntiasset, furtiva et tanquam servilis erat inter eos de non intelligenda veritate contentio. Proposui ad auferendas impias quaestiones, ut ad dominum sanctum patrem Evodium mitteremus, ut ipse nobis de hoc sacrosancto libro propter ignaros aliquid certius rescripsisset. Nec hoc patientius accipere voluerunt; sed arripuerunt profectionem nobis taliter non optatam: fratre Floro furore illorum propemodum conturbato, in quem saeviebant, quia ipse illis, ut putant, vulnera libri hujus attulisset; in quo non poterant medicinam infirmi cognoscere. Unde et sanctum presbyterum Sabinum ad majorem auctoritatem rogavimus, et ipsius Sanctitas librum cum liquidis interpretationibus legit; nec sic anima sauciata curata est. Quibus propter ipsam pietatem sumptus dedimus, ne vulnera ipsorum cumularemus, quae posset sanare libri hujus gratia, in qua refulget tua sancta praesentia. Quibus profectis, quies et pax per omnes fratres exsultavit in Domino. Quinque enim, vel amplius fratrum animositate ista est innata contentio.

4. Sed quia interdum, domine papa, provenit gaudium ex tristitia, non adeo maestificamur, quia per ignaros et curiosos suavissimis monitionibus tuae Sanctitatis illuminari meruimus. Nam et dubitatio beati Thomae apostoli foramina clavorum quaerentis (Idem. XX, 25), confirmatio fuit Ecclesiae universalis. Accepimus igitur, domine papa, medicamentum pie curantium tuarum cum gratia litterarum, et contudimus pectora nostra, ut saltem sic sanetur conscientia nostra, quam per liberum arbitrium nostrum, quod donat misericordia, curat et vivificat gratia;

2. Let us begin, O most blessed lord pope, to set forth the order of that perturbation. Our most dearly beloved brother Florus, servant of thy Paternity, when he had set out for the country of Uzalis, charity persuading him, brought to us the blessings of the monastery from thy works during the stays in his city, one brother Felix, who is known to have come late to thy Holiness after his companions, devoutly dictating that same book; he came to the monastery with that same little book, brother Florus having set out for Carthage from the city of Uzalis. Without the book having been shown to me, they began to recite it to the unskilful brothers; which moved the hearts of some who did not understand, because when the Lord said, "He who shall not have eaten the flesh of the son of man, nor drunk his blood, shall not have life in himself" (Id. 6:54), those departed who understood impiously, not by the fault of the Lord speaking, but by the hardness of a most impious heart.

3. The mentioned brothers, who subverted all things, began to move the souls of the innocent, while my littleness was utterly ignorant; to such a degree was I ignorant of their murmuring assembly, that unless brother Florus, returning from Carthage and recognizing their perturbations, had anxiously announced it to me, there was among them a stealthy and as it were servile contention concerning the truth not being understood. I proposed, for taking away the impious questions, that we should send to the holy lord father Evodius, so that he himself might have written back something more certain to us concerning this sacrosanct book on account of the ignorant. Nor did they wish to receive this patiently; but they snatched at a setting out not wished for by us in such a way: brother Florus being almost confounded by their fury, against whom they raged, because he himself had brought to them, as they think, the wounds of this book; in which the sick were unable to recognize the medicine. Whence also we asked the holy priest Sabinus for greater authority, and his Holiness read the book with clear interpretations; nor even so was the wounded soul cured. To whom on account of piety itself we gave expenses, lest we should heap up their wounds, which the grace of this book could heal, in which thy holy presence shines forth. After they had set out, rest and peace exulted in the Lord through all the brothers. For this contention was born from the animosity of five, or more, brothers.

4. But because sometimes, O lord pope, joy comes from sadness, we are not so much made sorrowful, because through the ignorant and curious we deserved to be illuminated by the most sweet admonitions of thy Holiness. For also the doubt of the blessed apostle Thomas seeking the holes of the nails (Id. 20:25), was a confirmation of the universal Church. We received therefore, O lord pope, the medicine of thy piously curing letters with grace, and we beat our breasts, so that at least thus our conscience might be healed, which through our free will, which mercy grants, grace cures and quickens;

sed in hoc tempore, quando adhuc misericordiam cum dilatione cantamus. Nam cum coeperimus judicium cantare Domino, reportaturi sumus mercedem pro opere nostro, quia misericors et justus Dominus, miserator et rectus (Psal. CXI, 4). Quia sicut docet nos Sanctitas tua, repraesentari nos oportet ante tribunal Christi, ut recipiat unusquisque nostrum propria corporis, prout gessit, sive bonum, sive malum (II Cor. V, 10): quia veniet Dominus, et merces ejus cum ipso (Isai. XL, 10): quia stabit homo et opus ejus ante ipsum: quia veniet Dominus sicut clibanus ardens, ut incendat impios tanquam stipulam (Joel. II, 3, 5); et timentibus nomen Domini orietur sol justitiae, quando impii punientur judicio justitiae (Malach. IV, 1-3). Hoc justus, cujus tu amicus es, domine papa, exclamat, contremiscit, et suppliciter dicit: «Domine, ne intres in judicium cum servo tuo» (Psal. CXLII, 2). Si gratia esset remunerantis, non timeret justus secretarium judicium majestatis. Servi tui Flori haec fides est, pater; non sicut fratres isti sunt locuti. In praesentiarum audierunt ab illo dictum, non juxta merita nostra dari donum pietatis, sed per gratiam Redemptoris: nam de illo die, quis dubitet longe esse gratiam, cum coeperit irasci justitia? Hoc clamamus, pater, hoc te docente canimus, non securi, sed trepidi: «Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripias me» (Psal. VI, 2). Hoc dicimus: emenda nos, Domine, et de lege tua erudi nos, ut mitiges nos a diebus malis (Psal. XCIII, 12, 13). Hoc credimus docente te, venerabilis pater, quia Deus interrogat justum et impium, quia a dexteris et a sinistris positis bonis et malis, imputat remuneranda opera pietatis, enumerat puniendam tenacitatem impietatis. Ubi erit gratia, quando pro sui qualitate dispungentur opera, sive bona, sive mala?

5. Sed cur non directum non timet proferri mendacium? Liberum arbitrium Dei gratia curatum non negamus; sed per Christi quotidianam gratiam proficere credimus, et adjuvari confidimus. Quid homines dicunt, In mea est potestate ut faciam bonum? si tamen homines facerent bonum. O inanis gloriatio miserorum! quotidie peccata arguunt, et ipsi sibi assumunt nudum liberum jactantes arbitrium; non discutientes conscientiam suam, quae non potest curari nisi per gratiam, ut dicerent: «Miserere mei; sana animam meam, quia peccavi tibi» (Psal. XL, 5).

but in this time, when as yet we sing of mercy with delay. For when we shall have begun to sing of judgment to the Lord, we are about to report the reward for our work, because the Lord is merciful and just, compassionate and right (Ps. 111:4). Because as thy Holiness teaches us, it behooveth us to be represented before the tribunal of Christ, so that each one of us may receive the proper things of the body, according as he hath done, whether good or evil (2 Cor. 5:10): because the Lord shall come, and his reward with him (Isa. 40:10): because man and his work shall stand before him: because the Lord shall come as a burning furnace, to burn up the impious like stubble (Joel 2:3, 5); and to those fearing the name of the Lord the sun of justice shall arise, when the impious shall be punished by the judgment of justice (Mal. 4:1-3). At this the just man, whose friend thou art, O lord pope, exclaims, trembles, and says suppliantly: "Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant" (Ps. 142:2). If there were grace of the rewarder, the just man would not fear the secret judgment of majesty. This is the faith of thy servant Florus, father; not as those brothers have spoken. In the present they heard it said by him, that the gift of piety is given not according to our merits, but through the grace of the Redeemer: for concerning that day, who should doubt that grace is far off, when justice shall have begun to be angry? This we cry out, father, this we sing with thee teaching, not secure, but trembling: "Lord, rebuke me not in thy fury, nor chastise me in thy wrath" (Ps. 6:2). This we say: emend us, Lord, and instruct us from thy law, that thou mayest mitigate us from the evil days (Ps. 93:12, 13). This we believe with thee teaching, venerable father, that God interrogates the just and the impious, that to those placed on the right and on the left, the good and the evil, he imputes the works of piety to be rewarded, and enumerates the tenacity of impiety to be punished. Where will grace be, when works shall be examined according to their quality, whether good or evil?

5. But why does he not fear that a straight lie should be brought forth? We do not deny that free will is cured by the grace of God; but we believe that it profits through the daily grace of Christ, and we trust that it is helped. Why do men say, "It is in my power that I may do good"? if only men would do good. O vain boasting of the wretched! daily they rebuke sins, and they assume to themselves a naked free will, boasting; not discussing their conscience, which cannot be cured except through grace, so that they might say: "Have mercy on me; heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee" (Ps. 40:5).

Quid facerent qui de libero sibi gloriantur arbitrio (quod non negatur cum Dei duntaxat adjutorio), si jam absorpta esset mors in victoriam, si jam mortale nostrum indueret immortalitatem, et corruptibile nostrum indueret incorruptionem (I Cor. XV, 53, 54)? Ecce foetent vulnera, et superbe petitur medicina. Non dicunt sicut justus, «Nisi Dominus adjuvisset me, paulo minus habitasset in inferno anima mea» (Psal. XCIII, 17): non dicunt sicut sanctus, «Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam» (Psal. CXXVI, 1).

6. Sed ora, piissime pater, ut jam non curam geramus, nisi pro peccato nostro lacrymis expiando, et Dei gratia commendanda. Ora, domine pater, ut non urgeat super nos puteus os suum (Psal. LXVIII, 16), ut salvemur a descendentibus in lacum (Psal. XXIX, 4), ut non pereat cum impiis anima nostra (Psal. XXV, 9) per superbiam nostram, sed sanetur per Domini gratiam. Sicut ergo praecepisti, domine papa, frater noster Florus, servus Sanctitatis tuae, omni alacritate perrexit, cui non impedit, sed proficit fatigatio, ut accedat ei dilucidata cordis instructio; quem tuae Sanctimoniae suppliciter commendamus, pariterque deposcimus, ut et ignaros tuis orationibus Domino commendes mansuetissime componendos. Ora, domine et dulcissime pater, ut fugiat diabolus de congregatione nostra, et amota omni alienarum quaestionum procella, navis propositi nostri epibatis quietis onusta intra stationem tutissimi portus secure consistat, dum navigat per hoc mare magnum et immensum, et in illo portu, intra quem jam non erit metuendum vitae navigium, mercium indiscrepans accipiat pretium placitarum. Hoc tuae Sanctitatis impetraturos nos confidimus adjutorio, per gratiam quae est in Christo Jesu Domino nostro. Omnes filios apostolatus tui dominos nostros clericos, ac sanctos in congregatione propositi servientes deprecamur ut digneris nostro officio salutare, ut cum tua Beatitudine omnes pro nobis orare dignentur. Indiscrepans Trinitas Domini Dei nostri apostolatum tuum, quem elegit per gratiam, conservet nobis in Ecclesia sua, et nostri memorem coronet in Ecclesia magna; quod optamus, domine. Si quid autem famulus tuae Sanctitatis frater suggesserit Florus, pro regula monasterii, digneris pater, petimus, libenter accipere, et per omnia nos infirmos instruere.

EPISTOLA CCXVII . Augustinus Vitali Carthaginensi, delato quod doceret initium fidei non esse donum Dei, reclamat fortiter, ipsumque ex precibus Ecclesiae confutat; ac duodecim regulas proponit ad fidem Ecclesiae pertinentes circa quaestionem de gratia Dei.

AUGUSTINUS episcopus servus Christi, et per ipsum servus servorum ipsius, VITALI fratri, in ipso salutem.

What would they do, who glory to themselves concerning free will (which is not denied provided it be with the help of God), if already death had been swallowed up in victory, if already our mortal had put on immortality, and our corruptible had put on incorruption (1 Cor. 15:53, 54)? Behold the wounds stink, and medicine is proudly sought. They do not say like the just man, "Unless the Lord had helped me, my soul had almost dwelt in hell" (Ps. 93:17): they do not say like the saint, "Unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it" (Ps. 126:1).

6. But pray, most pious father, that we may no longer be concerned except for the expiation of our sin with tears, and the commendation of God's grace. Pray, lord father, that the pit shut not her mouth upon us (Ps. 68:16), that we may be saved from them that go down into the lake (Ps. 29:4), that our soul perish not with the impious (Ps. 25:9) through our pride, but be healed through the Lord's grace. As you commanded, therefore, lord pope, our brother Florus, a servant of thy Holiness, has set out with all alacrity; for whom the fatigue does not hinder, but profits, so that a clarified instruction of the heart may come to him; we suppliantly commend him to thy Holiness, and likewise we ask that you most mildly commend the ignorant to the Lord in your prayers, to be settled [in the faith]. Pray, lord and sweetest father, that the devil may flee from our congregation, and that, the storm of all foreign questions being removed, the ship of our purpose, loaded with the passengers of quiet, may safely stand within the station of a most secure port while it sails through this great and wide sea; and in that port, within which the voyage of life will no longer be to be feared, it may receive the price of the pleasing goods without difference. We trust that we shall obtain this with the help of thy Holiness, through the grace which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. We pray that you would deign to greet in our name all the sons of thy apostolate, our lords the clerics, and the saints serving in the congregation of the purpose, so that with thy Beatitude they may all deign to pray for us. May the undivided Trinity of the Lord our God preserve thy apostolate, which He chose through grace, for us in His Church, and crown thee mindful of us in the great Church; which we desire, lord. If, however, the brother Florus, a servant of thy Holiness, should suggest anything concerning the rule of the monastery, we ask, father, that you deign to receive it willingly, and to instruct us weak ones in all things.

LETTER CCXVII. Augustine to Vitalis of Carthage, who was reported to teach that the beginning of faith is not a gift of God; he strongly objects, and refutes him from the prayers of the Church; and he proposes twelve rules belonging to the faith of the Church concerning the question of the grace of God.

AUGUSTINE, bishop, servant of Christ, and through Him servant of His servants, to brother VITALIS, health in Him.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Cum de te mihi essent nuntiata non bona, et rogavi Dominum, et donec mihi bona nuntientur, adhuc rogo ut litteras meas nec aspernanter sumas, et salubriter legas. Si hanc exaudit pro te orationem meam, etiam de te gratiarum actionem donat ut offeram. Quod si impetro, procul dubio non contradices huic ipsi principio epistolae meae. Hoc enim pro te oro, ut sis rectae fidei. Si hoc ergo pro charis nostris non tibi displicet ut oremus, si hanc orationem recognoscis esse christianam, si et tu pro charis tuis talia vel orare te recolis, vel orare te debere cognoscis; quomodo dicis quod te audio dicere, Ut recte credamus in Deum et Evangelio consentiamus, non esse donum Dei, sed hoc nobis esse a nobis, id est ex propria voluntate, quam nobis in nostro corde non operatus est ipse? Et ad hoc, cum audieris, Quid est ergo quod ait Apostolus, Deus in vobis operatur et velle, et perficere (Philipp. II, 13)? respondes, Per legem suam, per Scripturas suas, Deum operari ut velimus, quas vel legimus vel audimus: sed eis consentire vel non consentire ita nostrum est, ut, si velimus, fiat; si autem nolimus, nihil in nobis operationem Dei valere faciamus. Operatur quippe ille, dicis, quantum in ipso est ut velimus, cum nobis nota fiunt ejus eloquia: sed si eis acquiescere nolumus, nos ut operatio ejus nihil in nobis prosit efficimus. Quae si dicis, profecto nostris orationibus contradicis.

2. Dic ergo apertissime nos pro iis quibus Evangelium praedicamus, non debere orare ut credant, sed eis tantummodo praedicare. Exsere contra orationes Ecclesiae disputationes tuas: et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret, et pro fidelibus, ut in eo quod esse coeperunt, ejus munere perseverent; subsanna pias voces, et dic te non facere quod hortatur, id est, Deum pro infidelibus, ut eos fideles faciat, non rogare, eo quod non sint ista divinae miserationis beneficia, sed humanae officia voluntatis. Et homo in Carthaginensi eruditus Ecclesia, etiam beatissimi Cypriani librum de Dominica Oratione condemna; quam doctor ille cum exponeret, ea petenda esse ostendit a Deo patre, quae tu dicis esse homini ab homine, hoc est a seipso.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. Since not good things have been reported to me concerning thee, I both asked the Lord, and until good things are reported to me, I still ask that thou mayest not take my letters disdainfully, and mayest read them healthfully. If He hears this my prayer for thee, He also gives me [the grace] that I may offer a thanksgiving for thee. If I obtain this, doubtless thou wilt not contradict this very beginning of my letter. For I pray this for thee, that thou mayest be of the right faith. If, therefore, it does not displease thee that we should pray this for our dear ones, if thou recognizest this prayer to be Christian, if thou also thyself rememberest either to pray such things for thy dear ones, or recognizest that thou oughtest to pray; how dost thou say what I hear thee say, 'That we should rightly believe in God and consent to the Gospel is not the gift of God, but this is to us from ourselves, that is, from our own will, which He himself has not worked in our heart'? And to this, when thou shalt hear, 'What is it then that the Apostle says, "God worketh in you both to will and to perform" (Phil. 2:13)?' thou answerest, 'Through His law, through His Scriptures, God works that we may will, which we either read or hear: but to consent to them or not to consent is so much ours, that if we will, it is done; but if we will not, we make the operation of God to be of no value in us.' For He works, thou sayest, as much as is in Him that we may will, when His utterances are made known to us: but if we are unwilling to acquiesce in them, we make His operation to profit nothing in us. Which things if thou sayest, thou surely contradictest our prayers.

2. Say then most openly that we ought not to pray for those to whom we preach the Gospel, that they may believe, but only preach to them. Put forth thy disputations against the prayers of the Church: and when thou hearest the priest of God at the altar exhorting the people of God to pray for the incredulous, that God may convert them to the faith, and for the catechumens, that He may inspire them with the desire of regeneration, and for the faithful, that they may persevere by His gift in that which they have begun to be; mock the pious voices, and say that thou dost not do what he exhorts, that is, that thou dost not ask God for infidels, that He may make them faithful, for the reason that these are not benefits of divine commiseration, but offices of human will. And, a man educated in the Carthaginian Church, also condemn the book of the most blessed Cyprian on the Lord's Prayer; which that doctor, when he was expounding it, showed that those things are to be asked from God the Father, which thou sayest are to man from man, that is, from himself.

3. Quod si de precibus Ecclesiae et de martyre Cypriano parum putas esse quod dixi, aude majora, reprehende Apostolum, qui dixit, Oramus ad Deum, ne quid faciatis mali (II Cor. XIII, 7). Neque enim dicturus es nihil mali eum facere qui non credit in Christum, aut qui fidem deserit Christi; ac per hoc qui dicit, ne quid faciatis mali, nec ista vult fieri: satisque illi non est praecipere, sed confitetur se Deum rogare ne fiant, sciens hominis voluntatem ab ipso corrigi ac dirigi, ut ista non faciat. A Domino enim gressus hominis diriguntur, et viam ejus volet (Psal. XXXVI, 23): non dixit, Et viam ejus discet, aut, tenebit, aut, ambulabit, aut aliquid hujusmodi quod posses dicere a Domino quidem dari, sed homini jam volenti; ut scilicet beneficium Dei quo gressus hominis dirigit, ut viam ejus discat, teneat, gradiatur, sua homo voluntate praecedat, et hoc Dei donum praecedente sua voluntate mereatur. Sed ideo dixit, A Domino gressus hominis diriguntur, et viam ejus volet, ut intelligeremus ipsam voluntatem bonam qua incipimus velle credere (quoniam Dei via quid est, nisi fides recta?) illius esse donum qui gressus nostros propterea dirigit primitus ut velimus. Non enim ait Scriptura, A Domino gressus hominis diriguntur, quia viam ejus voluit; sed, diriguntur, inquit, et volet. Non igitur quia voluit, diriguntur; sed quia diriguntur, volet.

CAPUT II.

4. Hic tu rursus fortasse dicturus es hoc fieri a Domino, dum doctrina ejus legitur vel auditur, si homo veritati quam legit vel audit, sua consentiat voluntate. Si enim lateret eum, inquis, doctrina Dei, non dirigerentur gressus ejus, quibus directis vellet viam Dei. Ac per hoc sic tantum putas a Domino gressus hominis dirigi ad eligendam viam Dei, quia sine doctrina Dei non ei potest innotescere veritas, cui propria voluntate consentiat. Cui si consentit, inquis (quod in ejus libero arbitrio constitutum est), recte utique dicuntur ab illo dirigi gressus ejus ut viam ejus velit, cujus doctrinam, suasione praecedente, subsequente consensione sectatur; quod libertate naturali, si vult, facit, si non vult, non facit; pro eo quod fecerit, praemium, vel supplicium recepturus.

3. But if thou thinkest what I have said concerning the prayers of the Church and concerning the martyr Cyprian to be too little, dare greater things, reprehend the Apostle, who said, 'We pray to God, that ye do no evil' (2 Cor. 13:7). For neither art thou going to say that he does no evil who does not believe in Christ, or who deserts the faith of Christ; and through this he who says, 'that ye do no evil,' also does not want those things to be done: and it is not enough for him to command, but he confesses that he asks God that they may not be done, knowing that the will of man is corrected and directed by Him, so that he may not do these things. 'For by the Lord the steps of a man are directed, and he shall will His way' (Ps. 36:23): he did not say, 'And he shall learn His way,' or, 'shall hold,' or, 'shall walk,' or anything of this kind which thou mightest say is indeed given by the Lord, but to a man already willing; so that, forsooth, the benefit of God by which He directs the steps of a man, that he may learn, hold, or walk in His way, man might precede by his own will, and merit this gift of God by his preceding will. But for this reason he said, 'By the Lord the steps of a man are directed, and he shall will His way,' that we might understand that very good will by which we begin to want to believe (since what is God's way, except right faith?) is the gift of Him who directs our steps for this purpose primarily, that we may will. For the Scripture does not say, 'By the Lord the steps of a man are directed, because he willed His way'; but, 'they are directed,' it says, 'and he shall will.' Therefore not because he willed are they directed; but because they are directed, he shall will.

CHAPTER II.

4. Here thou again perhaps art going to say that this is done by the Lord, while His doctrine is read or heard, if a man consents to the truth which he reads or hears by his own will. 'For if the doctrine of God were hidden from him,' thou sayest, 'his steps would not be directed, by which, being directed, he might will the way of God.' And through this thou thinkest the steps of a man to be directed by the Lord to choosing the way of God only because without the doctrine of God the truth cannot be made known to him, to which he may consent by his own will. 'To which if he consents,' thou sayest (which is constituted in his free will), he is rightly said to have his steps directed by Him so that he may will His way, whose doctrine, persuasion preceding, he follows, consent following; which by natural liberty, if he will, he does, if he will not, he does not; being about to receive reward or punishment according to what he has done.

Haec est illa Pelagianorum mala, male diffamata meritoque reprobata, et ab ipso etiam Pelagio, timente damnari in orientalium episcoporum judicio, damnata sententia, qua dicunt gratiam Dei non ad singulos actus dari, sed in libero arbitrio esse, vel in lege atque doctrina: et usque adeo, frater, erimus graves corde, ut de gratia Dei, imo adversus gratiam Dei, eam pelagianam sententiam teneamus, quam pectore quidem ficto, sed tamen catholicos judices timens Pelagius ipse damnavit! 5. Et quomodo, inquies, respondebitur? Quomodo censes facilius et apertius, quam ut illud quod de orando Deo superius egimus, sic amplectamur, ut hoc menti nostrae nulla subtrahat oblivionis irreptio, nulla calliditas argumentationis extorqueat? Si enim, quod scriptum est, A Domino gressus hominis diriguntur, et viam ejus volet; et, Praeparatur voluntas a Domino (Prov. VIII, 35, sec. LXX); et, Deus est enim qui operatur in vobis et velle: et multa hujusmodi, quibus commendatur vera Dei gratia, hoc est, quae non secundum merita nostra datur, sed dat merita ipsa cum datur; quia praevenit hominis voluntatem bonam, nec eam cujusquam invenit in corde, sed facit: si ergo ita praepararet atque ita operaretur Deus hominis voluntatem, ut tantummodo legem suam atque doctrinam libero ejus adhiberet arbitrio, nec vocatione illa alta atque secreta sic ejus ageret sensum, ut eidem legi atque doctrinae accommodaret assensum; procul dubio eam legere, vel intelligere legendo, vel etiam exponere ac praedicare sufficeret, nec opus esset orare ut Deus ad fidem suam infidelium corda converteret, et conversis proficientem perseverantiam ejusdem gratiae suae largitate donaret. Si ergo haec a Domino poscenda esse non renuis, quid restat, frater Vitalis, nisi ut ab illo ea donari fatearis, a quo poscenda esse consentis? Si autem negas ab illo nos poscere ista debere, eidem doctrinae ipsius contradicis; quia et hoc in ea didicimus, ut ab illo ista poscamus.

6. Orationem dominicam nosti, nec dubito te Deo dicere: Pater noster, qui es in coelis, etc. Lege expositorem ejus beatissimum Cyprianum, et quemadmodum exposuerit quod ibi dicitur, Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in coelo, et in terra (Matth. VI, 9, 10), diligenter attende, et obedienter intellige: profecto docebit te orare pro infidelibus inimicis Ecclesiae, secundum praeceptum Domini, dicentis, Orate pro inimicis vestris (Id. V, 44); et hoc orare, ut fiat voluntas Dei, sicut in eis qui jam fideles sunt et portant imaginem coelestis hominis, et propterea coeli nomine digni sunt; ita et in eis qui per infidelitatem nonnisi imaginem terreni hominis portant (I Cor. XV, 47-49), et ob hoc terra merito nuncupantur.

This is that bad sentiment of the Pelagians, badly defamed and worthily reproved, and condemned also by Pelagius himself, fearing to be condemned in the judgment of the Eastern bishops, by which they say that the grace of God is not given for single acts, but is in free will, or in the law and doctrine: and even so far, brother, shall we be heavy of heart, as to hold concerning the grace of God, or rather against the grace of God, that Pelagian sentiment which Pelagius himself, with a feigned heart indeed, but yet fearing the Catholic judges, condemned! 5. And how, thou wilt say, shall answer be made? How dost thou think more easily and more openly, than that we should so embrace that which we treated above concerning praying to God, that no creeping in of oblivion should subtract this from our mind, and no subtilty of argumentation should extort it? For if, as it is written, 'By the Lord the steps of a man are directed, and he shall will His way'; and, 'The will is prepared by the Lord' (Prov. 8:35, according to LXX); and, 'For it is God who worketh in you both to will': and many things of this kind, by which the true grace of God is commended, that is, which is not given according to our merits, but gives the merits themselves when it is given; because it precedes the good will of man, nor does it find it in any one's heart, but makes it: if therefore God so prepared and so worked the will of man, as only to apply His law and doctrine to his free will, and not by that high and secret calling so act upon his sense, as to accommodate his assent to the same law and doctrine; doubtless it would suffice to read it, or to understand it by reading, or even to expound and preach it, nor would it be necessary to pray that God would convert the hearts of infidels to His faith, and give to those converted a progressing perseverance by the largess of the same grace of His. If therefore thou dost not refuse that these things are to be asked from the Lord, what remains, brother Vitalis, except that thou confess that they are given by Him, from whom thou consentest that they are to be asked? But if thou deniest that we ought to ask these things from Him, thou contradictest the same doctrine of His; because we have learned this also in it, that we should ask these things from Him.

6. Thou knowest the Lord's Prayer, nor do I doubt that thou sayest to God: 'Our Father, who art in heaven,' etc. Read its expounder, the most blessed Cyprian, and attend diligently, and understand obediently, how he expounded what is said there, 'Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth' (Matt. 6:9, 10): surely he will teach thee to pray for the infidel enemies of the Church, according to the precept of the Lord, saying, 'Pray for your enemies' (Matt. 5:44); and to pray this, that the will of God may be done, as in those who are already faithful and bear the image of the heavenly man, and for that reason are worthy of the name of heaven; so also in those who through infidelity bear nothing but the image of the earthly man (1 Cor. 15:47-49), and for this reason are worthily called earth.

Nempe isti, pro quibus inimicis Dominus nos jussit orare, et gloriosissimus martyr sic exposuit quod in oratione dicimus, Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in coelo, et in terra, ut ipsis etiam poscamus fidem quam fideles habent: nempe ergo isti christianae pietatis inimici, legem Dei atque doctrinam qua Christi praedicatur fides, vel omnino audire nolunt, vel ad hoc audiunt sive etiam legunt ut irrideant et detestentur, et quanta possunt contradictione blasphement. Inaniter igitur et perfunctorie potius quam veraciter pro eis, ut doctrinae cui adversantur, credendo consentiant, Deo fundimus preces, si ad ejus non pertinet gratiam convertere ad fidem suam ipsi fidei contrarias hominum voluntates. Inaniter etiam et perfunctorie potius quam veraciter magnas cum exsultatione agimus Deo gratias, quando aliqui eorum credunt, si hoc in eis ipse non facit.

7. Non fallamus homines, nam Deum fallere non valemus. Prorsus non oramus Deum, sed orare nos fingimus, si nos ipsos, non illum, credimus facere quod oramus. Prorsus non gratias Deo agimus, sed nos agere fingimus, si unde illi gratias agimus, ipsum facere non putamus. Labia dolosa si in hominum quibuscumque sermonibus sunt, saltem in orationibus non sint. Absit ut quod facere Deum rogamus oribus et vocibus nostris, eum facere negemus cordibus nostris: et, quod est gravius, ad alios etiam decipiendos, hoc non taceamus disputationibus nostris; et dum volumus apud homines defendere liberum arbitrium, apud Deum perdamus orationis auxilium, et gratiarum actionem non habeamus veram, dum veram non agnoscimus gratiam.

CAPUT III.

8. Si vere volumus defendere liberum arbitrium, non oppugnemus unde fit liberum. Nam qui oppugnat gratiam, qua nostrum ad declinandum a malo et faciendum bonum liberatur arbitrium, ipse arbitrium suum adhuc vult esse captivum. Responde, obsecro, quomodo dicit Apostolus, Gratias agentes Patri, idoneos facienti nos in parte sortis sanctorum in lumine; qui eruit nos de potestate tenebrarum, et transtulit in regnum Filii charitatis suae (Coloss. I, 12, 13); si non ipse arbitrium nostrum, sed ipsum arbitrium se liberat? Mendaciter ergo agimus gratias Patri, tanquam ipse faciat quod ipse non facit: et erravit qui dixit quod ipse nos faciat idoneos in parte sortis sanctorum in lumine, quia ipse nos eruit de potestate tenebrarum, et transtulit in regnum Filii charitatis suae. Responde quomodo ad declinandum a malo, et faciendum bonum liberum habebamus arbitrium, quando erat sub potestate tenebrarum? unde nos si, quemadmodum dicit Apostolus, Deus eruit, ipse utique illud liberum fecit.

Certainly these enemies of Christian piety, for which enemies the Lord commanded us to pray, and the most glorious martyr so expounded what we say in prayer, 'Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth,' that we should ask for them also the faith which the faithful have: certainly then these enemies of Christian piety either are entirely unwilling to hear the law of God and the doctrine by which the faith of Christ is preached, or they hear or even read it for this purpose, that they may mock and detest it, and blaspheme with as much contradiction as they can. Vainly therefore and perfunctorily rather than truly do we pour out prayers to God for them, that by believing they may consent to the doctrine which they oppose, if it does not belong to His grace to convert to His faith the wills of men contrary to the faith itself. Vainly also and perfunctorily rather than truly do we give great thanks to God with exultation, when any of them believe, if He himself does not do this in them.

7. Let us not deceive men, for we are not able to deceive God. We altogether do not pray to God, but we feign that we pray, if we believe ourselves, not Him, to do what we pray. We altogether do not give thanks to God, but we feign that we give [them], if we do not think that He Himself does that for which we give Him thanks. If deceitful lips are in any speeches of men, at least let them not be in prayers. Far be it that what we ask God to do with our mouths and voices, we should deny that He does with our hearts: and, what is heavier, for the purpose of deceiving others also, we should not keep silence [about] this in our disputations; and while we wish to defend free will among men, we should lose the help of prayer before God, and not have a true thanksgiving, while we do not recognize true grace.

CHAPTER III.

8. If we truly wish to defend free will, let us not oppose that whence it becomes free. For he who opposes grace, by which our will is liberated for declining from evil and doing good, himself wants his will to be still captive. Answer, I beseech thee, how does the Apostle say, 'Giving thanks to the Father, who hath made us fit to be partakers of the lot of the saints in light; who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love' (Col. 1:12, 13); if He Himself does not liberate our will, but the will itself liberates itself? Mendaciously therefore do we give thanks to the Father, as if He were doing what He does not do: and he erred who said that He Himself makes us 'fit to be partakers of the lot of the saints in light,' because He Himself 'delivered us from the power of darkness, and translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love.' Answer how we had free will for declining from evil, and doing good, when it was under the power of darkness? whence if God, as the Apostle says, 'delivered' us, He surely made it free.

Quod tam magnum nostrum bonum, si per suae doctrinae praedicationem tantummodo facit; quid de iis dicemus, quos de ipsa tenebrarum potestate nondum eruit? praedicanda tantum illis est doctrina divina, an etiam orandum pro eis, ut de tenebrarum potestate divinitus eruantur? Si tantummodo praedicandum esse dicis, jussioni Domini et orationibus Ecclesiae contradicis: si autem fateris pro eis orandum, id utique orandum fateris, ut eidem doctrinae, arbitrio liberato a tenebrarum potestate, consentiant. Ita fit ut neque fideles fiant, nisi libero arbitrio, et tamen illius gratia fideles fiant, qui eorum a potestate tenebrarum liberavit arbitrium. Sic et Dei gratia non negatur, sed sine ullis humanis praecedentibus meritis vera monstratur; et liberum ita defenditur, ut humilitate solidetur, non elatione praecipitetur arbitrium, et qui gloriatur, non in homine, vel quolibet alio, vel seipso, sed in Domino glorietur (I Cor. I, 31).

9. Potestas enim tenebrarum quid est, nisi potestas diaboli et angelorum ejus, qui cum fuissent angeli lucis, in veritate per liberum arbitrium non stantes (Joan. VIII, 44), sed inde cadentes, facti sunt tenebrae? Non te ista doceo, sed quae nosti ut recorderis admoneo. Huic igitur potestati tenebrarum, per illius ruinam, cui primo homini ab ea potestate praevaricatio persuasa est, et in quo omnes cecidimus, subjectum est genus humanum: propter quod de hac potestate tenebrarum eruuntur et parvuli, cum regenerantur in Christo. Neque hoc apparet in eorum arbitrio liberato, nisi cum ad annos pervenerint ratione utentis aetatis, habentes consentientem doctrinae salutari, in qua nutriti sunt, voluntatem, et in ea finientes istam vitam, si electi sunt in Christo ante constitutionem mundi ut essent sancti et immaculati in conspectu ejus in charitate, praedestinati in adoptionem filiorum (Eph. I, 4, 5).

10. Haec autem potestas tenebrarum, id est diabolus, qui dicitur etiam princeps potestatis aeris, operatur in filiis diffidentiae (Id. II, 2), princeps iste rector tenebrarum (Id. VI, 12), id est ipsorum diffidentiae filiorum, regens eos ad arbitrium suum, quod neque ipse habet liberum ad benefaciendum, sed ad maximam malevolentiam poena sui sceleris obduratum: unde nemo sanae fidei credit, aut dicit, hos apostatas angelos ad pristinam pietatem correcta aliquando voluntate converti.

Which so great good of ours, if He does only through the preaching of His doctrine; what shall we say of those whom He has not yet delivered from that power of darkness? is divine doctrine only to be preached to them, or also are we to pray for them, that they may be divinely delivered from the power of darkness? If thou sayest that only preaching is to be done, thou contradictest the command of the Lord and the prayers of the Church: but if thou confessest that we are to pray for them, thou surely confessest that we are to pray for this, that they may consent to the same doctrine, their will being liberated from the power of darkness. Thus it comes to pass that they do not become faithful except by free will, and yet they become faithful by the grace of Him who liberated their will from the power of darkness. Thus also the grace of God is not denied, but is shown to be true without any preceding human merits; and free will is so defended, that it is solidified by humility, not precipitated by elation, and 'he that glorieth, let him glory not in man, or in any other, or in himself, but in the Lord' (1 Cor. 1:31).

9. For what is the power of darkness, except the power of the devil and his angels, who whereas they had been angels of light, not standing in the truth through free will (John 8:44), but falling thence, were made darkness? I do not teach these things to thee, but I admonish thee that thou mayest remember what thou knowest. To this power of darkness, therefore, through the ruin of him, the first man to whom prevarication was persuaded by that power, and in whom we all fell, the human race is subjected: on account of which even infants are delivered from this power of darkness, when they are regenerated in Christ. Nor does this appear in their liberated will, except when they shall have come to years of age using reason, having a will consenting to the salutary doctrine in which they have been nourished, and finishing this life in it, if they were chosen in Christ before the constitution of the world that they should be holy and immaculate in His sight in love, predestined unto the adoption of sons (Eph. 1:4, 5).

10. But this power of darkness, that is, the devil, who is also called the prince of the power of the air, worketh in the children of diffidence (Eph. 2:2), this prince, the ruler of darkness (Eph. 6:12), that is, of the children of diffidence themselves, ruling them according to his own will, which he himself has not free for doing good, but hardened unto the greatest malevolence by the punishment of his own crime: whence no one of sound faith believes or says that these apostate angels are at any time converted to their former piety, their will being corrected.

Quid ergo operatur haec potestas in filiis diffidentiae, nisi opera sua mala, et in primis maximeque ipsam diffidentiam et infidelitatem qua sunt inimici fidei; per quam scit eos posse mundari, posse sanari, posse perfectissime liberos, quod eis vehementer invidet, in aeternitate regnare? Itaque aliquos eorum, per quos amplius decipere affectat, sinit habere nonnulla velut opera bona, in quibus laudantur, per quasque gentes, praecipueque in gente Romana, qui praeclare gloriosissimeque vixerunt. Sed quoniam, sicut veracissima Scriptura dicit, Omne quod non est ex fide, peccatum est (Rom. XIV, 23); et, Sine fide impossibile est utique placere Deo (Hebr. XI, 6), non hominibus; nihil sic agit hic princeps, quam ut non credatur in Deum, nec ad Mediatorem, a quo solvuntur opera ejus, credendo veniatur.

11. Sed ipse Mediator intrat in domum fortis (Matth. XII, 29), id est in hoc saeculum mortalium sub potestate diaboli, quantum ad ipsum pertinet, constitutum; de ipso quippe scriptum est, quod potestatem habeat mortis (Hebr. II, 14). Intrat in domum fortis, id est, in suo dominatu habentis genus humanum; et prius alligat eum, id est, ejus coercet et cohibet potestatem, potestatis suae fortioribus vinculis; et sic eripit vasa ejus, quaecumque praedestinavit eripere, arbitrium eorum ab ejus potestate liberans, ut illo non impediente credant in istum libera voluntate. Proinde hoc opus est gratiae, non naturae. Opus est, inquam, gratiae, quam nobis attulit secundus Adam; non naturae, quam totam perdidit in semetipso primus Adam. Opus est gratiae tollentis peccatum, et vivificantis mortuum peccatorem; non opus legis ostendentis peccatum, nec a peccato vivificantis. Nam ille magnus gratiae praedicator, Peccatum, inquit, non cognovi, nisi per legem (Rom. VII, 7): et, Si data esset, inquit, lex quae posset vivificare, omnino ex lege esset justitia (Galat. III, 21). Opus est hoc gratiae, quam qui accipiunt, doctrinae salutari Scripturarum sanctarum, etsi fuerint inimici, fiunt amici; non opus ejusdem doctrinae, quam qui audiunt et legunt sine gratia Dei, pejores ejus efficiuntur inimici.

CAPUT IV.

What then does this power work in the children of diffidence, except its own evil works, and in the first place and especially that very diffidence and infidelity by which they are enemies of the faith; through which he knows they can be cleansed, can be healed, and, most perfectly free (which he vehemently envies them), can reign in eternity? Therefore he permits some of them, through whom he affects to deceive more fully, to have some as it were good works, in which they are praised, and through which nations, and especially in the Roman nation, those who lived clearly and most gloriously. But since, as the most true Scripture says, 'Everything that is not of faith is sin' (Rom. 14:23); and, 'Without faith it is impossible to please God' (Heb. 11:6), not men; this prince does nothing so much as that God should not be believed in, nor that by believing they should come to the Mediator, by whom his works are dissolved.

11. But the Mediator himself enters into the house of the strong man (Matt. 12:29), that is, into this world of mortals constituted under the power of the devil as far as pertains to himself; for concerning him it is written, that he has the power of death (Heb. 2:14). He enters into the house of the strong man, that is, of him having the human race in his dominion; and first he binds him, that is, he coerces and restrains his power, by the stronger chains of his own power; and thus he snatches away his vessels, whosoever he has predestined to snatch away, liberating their will from his power, so that, he not hindering, they may believe in Him with free will. Accordingly this is the work of grace, not of nature. It is the work, I say, of grace, which the second Adam brought to us; not of nature, the whole of which the first Adam lost in himself. It is the work of grace taking away sin, and quickening the dead sinner; not the work of the law showing sin, nor quickening from sin. For that great preacher of grace says, 'I had not known sin, but by the law' (Rom. 7:7): and, 'If there had been a law given,' he says, 'which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law' (Gal. 3:21). This is the work of grace, which those who receive, even if they were enemies, become friends to the salutary doctrine of the holy Scriptures; not the work of the same doctrine, which those who hear and read without the grace of God are made worse enemies of it.

CHAPTER IV.

12. Non est igitur gratia Dei in natura liberi arbitrii et in lege atque doctrina, sicut pelagiana perversitas desipit; sed ad singulos actus datur illius voluntate, de quo scriptum est, Pluviam voluntariam segregabis, Deus, haereditati tuae (Psal. LXVII, 10): quia et liberum arbitrium ad diligendum Deum primi peccati granditate perdidimus, et lex Dei atque doctrina, quamvis sancta et justa et bona (Rom. VII, 12), tamen occidit, si non vivificet Spiritus (II Cor. III, 6), per quem fit, non ut audiendo, sed ut obediendo, neque ut lectione, sed ut dilectione teneatur. Quapropter ut in Deum credamus, et pie vivamus, non volentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei (Rom. IX, 16): non quia velle non debemus et currere; sed quia ipse in nobis et velle operatur et currere. Unde et ipse Dominus Jesus credentes a non credentes, id est, ab irae vasis vasa misericordiae discernens, Nemo, inquit, venit ad me, nisi fuerit ei datum a Patre meo (Joan. VI, 65): et utique, ut hoc diceret, in ejus doctrina fuerant scandalizati discipuli ejus, qui eum postea non sunt secuti. Non ergo gratiam dicamus esse doctrinam, sed agnoscamus gratiam, quae facit prodesse doctrinam: quae gratia si desit, videmus etiam obesse doctrinam.

13. Propterea Deus ut omnia futura opera sua in praedestinatione praesciverit, sic illa disposuit, ut quosdam non credentes ad fidem suam, orationes credentium pro eis exaudiendo, convertat; unde refutentur, et, si ille est eis propitius, corrigantur qui putant gratiam Dei esse naturam liberi arbitrii, cum qua nascimur; aut gratiam Dei esse doctrinam, quamvis utilem, quae per linguas et litteras praedicatur. Non enim hoc oramus pro infidelibus, ut fiat eorum natura, id est ut homines sint; aut ut doctrine eis praedicetur, quam malo suo audiunt, si non credunt; et plerumque pro eis oramus, qui cum legant vel audiunt, nolunt credere: sed oramus ut voluntas corrigatur, doctrinae consentiatur, natura sanetur.

14. Jamvero ut perseverent in eo quod esse coeperunt, etiam pro se ipsis orant fideles. Utile est quippe omnibus vel pene omnibus propter humilitatem saluberrimam, ut quales futuri sint, scire non possint. Ad hoc dicitur: Qui videtur stare, videat ne cadat (I Cor. X, 12). Propter hujus timoris utilitatem, ne regenerati et pie vivere incipientes, tanquam securi alta sapiamus, quidam non perseveraturi perseveraturis Dei permissione vel provisione ac dispositione miscentur; quibus cadentibus territi cum timore et tremore gradiamur viam justam, donec ex hac vita, quae tentatio est super terram (Job. VII, 1), transeamus ad aliam, ubi jam non sit elatio comprimenda, nec contra ejus suggestiones tentationesque luctandum.

12. The grace of God is not, therefore, in the nature of free will and in the law and doctrine, as the Pelagian perversity dotes; but it is given for single acts by the will of Him, of whom it is written, 'Thou, O God, didst send a voluntary rain to thine inheritance' (Ps. 67:10): because we lost free will for loving God by the greatness of the first sin, and the law of God and doctrine, although holy and just and good (Rom. 7:12), yet kills, if the Spirit does not quicken (2 Cor. 3:6), through whom it is brought about, not that it should be held by hearing, but by obeying, nor by reading, but by love. Wherefore, that we should believe in God, and live piously, is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy (Rom. 9:16): not because we ought not to will and to run; but because He Himself works in us both to will and to run. Whence also the Lord Jesus himself, discerning the believing from the non-believing, that is, the vessels of mercy from the vessels of wrath, said, 'No man cometh unto me, except it were given unto him of my Father' (John 6:65): and certainly, that He should say this, His disciples had been scandalized in His doctrine, who afterwards followed Him not. Let us not therefore say that grace is doctrine, but let us recognize grace, which makes doctrine to profit: which grace if it be lacking, we see that doctrine even hinders.

Therefore God, as He foreknew all His future works in predestination, so disposed them, that He should convert some non-believers to His faith, by hearing the prayers of the faithful for them; whence those might be refuted, and, if He is propitious to them, corrected, who think that the grace of God is the nature of free will, with which we are born; or that the grace of God is doctrine, however useful, which is preached through tongues and letters. For we do not pray this for infidels, that their nature should be made, that is, that they should be men; or that doctrine should be preached to them, which they hear to their own evil, if they do not believe; and for the most part we pray for those, who when they read or hear, are unwilling to believe: but we pray that the will may be corrected, that the doctrine may be consented to, that nature may be healed.

Now indeed that they may persevere in that which they have begun to be, the faithful also pray for themselves. For it is useful to all or almost all, on account of a most salutary humility, that they should not be able to know what they are going to be. For this it is said: 'He that thinketh he standeth, let him take heed lest he fall' (1 Cor. 10:12). On account of the utility of this fear, lest being regenerated and beginning to live piously, we should be wise in high things as if secure, some not about to persevere are mixed with those about to persevere by God's permission or provision and disposition; that we, being terrified by their falling, may walk the right way with fear and trembling, until we pass from this life, which is a temptation upon earth (Job 7:1), to another, where elation is no longer to be compressed, nor a struggle maintained against its suggestions and temptations.

15. Sed de hac re, id est, cur quidam non permansuri in fide et sanctitate christiana, tamen accipiant ad tempus hanc gratiam, et dimittantur hic vivere donec cadant, cum possint rapi de hac vita, ne malitia mutet intellectum eorum, quod de sancto immatura aetate defuncto scriptum est in libro Sapientiae (Sap. IV, 11); quaerat quisque ut potuerit, et si invenerit praeter hanc quae a me reddita est, aliam probabilem rationem, a rectae fidei regula non recedens, teneat eam, et ego cum illo, si me non latuerit: verumtamen in quod pervenimus, in eo ambulemus donec nobis Deus revelet, si quid aliter sapimus, sicut apostolicis Litteris admonemur (Philipp. III, 15, 16). Pervenimus autem in ea quae ad fidem veram et catholicam pertinere firmissime scimus, in quibus ita nobis ambulandum est, adjuvante illo atque miserante, cui dicimus, Deduc me, Domine, in via tua, et ambulabo in veritate tua (Psal. LXXXV, 11), ut ab eis nullo modo deviemus.

DUODECIM SENTENTIAE CONTRA PELAGIANOS.

CAPUT V.

16. Quoniam ergo propitio Christo Christiani catholici sumus: 1o Scimus nondum natos nihil egisse in vita propria boni seu mali, nec secundum merita prioris alicujus vitae, quam nullam propriam singuli habere potuerunt, in hujus vitae venire miserias: sed tamen secundum Adam carnaliter natos contagium mortis antiquae prima nativitate contrahere, nec liberari a supplicio mortis aeternae, quod trahit ex uno in omnes transiens justa damnatio, nisi per gratiam renascantur in Christo. ---2o Scimus gratiam Dei nec parvulis nec majoribus secundum merita nostra dari. ---3o Scimus majoribus ad singulos actus dari. ---4o Scimus non omnibus hominibus dari, et quibus datur, non solum secundum merita operum non dari, sed nec secundum merita voluntatis eorum quibus datur: quod maxime apparet in parvulis. ---5o Scimus eis quibus datur, misericordia Dei gratuita dari. ---6o Scimus eis quibus non datur, justo judicio Dei non dari. ---7o Scimus quod omnes astabimus ante tribunal Christi, ut ferat unusquisque secundum ea quae per corpus gessit, non secundum ea quae, si diutius viveret, gesturus fuit, sive bonum sive malum.

15. But concerning this matter, that is, why some not about to remain in the Christian faith and holiness, yet receive this grace for a time, and are permitted to live here until they fall, when they could be snatched from this life, lest malice should change their understanding, which is written in the book of Wisdom concerning the saint deceased at an immature age (Wisd. 4:11); let each one seek as he shall be able, and if he shall find, besides this which has been rendered by me, another probable reason, not receding from the rule of right faith, let him hold it, and I with him, if it shall not be hidden from me: nevertheless, in that which we have come to, let us walk in it until God reveal to us, if we are otherwise minded in anything, as we are admonished by the apostolic letters (Phil. 3:15, 16). But we have come to those things which we most firmly know to pertain to the true and Catholic faith, in which we must so walk, He helping and pitying, to whom we say, 'Lead me, O Lord, in thy way, and I will walk in thy truth' (Ps. 85:11), that we may in no way deviate from them.

TWELVE SENTENCES AGAINST THE PELAGIANS.

CHAPTER V.

16. Since therefore by the propitious Christ we are Catholic Christians: 1st, We know that those not yet born have done nothing in their own life of good or evil, nor according to the merits of any prior life, which no individuals could have had as their own, do they come into the miseries of this life: but yet being born carnally according to Adam they contract the contagion of the ancient death by their first birth, nor are they liberated from the punishment of eternal death, which a just damnation drawing from one and passing into all brings, unless they be born again in Christ by grace. ---2nd, We know that the grace of God is given neither to infants nor to adults according to our merits. ---3rd, We know that it is given to adults for single acts. ---4th, We know that it is not given to all men, and to those to whom it is given, it is not only not given according to the merits of works, but neither according to the merits of the will of those to whom it is given: which especially appears in infants. ---5th, We know that to those to whom it is given, it is given by the gratuitous mercy of God. ---6th, We know that to those to whom it is not given, it is not given by the just judgment of God. ---7th, We know that we shall all stand before the tribunal of Christ, that each one may bear according to those things which he has done through the body, not according to those things which, if he lived longer, he was going to do, whether good or evil.

---8o Scimus etiam parvulos secundum ea quae per corpus gesserunt, recepturos vel bonum vel malum. Gesserunt autem non per seipsos, sed per eos quibus pro illis respondentibus et renuntiare diabolo dicuntur et credere in Deum; unde et in numero fidelium computantur, pertinentes ad sententiam Domini dicentis: Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit. Propter quod et illis qui hoc Sacramentum non accipiunt, contingit quod sequitur: Qui autem non crediderit, condemnabitur (Marc. XVI, 16). Unde et ipsi, sicut dixi, si in illa parva aetate moriuntur, utique secundum ea quae per corpus gesserunt, id est tempore quo in corpore fuerunt, quando per corda et ora gestantium crediderunt vel non crediderunt, quando baptizati vel non baptizati sunt, quando carnem Christi manducaverunt vel non manducaverunt, quando et sanguinem biberunt vel non biberunt; secundum haec ergo quae per corpus gesserunt, non secundum ea quae, si diu hic viverent, gesturi fuerant, judicantur. ---9o Scimus felices esse mortuos qui in Domino moriuntur, nec ad eos pertinere quidquid acturi fuerant, si tempore diuturniore vixissent. ---10o Scimus eos qui corde proprio credunt in Dominum, sua id facere voluntate ac libero arbitrio. ---11o Scimus pro eis qui nolunt credere, nos qui jam credimus, recta fide agere, cum Deum oramus ut velint. ---12o Scimus pro eis qui ex illis crediderunt, tanquam de beneficiis, recte atque veraciter et debere nos Deo agere gratias, et solere.

17. Recognoscis me, ut puto, in iis quae nos scire dixi, non omnia quae ad fidem catholicam pertinent commemorare voluisse, sed ea tantum quae ad istam, quae inter nos agitur, de Dei gratia quaestionem, utrum praecedat haec gratia, an subsequatur hominis voluntatem; hoc est, ut planius id eloquar, utrum ideo nobis detur, quia volumus, an per ipsam Deus etiam hoc efficiat ut velimus. Si ergo istas duodecim sententias, quas nos dixi scire ad fidem rectam et catholicam pertinere, etiam tu, frater, nobiscum tenes, ago Deo gratias; quas profecto non veraciter agerem, nisi gratia Dei fieret ut teneres. Quae tibi tenenti nullum omnino remanet nobiscum de hac quaestione certamen.

CAPUT VI.

---8th, We know that even infants according to those things which they have done through the body, shall receive either good or evil. But they have done [them] not through themselves, but through those by whom, responding for them, they are said both to renounce the devil and to believe in God; whence also they are computed in the number of the faithful, pertaining to the sentence of the Lord saying: 'He that shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved.' On account of which also to those who do not receive this Sacrament, that which follows happens: 'But he that shall not believe shall be condemned' (Mark 16:16). Whence also they themselves, as I said, if they die in that small age, are judged certainly according to those things which they did through the body, that is, in the time in which they were in the body, when through the hearts and mouths of those carrying them they believed or believed not, when they were baptized or not baptized, when they ate or ate not the flesh of Christ, and when they drank or drank not His blood; according to these things therefore which they did through the body, not according to those things which, if they lived here long, they were going to do, are they judged. ---9th, We know that the dead who die in the Lord are happy, nor do whatever things they were going to do, if they had lived for a longer time, pertain to them. ---10th, We know that those who with their own heart believe in the Lord, do this by their own will and free choice. ---11th, We know that for those who are unwilling to believe, we who already believe act with right faith, when we pray to God that they may will. ---12th, We know that for those who of them have believed, as for benefits, we both ought to give thanks to God rightly and truly, and are accustomed to.

17. Thou recognizest, as I think, that in those things which I said we know, I did not wish to commemorate all things which pertain to the Catholic faith, but those only which pertain to this question concerning the grace of God, which is handled between us, whether this grace precedes or follows the will of man; that is, that I may speak it more plainly, whether it is therefore given to us because we will, or through it God even effects this, that we should will. If therefore those twelve sentences, which I said we know to pertain to the right and Catholic faith, thou also, brother, holdest with us, I give thanks to God; which surely I would not truly give, unless by the grace of God it were brought about that thou shouldst hold them. Which thou holding, no contest at all remains to us concerning this question.

CHAPTER VI.

18. Ut enim eadem duodecim brevi expositione percurram: quomodo voluntatis humanae meritum sequitur gratia; cum detur et parvulis, qui hoc nondum possunt velle seu nolle? Quomodo gratiam vel in majoribus dicuntur praecedere merita voluntatis; si gratia, ut vera sit gratia, non secundum merita nostra datur? Quam sententiam catholicam Pelagius ipse sic timuit, ut eos qui dicunt gratiam Dei secundum merita nostra dari, sine dubitatione damnaret, ne a catholicis judicibus damnaretur. Quomodo dicitur gratia Dei in natura esse liberi arbitrii vel in lege atque doctrina; cum et istam sententiam Pelagius ipse damnaverit, procul dubio confitens gratiam Dei ad singulos actus dari, eis utique qui jam libero arbitrio utuntur?

19. Quomodo dicitur omnes homines eam fuisse accepturos, si non illi quibus non donatur, eam sua voluntate respuerent, quoniam Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri (I Tim. II, 4); cum multis non detur parvulis, et sine illa plerique moriantur, qui non habent contrariam voluntatem, et aliquando cupientibus festinantibusque parentibus, ministris quoque volentibus ac paratis, Deo nolente non detur, cum repente, antequam detur, exspirat, pro quo, ut acciperet, currebatur? Unde manifestum est eos qui huic resistunt tam perspicuae veritati, non intelligere omnino qua locutione sit dictum quod omnes homines vult Deus salvos fieri; cum tam multi salvi non fiant, non quia ipsi, sed quia Deus non vult, quod sine ulla caligine manifestatur in parvulis. Sed sicut illud quod dictum est, Omnes in Christo vivificabuntur (I Cor. XV, 22), cum tam multi aeterna morte puniantur, ideo dictum est, quia omnes quicumque vitam aeternam percipiunt, non percipiunt nisi in Christo: ita quod dictum est, omnes homines vult Deus salvos fieri, cum tam multos nolit salvos fieri, ideo dictum est, quia omnes qui salvi fiunt, nisi ipso volente non fiunt; et si quo alio modo illa verba apostolica intelligi possunt, ut tamen huic apertissimae veritati, in qua videmus tam multos, volentibus hominibus, sed Deo nolente, salvos non fieri, contraria esse non possint.

Quomodo ut detur gratia divina, voluntas meretur humana; si eis quibus datur, gratuita misericordia datur, ut vera sit gratia? Quomodo in hac re merita pensantur voluntatis humanae; quandoquidem illis quibus gratia ista non datur, nullo plerumque merito, nulla voluntate distantibus, sed unam cum eis quibus datur, habentibus causam, justo tamen judicio Dei non datur (non enim est iniquitas apud Deum [Rom. IX, 14]); ut intelligant quibus datur, quam gratis eis detur, quando juste utique non daretur, quoniam similem habentibus causam juste non datur?

18. To run through the same twelve with a brief exposition: how does grace follow the merit of the human will; since it is given even to infants, who cannot yet will or not will this? How are merits of the will said to precede grace even in adults; if grace, that it may be true grace, is not given according to our merits? Which Catholic sentiment Pelagius himself so feared, that he condemned without hesitation those who say that the grace of God is given according to our merits, lest he should be condemned by the Catholic judges. How is the grace of God said to be in the nature of free will or in the law and doctrine; since Pelagius himself also condemned this sentiment, doubtless confessing that the grace of God is given for single acts, to those at least who already use free will?

19. How is it said that all men were going to receive it, if those to whom it is not given did not reject it by their own will, because 'God will have all men to be saved' (1 Tim. 2:4); since it is not given to many infants, and very many die without it, who have not a contrary will, and sometimes while the parents are desiring and hastening, and the ministers also willing and ready, it is not given, God being unwilling, when suddenly, before it is given, he expires for whom it was being run that he might receive it? Whence it is manifest that those who resist this so perspicuous truth, do not understand at all by what locution it was said that 'God will have all men to be saved'; since so many are not saved, not because they themselves, but because God is unwilling, which is manifested without any darkness in infants. But just as that which is said, 'All shall be made alive in Christ' (1 Cor. 15:22), when so many are punished with eternal death, was said for this reason, because all whosoever perceive eternal life, do not perceive it except in Christ: so what is said, 'God will have all men to be saved,' when He is unwilling that so many be saved, was said for this reason, because all who are saved, are not saved except He being willing; and if in any other way those apostolic words can be understood, yet so that they cannot be contrary to this most open truth, in which we see so many, men being willing, but God being unwilling, not to be saved.

How, that divine grace may be given, does the human will merit it; if to those to whom it is given, it is given by gratuitous mercy, that it may be true grace? How in this matter are merits of the human will weighed; since to those to whom this grace is not given, for the most part differing by no merit, by no will, but having one cause with those to whom it is given, yet by the just judgment of God it is not given (for there is no iniquity with God [Rom. 9:14]); that those to whom it is given may understand how gratuitously it is given to them, when certainly it would not be given justly, since to those having a similar cause it is not given justly?

Quomodo non gratiae Dei est, non solum credendi voluntas ab initio, verum etiam perseverandi usque in finem; cum finis ipse vitae hujus non in hominis, sed in Dei sit potestate, et possit utique Deus etiam hoc beneficium non perseveraturo conferre, ut rapiatur ex corpore, ne malitia mutet intellectum illius? Non enim recipiet homo seu bonum seu malum, nisi secundum ea quae per corpus gessit, non secundum ea quae, si diutius viveret, gesturus fuit.

22. Quomodo dicitur propterea quibusdam non dari, quibusdam morituris parvulis Dei gratia dari, quia eorum futuras praevidet voluntates, quas habituri essent si viverent; cum secundum ea quae per corpus gessit, non secundum ea quae gesturus esset, si diutius fuisset in corpore, unusquisque recipiat sive bonum sive malum, sicut Apostolus definit (II Cor. V, 10)? Quomodo secundum voluntates suas futuras homines judicantur, quas habituri fuisse dicuntur, si diutius tenerentur in carne; cum dicat Scriptura, Felices mortui qui in Domino moriuntur (Apoc. XIV, 13)? quorum sine dubitatione certa et secura felicitas non est, si et ea quae non egerunt, sed acturi fuerant, si esset eis haec vita prolixior, judicabit Deus: nullumque accipit beneficium, qui rapitur ne malitia mutet intellectum ejus; quia et pro illa malitia, cui forsitan imminenti subtractus est, poenas luit: nec gaudendum est de iis quos in fide recta et vita bona novimus esse defunctos, ne secundum aliqua scelera judicentur, quae fuerant, si viverent, fortasse facturi: nec dolendi vel detestandi sunt ii qui vitam istam in infidelitate ac perditis moribus finierunt, quia forte, si viverent, acturi fuerant poenitentiam, pieque victuri, et secundum ista sunt judicandi: totusque ille de Mortalitate liber gloriosissimi martyris Cypriani reprobandus et abjiciendus est, in quo tota ejus intentio est, ut sciamus bonis fidelibus gratulandum esse morientibus, quando hujus vitae tentationibus auferuntur, deinceps in beatissima securitate mansuri. Sed quoniam hoc falsum non est, et sine dubitatione felices sunt mortui qui in Domino moriuntur; ridendus est et exsecrandus error quo putatur quod homines secundum suas futuras, quae morientium non sunt futurae, judicandi sunt voluntates.

23. Quomodo dicuntur negare liberum voluntatis arbitrium, qui confitentur omnem hominem, quisquis suo corde credit in Deum, nonnisi sua libera credere voluntate; cum potius illi oppugnent arbitrium liberum, qui oppugnant Dei gratiam, qua vere ad bona eligenda et agenda fit liberum?

How is it not of the grace of God, not only the will of believing from the beginning, but even of persevering unto the end; since the end itself of this life is not in the power of man, but of God, and God can certainly confer even this benefit upon one not about to persevere, that he may be snatched from the body, lest malice should change his understanding? For a man shall not receive either good or evil, except according to those things which he did through the body, not according to those things which, if he lived longer, he was going to do.

22. How is it said that for this reason to some infants about to die the grace of God is given, to some not given, because He foresees their future wills, which they would have had if they lived; since according to those things which he has done through the body, not according to those things which he would have done if he had been longer in the body, each one receives whether good or evil, as the Apostle defines (2 Cor. 5:10)? How are men judged according to their future wills, which they are said to have been about to have if they were longer held in the flesh; since the Scripture says, 'Happy are the dead who die in the Lord' (Rev. 14:13)? whose happiness is without doubt not certain and secure, if even those things which they did not do, but were going to do if this life were more prolonged for them, God shall judge: and he receives no benefit, who is snatched away lest malice change his understanding; because even for that malice, to which he was perhaps by imminent [time] subtracted, he pays the penalties: nor is there to be rejoicing concerning those whom we know to have died in the right faith and good life, lest they be judged according to some crimes which they were, if they lived, perhaps going to do: nor are those to be lamented or detested who finished this life in infidelity and lost morals, because perhaps, if they lived, they were going to do penance and live piously, and according to those things they are to be judged: and that whole book 'On Mortality' of the most glorious martyr Cyprian is to be reproved and rejected, in which his whole intention is, that we may know that we must congratulate good faithful ones dying, when they are taken away from the temptations of this life, about to remain thereafter in most blessed security. But since this is not false, and without doubt 'happy are the dead who die in the Lord'; the error is to be laughed at and execrated by which it is thought that men are to be judged according to their future [wills], which are not about to be the future [wills] of the dying.

23. How are they said to deny the free choice of the will, who confess that every man, whosoever believes in God with his own heart, believes only with his own free will; since rather they oppose free choice who oppose the grace of God, by which it truly becomes free for choosing and doing good things?

Quomodo dicitur quod per legem Dei atque doctrinam Scripturarum fiat, quod eadem Scriptura dixit, Praeparatur voluntas a Domino (Prov. VIII, 35, sec. LXX); ac non potius per occultam inspirationem gratiae Dei: quandoquidem pro eis qui eidem doctrinae contradicentes nolunt ei credere, ipsum Deum fide recta rogamus ut velint?

24. Quomodo Deus exspectat voluntates hominum, ut praeveniant eum quibus det gratiam; cum gratias ei non immerito agamus de iis quibus non ei credentibus, et ejus doctrinam voluntate impia persequentibus, misericordiam praerogavit, eosque ad seipsum omnipotentissima facilitate convertit, ac volentes ex nolentibus fecit? Utquid ei inde gratias agimus, si hoc ipse non fecit? Utquid tanto magis eum magnificamus, quanto magis nolebant credere, quos credidisse gaudemus, si gratia divina voluntas in melius non mutatur humana? Apostolus Paulus, Eram, inquit, ignotus facie Ecclesiis Judaeae, quae sunt in Christo; tantum autem audiebant quia qui aliquando nos persequebatur, nunc evangelizat fidem quam aliquando vastabat; et in me magnificabant Deum (Galat. I, 22-24). Utquid magnificabant Deum, si non Deus ad seipsum cor illius viri suae gratiae bonitate converterat, quando, ut ipse confitetur, misericordiam consecutus est, ut fidelis esset (I Cor. VII, 25), ea fide quam aliquando vastabat? Ipsum etiam verbum quod posuit, quem nisi Deum hoc tam magnum bonum fecisse declarat? Quid est enim, in me magnificabant Deum, nisi in me Deum magnificum praedicabant? Quomodo autem eum magnificum praedicabant, si magnum illud factum de Pauli conversione ipse non fecerat? et quo pacto ipse fecerat, si volentem credere ex nolente ipse non fecerat?

25. Nempe manifestum est ex illis duodecim sententiis, quas pertinere ad catholicam fidem negare non sineris, non solum omnibus, verum etiam singulis id confici, ut confiteamur gratia Dei praeveniri hominum voluntates, et per hanc eas potius praeparari, quam propter earum meritum dari. Aut si aliquid earum duodecim esse verum negas, quarum propterea commendo etiam numerum, ut facilius memoriae mandentur, distinctiusque teneantur; non te pigeat rescribere ut sciam, et ea quam mihi Dominus dederit, facultate respondeam. Ego enim haereticum quidem pelagianum te esse non credo; sed ita te esse volo, ut nihil illius ad te transeat, vel in te relinquatur erroris.

CAPUT VII.

How is it said that it is done through the law of God and the doctrine of the Scriptures, what the same Scripture said, 'The will is prepared by the Lord' (Prov. 8:35, according to LXX); and not rather through the secret inspiration of the grace of God: since for those who contradicting the same doctrine are unwilling to believe it, we with right faith ask God himself that they may will?

24. How does God expect the wills of men, that they may precede Him to whom He gives grace; since we give thanks to Him not undeservedly concerning those who did not believe in Him, and were persecuting His doctrine with impious will, that He anticipated [them] with mercy, and converted them to Himself with most omnipotent facility, and made them willing out of unwilling? Why do we give Him thanks for it, if He Himself did not do this? Why do we so much the more magnify Him, by how much more they were unwilling to believe, whom we rejoice to have believed, if the human will is not changed for the better by divine grace? The Apostle Paul says, 'I was unknown by face to the churches of Judea which were in Christ; but they had only heard that he who once persecuted us now preacheth the faith which once he wasted; and in me they magnified God' (Gal. 1:22-24). Why did they magnify God, if God had not converted the heart of that man to Himself by the goodness of His grace, when, as he himself confesses, he obtained mercy that he might be faithful (1 Cor. 7:25), in that faith which once he wasted? The very word also which he placed, whom does it declare to have done this so great good, except God? For what is 'in me they magnified God,' except that they preached God magnificent in me? How, however, did they preach Him magnificent, if He Himself had not made that great deed concerning Paul's conversion? and in what way had He Himself made it, if He Himself had not made him willing to believe out of unwilling?

25. Surely it is manifest from those twelve sentences, which you are not permitted to deny as pertaining to the Catholic faith, that not only by all of them, but even by each one, it is established that we must confess that the wills of men are anticipated by the grace of God, and that by it they are rather prepared than given because of their merit. Or if you deny that any of those twelve is true—of which I also commend the number, so that they may be more easily committed to memory and more distinctly held—do not be reluctant to write back so that I may know, and I may respond with the ability which the Lord shall have given me. For I do not indeed believe you to be a Pelagian heretic; but I wish you to be such that nothing of that error may pass to you or be left in you.

CHAPTER VII.

26. Sed inter haec duodecim reperies fortasse aliquid, quod negandum vel dubitandum putes, et unde nos operosius disputare compellas. Numquid et orare prohibebis Ecclesiam pro infidelibus, ut sint fideles; pro iis qui nolunt credere, ut velint credere; pro iis qui ab ejus lege doctrinaque dissentiunt, ut legi ejus doctrinaeque consentiant, ut det illis Deus quod per prophetam promisit, cor cognoscendi eum, et aures audiendi (Baruch II, 31), quas utique acceperant, de quibus Salvator ipse dicebat, Qui habet aures audiendi, audiat (Matth. XIII, 9)? Numquid ubi audieris sacerdotem Dei ad ejus altare populum hortantem ad Deum orandum, vel ipsum clara voce orantem, ut incredulas gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat, non respondebis, Amen? An etiam hujus fidei sanitati contraria disputabis? Numquid beatissimum Cyprianum in hoc errasse elamabis vel susurrabis, ubi pro inimicis fidei christianae, ut etiam ipsi ad eam convertantur, orare nos docet?

27. Numquid postremo apostolum Paulum pro Judaeis infidelibus habentem talia vota culpabis? de quibus ait: Bona voluntas quidem cordis mei, et deprecatio ad Deum fit pro illis in salutem (Rom. X, 1). Qui etiam Thessalonicensibus dicit: De caetero, fratres, orate pro nobis, ut verbum Domini currat et glorificetur, sicut etiam apud vos; et ut eruamur ab iniquis et malis hominibus: non enim omnium est fides (II Thess. III, 1, 2). Quomodo curreret et glorificaretur verbum Dei, nisi ad fidem conversis eis quibus praedicaretur; quandoquidem jam credentibus dicit, quemadmodum et apud vos? Scit certe hoc ab illo fieri, quem vult rogari ut hoc faciat, ut etiam eruatur ab iniquis et malis hominibus; qui profecto et illis orantibus non erant crediturí. Propter quod addidit, non enim est omnium fides; tanquam diceret, Non enim apud omnes etiam vobis orantibus glorificabitur verbum Dei: quia ipsi utique fuerant crediturí qui ordinati erant in vitam aeternam, praedestinati in adoptionem filiorum per Jesum Christum in ipsum, et electi in ipso ante mundi constitutionem (Eph. 1, 4, 5); sed ideo Deus per orationes credentium nondum credentes credere facit, ut ostendat quia ipse facit. Nemo est enim tam imperitus, tam carnalis, tam tardus ingenio, qui non videat Deum facere quod rogari se praecipit ut faciat.

28. Haec et alia testimonia divina, quae commemorare longum est, ostendunt Deum gratia sua auferre infidelibus cor lapideum, et praevenire in hominibus bonarum merita voluntatum; ita ut voluntas per antecedentem gratiam praeparetur, non ut gratia merito voluntatis antecedente donetur. Hoc et gratiarum actio indicat quod oratio; oratio pro infidelibus, gratiarum actio pro fidelibus.

26. But among these twelve you will perhaps find something which you think should be denied or doubted, and whence you may compel us to dispute more laboriously. Will you also forbid the Church to pray for infidels, that they may be faithful; for those who are unwilling to believe, that they may be willing to believe; for those who dissent from her law and doctrine, that they may consent to her law and doctrine, that God may give them what He promised through the prophet, a heart for knowing Him, and ears for hearing (Baruch 2:31), which they had certainly received, concerning whom the Savior Himself said, "He who hath ears for hearing, let him hear" (Matt. 13:9)? Will you not respond, Amen, when you hear a priest of God at His altar exhorting the people to pray to God, or himself praying with a clear voice, that He may compel incredulous nations to come to His faith? Or will you also dispute things contrary to the health of this faith? Will you cry out or whisper that the most blessed Cyprian erred in this, where he teaches us to pray for the enemies of the Christian faith, that they themselves also may be converted to it?

27. Finally, will you blame the Apostle Paul for having such vows for the infidel Jews? concerning whom he says: "The good will indeed of my heart, and my prayer to God is for them unto salvation" (Rom. 10:1). Who also says to the Thessalonians: "For the rest, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may run and be glorified, even as among you; and that we may be delivered from unjust and evil men: for faith is not of all" (2 Thess. 3:1, 2). How would the word of God run and be glorified, unless those to whom it was preached were converted to the faith; since indeed he says to those already believing, "even as among you"? He certainly knows that this is done by Him whom he wishes to be asked that He may do this, that he also may be delivered from unjust and evil men; who indeed even with them praying were not about to believe. Because of which he added, "for faith is not of all"; as if he were saying, For not among all, even with you praying, will the word of God be glorified: because those indeed were about to believe who were ordained unto eternal life, predestined unto the adoption of sons through Jesus Christ in Him, and chosen in Him before the constitution of the world (Eph. 1:4, 5); but therefore God through the prayers of the believing makes those not yet believing to believe, that He may show that He Himself does it. For no one is so unskilled, so carnal, so slow in genius, who does not see that God does what He commands Himself to be asked to do.

28. These and other divine testimonies, which it is long to commemorate, show that God by His grace takes away the stony heart from infidels, and anticipates in men the merits of good wills; so that the will is prepared through antecedent grace, not that grace is given because of a merit of the will preceding. This also the giving of thanks indicates as well as prayer; prayer for infidels, giving of thanks for the faithful.

Qui enim est orandus ut faciat, illi est actio gratiarum reddenda cum fecerit: unde idem dicit apostolus ad Ephesios, Propter hoc et ego, audita fide vestra in Domino Jesu, et dilectione in omnes sanctos, non cesso gratias agere pro vobis (Ibid. 15).

29. Loquimur autem nunc de ipsis initiis, cum homines qui erant aversi et adversi, convertuntur ad Deum, et velle incipiunt quod nolebant, et habere fidem quam non habebant; quod ut fiat in eis, oratur pro eis, quamvis non oretur ab eis: ipsi enim quomodo invocabunt, in quem non crediderunt (Rom. X, 14)? Cum vero factum fuerit quod oratur, ei qui fecit aguntur gratiae, et pro eis et ab eis. De orationibus autem jam fidelium, quas et pro se et pro aliis fidelibus faciunt, ut proficiant in eo quod esse coeperunt, et de gratiarum actionibus, quia proficiunt, confligendum esse tecum non puto; contra Pelagianos est iste conflictus tibi nobisque communis. Illi quippe omnia ad fidelem piamque vitam hominum pertinentia ita tribuunt libero voluntatis arbitrio, ut habenda ex nobis, non a Domino putent esse poscenda: tu autem, si ea quae de te audio vera sunt, initium fidei, ubi est etiam initium bonae, hoc est piae voluntatis, non vis donum esse Dei, sed ex nobis nos habere contendis ut credere incipiamus; caetera autem religiosae vitae bona Deum per gratiam suam jam ex fide petentibus, quaerentibus, pulsantibus, donare consentis. Nec attendis ideo pro infidelibus Deum rogari ut credant, quoniam Deus donat et fidem; ideo pro eis et qui crediderint, Deo gratias agi, quoniam donavit et fidem.

30. Quamobrem ut hunc ad te sermonem aliquando concludam: si negas orandum esse ut qui nolunt credere, velint credere, si negas agendas esse Deo gratias, quoniam credere voluerunt qui nolebant credere; aliter tecum agendum est, ut non sic erres, aut, si errare persistis, ne mittas alios in errorem. Si autem, quod de te magis credo, sentis atque consentis orare nos Deum debere ac solere pro nolentibus credere, ut velint credere, et pro eis qui adversantur et contradicunt legi ejus atque doctrinae, ut ei credant eamque sectentur; si sentis atque consentis debere nos etiam Deo agere gratias ac solere pro talibus, cum ad fidem ejus doctrinamque conversi, volentes ex nolentibus fiunt, oportet sine dubitatione fatearis voluntates hominum Dei gratia praeveniri, et ut bonum velint homines quod nolebant, Deum facere, qui rogatur ut faciat, et cui nos novimus agere gratias dignum et justum esse cum fecerit. Dominus tibi det intellectum in omnibus, domine frater.

For He who is to be prayed that He may act, to Him is the action of thanks to be rendered when He has acted: whence the same Apostle says to the Ephesians, "Because of this I also, having heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love toward all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you" (Ibid. 15).

29. But we speak now of those beginnings, when men who were averted and adverse are converted to God, and begin to will what they were unwilling to [will], and to have the faith which they did not have; that which may be done in them, prayer is made for them, although it is not prayed by them: for "how shall they invoke Him in whom they have not believed" (Rom. 10:14)? But when that which is prayed for has been done, thanks are given to Him who did it, both for them and by them. But concerning the prayers already of the faithful, which they make both for themselves and for other faithful ones, that they may profit in that which they have begun to be, and concerning the thanksgivings because they profit, I do not think I must conflict with you; that conflict is common to you and to us against the Pelagians. For they indeed attribute all things pertaining to the faithful and pious life of men to the free choice of the will in such a way that they think they are to be had from ourselves, and not to be asked from the Lord: but you, if those things which I hear concerning you are true, do not wish the beginning of faith—where is also the beginning of the good, that is, the pious will—to be the gift of God, but you contend that we have it from ourselves that we begin to believe; but the other goods of the religious life you consent that God gives through His grace to those already asking, seeking, and knocking from faith. Nor do you attend that for this reason God is asked for infidels that they may believe, since God gives even faith; for this reason both for those and those who shall have believed, thanks are given to God, since He gave even faith.

30. Wherefore, that I may at length conclude this discourse to you: if you deny that prayer is to be made that those who are unwilling to believe may be willing to believe, if you deny that thanks are to be given to God because they willed to believe who were unwilling to believe; you must be dealt with otherwise, so that you may not so err, or, if you persist in erring, that you may not send others into error. But if, which I rather believe of you, you feel and consent that we ought and are accustomed to pray to God for those unwilling to believe, that they may be willing to believe, and for those who oppose and contradict His law and doctrine, that they may believe it and follow it; if you feel and consent that we ought even to give thanks to God and are accustomed [to do so] for such ones, when having been converted to His faith and doctrine, they become willing out of unwilling, you must without doubt confess that the wills of men are anticipated by the grace of God, and that God makes men to will the good which they were unwilling to [will], He who is asked that He may do it, and to whom we know that it is worthy and just to give thanks when He has done it. May the Lord give you understanding in all things, lord brother.

Epistola CCXVIII.

Palatinum adhortatur ut in christiana sapientia proficiat ac perseveret, id summopere cavens ne spem bene vivendi collocet in propriis viribus.

Domino dilectissimo, et desideratissimo filio PALATINO, AUGUSTINUS.

1. Conversatio tua fortior atque fructuosior ad Dominum Deum nostrum, magnum nobis attulit gaudium. Elegisti enim a juventute doctrinam, ut invenias usque ad canos sapientiam (Eccli. VI, 18). Cani sunt ergo sensus hominis, et senectutis aetas vita immaculata (Sap. IV, 9). Quam donet tibi Dominus petenti, quaerenti atque pulsanti, qui novit bona data dare filiis suis (Matth. VII, 11). Quamvis enim abundent tibi exhortatores et exhortationes ad viam salutis et gloriae sempiternae, maxime ipsa gratia Christi, quae tibi tam salubriter in corde tuo locuta est; tamen etiam nos pro dilectionis officio, quam tibi debemus, afferimus aliquid exhortationis in hac resalutatione nostra, qua te non pigrum vel dormientem excitemus, sed provocemus incitemusque currentem.

2. Sapere te oportet, fili, ut perseveres, quia sapuisti ut eligeres. Sit hoc ipsum sapientiae tuae, scire cujus donum hoc est. Revela ad Dominum viam tuam, et spera in eum: et ipse faciet, et deducet velut lumen justitiam tuam, et judicium tuum velut meridiem (Psal. XXXVI, 5). Ipse faciet rectos cursus tuos, et itinera tua in pace producet (Prov. IV, 27). Sicut sprevisti quod sperabas in saeculo, ne in abundantia divitiarum gloriareris, quas more filiorum saeculi hujus concupiscere coeperas; ita nunc ad tollendum jugum Domini et sarcinam ejus, in virtute tua non confidas; et illud lene erit, et haec levis (Matth. XI, 29, 30). Pariter quippe improbantur in Psalmo et qui confidunt in virtute sua, et qui in abundantia divitiarum suarum gloriantur (Psal. XLVIII, 7). Ergo divitiarum gloriam non jam habebas, sed quam habere cupiebas, prudentissime contempsisti. Cave ne tibi subrepat in tua virtute confidere; homo es enim, et maledictus omnis qui spem suam ponit in homine (Jerem. XVII, 5). Sed plane in Deo tuo toto corde confide, et ipse erit virtus tua, in qua pius gratusque confidas, cui dicas humiliter et fideliter, Diligam te, Domine, virtus mea (Psal. XVII, 2): quia et ipsa charitas Dei, quae perfecta foras mittit timorem (I Joan. IV, 18), non per vires nostras, id est humanas, diffunditur in cordibus nostris, sed sicut dicit Apostolus, per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5).

Letter CCXVIII.

He exhorts Palatinus to profit and persevere in Christian wisdom, taking great care lest he place the hope of living well in his own strength.

To the most beloved lord and most longed-for son PALATINUS, AUGUSTINE [sends greeting].

1. Your conversion, more strong and fruitful toward the Lord our God, has brought us great joy. For you have chosen doctrine from youth, that you may find wisdom even unto gray hairs (Ecclus. 6:18). Gray hairs are therefore the senses of a man, and the age of old age is an immaculate life (Wisd. 4:9). May the Lord give this to you asking, seeking, and knocking, He who knows how to give good gifts to His children (Matt. 7:11). For although exhorters and exhortations abound for you unto the way of salvation and eternal glory, especially that grace of Christ itself which has spoken so healthfully to you in your heart; nevertheless we also, because of the office of love which we owe to you, bring something of exhortation in this our re-salutation, by which we may excite you not as lazy or sleeping, but may provoke and incite you as running.

2. It behooves you to be wise, son, that you may persevere, because you were wise that you might choose. Let this very thing belong to your wisdom, to know whose gift this is. Reveal your way to the Lord, and hope in Him: and He Himself will act, and He will bring forth your justice as the light, and your judgment as the noonday (Ps. 36:5). He Himself will make your courses straight, and will bring forth your paths in peace (Prov. 4:27). Just as you spurned what you hoped for in the world, lest you should glory in the abundance of riches which you had begun to desire after the manner of the sons of this world; so now for taking up the yoke of the Lord and His burden, do not trust in your own strength; and the one shall be sweet, and the other light (Matt. 11:29, 30). For likewise are reproved in the Psalm both those who trust in their own strength, and those who glory in the abundance of their riches (Ps. 48:7). Therefore you no longer had the glory of riches, but that which you desired to have, you most prudently contemned. Take care lest it creep upon you to trust in your own strength; for you are a man, and cursed is every one who sets his hope in man (Jer. 17:5). But clearly trust in your God with all your heart, and He Himself will be your strength, in which you may piously and gratefully trust, to whom you may say humbly and faithfully, "I will love Thee, O Lord, my strength" (Ps. 17:2): because even the charity of God itself, which being perfect casts out fear (1 John 4:18), is not shed abroad in our hearts through our own powers, that is, human powers, but as the Apostle says, "through the Holy Spirit who is given to us" (Rom. 5:5).

3. Vigila ergo et ora, ne intres in tentationem (Marc. XIV, 38). Ipsa quippe oratio admonet te quod indigeas adjutorio Domini tui, ne spem bene vivendi in te ponas. Oras enim non jam ut accipias divitias et honores praesentis saeculi, aut aliquid vanitatis humanae, sed ne intres in tentationem: quod utique si homo sibi praestare posset volendo, non posceretur orando. Quapropter, ut non intremus in tentationem, si voluntas sufficeret, non oraremus; quae tamen si deesset, nec orare possemus. Adsit ergo ut velimus, oremus autem ut valeamus quod voluerimus, cum ipso donante recte sapuerimus. Quod bonum quoniam jam coepisti, est unde gratias agas Quid enim habes quod non accepisti? Si autem accepisti, cave ne glorieris quasi non acceperis (I Cor. IV, 7), hoc est, quasi ex te ipso habere potueris. Sciens autem unde acceperis, ab illo pete ut perficiatur, a quo datum est ut inciperetur. Cum timore itaque et tremore tuam salutem operare. Deus est enim qui operatur in te et velle, et perficere, pro bona voluntate (Philipp. II, 12, 13): quoniam praeparatur voluntas a Domino (Prov. VIII, 35, sec. LXX), atque ab ipso gressus hominis diriguntur, et viam ejus volet (Psal. XXXVI, 23). Haec cogitatio sancta servabit te, ut sapientia tua pietas sit; id est, ut ex Deo sis bonus, et Christi gratiae non ingratus.

4. Desiderant te parentes tui, fideliter congratulantes meliori spei tuae quam in Domino habere coepisti. Nos autem te sive absentem corpore sive praesentem, in uno spiritu habere cupimus, per quem diffunditur charitas in cordibus nostris, ut quolibet loco fuerit caro nostra, nullo modo separata possit esse anima nostra. Gratissime accepimus cilicia quae misisti, ubi nos de frequentanda et servanda humilitate orationum prior ipse monuisti.

EPISTOLA CCXIX . Augustinus aliique Africani patres, Gallicanis episcopis Proculo et Cylinnio qui Leporium monachum in fide incarnationis Verbi errantem ejecerant, ut amplectantur jam Dei gratia poenitentem et correctum.

Dilectissimis et honorabilibus fratribus et consacerdotibus PROCULO et CYLINNIO, AURELIUS, AUGUSTINUS , FLORENTIUS, et SECUNDINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Filium nostrum Leporium apud vestram Sanctitatem pro sui erroris praesumptione merito idoneeque correptum, cum ad nos, posteaquam inde exturbatus est, venisset, salubriter perturbatum, corrigendum sanandumque suscepimus. Nam sicut vos obedistis Apostolo ut corriperetis inquietos; ita et nos ut consolaremur pusillanimes ac susciperemus infirmos (I Thess. V, 14).

3. Watch therefore and pray, lest you enter into temptation (Mark 14:38). For the prayer itself admonishes you that you need the help of your Lord, lest you set the hope of living well in yourself. For you no longer pray that you may receive riches and honors of the present world, or anything of human vanity, but lest you enter into temptation: which indeed if a man could provide for himself by willing, would not be asked for by praying. Wherefore, that we may not enter into temptation, if the will were sufficient, we should not pray; which nevertheless if it were lacking, we could not even pray. Let it be present therefore that we may will, but let us pray that we may have power for what we have willed, when we shall have correctly understood with Him giving [the gift]. Since you have already begun this good, there is [reason] whence you may give thanks. For what have you that you have not received? But if you have received, take care lest you glory as if you had not received (1 Cor. 4:7), that is, as if you could have had it from yourself. Knowing however from whence you have received, ask from Him that it may be perfected, from whom it was given that it should be begun. With fear therefore and trembling work out your salvation. For it is God who works in you both to will and to perform, for [His] good will (Phil. 2:12, 13): since the will is prepared by the Lord (Prov. 8:35, sec. LXX), and by Him the steps of a man are directed, and He shall will his way (Ps. 36:23). This holy thought will preserve you, that your wisdom may be piety; that is, that from God you may be good, and not ungrateful to the grace of Christ.

4. Your parents long for you, faithfully congratulating your better hope which you have begun to have in the Lord. But we, whether you are absent in body or present, desire to have you in one spirit, through whom charity is shed abroad in our hearts, so that in whatever place our flesh shall be, in no way can our soul be separated. We have most gratefully received the hair-shirts which you sent, where you yourself first admonished us concerning the frequenting and preserving of the humility of prayers.

LETTER CCXIX. Augustine and other African fathers, to the Gallican bishops Proculus and Cylinnius, who had expelled the monk Leporius erring in the faith of the incarnation of the Word, that they may embrace him now through the grace of God repenting and corrected.

To the most beloved and honorable brothers and fellow-priests PROCULUS and CYLINNIUS, AURELIUS, AUGUSTINE, FLORENTIUS, and SECUNDINUS [send] greeting in the Lord.

1. Our son Leporius, deservedly and suitably corrected at your Holiness for the presumption of his error, when he had come to us after he was driven out from there, healthfully disturbed, we received to be corrected and healed. For just as you obeyed the Apostle that you might correct the restless; so also we, that we might console the faint-hearted and receive the weak (1 Thess. 5:14).

Cum enim praeoccupatus esset sicut homo in aliquo delicto, eodemque non parvo, ut de unigenito Filie Dei, quod erat in principio Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum, cum autem venit plenitudo temporis Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis (Joan. I, 1, 14), non recta quaedam saperet, nec vera sentiret; negans Deum hominem factum, ne videlicet substantiae divinae, qua aequalis est Patri, indigna mutatio vel corruptio sequeretur; nec videns quartam se subintroducere in Trinitate personam, quod a sanitate symboli catholicaeque veritatis prorsus alienum est; cum, sicuti potuimus, adjuvante Domino instruximus in spiritu lenitatis: praesertim quia cum hoc admoneret Vas electionis, adjecit, Intendens teipsum, ne et tu tenteris, ne ita se quidam ad provectum spiritualem pervenisse gauderent, ut se jam non posse tentari tanquam homines putarent; addiditque salubrem pacificamque sententiam, ut alter alterius onera portemus, quoniam sic adimplebimus legem Christi: Qui enim putat se esse aliquid, cum sit nihil, seipsum seducit (Galat. VI, 1-3), dilectissimi et honorabiles fratres.

2. Quam tamen ejus emendationem nequaquam forte implere possemus, nisi vos ante, quae in eo mendosa fuerant, damnaretis. Idem igitur et Dominus et medicus noster utens vasis ac ministris suis, qui dixit, Ego percutiam, et ego sanabo (Deut. XXXII, 39), per vos percussit tumentem, per nos sanavit dolentem. Idem suae domus administrator atque provisor, per vos destruxit male constructa; per nos bene composita restauravit. Idem diligens agricola possessionis suae sterilia per vos eradicavit, et noxia; utilia per nos et fecunda plantavit. Non itaque nobis, sed ejus misericordiae demus gloriam, in cujus manu sumus et nos et sermones nostri. Et sicut in supradicto filio nostro ministerium vestrum humilitas nostra laudavit; sic etiam Sanctitas vestra nostro ministerio gratuletur. Paterno igitur et fraterno corde suscipite a nobis misericordi severitate correctum. Etsi enim aliud per nos, aliud per vos; utrumque tamen fraternae saluti necessarium una charitas fecit. Unus ergo Deus fecit, quoniam Deus charitas est (I Joan. IV, 8, 16).

3. Proinde sicut per suam poenitentiam susceptus est a nobis, sic per suam epistolam suscipiatur a vobis: cui quidem epistolae nostra etiam manu subscribendum putavimus, ipsius esse testantes. Hanc ejus correctionem dilectionem vestram minime dubitamus et gratanter accipere, et eis notam facere quibus ejus error scandalum fuit. Quia et illi qui cum eo venerunt ad nos, cum illo correcti atque sanati sunt, sicut eorum subscriptionibus, quae coram nobis factae sunt, tenetur expressum. Superest ut de fraterna salute laetati, rescriptis Beatitudinis vestrae nos vicissim laetificare dignemini.

For when he had been preoccupied as a man in some fault, and that no small one—as concerning the only-begotten Son of God, who was the Word in the beginning, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, but when the fullness of time came the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us (John 1:1, 14)—he did not understand some things rightly, nor feel true things; denying that God was made man, lest indeed an unworthy change or corruption of the divine substance, by which He is equal to the Father, should follow; nor seeing that he was sub-introducing a fourth person in the Trinity, which is utterly alien from the health of the symbol and of the Catholic truth; when, as we were able, the Lord helping, we instructed him in the spirit of gentleness: especially because when the Vessel of Election [Paul] admonished this, he added, "Considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted," lest some should so rejoice to have arrived at spiritual progress that they should think themselves no longer able to be tempted as men; and he added a healthful and peaceful sentence, that we may bear one another's burdens, since so we shall fulfill the law of Christ: "For he who thinks himself to be something, when he is nothing, deceives himself" (Gal. 6:1-3), most beloved and honorable brothers.

2. This his emendation, however, we could perhaps in no way fulfill, unless you had first condemned those things which had been faulty in him. Therefore the same Lord and our Physician, using His vessels and ministers, who said, "I will strike, and I will heal" (Deut. 32:39), through you struck the swollen one, through us He healed the grieving one. The same administrator and provider of His house, through you destroyed the badly constructed things; through us He restored the well-composed things. The same diligent farmer of His possession, through you eradicated the sterile and harmful things; through us He planted the useful and fruitful things. Therefore let us give glory not to ourselves, but to His mercy, in whose hand we and our words are. And just as in our aforesaid son our humility praised your ministry; so also let your Holiness congratulate our ministry. Receive therefore with fatherly and brotherly heart him who has been corrected by us with merciful severity. For although one thing through us, another through you; nevertheless one charity made both necessary for brotherly salvation. One God therefore did it, because "God is charity" (1 John 4:8, 16).

3. Accordingly, just as he was received by us through his penance, so let him be received by you through his letter: to which letter indeed we thought we should subscribe with our own hand, witnessing that it is his. We least doubt that your love will both gratefully receive this his correction, and make it known to those to whom his error was a scandal. Because those also who came with him to us have been corrected and healed with him, as is held expressed by their subscriptions, which were made before us. It remains that, having rejoiced concerning brotherly salvation, you may deign to make us joyful in turn with the replies of your Blessedness.

Optamus vos, dilectissimi et honorabiles fratres, in Domino bene valere memores nostri.

EPISTOLA CCXX . Augustinus Bonifacio comiti, qui concepto prius voto monachismi, post, ex ipsius consilio, suscepit comitis potestatem; at praeter ipsius consilium duxit uxorem et in multis graviter deliquit. Hunc hortatur ad vetus propositum, si per uxorem liceat; si non liceat, potestate mundana utatur in bonum, non in malum.

Domino filio in praesentem et in aeternam salutem Dei misericordia protegendo et regendo BONIFACIO, AUGUSTINUS.

1. Fideliorem hominem, et qui faciliores haberet accessus ad aures tuas ferens litteras meas, nunquam potui reperire, quam nunc obtulit Dominus servum et ministrum Christi, diaconum Paulum, ambobus nobis charissimum, ut aliquid tibi loquerer, non pro potentia tua, et honore quem geris in isto saeculo maligno; nec pro incolumitate carnis tuae corruptibilis atque mortalis, quia et ipsa transitoria est, et quamdiu sit, semper incertum est; sed pro illa salute quam nobis promisit Christus: qui propterea hic exhonoratus atque crucifixus est, ut doceret nos bona hujus saeculi magis contemnere quam diligere, et hoc amare et sperare ab illo, quod in sua resurrectione monstravit. Resurrexit enim a mortuis, nec jam moritur, et mors ei ultra non dominabitur (Rom. VI, 9).

2. Scio non deesse homines qui te secundum vitam mundi hujus diligunt, et secundum ipsam tibi dant consilia, aliquando utilia, aliquando inutilia; quia homines sunt, et sicut possunt ad praesens sapiunt, nescientes quid contingat sequenti die. Secundum autem Deum ne pereat anima tua, non facile tibi quisquam consulit; non quia desunt qui hoc faciant, sed quia difficile est invenire quando tecum ista possunt loqui. Nam et ego semper desideravi, et nunquam inveni locum vel tempus, ut agerem tecum quod me agere oportebat cum homine quem multum diligo in Christo. Scis autem qualem me apud Hipponem videris, quando ad me venire dignatus es, quia vix loquebar, imbecillitate corporis fatigatus. Nunc ergo, fili, audi me, saltem per litteras tibi sermocinantem, quas in periculis tuis nunquam tibi mittere potui, periculum cogitans perlatoris, et cavens ne ad eos ad quos nollem, mea epistola perveniret. Unde peto ut ignoscas, si me putas plus timuisse quam debui: tamen dixi quod timui.

We wish that you, most beloved and honorable brothers, fare well in the Lord, mindful of us.

LETTER CCXX. Augustine to Count Boniface, who having first conceived a vow of monkhood, afterwards, by his counsel, undertook the power of a count; but besides his counsel he took a wife and in many things gravely failed. He exhorts him to his old purpose, if it be permitted through his wife; if it be not permitted, let him use worldly power for good, not for evil.

To my lord son, to be protected and ruled by the mercy of God unto present and eternal salvation, BONIFACE, AUGUSTINE [sends greeting].

1. A more faithful man, and one who would have easier access to your ears bearing my letters, I could never find than the one whom now the Lord has offered, the servant and minister of Christ, the deacon Paul, most dear to both of us, that I might speak something to you, not for your power and the honor which you bear in this evil world; nor for the safety of your corruptible and mortal flesh, because it also is transitory, and how long it may be is always uncertain; but for that salvation which Christ promised to us: who for this reason was here dishonored and crucified, that He might teach us rather to contemn the goods of this world than to love them, and to love and hope for this from Him, which He showed in His resurrection. For He rose from the dead, nor does He now die, and death shall no longer have dominion over Him (Rom. 6:9).

2. I know that there are not lacking men who love you according to the life of this world, and according to it give you counsels, sometimes useful, sometimes useless; because they are men, and as they are able they are wise for the present, not knowing what may happen on the following day. But according to God, lest your soul perish, no one easily counsels you; not because those who do this are lacking, but because it is difficult to find when they can speak these things with you. For I also have always desired, and never found place or time, to act with you as I ought to act with a man whom I love much in Christ. For you know such as you saw me at Hippo, when you deigned to come to me, because I was scarcely speaking, fatigued by the weakness of the body. Now therefore, son, hear me, at least through letters discoursing to you, which in your perils I could never send to you, thinking of the peril of the bearer, and taking care lest my letter should arrive to those to whom I would not wish. Whence I ask that you forgive, if you think I feared more than I ought: nevertheless I said what I feared.

3. Audi ergo me, imo Dominum Deum nostrum per ministerium infirmitatis meae. Recole qualis fueris, adhuc in corpore constituta religiosae memoriae priore conjuge tua, et recenti ejus obitu quomodo tibi vanitas saeculi hujus horruerit, et quomodo concupieris servitutem Dei. Nos novimus, nos testes sumus quid nobiscum apud Tubunas de animo et voluntate tua fueris collocutus. Soli tecum eramus, ego et frater Alypius. Non enim existimo tantum valuisse terrenas curas quibus impletus es, ut hoc de memoria tua penitus delere potuerint. Nempe omnes actus publicos, quibus occupatus eras, relinquere cupiebas, et te in otium sanctum conferre, atque in ea vita vivere in qua servi Dei monachi vivunt. Ut autem non faceres, quid te revocavit, nisi quia considerasti, ostendentibus nobis, quantum prodesset Christi Ecclesiis quod agebas, si ea sola intentione ageres, ut defensae ab infestationibus barbarorum quietam et tranquillam vitam agerent, sicut dicit Apostolus, In omni pietate et castitate (I Tim. II, 2); tu autem ex hoc mundo nihil quaereres, nisi ea quae necessaria essent huic vitae sustentandae tuae ac tuorum, accinctus balteo castissimae continentiae, et inter arma corporalia spiritualibus armis tutius fortiusque munitus?

4. Cum ergo te esse in hoc proposito gauderemus, navigasti, uxoremque duxisti: sed navigasse obedientiae fuit, quam secundum Apostolum debebas sublimioribus potestatibus (Rom. XIII, 1); uxorem autem non duxisses, nisi susceptam deserens continentiam concupiscentia victus esses. Quod ego cum comperissem, fateor, miratus obstupui: dolorem autem meum ex aliqua parte consolabatur, quod audivi te illam ducere noluisse, nisi prius catholica fuisset facta; et tamen haeresis eorum qui verum Filium Dei negant, tantum praevaluit in domo tua, ut ab ipsis filia tua baptizaretur. Jamvero, si ad nos non falsa perlata sunt, quae utinam falsa sint, quod ab ipsis haereticis etiam ancillae Deo dicatae rebaptizatae sint, quantis tantum malum plangendum est fontibus lacrymarum? Ipsam quoque uxorem non tibi suffecisse, sed concubinarum nescio quarum commixtione pollutum loquuntur homines, et forsitan mentiuntur.

8. Sed forte ad ea respondes, illis hoc esse potius imputandum, qui te laeserunt, qui tuis officiosis virtutibus non paria, sed contraria reddiderunt. Quas causas ego audire et judicare non possum: tuam causam potius aspice et inspice, quam non cum hominibus quibuslibet, sed cum Deo habere te cognoscis; quia in Christo fideliter vivis, ipsum debes timere ne offendas. Nam causas ego superiores potius attendo, quia ut Africa tanta mala patiatur, suis debent homines imputare peccatis.

3. Hear me therefore, or rather the Lord our God through the ministry of my infirmity. Recall what you were while your former wife of religious memory was still constituted in the body, and at her recent death how the vanity of this world was horrific to you, and how you desired the service of God. We know, we are witnesses what you spoke with us at Tubunae concerning your mind and will. We were alone with you, I and brother Alypius. For I do not think the earthly cares with which you are filled have been so strong that they could have utterly deleted this from your memory. For indeed you were desiring to relinquish all public acts in which you were occupied, and to betake yourself into holy leisure, and to live in that life in which the monks, the servants of God, live. That you might not do so, however, what recalled you, except because you considered, as we showed, how much it would benefit the churches of Christ what you were doing, if you did it with that intention alone, that being defended from the infestations of the barbarians they might live a quiet and tranquil life, as the Apostle says, "In all piety and chastity" (1 Tim. 2:2); but you should seek nothing from this world except those things which were necessary for sustaining this life of yours and of your [people], girt with the belt of most chaste continence, and among corporal arms more safely and strongly fortified with spiritual arms?

4. When therefore we rejoiced that you were in this purpose, you sailed and you took a wife: but that you sailed was of obedience, which according to the Apostle you owed to the higher powers (Rom. 13:1); but you would not have taken a wife unless, deserting the continence you had undertaken, you had been conquered by concupiscence. When I had found this out, I confess, I was amazed and astounded: nevertheless my grief was consoled from some part, because I heard that you had not wished to take her unless she had first been made Catholic; and yet the heresy of those who deny the true Son of God so prevailed in your house that your daughter was baptized by them. Now indeed, if not false things have been brought to us—which would that they were false—that even handmaids dedicated to God were rebaptized by those same heretics, with how many fountains of tears is so great an evil to be lamented? Men also say that your wife itself did not suffice you, but that you are polluted by the commingling of I know not what concubines, and perhaps they lie.

8. But perhaps you respond to these things, that it should rather be imputed to those who have injured you, who have rendered to your dutiful virtues not equal but contrary things. These causes I am not able to hear and to judge: rather look and look into your cause, which you know you have not with any men whatever, but with God; because you live faithfully in Christ, you ought to fear lest you offend Him. For I rather attend to higher causes, because that Africa suffers so great evils, men ought to impute to their own sins.

Verumtamen nolim te ad eorum numerum pertinere, per quos malos et iniquos Deus flagellat poenis temporalibus quos voluerit. Ipsis namque iniquis, si correcti non fuerint, servat aeterna supplicia, qui eorum malitia juste utitur, ut aliis mala ingerat temporalia. Tu Deum attende, tu Christum considera, qui tanta bona praestitit, et tanta mala pertulit. Quicumque ad ejus regnum cupiunt pertinere, et cum illo ac sub illo semper beate vivere, diligunt etiam inimicos suos, benefaciunt illis qui eos oderunt, et orant pro eis a quibus persecutionem patiuntur (Matth. V, 44): et si quando adhibent pro disciplina molestam severitatem, non tamen amittunt sincerissimam charitatem. Si ergo tibi bona sunt praestita, quamvis terrena, transitoria, ab imperio Romano, quia et ipsum terrenum est, non coeleste, nec potest praestare nisi quod habet in potestate; si ergo bona in te collata sunt, noli reddere mala pro bonis: si autem mala tibi irrogata sunt, noli reddere mala pro malis. Quid istorum duorum sit, nec discutere volo, nec valeo judicare; ego christiano loquor: noli reddere vel mala pro bonis, vel mala pro malis.

9. Dicis mihi fortasse: In tanta necessitate quid vis ut faciam? Si consilium a me secundum hoc saeculum quaeris, quomodo ista salus tua transitoria tuta sit, et potentia atque opulentia vel ista servetur quam nunc habes, vel etiam major addatur; quid tibi respondeam nescio: incerta quippe ista certum consilium habere non possunt. Si autem secundum Deum me consulis, ne anima tua pereat, et times verba veritatis, dicentis, Quid prodest homini, si totum mundum lucretur, animae autem suae detrimentum patiatur (Id. XVI, 26); habeo plane quod dicam; est apud me consilium quod a me audias. Quid autem opus est ut aliud dicam, quam illud quod supra dixi? Noli diligere mundum, nec ea quae in mundo sunt. Si quis enim dilexerit mundum, non est charitas Patris in illo: quoniam omnia quae in mundo sunt, concupiscentia carnis est, et concupiscentia oculorum, et ambitio saeculi; quae non est a Patre, sed ex mundo est. Et mundus transit, et concupiscentia ejus: qui autem fecerit voluntatem Dei, manet in aeternum, sicut et Deus manet in aeternum (I Joan. II, 15-17). Ecce consilium; arripe, et age. Hic appareat si vir fortis es; vince cupiditates quibus iste diligitur mundus, age poenitentiam de praeteritis malis, quando ab eis cupiditatibus victus per desideria non bona trahebaris. Hoc consilium si acceperis, si tenueris atque servaveris, et ad bona illa certa pervenies, et cum salute animae tuae inter ista incerta versaberis.

Nevertheless I would not wish you to belong to the number of those through whom God scourges with temporal punishments the evil and unjust whom He has willed. For to those same unjust [men], if they shall not have been corrected, He reserves eternal punishments, who justly uses their malice so that He may inflict temporal evils upon others. You attend to God, you consider Christ, who bestowed so great goods, and endured so great evils. Whoever desire to belong to His kingdom, and to live always blessedly with Him and under Him, love even their enemies, do good to those who hate them, and pray for those from whom they suffer persecution (Matt. 5:44): and if ever they employ a troublesome severity for discipline, they nevertheless do not lose a most sincere charity. If therefore good things have been bestowed upon you, although earthly, transitory, by the Roman Empire, because it too is earthly, not heavenly, nor can it bestow except what it has in its power; if therefore good things have been conferred upon you, do not render evil for good: but if evil things have been inflicted upon you, do not render evil for evil. Which of these two it may be, I neither wish to discuss, nor am I able to judge; I speak to a Christian: do not render either evil for good, or evil for evil.

9. You say to me perhaps: In so great a necessity, what do you wish that I should do? If you seek counsel from me according to this world, how this transitory safety of yours may be safe, and either this power and opulence which you now have may be preserved, or even a greater be added; I do not know what I should respond to you: for indeed these uncertain things cannot have a certain counsel. But if you consult me according to God, lest your soul perish, and you fear the words of the truth, saying, "What does it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, but suffer the detriment of his soul?" (Matt. 16:26); I have plainly what I may say; there is with me a counsel which you may hear from me. But what need is there that I should say anything else, than that which I said above? Do not love the world, nor those things which are in the world. For if anyone shall have loved the world, the charity of the Father is not in him: since all things which are in the world are the concupiscence of the flesh, and the concupiscence of the eyes, and the ambition of the world; which is not from the Father, but is from the world. And the world passes away, and its concupiscence: but he who shall have done the will of God, remains for ever, just as God also remains for ever" (1 John 2:15-17). Behold the counsel; seize [it], and act. Here let it appear if you are a brave man; conquer the cupidities by which this world is loved, do penance for past evils, when, conquered by those cupidities, you were drawn through desires that were not good. If you shall have accepted this counsel, if you shall have held and kept [it], you will both arrive at those certain goods, and with the safety of your soul you will be conversant among these uncertain things.

10. Sed forte iterum quaeris a me, quomodo ista facias tantis mundi hujus necessitatibus implicatus. Ora fortiter, et dic Deo quod habes in Psalmo, De necessitatibus meis erue me (Psal. XXIV, 17): tunc enim finiuntur istae necessitates, quando vincuntur illae cupiditates. Qui exaudivit te, et nos pro te, ut liberareris de tot tantisque periculis visibilium corporaliumque bellorum, ubi sola ista vita quandoque finienda periclitatur, anima vero non perit, si non malignis cupiditatibus captiva teneatur; ipse te exaudiet ut interiores et invisibiles hostes, id est ipsas cupiditates invisibiliter et spiritualiter vincas, et sic utaris hoc mundo tanquam non utens; ut ex bonis ejus bona facias, non malus fias: quia et ipsa bona sunt, nec dantur hominibus nisi ab illo qui habet omnium coelestium et terrestrium potestatem. Sed ne putentur mala, dantur et bonis: ne putentur magna vel summa bona, dantur et malis. Itemque auferuntur ista et bonis ut probentur, et malis ut crucientur.

11. Quis enim nesciat, quis ita sit stultus, ut non videat quod salus hujus mortalis corporis, et membrorum corruptibilium virtus, et victory de hominibus inimicis, et honor atque potentia temporalis, et caetera ista bona terrena, et bonis dentur et malis, et bonis auferantur et malis? Salus vero animae cum immortalitate corporis, virtusque justitiae, et victoria de cupiditatibus inimicis, et gloria et honor et pax in aeternum, non dantur nisi bonis. Ista ergo dilige, ista concupisce, ista omnibus modis quaere. Propter haec acquirenda et obtinenda fac eleemosynas, funde orationes, exerce jejunia, quantum sine laesione corporis tui potes. Bona vero illa terrena noli diligere, quantalibet tibi abundent: sic eis utere, ut bona multa ex illis, nullum autem malum facias propter illa. Omnia quippe talia peribunt; sed bona opera non pereunt, etiam quae de bonis pereuntibus fiunt.

12. Si enim conjugem non haberes, dicerem tibi quod et Tubunis diximus, ut in sanctitate continentiae viveres: adderem, quod tunc fieri prohibuimus, ut jam te, quantum rerum humanarum salva pace potuisses, ab istis rebus bellicis abstraheres, et ei vitae vacares in societate sanctorum, cui tunc vacare cupiebas; ubi in silentio pugnant milites Christi, non ut occidant homines, sed ut expugnent principes et potestates et spiritualia nequitiae (Eph. VI, 12), id est diabolum et angelos ejus.

10. But perhaps you ask me again, how you may do these things, being implicated in so great necessities of this world. Pray strongly, and say to God what you have in the Psalm, "From my necessities deliver me" (Psalm 24:17): for then these necessities are finished, when those cupidities are conquered. He who heard you, and us for you, so that you might be delivered from so many and so great perils of visible and corporal wars, where this life alone, which is sometime to be finished, is in peril, but the soul indeed does not perish, if it be not held captive by malign cupidities; He himself will hear you so that you may invisibly and spiritually conquer the interior and invisible enemies, that is, those same cupidities, and thus you may use this world as if not using it; so that from its goods you may do good things, and not become evil: because even those things themselves are good, nor are they given to men except by Him who has the power of all heavenly and earthly things. But lest they be thought evil, they are given also to the good: lest they be thought great or supreme goods, they are given also to the evil. And likewise these are taken away both from the good so that they may be proved, and from the evil so that they may be tormented.

11. For who does not know, who is so foolish as not to see that the safety of this mortal body, and the virtue of the corruptible members, and victory over enemy men, and temporal honor and power, and these other earthly goods, are given both to the good and to the evil, and are taken away both from the good and from the evil? But the safety of the soul with the immortality of the body, and the virtue of justice, and victory over enemy cupidities, and glory and honor and peace for ever, are not given except to the good. These therefore love, these desire, these in all ways seek. For the sake of acquiring and obtaining these, perform almsgiving, pour out prayers, exercise fasts, as much as you can without injury to your body. But those earthly goods do not love, in however great a degree they may abound for you: so use them, that you may do many good things from them, but no evil for their sake. For indeed all such things will perish; but good works do not perish, even those which are done from perishing goods.

12. For if you did not have a wife, I would say to you what we said also at Tubunae, that you should live in the holiness of continence: I would add, what we then prohibited to be done, that now, as much as you could, saving the peace of human affairs, you should abstract yourself from these warlike things, and vacate yourself for that life in the society of the saints, for which you then desired to be vacant; where in silence the soldiers of Christ fight, not that they may kill men, but that they may expunge the princes and powers and spiritual [things] of wickedness (Eph. 6:12), that is, the devil and his angels.

Hos enim hostes sancti vincunt, quos videre non possunt; et tamen quos non vident, vincunt, ista vincendo quae sentiunt. Sed ut te ad istam vitae non exhorter, conjux impedimento est, sine cujus consensione continenter tibi non licet vivere; quia etsi tu eam post illa tua verba Tubunensia ducere non debebas, illa tibi tamen, nihil eorum sciens, innocenter et simpliciter nupsit. Atque utinam posses ei persuadere continentiam, ut sine impedimento redderes Deo quod te debere cognoscis. Sed si cum illa agere non potes, serva saltem pudicitiam conjugalem, et roga Deum, qui te de necessitatibus eruet, ut quod non potes modo, possis aliquando. Verumtamen ut Deum diligas, non diligas mundum; ut in ipsis bellis, si adhuc in eis te versari opus est, fidem teneas, pacem quaeras; ut ex mundi bonis facias bona opera, et propter mundi bona non facias opera mala, aut non impedit conjux, aut impedire non debet. Haec ad te, fili dilectissime, ut scriberem charitas jussit, qua te secundum Deum, non secundum hoc saeculum diligo: quia et cogitans quod scriptum est, Corripe sapientem, et amabit te; corripe stultum, et adjiciet odisse te (Prov. IX, 8); non te utique stultum, sed sapientem debui cogitare.

Epistola CCXXI.

Quodvultdeus Augustino, flagitans ut haereseon omnium quae adversus christianam fidem pullularunt, catalogum scribat, earumque errores et ritus paucis complectatur.

Domino merito venerabili, et vere beatissimo patri AUGUSTINO episcopo, QUODVULTDEUS diaconus.

1. Diu trepidus fui, et ausus hos meos aliquoties distuli: sed me principaliter, ut dici assolet, animavit Beatitudinis tuae benevolentia omnibus comprobata: quam dum considero, magis timui ne non petendo superbus, non quaerendo desidiosus, non pulsando piger a Domino judicarer. Sufficere autem mihi crederem hujusmodi tantummodo voluntatem, si fructum adipisci non possem: cum autem pro certo noverim, ostium divini sermonis, quod Venerationi tuae coelestis gratia patefecit, paratam esse mentem tuam sanctam, quam possidet Christus, non solum cunctis volentibus pandere, verum etiam nolentibus, ut introire non pigeat, persuadere; occupationi Reverentiae tuae multiloquio superfluo moram non faciam, sed desiderium obsecrationis meae breviter indicabo.

For the saints conquer these enemies, whom they are not able to see; and yet those whom they do not see, they conquer by conquering these things which they feel. But that I may not exhort you to that life, your wife is an impediment, without whose consent it is not lawful for you to live continently; because although you ought not to have taken her after those words of yours at Tubunae, she nevertheless, knowing nothing of them, married you innocently and simply. And would that you could persuade her to continence, that without impediment you might render to God what you know you owe. But if you cannot act with her, preserve at least conjugal chastity, and ask God, who will deliver you from necessities, that what you cannot [do] now, you may be able [to do] sometime. Nevertheless, that you may love God and not love the world; that in the wars themselves, if it is still necessary for you to be conversant in them, you may hold faith and seek peace; that from the goods of the world you may do good works, and for the sake of the goods of the world you may not do evil works, either your wife does not impede, or she ought not to impede. Charity commanded that I write these things to you, most beloved son, by which I love you according to God, not according to this world: because also thinking of what is written, "Reprove a wise man, and he will love you; reprove a fool, and he will add to hate you" (Prov. 9:8); I certainly ought to have thought you not a fool, but a wise man.

Letter CCXXI.

Quodvultdeus to Augustine, entreating that he write a catalog of all heresies which have sprouted against the Christian faith, and that he embrace their errors and rites in a few words.

To the deservedly venerable lord, and truly most blessed father AUGUSTINE the bishop, QUODVULTDEUS the deacon.

1. I was fearful for a long time, and I deferred these attempts of mine several times: but the benevolence of your Blessedness, proved by all, principally animated me, as it is accustomed to be said: while I consider it, I feared more lest, by not asking I should be judged proud, by not seeking slothful, and by not knocking lazy by the Lord. I would believe that such a will alone would suffice me, if I could not obtain the fruit: but since I have known for certain that the door of the divine word, which heavenly grace has opened to your Veneration, your holy mind, which Christ possesses, is prepared not only to open to all willing [men], but even to persuade the unwilling, so that it may not be troublesome to enter; I shall not make a delay to the occupation of your Reverence with superfluous multiloquence, but I shall briefly indicate the desire of my obsecration.

2. Nonnullos in clero hujusce etiam amplissimae civitatis esse imperitos, ex meipso conjicio, et quantum universo illi ordini profuturum sit quod expeto, considerationi Sanctitatis tuae discutiendum offero. Privilegio namque cunctorum qui hoc de spiritualibus tuis laboribus promerentur, etiam me indignum consecuturum esse praesumo, domine merito venerabilis, et vere beatissime pater. Precor igitur Beatitudinem tuam, ut ex quo christiana religio haereditatis promissae nomen accepit, quae haereses fuerint, sint; quos errores intulerint, inferant; quid adversus catholicam Ecclesiam senserint, sentiant, de fide, de Trinitate, de Baptismo, de Poenitentia, de homine Christo, de Deo Christo, de resurrectione, de Novo et Vetere Testamento; et omnia omnino, quibus a veritate dissentiunt: quae etiam Baptismum habeant, quaeve non habeant; et post quas baptizet, nec tamen rebaptizet Ecclesia; qualiter suscipiat venientes, et quid singulis lege, auctoritate, atque ratione respondeat, digneris exponere.

3. Nec me tantae Beatitudo tua credat ineptiae, ut non inspiciam quantis et quam ingentibus voluminibus opus sit, ut possint ista dissolvi. Verum hoc ego fieri non expeto; id enim multipliciter factum esse non dubito: sed breviter, perstricte atque summatim, et opiniones rogo cujuslibet haeresis exponi, et quid contra teneat Ecclesia catholica, quantum instructioni satis est, subdi: ut velut quodam ex omnibus concepto commonitorio, si quis aliquam objectionem aut convictionem uberius, plenius ac planius nosse voluerit, ad opulenta et magnifica volumina transmittatur, quibus a diversis, et praecipue a Veneratione tua in hoc ipsum constat elaboratum. Sufficiet autem admonitio talis, ut puto, doctis et imperitis, otiosis et occupatis, et ad cujuslibet gradus ministerium Ecclesiae undecumque promotis; dum et ille qui multa legit, eadem breviter recordatur, et compendio ignarus instruitur, ut noverit quid teneat, quid evitet quid aversetur ne faciat, quid ut faciat assequatur. Fortassis autem, si tamen quod arbitror verum est, etiam adversus calumniantium malignas mentes et dolosa labia opus hoc parvum inter caetera mirifica testimonio coronae tuae non deerit: ut quibus patet campo calumniandi profusior, validis et ex omni parte conclusis fidei limitibus coarctati, omnibusque veritatis telorum generibus circumacti, etiam uno multiformi jaculo repente prostrati, morticinos spiritus non audeant anhelare.

2. That some in the clergy even of this most ample city are unlearned, I conjecture from myself, and how much what I seek would benefit that whole order, I offer to be discussed by the consideration of your Holiness. For by the privilege of all who deserve this from your spiritual labors, I presume that I even unworthy shall attain [it], lord deservedly venerable, and truly most blessed father. I pray therefore your Blessedness, that from the time the Christian religion received the name of the promised inheritance, you deign to set forth what heresies there have been and are; what errors they have brought in and do bring in; what they have felt and do feel against the Catholic Church, concerning faith, concerning the Trinity, concerning Baptism, concerning Penance, concerning the man Christ, concerning God Christ, concerning the resurrection, concerning the New and Old Testament; and all things at all, in which they dissent from the truth: which also have Baptism, or which have it not; and after which the Church baptizes, and yet does not rebaptize; how she receives those coming [from them], and what she responds to each by law, authority, and reason.

3. Nor let your Blessedness believe me of such ineptitude, that I do not inspect with how many and how great volumes there is need, so that these things can be dissolved. But this I do not seek to be done; for I do not doubt that it has been done manifoldly: but briefly, strictly and summarily, I ask that the opinions of any heresy be set forth, and what the Catholic Church holds against them be subjoined, as much as is enough for instruction: so that, as if by a certain commonitory conceived from all, if anyone should wish to know any objection or conviction more abundantly, fully and plainly, he may be transmitted to the opulent and magnificent volumes, with which it is established that it has been elaborated by various [men], and especially by your Veneration for this very thing. Such an admonition will suffice, as I think, for the learned and unlearned, for the idle and the occupied, and for those promoted from anywhere to the ministry of the Church of whatever grade; while both he who reads much briefly remembers the same, and the ignorant is instructed by a compendium, so that he may know what he should hold, what he should avoid, what he should turn away from lest he do it, and what he should follow so that he may do it. Perhaps also, if nevertheless what I think is true, even against the malign minds and deceitful lips of calumniators, this small work among other wonderful things will not be lacking as a testimony to your crown: so that those to whom a more profuse field of calumniating lies open, being straitened by the strong limits of faith concluded from every part, and driven about by all kinds of weapons of truth, even suddenly prostrate by one multiform javelin, they may not dare to breathe out their deadly spirits.

4. Video quam onerosus exsistam, meliora cogitanti, et disponenti majora sancto seni, et querelas corporis sustinenti. Sed per Christum Dominum rogo, qui te participem sapientiae suae sine invidia esse concessit, ut hanc gratiam dones indoctis Ecclesiae, qui te agnoscis sapientibus atque insipientibus debitorem (Rom. I, 14), merito ac jure dicturus: «Videte quoniam non mihi soli laboravi, sed omnibus exquirentibus veritatem» (Eccli. XXIV, 47, et XXXIII, 18). Potui adhuc offerre supplices et multiplices preces, et mecum imperitorum classes adsciscere; sed malui jam audire dictantem, quam adhuc occupare legentem.

Epistola CCXXII.

Augustinus Quodvultdeo, excusans propositi operis difficultatem, remque ab aliis tentatam esse admonens.

Dilectissimo filio et condiacono QUODVULTDEO, AUGUSTINUS episcopus.

1. Acceptis litteris Charitatis tuae, ubi a me ardentissimo studio postulasti ut de omnibus haeresibus quae post Domini Salvatoris adventum adversus ejus doctrinam pullulaverunt, aliquid breviter scriberem; quam sit hoc difficile, continuo reperta occasione rescripsi per filium meum Hipponensium primarium Philocalum: mox autem etiam ista oblata est, qua nunc rescribo, et breviter difficultatem operis ejus ostendo.

2. Philastrius quidam Brixiensis episcopus, quem cum sancto Ambrosio Mediolani etiam ipse vidi, scripsit hinc librum; nec illas haereses praetermittens, quae in populo Judaeo fuerunt ante adventum Domini, easque viginti octo commemoravit; et post Domini adventum centum viginti octo. Scripsit hinc etiam graece episcopus Cyprius Epiphanius, in doctrina catholicae fidei laudabiliter diffamatus: sed ipse utriusque temporis haereses colligens, octoginta complexus est. Cum ergo ambo id vellent facere quod a me petis, quantum tamen inter se differant de numero interim sectarum, vides: quod utique non evenisset, nisi aliud uni eorum videretur esse haeresis, et aliud alteri. Neque enim putandum est aliquas ignorasse Epiphanium, quas noverat Philastrius, cum Epiphanium longe Philastrio doctiorem invenerimus; ita ut Philastrium potius dicere deberemus latuisse plurimas, si tam plures esset ille complexus, et iste pauciores. Sed procul dubio in ea quaestione ubi disceptatur quid sit haeresis, non idem videbatur ambobus; et revera hoc omnino definire difficile est:

4. I see how burdensome I exist to the holy old man, thinking better things, and disposing greater things, and sustaining the complaints of the body. But I ask through Christ the Lord, who granted you to be a partaker of His wisdom without envy, that you give this grace to the unlearned of the Church, you who acknowledge yourself a debtor to the wise and the unwise (Rom. 1:14), being about to say deservedly and by right: "See that I have not labored for myself alone, but for all seeking the truth" (Ecclus. 24:47, and 33:18). I was able still to offer suppliant and manifold prayers, and to associate with me the classes of the unlearned; but I preferred now to hear [you] dictating, than still to occupy [you] reading.

Letter CCXXII.

Augustine to Quodvultdeus, excusing the difficulty of the proposed work, and advising that the matter has been attempted by others.

To the most beloved son and co-deacon QUODVULTDEUS, AUGUSTINE the bishop.

1. Having received the letters of your Charity, where you asked of me with most ardent study that I should write something briefly concerning all heresies which have sprouted against the doctrine of the Lord Savior after His advent; how difficult this is, I immediately wrote back, an opportunity being found, through my son Philocalus, a leading man of the Hipponians: soon however this [letter] also was offered, by which I now write back, and briefly show the difficulty of its work.

2. A certain Philastrius, bishop of Brescia, whom I myself also saw at Milan with Saint Ambrose, wrote a book on this; not passing over those heresies which were among the Jewish people before the advent of the Lord, and he commemorated twenty-eight of them; and after the Lord's advent, one hundred twenty-eight. Epiphanius, the Cyprian bishop, laudably renowned in the doctrine of the Catholic faith, also wrote on this in Greek: but he himself, collecting the heresies of both times, embraced eighty. Since therefore both wished to do what you ask of me, yet how much they differ among themselves concerning the number of sects in the meantime, you see: which certainly would not have happened, unless one thing seemed to be a heresy to one of them, and another to the other. For it is not to be thought that Epiphanius was ignorant of some which Philastrius knew, since we have found Epiphanius far more learned than Philastrius; so that we ought rather to say that very many were hidden from Philastrius, if he had embraced so many more, and the former fewer. But without doubt in that question where it is disputed what is a heresy, it did not seem the same to both; and in truth this is altogether difficult to define:

et ideo cavendum, cum omnes in numerum redigere conamur, ne praetermittamus aliquas, quamvis haereses sint; aut annumeremus aliquas, cum haereses non sint. Vide ergo ne forte librum sancti Epiphanii tibi mittere debeam: ipsum enim arbitror Philastrio doctius hinc locutum; qui possit apud Carthaginem in latinam linguam verti facilius atque commodius, ut tu potius praestes nobis quod quaeris a nobis.

3. Perlatorem multum commendo. Subdiaconus est de nostra dioecesi; de fundo autem viri spectabilis, nobis charissimi Orontii. Pro illo autem, et pro ejus patre, a quo adoptatus est, etiam ad ipsum scripsi: quas litteras cum legerit christiana Benignitas tua, peto ut eas apud memoratum virum tua intercessione adjuvare digneris. Misi autem cum illo etiam hominem Ecclesiae, ne ad tuam Sanctitatem difficilis ei esset accessus: non enim parum de illo sollicitus sum; a qua me sollicitudine Dominus, ut spero, per tuae charitatis instantiam liberabit. Peto etiam mihi rescribere non graveris, quemadmodum sit in fide catholica ille Theodosius per quem Manichaei nonnulli sunt proditi; et ipsi quos ab eo proditos, putamus esse correctos. Si quid etiam de profectione sanctorum episcoporum forte audivisti, fac ut noverim. Deo vivas.

Epistola CCXXIII.

Augustino Quodvultdeus, rursum efflagitans ut scribat opusculum de haeresibus.

Domino merito venerabili, ac beatissimo sacro patri AUGUSTINO episcopo, QUOVULTDEUS diaconus,

1. Unum quidem Reverentiae tuae commonitorium, quod per ecclesiasticum dignatus es destinare, suscepi. Nam quod prius directum esse Beatitudo tua significavit, per virum honorabilem Philocalum, necdum ad me pervenit. Verum quamvis conscius propriorum semper fuerim peccatorum, nunc tamen evidenter agnovi adipiscendo illi quod exoravi muneri, meam toti Ecclesiae impedimento esse personam. Sed omnino confido quoniam qui per Unici sui gratiam, humani generis dignatus est delere facinora, nec mea in perniciem cunctorum praevalere permittet, potiusque ubi abundavit peccatum, gratiam faciet redundare (Rom. V, 20), domine merito venerabilis, ac beatissime pater. Difficultatem operis quod instruendis imperitissimis nobis per tuam beneficentiam praestari suppliciter exoravi, nec ipse ignorans ante praedixi; sed de divini fontis ubertate quam tibi Dominus tribuit, veraci corde praesumpsi.

and therefore care must be taken, when we attempt to reduce all to a number, lest we pass over some, although they are heresies; or number some, when they are not heresies. See therefore whether perhaps I ought to send you the book of Saint Epiphanius: for I think that he spoke more learnedly on this than Philastrius; which can be translated into the Latin language at Carthage more easily and commodiously, so that you rather may bestow upon us what you seek from us.

3. I much recommend the bearer. He is a subdeacon of our diocese; from the estate, however, of the spectable man, and our most dear Orontius. For him, moreover, and for his father, by whom he was adopted, I have also written to him: which letters when your Christian Benignity shall have read, I ask that you deign to help them with your intercession before the mentioned man. I sent with him also a man of the Church, lest access to your Holiness should be difficult for him: for I am not a little solicitous concerning him; from which solicitude the Lord, as I hope, will deliver me through the instance of your charity. I ask also that you not be burdened to write back to me, how that Theodosius is in the Catholic faith through whom some Manichaeans were betrayed; and those same whom [we think] having been betrayed by him, were corrected. If you have perhaps heard anything concerning the departure of the holy bishops, make that I may know. Live for God.

Letter CCXXIII.

Quodvultdeus to Augustine, again entreating that he write a small work on heresies.

To the lord deservedly venerable, and most blessed sacred father AUGUSTINE the bishop, QUODVULTDEUS the deacon,

1. I have indeed received one commonitory of your Reverence, which you deigned to destine through an ecclesiastic. For that which your Blessedness signified was directed first, through the honorable man Philocalus, has not yet reached me. But although I have always been conscious of my own sins, now nevertheless I clearly recognized that in obtaining that gift for which I prayed, my person is an impediment to the whole Church. But I altogether trust that He who through the grace of His Only-begotten, deigned to delete the crimes of the human race, will not permit my [person] to prevail to the perdition of all, and rather where sin abounded, He will make grace to redound (Rom. 5:20), lord deservedly venerable, and most blessed father. The difficulty of the work which I suppliantly prayed to be bestowed through your beneficence for us most unlearned [men], I myself not being ignorant predicted before; but I presumed with a truthful heart from the abundance of the divine source which the Lord attributed to you.

2. Nam etsi Philastrius et Epiphanius venerandi episcopi tale aliquid scripsisse memorantur, quod procul dubio me inter caetera, imo sicut omnia, latet; non tamen arbitror eos hanc curam diligentiamque adhibuisse, ut singulis quibusque opinionibus contrarias etiam opiniones adjungerent, ritusque subjicerent; tum denique opus illud utriusque qualecumque sit, non habet fortassis eam quam desidero brevitatem. Frustra etiam homini qui latina non didicit, graeca facundia delegatur; quia non ego tantummodo consilium, sed et auxilium postulavi. Quid autem Venerationem tuam de interpretum non solum difficultate, sed etiam obscuritate admoneam, cum ipse hoc magis, ac plene dijudices? Accedit ad causam, quod nonnullae etiam post illorum obitum haereses emersisse doceantur, quarum nullam illi fecerint mentionem.

3. Quamobrem ad peculiare patrocinium pietatis tuae confugio, et voce mea, sed universali desiderio, paratum ad misericordiam sacrosanctum pietatis pectus appello; sequestratis saporibus peregrinis, considerato textu prioris epistolae, panem Afrum, quem nostra provincia solet habere praecipuum, coelesti etiam manna conditum, sero pulsanti, et famem patienti non deneges. Profecto enim nec ego pulsare cessabo, donec ipse concedas; ut quod non impetrat privilegium, ubi nullum est meritum, saltem indefessa importunitas mereatur.

EPISTOLA CCXXIV. Augustinus Quodvultdeo, spondens se de haeresibus scripturum, dum per alias occupationes licebit. Nunc enim ab Alypio se urgeri dicit, ut posterioribus Juliani libris respondeat.

Domino sinceriter dilectissimo, fratri et condiacono QUODVULTDEO, AUGUSTINUS episcopus.

1. Cum mihi haec scribendi offerretur occasio per Fussalensem presbyterum, quem commendo charitati tuae, recensui epistolam tuam, in qua petis ut de haeresibus quae oriri potuerunt ex quo Domini in carne nuntiari coepit adventus, aliquid scriberem. Hoc autem feci, ut viderem utrum jam deberem opus ipsum aggredi, et inde tibi aliquid mittere; ubi considerares tanto esse difficilius, quanto vis effici brevius. Sed ne hoc quidem potui, talibus curis supervenientibus impeditus, a quibus omnino dissimulare non possem: nam me et ab eo quod habebam in manibus, averterunt.

2. For although the venerable bishops Philastrius and Epiphanius are mentioned to have written something of the kind, which without doubt is hidden from me among other things, or rather like all things; nevertheless I do not think that they employed this care and diligence, that they should join also contrary opinions to each and every opinion, and subjoin the rites; then finally that work of each, of whatever kind it may be, perhaps does not have that brevity which I desire. Also in vain is Greek eloquence delegated to a man who has not learned Latin [things]; because I have not only asked for counsel, but also for help. Why moreover should I advise your Veneration concerning not only the difficulty, but also the obscurity of interpreters, since you yourself may judge this more [fully] and plainly? It is added to the cause, that some heresies are taught to have emerged even after their death, of which they have made no mention.

3. Wherefore I flee to the peculiar patronage of your piety, and with my voice, but with a universal desire, I appeal to the sacrosanct breast of piety prepared for mercy; foreign flavors being sequestered, the text of the prior letter being considered, do not deny African bread, which our province is accustomed to have as principal, seasoned also with heavenly manna, to one knocking late and suffering hunger. For truly neither shall I cease to knock, until you yourself grant [it]; so that what privilege does not impetrate, where there is no merit, at least unwearied importunity may deserve.

LETTER CCXXIV. Augustine to Quodvultdeus, promising that he will write concerning heresies when he shall be permitted through other occupations. For he says that he is now urged by Alypius to respond to the later books of Julian.

To the lord sincerely most beloved, brother and co-deacon QUODVULTDEUS, AUGUSTINE the bishop.

1. When this occasion of writing was offered to me through the priest of Fussala, whom I recommend to your charity, I reviewed your letter, in which you ask that I should write something concerning the heresies which were able to arise from the time the advent of the Lord in the flesh began to be announced. Moreover I did this, so that I might see whether I ought now to approach the work itself, and send something from there to you; where you might consider it to be so much more difficult, as you wish it to be made shorter. But not even this was I able [to do], hindered by such cares coming upon me, from which I could not altogether dissimulate: for they turned me away even from that which I had in my hands.

2. Hoc autem est, ubi respondeo libris Juliani, quos octo edidit post illos quatuor quibus ante respondi. Hos enim cum Romae accepisset frater Alypius, nondum omnes descripserat, cum oblatam occasionem noluit praeterire, per quam mihi quinque transmisit; promittens alios tres cito se esse missurum, et multum instans ne respondere differrem. Cujus instantia coactus sum remissius agere quod agebam; ut operi utrique non deessem, uni diebus, alteri noctibus, quando mihi ab aliis occupationibus hinc atque hinc venire non desistentibus parceretur. Agebam vero rem plurimum necessariam: nam retractabam opuscula mea; et si quid in eis me offenderet, vel alios offendere posset, partim reprehendendo, partim defendendo quod legi deberet et posset, operabar. Et duo volumina jam absolveram, retractatis omnibus libris meis, quorum numerum nesciebam: eosque ducentos triginta duos esse cognovi. Restabant epistolae, deinde tractatus populares, quos Graeci homilias vocant. Et plurimas jam epistolarum legeram, sed adhuc nihil inde dictaveram, cum me etiam isti Juliani libri occupare coeperant, quorum nunc quarto respondere coepi. Quando ergo id explicavero, quintoque respondero, si tres non supervenerint, dispono (si Deus voluerit) et quod poscis incipere, simul agens utrumque, et hoc scilicet, et illud de retractatione opusculorum meorum, nocturnis et diurnis temporibus in singula distributis.

3. Hoc ideo insinuavi Sanctitati tuae, ut quantum tibi desiderium est sumendi quod poscis, tanto flagrantius a Domino mihi poscas adjutorium, quo serviam laudabili studio tuo, atque utilitati eorum quibus id existimas profuturum, domine sinceriter dilectissime frater. Commendo iterum perlatorem, et negotium propter quod eo perrexit; si cognoveris apud quem agendum sit, peto ne pigeat adjuvare. Non enim possumus necessitates hominum ejusmodi deserere, qui nostri non coloni, sed quod majus est, fratres sunt, et in charitate Christi ad curam pertinent nostram. Deo vivas.

EPISTOLA CCXXV. Prosper Augustino, de reliquiis pelagianae haereseos in Gallia sub catholico nomine clam succrescentibus certiorem ipsum faciens, ac referens quorumdam querelas de iis quae Augustinus adversus Pelagianos scripsisset de hominum discretione, de vocatione secundum propositum ac praedestinatione electorum, de praeveniente gratia, deque praefixo electorum numero; petens ut quae in istis quaestionibus obscuriora sunt, quam lucidissimis expositionibus aperiat.

Domino beatissimo papae, ineffabiliter mirabili, incomparabiliter honorando, praestantissimo patrono AUGUSTINO, PROSPER.

2. This moreover is where I respond to the books of Julian, which he edited as eight after those four to which I responded before. For when brother Alypius had received these at Rome, he had not yet described all of them, when he did not wish to pass over the offered occasion, through which he transmitted five to me; promising that he would soon send the other three, and much insisting lest I should differ to respond. By whose instance I was compelled to act more remissly in what I was doing; so that I might not be lacking to either work, to one by days, to the other by nights, when I should be spared from other occupations not ceasing to come from here and from there. For I was doing a most necessary thing: for I was retracting my small works; and if anything in them should offend me, or could offend others, partly by reprehending, partly by defending what ought to and could be read, I was working. And I had already absolved two volumes, all my books having been retracted, the number of which I did not know: and I knew them to be two hundred thirty-two. There remained the letters, then the popular treatises, which the Greeks call homilies. And I had already read very many of the letters, but had not yet dictated anything from there, when even those books of Julian had begun to occupy me, to the fourth of which I have now begun to respond. When therefore I shall have explained that, and shall have responded to the fifth, if the [other] three shall not have come upon [me], I dispose (if God shall will) also to begin what you ask, doing both together, both this namely, and that concerning the retractation of my small works, distributed into each in nocturnal and diurnal times.

3. I have insinuated this therefore to your Holiness, so that as much as there is a desire in you of receiving what you ask, so much more burningly you may ask from the Lord help for me, by which I may serve your laudable study, and the utility of those whom you think it will benefit, lord sincerely most beloved brother. I recommend again the bearer, and the business for the sake of which he proceeded there; if you shall know before whom it is to be acted, I ask that it not be troublesome to help. For we cannot desert the necessities of such men, who are not our tenants, but what is greater, brothers, and in the charity of Christ belong to our care. Live for God.

LETTER CCXXV. Prosper to Augustine, making him more certain concerning the remains of the Pelagian heresy secretly growing in Gaul under the Catholic name, and reporting the complaints of some concerning those things which Augustine had written against the Pelagians concerning the discretion of men, concerning the calling according to the purpose and the predestination of the elect, concerning prevenient grace, and concerning the prefixed number of the elect; asking that he open those things which are more obscure in these questions with most lucid expositions.

To the most blessed pope, ineffably wonderful, incomparably to be honored, most excellent patron AUGUSTINE, PROSPER [sends greeting].

1. Ignotus quidem tibi facie, sed jam aliquatenus, si reminiscaris, animo ac sermone compertus; nam per sanctum fratrem meum Leontium diaconum misi epistolas et recepi; nunc quoque Beatitudini tuae scribere audeo, non solum salutationis, ut tunc, studio, sed etiam fidei, qua Ecclesia vivit, affectu. Excubante enim pro universis membris corporis Christi vigilantissima industria tua, et adversus haereticarum doctrinarum insidias veritatis virtute pugnante, nullo modo mihi verendum putavi ne onerosus tibi, aut importunus essem in eo quod ad multorum salutem, ac perinde ad pietatem tuam pertinet: cum potius reum futurum esse me crederem, si ea, quae valde perniciosa esse intelligo, ad specialem patronum fidei non referrem.

2. Multi ergo servorum Christi qui in Massiliensi urbe consistunt, in Sanctitatis tuae scriptis quae adversus Pelagianos haereticos condidisti, contrarium putant patrum opinioni et ecclesiastico sensui, quidquid in eis de vocatione electorum secundum Dei propositum disputasti. Et cum aliquandiu tarditatem suam culpare maluerint, quam non intellecta reprehendere, quidamque eorum lucidiorem super hoc atque apertiorem Beatitudinis tuae expositionem voluerint postulare; evenit ex dispositione misericordiae Dei, ut cum quosdam intra Africam similia movissent, librum de Correptione et Gratia, plenum divinae auctoritatis emitteres. Quo in notitiam nostram insperata opportunitate delato, putavimus omnes querelas resistentium sopiendas; quia universis quaestionibus de quibus consulenda erat Sanctitas tua, tam plene illic absoluteque responsum est, quasi hoc specialiter studueris, ut quae apud nos erant turbata componeres. Recensito autem hoc Beatitudinis tuae libro, sicut qui sanctam atque apostolicam doctrinae tuae auctoritatem antea sequebantur, intelligentiores multo instructioresque sunt facti; ita qui persuasionis suae impediebantur obscuro, aversiores quam fuerant, recesserunt. Quorum tam abrupta dissensio primum propter ipsos metuenda est, ne tam claris tamque egregiis in omnium virtutum studio viris spiritus pelagianae impietatis illudat: deinde ne simpliciores quique, apud quos horum magna est de probitatis contemplatione reverentia, hoc tutissimum sibi aestiment quod audiant eos, quorum auctoritatem sine judicio sequuntur, asserere.

3. Haec enim ipsorum definitio ac profession est: Omnem quidem hominem Adam peccante peccasse; et neminem per opera sua, sed per Dei gratiam regeneratione salvari: universis tamen hominibus propitiationem, quae est in Sacramento sanguinis Christi, sine exceptione esse propositam, ut quicumque ad fidem et ad Baptismum accedere voluerint, salvi esse possint.

1. Unknown indeed to you in face, but already to some extent, if you remember, known in mind and speech; for through my holy brother Leontius the deacon I sent letters and received [them]; now also I dare to write to your Blessedness, not only with the study of salutation, as then, but also with the affection of faith, by which the Church lives. For while your most vigilant industry is keeping watch for all members of the body of Christ, and fighting against the snares of heretical doctrines by the virtue of truth, I thought in no way was it to be feared by me lest I should be burdensome to you, or importunate in that which pertains to the salvation of many, and accordingly to your piety: since I rather believed that I would be guilty, if I did not report those things, which I understand to be very pernicious, to the special patron of the faith.

2. Many therefore of the servants of Christ who consist in the city of Marseille, in the writings of your Holiness which you composed against the Pelagian heretics, think contrary to the opinion of the fathers and the ecclesiastical sense, whatever you disputed in them concerning the calling of the elect according to the purpose of God. And when for some time they preferred to blame their own slowness rather than to reprehend things not understood, and some of them wished to postulating a more lucid and more open exposition of your Blessedness upon this; it happened from the disposition of the mercy of God, that when some within Africa had moved similar [things], you emitted the book *On Correction and Grace*, full of divine authority. Which having been brought to our notice by an unhoped-for opportunity, we thought all the complaints of those resisting were to be lulled; because to all the questions concerning which your Holiness was to be consulted, it was responded there so fully and absolutely, as if you especially studied this, that you might compose those things which were disturbed among us. Having reviewed moreover this book of your Blessedness, just as those who before were following the holy and apostolic authority of your doctrine, have been made much more intelligent and more instructed; so those who were impeded by the obscurity of their own persuasion, have receded more adverse than they had been. Whose so abrupt dissension is first to be feared on account of themselves, lest the spirit of Pelagian impiety should illude men so clear and so egregious in the study of all virtues: then lest all the more simple [people], among whom there is a great reverence for these [men] from the contemplation of their probity, should estimate this most safe for themselves which they hear them, whose authority they follow without judgment, assert.

3. For this is their definition and profession: That every man indeed sinned when Adam sinned; and that no one is saved by his own works, but by the grace of God through regeneration: nevertheless that propitiation, which is in the Sacrament of the blood of Christ, is proposed to all men without exception, so that whoever shall have willed to approach to faith and to Baptism, can be saved.

Qui autem crediturí sunt, quive in ea fide, quae deinceps per gratiam sit juvanda, mansuri sunt, praescisse ante mundi constitutionem Deum, et eos praedestinasse in regnum suum, quos gratis vocatos, dignos futuros electione, et de hac vita bono fine excessuros esse praeviderit. Ideoque omnem hominem ad credendum et ad operandum divinis institutionibus admoneri, ut de apprehendenda vita aeterna nemo desperet, cum voluntariae devotioni remuneratio sit parata. Hoc autem propositum vocationis Dei, quo vel ante mundi initium, vel in ipsa conditione generis humani, eligendorum et rejiciendorum dicitur facta discretio, ut secundum quod placuit Creatori, alii vasa honoris, alii vasa contumeliae sint creati, et lapsis curam resurgendi adimere, et sanctis occasionem teporis afferre; eo quod in utraque parte superfluus labor sit, si neque rejectus ulla industria possit intrare, neque electus ulla negligentia possit excidere: quoquo enim modo se egerint, non posse aliud erga eos quam Deus definivit, accidere; et sub incerta spe cursum non posse esse constantem, cum, si aliud habeat praedestinantis electio, cassa sit adnitentis intentio. Removeri itaque omnem industriam, tollique virtutes, si Dei constitutio humanas praeveniat voluntates: et sub hoc praedestinationis nomine, fatalem quamdam induci necessitatem; aut diversarum naturarum dici Dominum conditorem, si nemo aliud possit esse quam factus est. Atque ut brevius ac plenius quod opinantur exponam, quidquid in libro hoc ex contradicentium sensu Sanctitas tua sibi opposuit, quidquid etiam in libris contra Julianum ab ipso sub hac quaestione objectum, potentissime debellasti; hoc totum ab istis sanctis intentiosissime conclamatur. Et cum contra eos scripta Beatitudinis tuae validissimis et innumeris testimoniis divinarum Scripturarum instructa proferimus, ac secundum formam disputationum tuarum, aliquid etiam ipsi quo concludantur astruimus; obstinationem suam vetustate defendunt: et ea quae de Epistola apostoli Pauli Romanis scribentis, ad manifestationem divinae gratiae praevenientis electorum merita proferuntur, a nullo unquam ecclesiasticorum ita esse intellecta, ut nunc sentiuntur, affirmant. Cumque ut ipsi ea exponant secundum quorum velint sensa, deposcimus, nihil se profitentur invenisse quod placeat, et de his taceri exigunt, quorum altitudinem nullus attigerit. Eo postremo pervicacia tota descendit, ut fidem nostram aedificationi audientium contrariam esse definiant, ac sic, etiamsi vera sit, non promendam: quia et perniciose non recipienda tradantur; et nullo periculo, quae intelligi nequeant, conticeantur.

But those who are about to believe, or who are about to remain in that faith which is thereafter to be helped through grace, God foreknew before the constitution of the world, and predestined them into His kingdom, whom He foresaw would be worthy of election, being freely called, and would depart from this life with a good end. And therefore every man is admonished to believing and to working by divine institutions, so that no one may despair of apprehending eternal life, since a remuneration is prepared for voluntary devotion. But this purpose of the calling of God, by which either before the beginning of the world, or in the very condition of the human race, a discretion of those to be elected and those to be rejected is said to have been made, so that according to what pleased the Creator, some were created as vessels of honor, others as vessels of contumely, both takes away from the fallen the care of rising again, and brings to the saints an occasion of lukewarmness; because on either part there would be superfluous labor, if neither the rejected can enter by any industry, nor the elected can fall away by any negligence: for in whatever way they shall have conducted themselves, nothing else can happen towards them than what God defined; and under an uncertain hope the course cannot be constant, since, if the election of the one predestinating should have it otherwise, the intention of the one striving would be void. Thus all industry is removed, and virtues are taken away, if the constitution of God prevents human wills: and under this name of predestination, a certain fatal necessity is induced; or the Lord is said to be the founder of diverse natures, if no one can be anything else than what he was made. And that I may set forth more briefly and fully what they think, whatever in this book your Holiness opposed to yourself from the sense of those contradicting, whatever also in the books against Julian was objected by him under this question, which you most powerfully vanquished; all this is most intently shouted by these holy men. And when we proffer the writings of your Blessedness against them, instructed by the most valid and innumerable testimonies of the divine Scriptures, and according to the form of your disputations, we ourselves also add something by which they may be concluded; they defend their obstacy by antiquity: and those things which are proffered from the Epistle of the apostle Paul writing to the Romans, for the manifestation of divine grace preventing the merits of the elect, they affirm to have been so understood by none of the ecclesiastics ever, as they are now felt. And when we demand that they themselves expose them according to whose senses they wish, they profess to have found nothing that pleases, and they exact that there be silence concerning these things, the height of which no one has reached. Finally, their whole pervicacity descends to this, that they define our faith to be contrary to the edification of the hearers, and thus, even if it be true, it is not to be brought forward: because both things not to be received are delivered perniciously; and with no peril, those things which cannot be understood, are kept silent.

4. Quidam vero horum in tantum a pelagianis semitis non declinant, ut cum ad confitendam eam Christi gratiam quae omnia praeveniant merita humana, cogantur, ne si meritis redditur, frustra gratia nominetur; ad conditionem hanc velint uniuscujusque hominis pertinere, in qua eum nihil prius merentem, quia nec existentem, liberi arbitrii et rationalem gratia Creatoris instituat, ut per discretionem boni et mali, et ad cognitionem Dei et ad obedienceiam mandatorum ejus possit suam dirigere voluntatem, atque ad hanc gratiam qua in Christo renascimur, pervenire, per naturalem scilicet facultatem, petendo, quaerendo, pulsando: ut ideo accipiat, ideo inveniat, ideo introeat, quia bono naturae bene usus, ad istam salvantem gratiam, initialis gratiae ope meruerit pervenire. Propositum autem vocantis gratiae in hoc omnino definiunt, quod Deus constituerit nullum in regnum suum, nisi per Sacramentum regenerationis assumere, et ad hoc salutis donum omnes homines universaliter, sive per naturalem, sive per scriptam legem, sive per evangelicam praedicationem vocari: ut et qui voluerint, fiant filii Dei, et inexcusabiles sint qui fideles esse noluerint; quia justitia Dei in eo sit, ut qui non crediderint, pereant; bonitas in eo appareat, si neminem repellat a vita, sed indifferenter universos velit salvos fieri et in agnitionem veritatis venire. Jam hic proferunt testimonia quibus divinarum Scripturarum cohortatio ad obediendum incitat hominum voluntates, qui ex libero arbitrio, aut faciant quae jubentur, aut negligant: et consequens putant ut quia praevaricator ideo dicitur non obedisse, quia noluit, fidelis quoque non dubitetur ob hoc devotus fuisse, quia voluit; et quantum quisque ad malum, tantum habeat facultatis ad bonum; parique momento animum se vel ad vitia, vel ad virtutes movere, quem bona appetentem gratia Dei foveat, mala sectantem damnatio justa suscipiat.

5. Cumque inter haec innumerabilium illis multitudo objicitur parvulorum, qui utique excepto originali peccato, sub quo omnes homines similiter in primi hominis damnatione nascuntur, nullas adhuc habentes voluntates, nullas proprias actiones, non sine Dei judicio secernuntur; ut ante discretionem boni ac mali de usu vitae istius auferendi, alii per regenerationem inter coelestis regni assumantur haeredes, alii sine Baptismo inter mortis perpetuae transeant debitores:

4. But some of these do not decline from the Pelagian paths to such an extent, that when they are compelled to confess that grace of Christ which prevents all human merits, lest if it be rendered to merits, grace be named in vain; they wish it to pertain to this condition of every man, in which, while he merits nothing before, because not even existing, the grace of the Creator institutes him as [a man] of free will and rational, so that through the discretion of good and evil, he can direct his will both to the cognition of God and to the obedience of His mandates, and arrive at this grace by which we are reborn in Christ, through a natural faculty namely, by asking, seeking, [and] knocking: so that he may therefore receive, therefore find, therefore enter, because having used the good of nature well, he merited to arrive at that saving grace by the help of initial grace. Moreover, they define the purpose of calling grace altogether in this, that God constituted to assume no one into His kingdom except through the Sacrament of regeneration, and that to this gift of salvation all men universally are called, whether through natural [law], or through written law, or through evangelical preaching: so that both those who shall have willed may become sons of God, and those who shall have been unwilling to be faithful may be inexcusable; because the justice of God may be in this, that those who shall not have believed may perish; [and] His goodness may appear in this, if He repels no one from life, but indifferently wills all to be saved and to come into the agnition of the truth. Now here they proffer testimonies by which the cohortation of the divine Scriptures incites the wills of men to obeying, who from free will either do those things which are commanded, or neglect [them]: and they think it consequent that because the prevaricator is therefore said not to have obeyed because he was unwilling, the faithful also should not be doubted to have been devoted for this reason, because he was willing; and as much as each has of faculty for evil, so much he has for good; and that with equal momentum the soul moves itself either to vices or to virtues, which [soul] seeking good things the grace of God may cherish, [but] following evil things a just damnation may receive.

5. And when among these things the multitude of innumerable infants is objected to them, who certainly, original sin excepted, under which all men similarly are born in the damnation of the first man, having no wills as yet, no proper actions, are not separated without the judgment of God; so that before the discretion of good and evil, being taken away from the use of this life, some through regeneration are assumed among the heirs of the heavenly kingdom, others without Baptism pass among the debtors of perpetual death:

tales aiunt perdi, talesque salvari, quales futuros illos in annis majoribus, si ad activam servarentur aetatem, scientia divina praeviderit. Nec considerant se gratiam Dei, quam comitem, non praeviam humanorum volunt esse meritorum, etiam illis voluntatibus subdere, quas ab ea, secundum suam phantasiam, non negant esse praeventas. Sed in tantum quibuscumque commentitiis meritis electionem Dei subjiciunt, ut quia praeterita non exstant, futura, quae non sint futura, confingant, novoque apud illos absurditatis genere, et non agenda praescita sint, et praescita non acta sint. Hanc sane de humanis meritis praescientiam Dei, secundum quam gratia vocantis operetur, multo sibi rationabilius videntur astruere, cum ad earum nationum contemplationem venitur, quae vel in praeteritis saeculis dimissae sunt ingredi vias suas, vel nunc quoque adhuc in veteris ignorantiae impietate depereunt, nec ulla eis aut Legis aut Evangelii illuminatio coruscavit; cum tamen, in quantum praedicatoribus ostium apertum est et via facta est, gentium populus, qui sedebat in tenebris et in umbra mortis, lucem viderit magnam (Isai. IX, 2, et Matth. IV, 16); et qui quondam non populus, nunc autem populus Dei sit; et quorum aliquando non misertus est, nunc autem misereatur (Osee II, 23, 24, et Rom. IX, 25): praevisos inquiunt a Domino credituros, et ad unamquamque gentem ita dispensata tempora ac ministeria magistrorum, ut exortura erat bonarum credulitas voluntatum: nec vacillare illud, quod «Deus omnes homines» velit «salvos fieri, et in agnitionem veritatis venire» (I Tim. II, 4); quandoquidem inexcusabiles sint qui et ad unius veri Dei cultum potuerint instrui intelligentia naturali, et Evangelium ideo non audierint, quia nec fuerint recepturi.

6. Pro universo autem humano genere mortuum esse Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et neminem prorsus a redemptione sanguinis ejus exceptum, etiamsi omnem hanc vitam alienissima ab eo mente pertranseat; quia ad omnes homines pertineat divinae misericordiae Sacramentum: quo ideo plurimi non renoventur, quia quod nec renovari velle habeant, praenoscantur. Itaque, quantum ad Deum pertinet, omnibus parata vitam aeternam; quantum autem ad arbitrii libertatem, ab his eam apprehendi, qui Deo sponte crediderint, et auxilium gratiae merito credulitatis acceperint. In istam vero talis gratiae praedicationem hi, quorum contradictione offendimur, cum prius meliora sentirent, ideo se vel maxime contulerunt, quia si profiterentur ab ea omnia bona merita praeveniri, et ab ipsa ut possint esse, donari; necessitate concederent Deum secundum propositum et consilium voluntatis suae, occulto judicio, et opere manifesto, aliud vas condere in honorem, aliud in contumeliam; quia nemo nisi per gratiam justificetur, et nemo nisi in praevaricatione nascatur.

they say that such are lost, and such are saved, as the divine science foreknew they would be in greater years, if they were kept to an active age. Nor do they consider that they subject the grace of God, which they wish to be a companion, not prevenient, of human merits, even to those wills, which by it, according to their phantasy, they do not deny to have been prevented. But to such an extent do they subject the election of God to whatever fictitious merits, that because past [merits] do not exist, they feign future [merits], which are not to be future, and by a new kind of absurdity among them, both things not to be done are foreknown, and things foreknown were not done. They seem to themselves indeed much more reasonably to astrict this foreknowledge of God concerning human merits, according to which the grace of the one calling works, when it comes to the contemplation of those nations which either in past ages were permitted to enter their own ways, or now also still perish in the impiety of ancient ignorance, nor has any illumination either of the Law or of the Gospel flashed upon them; when nevertheless, in as much as the door was opened to preachers and a way was made, the people of the gentiles, who were sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death, saw a great light (Isai. 9:2, and Matt. 4:16); and they who once were not a people, are now the people of God; and they of whom He once did not have mercy, He now has mercy (Hosea 2:23, 24, and Rom. 9:25): they say that those about to believe were foreseen by the Lord, and times and ministries of masters were so dispensed to each nation, as the credulity of good wills was about to arise: nor does that vacillate, that "God wills all men to be saved, and to come into the agnition of the truth" (1 Tim. 2:4); since they are inexcusable who could both be instructed to the worship of the one true God by natural intelligence, and therefore did not hear the Gospel, because they were not about to receive it.

6. That our Lord Jesus Christ died for the universal human race, and that absolutely no one is excepted from the redemption of His blood, even if he passes through all this life with a mind most alien from Him; because the Sacrament of divine mercy pertains to all men: by which therefore very many are not renewed, because it is foreknown that they do not even have the will to be renewed. And so, as far as pertains to God, eternal life is prepared for all; as far moreover as pertains to the freedom of will, it is apprehended by those who shall have believed in God of their own accord, and shall have received the help of grace by the merit of credulity. Into this preaching of such a grace indeed, these [men], by whose contradiction we are offended, although they formerly felt better things, have betaken themselves most of all for this reason, because if they should profess that all good merits are prevented by it, and are given by it so that they can exist; they would by necessity concede that God, according to the purpose and counsel of His will, by an occult judgment and a manifest work, founds one vessel unto honor, another unto contumely; since no one is justified except through grace, and no one is born except in prevarication.

Sed refugiunt istud fateri, divinoque adscribere operi sanctorum merita formidant; nec acquiescunt praedestinatum electorum numerum nec augeri posse nec minui, ne locum apud infideles ac negligentes cohortantium incitamenta non habeant, ac superflua sit industriae ac laboris indictio, cujus studium cessante electione frustrandum sit: ita demum enim posse unumquemque ad correctionem aut ad profectum vocari, si se sciat sua diligentia bonum esse posse, et libertatem suam ob hoc Dei auxilio juvandam, si quod Deus mandat, elegerit. Ac sic, cum in his qui tempus acceperunt liberae voluntatis, duo sint quae humanam operentur salutem, Dei scilicet gratia et hominis obedientia; priorem volunt obedientiam esse quam gratiam, ut initium salutis ex eo qui salvatur, non ex eo credendum sit stare qui salvat, et voluntas hominis divinae gratiae sibi pariat opem, non gratia sibi humanam subjiciat voluntatem.

7. Quod cum perversissimum esse, revelante Dei misericordia, et instruente nos tua Beatitudine noverimus; possumus quidem ad non credendum esse constantes, sed ad auctoritatem talia sentientium non sumus pares: quia multum nos et vitae meritis antecellunt, et aliqui eorum, adepto nuper summo sacerdotii honore, supereminent; nec facile quisquam praeter paucos perfectae gratiae intrepidos amatores, tanto superiorum disputationibus ausus est contraire. Ex quo non solum his qui eos audiunt, verum etiam ipsis qui audiuntur, cum dignitatibus crevit periculum; dum et multos reverentia eorum aut inutili cohibet silentio, aut incurioso ducit assensu; et saluberrimum ipsis videtur quod pene nullius contradictione reprehenditur. Unde, quia in istis pelagianae pravitatis reliquiis non mediocris virulentiae fibra nutritur, si principium salutis male in homine collocatur; si divinae voluntati impie voluntas humana praefertur, ut ideo quis adjuvetur quia voluit, non ideo quia adjuvatur, velit; si originaliter malus receptionem boni non a summo bono, sed a semetipso inchoare male creditur; si aliunde Deo placetur, nisi ex eo quod ipse donaverit: tribue nobis in hac causa, papa beatissime, pater optime, quantum juvante Domino potes, diligentiam pietatis tuae, ut quae in istis quaestionibus obscuriora, et ad percipiciendum difficiliora sunt, quam lucidissimis expositionibus digneris aperire.

8. Ac primum, quia plerique non putant christianam fidem hac dissensione violari, quantum periculi sit in eorum persuasione patefacias. Deinde, quomodo per istam praeoperantem et cooperantem gratiam liberum non impediatur arbitrium. Tum, utrum praescientia Dei ita secundum propositum maneat, ut ea ipsa quae sunt proposita, sint accipienda praescita:

But they flee from confessing this, and they dread to ascribe the merits of the saints to a divine work; nor do they acquiesce that the predestined number of the elect can neither be increased nor diminished, lest the incentives of those exhorting should not have a place among the unfaithful and the negligent, and the indictment of industry and labor should be superfluous, the study of which would be frustrated if election should cease: for thus at last can each one be called to correction or to progress, if he knows that he can be good by his own diligence, and that his freedom is therefore to be helped by the aid of God, if he shall have elected what God mandates. And thus, since in those who have received the time of free will, there are two things which work human salvation, the grace of God namely and the obedience of man; they wish obedience to be prior to grace, so that the beginning of salvation should be believed to stand from him who is saved, not from him who saves, and the will of man should produce for itself the aid of divine grace, not grace subject the human will to itself.

Which since we have known to be most perverse, the mercy of God revealing [it] and your Blessedness instructing us; we can indeed be constant in not believing [it], but to the authority of those feeling such things we are not equal: because they much excel us both in the merits of life, and some of them, having recently attained the supreme honor of the priesthood, supereminent; nor easily has anyone, except a few intrepid lovers of perfect grace, dared to go against the disputations of such superiors. From which not only to those who hear them, but even to those themselves who are heard, the peril has increased with their dignities; while both their reverence restrains many either in useless silence or leads [them] into incurious assent; and what is reprehended by the contradiction of almost no one seems most salutary to them. Whence, because in these remains of Pelagian depravity a fiber of no mediocre virulence is nourished, if the principle of salvation is badly placed in man; if the human will is impiously preferred to the divine will, so that someone is therefore helped because he willed, not therefore because he is helped, he wills; if he who is originally evil is badly believed to begin the reception of good not from the supreme good, but from himself; if God is pleased from elsewhere, except from that which He himself shall have given: bestow upon us in this cause, most blessed pope, best father, as much as you can by the help of the Lord, the diligence of your piety, so that those things which are more obscure in these questions, and more difficult for perceiving, you may deign to open by most lucid expositions.

8. And first, because very many do not think that the Christian faith is violated by this dissension, you should lay open how much danger there is in their persuasion. Then, how by this pre-operating and co-operating grace free will is not impeded. Then, whether the foreknowledge of God so remains according to purpose, that those very things which are proposed, are to be received as foreknown:

an per genera causarum et species personarum ista varientur; ut quia diversae sunt vocationes in his qui nihil operaturi salvantur, quasi solum Dei propositum videatur existere; in his autem qui aliquid boni acturi sunt, per praescientiam possit stare propositum: an vero uniformiter, licet dividi praescientia a proposito temporali distinctione non possit, praescientia tamen quodam ordine sit subnixa proposito; et sicut nihil sit quorumcumque negotiorum, quod non scientia divina praevenerit, ita nihil sit boni, quod in nostram participationem non Deo auctore defluxerit. Postremo, quemadmodum per hanc praedicationem propositi Dei, quo fideles fiunt qui praeordinati sunt ad vitam aeternam, nemo eorum qui cohortandi sunt impediatur, nec occasionem negligentiae habeant, si se praedestinatos esse desperent. Illud etiam qualiter diluatur, quaesumus, patienter insipientiam nostram ferendo demonstres, quod retractatis priorum de hac re opinionibus, pene omnium par invenitur et una sententia, qua propositum et praedestinationem Dei secundum praescientiam receperunt; ut ob hoc Deus alios vasa honoris, alios contumeliae fecerit, quia finem uniuscujusque praeviderit, et sub ipso gratiae adjutorio in qua futurus esse voluntate et actione praescierit.

9. Quibus omnibus enodatis, et multis insuper, quae altiore intuitu ad causam hanc pertinentia magis potes videre, discussis; credimus et speramus non solum tenuitatem nostram disputationum tuarum praesidio roborandam, sed etiam ipsos quos meritis atque honoribus claros caligo istius opinionis obscurat, defaecatissimum lumen gratiae recepturos. Nam unum eorum praecipuae auctoritatis et spiritualium studiorum virum, sanctum Hilarium Arelatensem episcopum, sciat Beatitudo tua admiratorem sectatoremque in aliis omnibus tuae esse doctrinae; et de hoc quod in querelam trahit, jampridem apud Sanctitatem tuam sensum suum per litteras velle conferre. Sed quia utrum hoc facturus, aut quo fine sit facturus incertum est, et omnium nostrum fatigatio, providente hoc praesenti saeculo Dei gratia, in tuae charitatis et scientiae vigore respirat; adde eruditionem humilibus, adde increpationem superbis. Necessarium et utile est etiam quae scripta sunt scribere, ne leve existimetur quod non frequenter arguitur. Sanum enim putant esse quod non dolet, nec vulnus superducta cute sentiunt: sed intelligant perventurum ad sectionem, quod habuerit perseverantem tumorem. Gratia Dei et pax Domini nostri Jesu Christi coronet te in omni tempore, et ambulantem de virtute in virtutem glorificet in aeternum, domine papa beatissime, ineffabiliter mirabilis, incomparabiliter honorande, praestantissime patrone.

or whether through the genera of causes and species of persons these things are varied; so that because the vocations are diverse in those who are saved without being about to work anything, the sole purpose of God seems to exist; in those however who are about to do something of good, the purpose can stand through foreknowledge: or whether truly uniformly, although foreknowledge cannot be divided from the temporal distinction of the purpose, foreknowledge nevertheless in a certain order is supported by the purpose; and just as there is nothing of any negotiations whatsoever, which divine knowledge has not prevented, so there is nothing of good, which has not flowed down into our participation except with God as author. Lastly, in what manner through this preaching of the purpose of God, by which those who were preordained to eternal life are made faithful, none of those who are to be exhorted should be impeded, nor have an occasion of negligence, if they should despair that they are predestined. That also, we ask, in what way it may be diluted, you may demonstrate by patiently bearing our insipience, because the opinions of the predecessors on this matter having been retracted, the equal and one sentence of almost all is found, by which they received the purpose and predestination of God according to foreknowledge; so that for this reason God made some vessels of honor, others of contumely, because He foresaw the end of each one, and under the very help of grace He foreknew in what will and action each would be.

9. All which things having been enodated, and many moreover, which with a higher intuition you can see more as pertaining to this cause, having been discussed; we believe and hope that not only our tenuity is to be corroborated by the protection of your disputations, but also those themselves whom the fog of this opinion obscures, though clear in merits and honors, will receive the most purified light of grace. For your Blessedness should know that one of them, a man of principal authority and of spiritual studies, the holy Hilary, bishop of Arles, is an admirer and follower of your doctrine in all other things; and concerning this which he draws into complaint, he has long since wished to confer his sense through letters with your Holiness. But because whether he is about to do this, or with what end he is about to do it is uncertain, and the fatigue of us all, God's grace providing for this present age, respires in the vigor of your charity and science; add erudition to the humble, add increpation to the proud. It is necessary and useful to write even those things which have been written, lest that which is not frequently argued be thought light. For they think that to be healthy which does not ache, nor do they feel the wound with the skin drawn over it: but let them understand that what shall have had a persevering tumor will come to the section. May the grace of God and the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ crown you in all time, and glorify you walking from virtue to virtue forever, most blessed lord pope, ineffably admirable, incomparably to be honored, most excellent patron.

Epistola CCXXVI.

Hilarius Augustino, de eodem argumento.

Domino beatissimo ac toto affectu desiderando, et multum in Christo suscipiendo patri AUGUSTINO, HILARIUS.

1. Si cessantibus contradicentium quaestionibus gratae sunt plerumque studiosorum inquisitiones, ut etiam illa quae absque periculo ignorarentur, ediscant; arbitror gratiorem fore sedulitatem nostrae relationis, quae dum indicat secundum quorumdam prosecutiones quaedam adversantia veritati, non tam sibi quam illis qui turbantur et turbant, per consilium sanctitatis tuae satagit provideri, domine beatissime ac toto affectu desiderande, et multum in Christo suscipiende pater.

2. Haec sunt itaque quae Massiliae, vel aliis etiam locis in Gallia ventilantur. Novum et inutile esse praedicationi quod quidam secundum propositum eligendi dicantur, ut id nec arripere valeant nec tenere, nisi credendi voluntate donata. Excludi putant omnem praedicandi vigorem, si nihil quod per eum excitetur, in hominibus remansisse dicatur. Consentiunt omnem hominem in Adam periisse, nec inde quemquam posse proprio arbitrio liberari: sed id conveniens asserunt veritati, vel congruum praedicationi, ut, cum prostratis et nunquam suis viribus surrecturis annuntiatur obtinendae salutis occasion, eo merito quo voluerint et crediderint a suo morbo se posse sanari, et ipsius fidei augmentum, et totius sanitatis suae consequantur effectum. Caeterum ad nullum opus vel incipiendum, nedum perficiendum, quemquam sibi sufficere posse consentiunt: neque enim alicui operi curationis eorum annumerandum putant, exterrita et supplici voluntate, unumquemque aegrotum velle sanari. Quod enim dicitur, Crede, et salvus eris; unum horum exigi asserunt, aliud offerri; ut propter id quod exigitur, si redditum fuerit, id quod offertur deinceps tribuatur. Unde consequens putant exhibendam ab eo fidem, cujus naturae id voluntate Conditoris concessum est; et nullam ita depravatam vel exstinctam putant, ut non debeat vel possit se velle sanari; propter quod vel sanetur quis a sua, vel, si noluerit, cum sua aegritudine puniatur. Nec negari gratiam, si praecedere dicatur talis voluntas, quae tantum medicum quaerat, non autem quidquam ipsa jam valeat.

Epistle CCXXVI.

Hilary to Augustine, on the same argument.

To the most blessed lord and with all affection to be desired, and a father much to be received in Christ, AUGUSTINE, HILARY.

1. If the inquiries of the studious are for the most part grateful when the questions of those contradicting cease, so that they may learn even those things which without danger would be ignored; I judge that the sedulity of our relation will be more grateful, which while it indicates certain things opposing the truth according to the prosecutions of some, strives to provide through the counsel of your holiness not so much for itself as for those who are troubled and trouble, most blessed lord and with all affection to be desired, and father much to be received in Christ.

2. These are therefore the things which are ventilated at Marseille, or also in other places in Gaul. That it is new and useless for preaching that some are said to be elected according to purpose, so that they can neither seize it nor hold it, unless the will of believing is given. They think that all vigor of preaching is excluded, if nothing which is excited through it is said to have remained in men. They agree that every man perished in Adam, nor can anyone be liberated from there by his own will: but they assert this as convenient to the truth, or congruent for preaching, that, when the occasion of obtaining salvation is announced to those prostrate and never about to rise by their own strengths, by that merit by which they shall have willed and believed they can be healed from their disease, and they may follow the effect both of the increase of faith itself, and of the whole of their health. For the rest, they agree that no one can suffice for himself for any work either to be begun, much less to be perfected: for they do not think that it is to be numbered among any work of their healing, that with a terrified and suppliant will, each sick person wishes to be healed. For that which is said, Believe, and you shall be saved; they assert that one of these is exacted, the other offered; so that on account of that which is exacted, if it shall have been rendered, that which is offered may subsequently be bestowed. Whence they think it consequent that faith is to be exhibited by him, to whose nature this was granted by the will of the Creator; and they think none so depraved or extinguished, that it ought not or cannot wish to be healed; on account of which either someone is healed by his own [will], or, if he shall have been unwilling, he is punished with his own sickness. Nor is grace denied, if such a will is said to precede, which only seeks a physician, but not that it itself already avails for anything.

Nam illa testimonia, ut est illud, «Sicut unicuique partitus est mensuram fidei» (Rom. XII, 3), et similia, ad id volunt valere, ut adjuvetur qui coeperit velle, non ut etiam donetur ut velit; rejectis ab hoc dono aliis pariter reis, et qui possent similiter liberari, si ea quae pariter indignis praestatur credendi voluntas, etiam ipsis similiter praestaretur. Si autem, aiunt, dicatur vel tatem omnibus remansisse, qua vel contemnere quis valeat, vel obedire, de compendio putant rationem reddi electorum vel rejectorum in eo quod unicuique meritum propriae voluntatis adjungitur.

3. Cum autem dicitur eis quare aliis vel alicubi praedicetur, vel non praedicetur, vel nunc praedicetur quod aliquando pene omnibus, sicut nunc aliquibus gentibus non praedicatum sit; dicunt id praescientiae esse divinae, ut eo tempore, et ibi, et illis veritas annuntiaretur, vel annuntietur, quando et ubi praenoscebatur esse credenda. Et hoc non solum aliorum catholicorum testimoniis, sed etiam Sanctitatis tuae disputatione antiquiore se probare testantur; ubi tamen eamdem gratiam non minore veritatis perspicuitate docueris: ut est illud quod dixit Sanctitas tua in quaestione contra Porphyrium, de tempore christianae religionis, «Tunc voluisse hominibus apparere Christum, et apud eos praedicari doctrinam suam, quando sciebat et ubi sciebat esse qui in eum fuerant credituri» (Epist. 102, quaest. 2, n. 14): vel illud de libro in Epistolam ad Romanos, «Dicis itaque mihi, quid adhuc conqueritur? nam voluntati ejus quis resistit» (Rom. IX, 19)? «Cui sane inquisitioni, inquis, sic respondet, ut intelligamus spiritualibus viris, etiam non secundum terrenum hominem viventibus, patere posse prima merita fidei et impietatis, quomodo Deus praescientia eligat credituros, et damnet incredulos: nec illos ex operibus eligens, nec istos ex operibus damnans; sed et illorum fidei praestans, ut bene operentur, et istorum impietatem deserendo obdurans, ut male operentur:» et iterum in eodem libro superius, «Aequales omnes sunt ante meritum, nec potest in rebus omni modo aequalibus electio nominari. Sed quoniam Spiritus sanctus non datur nisi credentibus; non quidem Deus eligit opera quae ipse largitur, cum dat Spiritum sanctum, ut per charitatem bona operemur: sed tamen eligit fidem, quia nisi quis credat, et in accipiendi voluntate permaneat, non accipit donum Dei, id est Spiritum sanctum, per quem infusa charitate bonum possit operari.

For those testimonies, as is that one, "As to each He has distributed the measure of faith" (Rom. XII, 3), and similar ones, they wish to avail for this, that he who has begun to will is helped, not that it is also given that he wills; other equally guilty ones having been rejected from this gift, and who could similarly be liberated, if that will of believing which is provided to the equally unworthy were also provided to them similarly. If however, they say, it is said that a [will] has remained to all, by which each can either contemn or obey, they think the reason of the elect or the rejected is rendered from a compendium in that which the merit of his own will is joined to each one.

3. Moreover, when it is said to them why to others or in any place it is preached, or not preached, or preached now what once to almost all, just as now to some nations it was not preached; they say that this is of divine foreknowledge, so that at that time, and there, and to those the truth should be announced, or is announced, when and where it was foreknown to be about to be believed. And this they testify that they prove not only by the testimonies of other Catholics, but also by an older disputation of your Holiness; where nevertheless you taught the same grace with no less perspicuity of truth: as is that which your Holiness said in the question against Porphyry, concerning the time of the Christian religion, "That then Christ willed to appear to men, and His doctrine to be preached among them, when He knew and where He knew there were those who were about to believe in Him" (Epist. 102, quest. 2, n. 14): or that from the book on the Epistle to the Romans, "You say therefore to me, why does He still complain? for who resists His will" (Rom. IX, 19)? "To which inquiry indeed, you say, He so responds, that we may understand that to spiritual men, even those not living according to the earthly man, the first merits of faith and of impiety can be open, in what manner God by foreknowledge elects those about to believe, and damns the incredulous: neither electing those from works, nor damning these from works; but both providing to the faith of those, that they may work well, and hardening the impiety of these by deserting [them], so that they may work badly:" and again in the same book above, "All are equal before merit, nor can election be named in things equal in every way. But since the Holy Spirit is not given except to those believing; God indeed does not elect the works which He Himself bestows, when He gives the Holy Spirit, so that through charity we may work good things: but nevertheless He elects faith, because unless someone believes, and remains in the will of receiving, he does not receive the gift of God, that is the Holy Spirit, through whom with charity infused he can work good.

Non ergo eligit opera cujusquam in praescientia, quae ipse donaturus est: sed fidem eligit in praescientia; ut quem crediturum esse praescivit, ipsum elegerit cui Spiritum sanctum daret, ut bona operando etiam aeternam vitam consequeretur. Dicit enim Apostolus: «Idem Deus qui operatur omnia in omnibus» (I Cor. XII, 6). Nusquam autem dictum est, Deus credit omnia in omnibus: quod enim credimus, nostrum est; quod autem operamur, illius» (In Expos. quarumdam propositionum ex Epist. ad Rom. propp. 12 et 60): et caetera in eodem opere; quae se acceptare et probare testantur, tanquam convenientia evangelicae veritati.

4. Caeterum praescientiam, et praedestinationem, vel propositum, ad id valere contendunt, ut eos praescierit, vel praedestinaverit, vel proposuerit eligere qui fuerant credituri: nec de hac fide posse dici, «Quid habes quod non accepisti» (I Cor. IV, 7)? cum in eadem natura remanserit, licet vitiata, quae prius sana ac perfecta donata sit. Quod autem dicit Sanctitas tua, neminem perseverare, nisi perseverandi virtute percepta; hactenus accipiunt, ut quibus datur, inerti licet, praecedenti tamen proprio arbitrio tribuatur: quod ad hoc tantum liberum asserunt, ut velit vel nolit admittere medicinam. Caeterum et ipsi abominari se et damnare testantur, si quis quidquam virium in aliquo remansisse, quo ad sanitatem progredi possit, existimet. Nolunt autem ita hanc perseverantiam praedicari, ut non vel suppliciter emereri, vel amitti contumaciter possit. Nec ad incertum voluntatis Dei deduci se volunt, ubi eis quantum putant ad obtinendum vel admittendum, evidens est qualecumque initium voluntatis. Illud etiam testimonium quod posuisti, «Raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus» (Sap. IV, 11); tanquam non canonicum definiunt omittendum. Unde illam praescientiam sic accipiunt, ut propter fidem futuram intelligendi sint praesciti: nec cuiquam talem dari perseverantiam, a qua non permittatur praevaricari; sed a qua possit sua voluntate deficere et infirmari.

5. Asserunt inutilem exhortandi consuetudinem, si nihil in homine remansisse dicatur, quod correptio valeat excitare: quod quidem inesse naturae sic se dicere confitentur, ut hoc ipso quod ignoranti veritas praedicatur, ad beneficium praesentis gratiae referendum sit. Nam si sic praedestinati sunt, inquiunt, ad utramque partem, ut de aliis ad alios nullus possit accedere; quo pertinet tanta extrinsecus correptionis instantia? Si ab homine, etsi non fides integra, saltem vel dolor compunctae infirmitatis exoritur, aut periculum demonstratae mortis horretur.

He does not therefore elect the works of anyone in foreknowledge, which He Himself is about to give: but He elects faith in foreknowledge; so that whom He foreknew was about to believe, him He elected to whom He would give the Holy Spirit, so that by working good things he might also follow eternal life. For the Apostle says: 'The same God who works all in all' (1 Cor. XII, 6). Nowhere however is it said, God believes all in all: for that we believe, is ours; but that we work, is His" (In Expos. of certain propositions from the Epistle to the Rom. propp. 12 and 60): and the rest in the same work; which they testify that they accept and approve, as if convenient to evangelical truth.

4. For the rest, they contend that foreknowledge, and predestination, or purpose, avail for this, that He foreknew, or predestined, or proposed to elect those who were about to believe: nor can it be said of this faith, "What do you have that you have not received" (1 Cor. IV, 7)? since it remained in the same nature, although vitiated, which was first given sound and perfect. What however your Holiness says, that no one perseveres, except with the virtue of persevering perceived; they accept thus far, that to those to whom it is given, although inert, it is nevertheless bestowed with a preceding proper will: which they assert free for this only, that it may will or not will to admit medicine. For the rest, even they testify that they abominate and damn it, if anyone should think that any of the strengths remained in anyone, by which he can progress to health. They do not wish however this perseverance to be preached thus, that it cannot either be suppliantly earned, or contumaciously lost. Nor do they wish to be deduced to the uncertainty of the will of God, where to them, as much as they think for obtaining or admitting, some kind of beginning of will is evident. That testimony also which you placed, "He was snatched lest malice should change his understanding" (Wis. IV, 11); they define as to be omitted as if not canonical. Whence they accept that foreknowledge thus, that on account of future faith they are to be understood foreknown: nor is such perseverance given to anyone, from which he is not permitted to prevaricate; but from which he can fail and be weakened by his own will.

5. They assert that the custom of exhorting is useless, if it is said that nothing remained in man, which correction can excite: which they confess they say to be in nature thus, that by this very thing that the truth is preached to one ignorant, it is to be referred to the benefit of present grace. For if they are so predestined, they say, to either part, that no one can pass from some to others; to what does such an instance of correction from without pertain? If from man, even if not an intact faith, at least either the pain of a compunctious infirmity arises, or the danger of demonstrated death is dreaded.

Nam si non potest timere quis unde terretur, nisi ea voluntate quae sumitur; non ex eo culpandus quod nunc non vult: sed in eo et cum eo qui sic aliquando noluit, ut eam damnationem cum suis posteris mereretur incurrere, ut nunquam recta, semper autem prava vellet appetere. Si autem est qualiscumque dolor qui ad exhortationem corripientis oriatur: hanc ipsam dicunt causam, propter quam vel rejiciatur alius, vel alius assumatur: atque ita non opus esse partes constitui, quibus nec adjiciendum sit aliquid, nec detrahendum.

10. Libros, cum editi fuerint, quos de universo opere tuo moliris, quaeso habere mereamur; maxime ut per eorum auctoritatem, si qua tibi in tuis displicent, a dignitate tui nominis jam non trepidi sequestremus. Librum etiam de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio non habemus; superest ut eum, quia utilem quaestioni confidimus, mereamur accipere. Nolo autem Sanctitas tua sic me arbitretur haec scribere, quasi de iis quae nunc edidisti, ego dubitem. Sufficiat mihi poena mea, quod a praesentiae tuae deliciis exsulatus, ubi salubribus tuis uberibus nutriebar, non solum absentia tua crucior, verum etiam pervicacia quorumdam, qui non tantum manifesta respuunt, sed etiam non intellecta reprehendunt. Caeterum hac suspicione in tantum careo, ut potius infirmitatem meam, qua tales parum patienter fero, notabilem putem. Qualiter autem ad haec consulendum judices, ut dixi, tuae sapientiae derelinquo. Nam ad me hoc pertinere credidi, pro ea quam Christo vel tibi debeo charitate, ut quae in quaestionem veniunt, non tacerem. Quidquid pro ea gratia quam in te pusilli cum magnis miramur, volueris aut valueris, gratissime accipiemus, tanquam a nobis charissima et reverendissima auctoritate decretum. Sane quia, urgente perlatore, timui ne vel non omnia, vel haec ipsa minus digne, conscius mearum virium, possem dirigere; egi cum viro, tum moribus tum eloquio et studio claro, ut quanta posset collecta suis litteris intimaret : quas conjunctas his destinare curavi. Est enim talis qui, etiam praeter hanc necessitatem, dignus tuae Sanctitatis notitia judicetur. Sanctus Leontius diaconus cultor tuus, cum meis parentibus multum te salutat. Memorem mei Paternitatem tuam Dominus Christus Ecclesiae suae annis pluribus donare dignetur, domine pater. Et infra: Sciat Sanctitas tua, fratrem meum, cujus maxime causa hinc discessimus, cum matrona sua ex consensu perfectam Deo continentiam devovisse. Unde rogamus Sanctitatem tuam, ut orare digneris quo hoc ipsum in eis Dominus confirmare et custodire dignetur.

For if someone cannot fear whence he is terrified, except by that will which is taken; he is not to be blamed for this, that he now does not will: but in him and with him who once so did not will, that he earned to incur that damnation with his posterity, so that he never willed right things, but always willed to seek perverse things. If however there is some kind of pain which arises at the exhortation of one correcting: they say this is the very cause, on account of which either another is rejected, or another is assumed: and thus there is no need for parts to be constituted, for which nothing is either to be added, nor taken away.

10. The books, when they shall have been published, which you are working on concerning your entire work, I pray that we may deserve to have; especially so that through their authority, if any things in yours displease you, we may now without fear sequester them from the dignity of your name. We also do not have the book on Grace and Free Will (de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio); it remains that we may deserve to receive it, because we trust it to be useful to the question. However, I do not want your Holiness to think that I write these things as if I doubt concerning those things which you have now published. Let my punishment suffice for me, that having been exiled from the delights of your presence, where I was nourished at your healthful breasts, I am not only tortured by your absence, but also by the persistence of certain ones, who not only reject manifest things, but also reprehend things not understood. For the rest, I am so free from this suspicion, that I rather think my own infirmity, by which I bear such ones with too little patience, to be notable. However, in what way you judge it necessary to consult concerning these things, as I said, I leave to your wisdom. For I believed this to pertain to me, for that charity which I owe to Christ or to you, that I should not be silent about those things which come into question. Whatever you shall wish or be able to do for that grace which we, small with great, admire in you, we shall receive most gratefully, as a decree from a most dear and most reverend authority for us. Certainly because, with the carrier pressing, I feared lest I might not be able to direct all things, or these very things worthily enough, being conscious of my own strength; I acted with a man, clear both in morals and in eloquence and study, so that he might intimate as many things as could be collected in his own letter: which I have taken care to direct joined to these. For he is such a one who, even besides this necessity, may be judged worthy of the knowledge of your Holiness. Saint Leontius the deacon, your worshipper, with my parents, greets you much. May the Lord Christ deign to grant your Paternity, mindful of me, to his Church for many years, lord father. And below: May your Holiness know, that my brother, for whose cause especially we departed from here, has with his matron by consent devoted perfect continence to God. Whence we ask your Holiness, that you deign to pray so that the Lord may deign to confirm and preserve this very thing in them.

Epistola CCXXVII.

Augustinus Alypio seni, de Gabiniano recens baptizato, et de Dioscoro miraculis converso ad Christianismum.

AUGUSTINUS, ALYPIO seni.

Frater Paulus hic est incolumis, apportat negotiorum suorum secundas curas; praestabit Dominus ut etiam ipsae ultimae sint. Multum vos salutat, et narrat gaudia de Gabiniano, quod ab illa sua causa misericordia Dei liberatus, non solum christianus, sed etiam fidelis sit valde bonus, per Pascha proxime baptizatus, in corde atque in ore habens gratiam quam percepit. Quantum eum desiderem, quando explicabo? sed nosti ut eum diligam. Archiater etiam Dioscorus christianus fidelis est, simul gratiam consecutus; audi etiam quemadmodum: neque enim cervicula illa vel lingua, nisi aliquo prodigio domaretur. Filia ejus in qua unica acquiescebat, aegrotabat, et usque ad totam desperationem salutis temporalis, eodem ipso patre renuntiante, pervenit. Dicitur ergo; et constat, cum mihi hoc et ante fratris Pauli reditum, comes Peregrinus, vir laudabilis et bene christianus, qui cum eis eodem tempore baptizatus est, indicarit: dicitur ergo ille senex tandem conversus ad implorandam Christi misericordiam, voto se obligasse, christianum fore, si illam salvam videret. Factum est. At ille quod voverat dissimulabat exsolvere: sed adhuc manus excelsa. Nam repentina caecitate suffunditur: statimque venit in mentem unde illud esset; exclamavit confitens, atque iterum vovit, se recepto lumine impleturum esse quod voverat. Recepit, implevit: et adhuc manus excelsa. Symbolum non tenuerat, aut fortasse tenere recusaverat, et se non potuisse excusaverat: Deus viderat. Jam tum post festa omnia receptionis suae in paralysim solvitur multis ac pene omnibus membris, et etiam lingua. Tunc somnio admonitus confitetur per scripturam ob hoc sibi dictum esse accidisse, quod symbolum non reddiderit. Post illam confessionem redduntur officia omnium membrorum, nisi linguae solius; se tamen didicisse symbolum, ideoque memoria jam tenere nihilominus in eadem tentatione litteris fassus est: sicque omnis est ab eo deleta nugacitas, quae, ut scis, multum decolorabat naturalem quamdam ejus benignitatem, eumque insultantem Christianis faciebat valde sacrilegum. Quid dicam, nisi, Domino hymnum canamus, et superexaltemus eum in saecula, Amen?

Epistola CCXXVIII.

Augustinus Honorato, docens quandonam episcopo sive clericis fugere liceat, imminente obsidionis aut excidii periculo.

Letter CCXXVII.

Augustine to the elder Alypius, concerning Gabinianus recently baptized, and concerning Dioscorus converted to Christianity by miracles.

AUGUSTINE, to the elder ALYPIUS.

Brother Paul is here safe, he brings the second cares of his affairs; the Lord will grant that even these themselves be the last. He greets you much, and tells joys concerning Gabinianus, because having been liberated from that cause of his by the mercy of God, he is not only a Christian, but also a very good faithful one, baptized recently through Easter, having in heart and in mouth the grace which he perceived. How much I desire him, when shall I explain? but you know that I love him. The chief physician (Archiater) Dioscorus also is a faithful Christian, having obtained grace at the same time; hear also in what manner: for neither that little neck nor tongue would be tamed, unless by some prodigy. His daughter in whom alone he was finding rest, was sick, and came even to the total desperation of temporal health, with that same father renouncing [hope]. It is said therefore; and it is certain, since the count Peregrinus, a praiseworthy man and well Christian, who was baptized with them at the same time, indicated this to me even before the return of brother Paul: it is said therefore that that old man at length converted to imploring the mercy of Christ, bound himself by a vow, that he would be a Christian, if he saw her safe. It was done. But he was dissembling to pay what he had vowed: but still the hand is high. For he is overspread with sudden blindness: and immediately it came into mind whence that was; he cried out confessing, and again vowed, that he would fulfill what he had vowed once his light was received back. He received it back, he fulfilled it: and still the hand is high. He had not held the symbol [the Creed], or perhaps he had refused to hold it, and had excused himself that he could not: God had seen. Then already after all the feasts of his reception he is dissolved into paralysis in many and almost all members, and also the tongue. Then admonished by a dream he confesses through writing that it happened to him for this reason, because he did not return the symbol. After that confession the duties of all members are returned, except of the tongue alone; nevertheless he confessed in writing in that same temptation that he had learned the symbol, and therefore already held it in memory: and so all silliness was deleted from him, which, as you know, much discolored a certain natural kindness of his, and was making him a very sacrilegious insulter to Christians. What shall I say, except, let us sing a hymn to the Lord, and let us superexalt him forever, Amen?

Letter CCXXVIII.

Augustine to Honoratus, teaching when it is permitted for a bishop or clerics to flee, with the danger of siege or destruction imminent.

Sancto fratri et coepiscopo HONORATO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem .

1. Charitati tuae misso exemplo epistolae quam fratri Quodvultdeo nostro coepiscopo scripsi, putabam me hoc onere caruisse quod mihi imposuisti, quaerendo consilium quid in his periculis quae tempora nostra invenerunt, facere debeatis. Quamvis enim epistolam illam breviter scripserim, nihil me tamen praetermisisse arbitror, quod et respondenti dicere, et quaerenti audire sufficeret: quandoquidem dixi nec eos esse prohibendos qui ad loca, si possunt, munita migrare desiderant; et ministerii nostri vincula, quibus nos Christi charitas alligavit, ne deseramus Ecclesias quibus servire debemus, non esse rumpenda. Ista quippe verba sunt quae in illa epistola posui (Epist. ad Quodvultdeum episcopum, quae non exstat): Restat ergo, inquam, ut nos quorum ministerium quantulaecumque plebi Dei ubi sumus manenti, ita necessarium est, ut sine hoc eam non oporteat remanere, dicamus Domino, Esto nobis in Deum protectorem, et in locum munitum (Psal. XXX, 3).

2. Sed hoc consilium tibi propterea non sufficit, ut scribis, ne contra Domini praeceptum vel exemplum facere nitamur, ubi fugiendum esse de civitate in civitatem monet. Recolimus enim verba dicentis, Cum autem persequentur vos in civitate ista, fugite in aliam (Matth. X, 23): quis autem credat ita hoc Dominum fieri voluisse, ut necessario ministerio, sine quo vivere nequeunt, deserantur greges, quos suo sanguine comparavit? Numquid hoc fecit ipse, quando portantibus parentibus in Aegyptum parvulus fugit (Id. II, 14), qui nondum Ecclesias congregaverat, quas ab eo desertas fuisse dicamus? Numquid quando apostolus Paulus, ne illum comprehenderet inimicus, per fenestram in sporta submissus est, et effugit manus ejus (II Cor. XI, 33), deserta est quae ibi erat Ecclesia necessario ministerio, et non ab aliis fratribus ibidem constitutis quod oportebat impletum est? Eis quippe volentibus hoc Apostolus fecerat, ut seipsum servaret Ecclesiae, quem proprie persecutor ille quaerebat. Faciant ergo servi Christi, ministri verbi et Sacramenti ejus, quod praecepit sive permisit. Fugiant omnino de civitate in civitatem, quando eorum quisquam specialiter a persecutoribus quaeritur, ut ab aliis qui non ita requiruntur, non deseratur Ecclesia, sed praebeant cibaria conservis suis, quos aliter vivere non posse noverunt. Cum autem omnium, id est episcoporum, clericorum et laicorum est commune periculum, hi qui aliis indigent, non deserantur ab his quibus indigent.

To the holy brother and fellow bishop HONORATUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. I was thinking that I was free from this burden which you imposed on me, by the example sent to your Charity of the letter which I wrote to our fellow bishop brother Quodvultdeus, by seeking counsel what you ought to do in these dangers which our times have found. For although I wrote that letter briefly, I nevertheless think that I omitted nothing, which would suffice for the one responding to say, and for the one seeking to hear: since I said that they are not to be prohibited who desire to migrate to fortified places, if they can; and that the bonds of our ministry, by which the charity of Christ has bound us, so that we do not desert the Churches to which we ought to serve, are not to be broken. These indeed are the words which I placed in that letter (Letter to Quodvultdeus the bishop, which is not extant): It remains therefore, I say, that we whose ministry is so necessary to the people of God, however small, remaining where we are, that it is not fitting for it to remain without this, should say to the Lord, Be to us for a protector God, and for a fortified place (Psal. XXX, 3).

2. But this counsel for that reason is not sufficient for you, as you write, lest we strive to do against the command or example of the Lord, where He advises that one must flee from city to city. For we recall the words of Him saying, When however they shall persecute you in this city, flee into another (Matth. X, 23): but who would believe that the Lord wished this to be done so that by the necessary ministry, without which they cannot live, the flocks which He purchased with His own blood are deserted? Did He Himself do this, when, as a small child with His parents carrying Him, He fled into Egypt (Id. II, 14), who had not yet gathered Churches, which we might say were deserted by Him? Did the apostle Paul, lest the enemy should catch him, when he was let down through a window in a basket, and escaped his hands (II Cor. XI, 33), desert the Church which was there by the necessary ministry, and was that which was necessary not fulfilled by other brothers established in the same place? Indeed the Apostle had done this with them willing, so that he might save himself for the Church, whom that persecutor was specifically seeking. Therefore let the servants of Christ do, the ministers of His word and Sacrament, what He commanded or permitted. Let them flee altogether from city to city, when any of them is specifically sought by persecutors, so that by others who are not so required, the Church is not deserted, but they may provide food for their fellow-servants, whom they know cannot live otherwise. When however there is a common danger of all, that is, of bishops, clerics and laity, let those who lack others not be deserted by those whom they lack.

Aut igitur ad loca munita omnes transeant; aut qui habent remanendi necessitatem, non relinquantur ab eis per quos illorum est ecclesiastica supplenda necessitas, ut aut pariter vivant, aut pariter sufferant quod eos paterfamilias volet perpeti.

3. Quod si contigerit ut sive alii minus, alii majus, sive omnes aequaliter patiantur, qui eorum sint qui pro aliis patiuntur, apparet; illi scilicet qui cum se possent talibus malis eripere fugiendo, ne aliorum necessitatem desererent, manere maluerunt. Hinc maxime probatur illa charitas quam Joannes apostolus commendat, dicens: Sicut Christus animam suam pro nobis posuit, sic et nos debemus animas pro fratribus ponere (I Joan. III, 16). Nam qui fugiunt, vel suis devincti necessitatibus fugere non possunt; si comprehensi patiuntur, pro seipsis, non pro fratribus, utique patiuntur: qui vero propterea patiuntur, quia fratres, qui eis ad christianam salutem indigebant, deserere noluerunt, sine dubio suas animas pro fratribus ponunt.

4. Unde illud quod episcopum quemdam dixisse audivimus, Si Dominus nobis imperavit fugam in eis persecutionibus, ubi potest fructus esse martyrii; quanto magis debemus fugere steriles passiones, quando est barbaricus et hostilis incursus? verum est quidem et acceptabile, sed his quos ecclesiastici officii non tenent vincula. Nam qui clades hostiles ideo non fugit, cum possit effugere, ne deserat ministerium Christi, sine quo non possunt homines vel fieri vel vivere christiani, majorem charitatis invenit fructum, quam qui non propter fratres, sed propter seipsum fugiens, atque comprehensus non negat Christum, suscipitque martyrium.

5. Quid est ergo quod in epistola tua priore posuisti? dicis enim, Si in Ecclesiis persistendum est, quid simus nobis vel populo profuturi non video, nisi ut ante oculos nostros viri cadant, feminae constuprentur, incendantur ecclesiae, nos ipsi in tormentis deficiamus, cum de nobis quaeritur quod non habemus. Potens est quidem Deus audire preces familiae suae, et haec, quae formidantur, avertere; nec ideo tamen propter ista, quae incerta sunt, debet nostri officii esse certa desertio, sine quo est plebi certa pernicies, non in rebus vitae hujus, sed alterius incomparabiliter diligentius sollicitiusque curandae. Nam si certa essent ista mala, quae timentur ne in locis in quibus sumus, forte contingant, prius inde fugerent omnes propter quos ibi manendum est, et nos a manendi necessitate liberos redderent: non enim quisquam est qui dicat ministros manere oportere, ubi jam non fuerint quibus necesse sit ministrare. Ita quidam sancti episcopi de Hispania profugerunt, prius plebibus partim fuga lapsis, partim peremptis, partim obsidione consumptis, partim captivitate dispersis: sed multo plures, illic manentibus propter quos manerent, sub eorumdem periculorum densitate manserunt.

Either therefore let all pass over to fortified places; or let those who have the necessity of remaining not be left by those through whom their ecclesiastical necessity is to be supplied, so that either they live together, or they suffer together what the father of the family shall wish them to endure.

3. But if it should happen that either some suffer less and others more, or all suffer equally, it appears who they are who suffer for others; those namely who, when they could rescue themselves from such evils by fleeing, preferred to remain lest they should desert the necessity of others. From this especially is proved that charity which John the apostle commends, saying: Just as Christ laid down His soul for us, so also we ought to lay down our souls for the brothers (I John III, 16). For those who flee, or bound by their own necessities cannot flee; if having been caught they suffer, they suffer for themselves, not for the brothers: but those who for this reason suffer, because they were unwilling to desert the brothers, who were lacking them for Christian salvation, without doubt lay down their souls for the brothers.

4. Whence that which we heard a certain bishop to have said, If the Lord commanded us flight in those persecutions, where the fruit of martyrdom can be; how much more ought we to flee sterile passions, when there is a barbaric and hostile incursion? is true indeed and acceptable, but for those whom the bonds of ecclesiastical office do not hold. For he who does not flee hostile slaughters for this reason, when he could escape, lest he desert the ministry of Christ, without which men can neither become or live as Christians, finds a greater fruit of charity, than he who fleeing not on account of the brothers, but on account of himself, and having been caught does not deny Christ, and receives martyrdom.

5. What is it therefore that you placed in your prior letter? for you say, If we must persist in the Churches, I do not see what we shall profit ourselves or the people, except that before our eyes men fall, women are violated, churches are burned, we ourselves fail in torments, when that which we do not have is sought from us. God is indeed powerful to hear the prayers of His family, and to avert these things which are dreaded; but yet on account of those things, which are uncertain, there ought not to be a certain desertion of our office, without which there is certain destruction for the people, not in the things of this life, but of the other incomparably more diligently and solicitously to be cared for. For if those evils were certain, which it is feared might perhaps happen in the places in which we are, all would flee from there first for whose sake we must remain there, and they would render us free from the necessity of remaining: for there is no one who says that ministers ought to remain, where there shall no longer be those to whom it is necessary to minister. Thus certain holy bishops fled from Spain, with the peoples partly slipped away in flight, partly slain, partly consumed by siege, partly dispersed in captivity: but many more, with those remaining for whose sake they should remain, remained under the density of the same dangers.

Et si aliqui deseruerunt plebes suas, hoc est quod dicimus fieri non debere: neque enim tales docti auctoritate divina, sed humano vel errore decepti, vel timore sunt victi.

6. Cur enim sibi putant indifferenter obtemperandum esse praecepto, ubi legunt de civitate in civitatem esse fugiendum; et mercenarium non exhorrent, qui videt lupum venientem et fugit, quoniam non est ei cura de ovibus (Joan. X, 12, 13)? Cur non istas duas dominicas verasque sententias, unam scilicet ubi fuga sinitur aut jubetur, alteram ubi arguitur atque culpatur, sic intelligere student, ut inter se reperiantur non esse contrariae, sicut non sunt? Et hoc quomodo reperitur, nisi attendatur quod jam superius disputavi, tunc de locis in quibus sumus, premente persecutione fugiendum esse Christi ministris, quando ibi aut plebs Christi non fuerit cui ministretur; aut etiam fuerit, et potest impleri per alios necessarium ministerium, quibus eadem non est causa fugiendi: sicut in sporta submissus, quod supra memoravi, fugit Apostolus, cum a persecutore proprie ipse quaereretur, aliis utique necessitatem similem non habentibus, a quibus illic ministerium absit ut desereretur Ecclesiae; sicut fugit sanctus Athanasius Alexandrinus episcopus, cum eum specialiter apprehendere Constantius cuperet imperator, nequaquam a caeteris ministris deserta plebe catholica quae in Alexandria commanebat. Cum autem plebs manet, et ministri fugiunt, ministeriumque subtrahitur; quid erit nisi mercenariorum illa fuga damnabilis, quibus non est cura de ovibus? Veniet enim lupus; non homo, sed diabolus, qui plerumque fideles apostatas esse persuasit, quibus quotidianum ministerium dominici corporis defuit; et peribit infirmus in tua non scientia, sed ignorantia frater, propter quem Christus mortuus est (I Cor. VIII, 11).

7. Quod autem ad eos attinet, qui in hac re non falluntur errore, sed formidine superantur; quare non potius contra suum timorem Domino miserante atque adjuvante fortiter dimicant, ne mala sine comparatione graviora, quae multo amplius sunt tremenda, contingant? Fit hoc ubi Dei charitas flagrat, non mundi cupiditas fumat. Charitas enim dicit: Quis infirmatur, et non ego infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et non ego uror (II Cor. XI, 29)? Sed charitas ex Deo est. Oremus ergo ut ab illo detur, a quo jubetur: et per hanc magis timeamus ne oves Christi spiritualis nequitiae gladio in corde, quam ne ferro in corpore trucidentur, ubi quandocumque, quocumque mortis genere, morituri sunt. Magis timeamus ne sensu interiori corrupto, pereat castitas fidei, quam ne feminae violenter constuprentur in carne: quia violentia non violatur pudicitia, si mente servatur; quoniam nec in carne violatur, quando voluntas patientis sua turpiter carne non utitur, sed sine consensione tolerat quod alius operatur.

And if some deserted their peoples, this is what we say ought not to be done: for such were not taught by divine authority, but deceived by human error, or overcome by fear.

6. For why do they think that they must indifferently obey the command, where they read that one must flee from city to city; and do not abhor the hireling, who sees the wolf coming and flees, because he has no care for the sheep (John X, 12, 13)? Why do they not study so to understand these two dominical and true sentences, one namely where flight is permitted or commanded, the other where it is argued and blamed, so that between themselves they are found not to be contrary, just as they are not? And how is this found, unless it is attended to what I have already disputed above, that then one must flee from the places in which we are, with persecution pressing, by the ministers of Christ, when either the people of Christ shall not be there to whom it may be ministered; or even if it shall be, and the necessary ministry can be fulfilled by others, for whom there is not the same cause of fleeing: just as having been let down in a basket, which I mentioned above, the Apostle fled, when he himself was specifically sought by the persecutor, others indeed not having a similar necessity, by whom far be it that the ministry of the Church should be deserted there; just as the holy Athanasius bishop of Alexandria fled, when the emperor Constantius specifically desired to apprehend him, with the Catholic people who remained together in Alexandria by no means deserted by the other ministers. When however the people remain, and the ministers flee, and the ministry is withdrawn; what will it be except that damnable flight of hirelings, who have no care for the sheep? For the wolf will come; not a man, but the devil, who has mostly persuaded faithful ones to be apostates, from whom the daily ministry of the Lord's body was lacking; and the weak brother will perish in your not knowledge, but ignorance, for whom Christ died (I Cor. VIII, 11).

7. But as it pertains to those who in this matter are not deceived by error, but are overcome by dread; why do they not rather strongly fight against their own fear with the Lord pitying and helping, lest evils without comparison more heavy, which are much more to be trembled at, should happen? This is done where the charity of God blazes, not the cupidity of the world smokes. For charity says: Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is scandalized, and I do not burn (II Cor. XI, 29)? But charity is from God. Let us pray therefore that it may be given by Him, by whom it is commanded: and through this let us fear more lest the sheep of Christ be slaughtered by the sword of spiritual wickedness in the heart, than by iron in the body, where at some time, by whatever kind of death, they are to die. Let us fear more lest the sense within being corrupted, the chastity of faith perish, than lest women be violently violated in the flesh: because pudicity is not violated by violence, if it is preserved in the mind; since it is not even violated in the flesh, when the will of the one suffering does not use its own flesh basely, but tolerates without consent what another works.

Magis timeamus ne lapides vivi exstinguantur deserentibus nobis, quam ne lapides et ligna terrenorum aedificiorum incendantur praesentibus nobis. Magis timeamus ne membra corporis Christi destituta spirituali victu necentur, quam ne membra corporis nostri oppressa hostili impetu torqueantur. Non quia ista non sunt vitanda cum possunt; sed quia potius ferenda sunt, quando vitari sine impietate non possunt: nisi forte quisquam contenderit non esse ministrum impium, qui tunc subtrahit ministerium pietati necessarium, quando magis est necessarium.

8. An non cogitamus, cum ad istorum periculorum pervenitur extrema, nec est potestas ulla fugiendi, quantus in Ecclesia fieri soleat ab utroque sexu, atque ab omni aetate concursus; aliis Baptismum flagitantibus, aliis reconciliationem, aliis etiam poenitentiae ipsius actionem, omnibus consolationem et sacramentorum confectionem et erogationem? Ubi si ministri desint, quantum exitium sequitur eos, qui de isto saeculo vel non regenerati exeunt vel ligati! quantus est etiam luctus fidelium suorum, qui eos secum in vitae aeternae requie non habebunt! quantus denique gemitus omnium, et quorumdam quanta blasphemia de absentia ministeriorum et minostrorum! Vide quid faciat malorum temporalium timor, et quanta in eo sit acquisitio malorum aeternorum. Si autem ministri adsint, pro viribus quas eis Dominus subministrat, omnibus subvenitur: alii baptizantur, alii reconciliantur, nulli Dominici corporis communione fraudantur, omnes consolantur, aedificantur, exhortantur, ut Deum rogent, qui potens est omnia quae timentur, avertere; parati ad utrumque, ut si non potest ab eis calix iste transire, fiat voluntas ejus (Matth. XXVI, 42) qui mali aliquid non potest velle.

9. Certe jam vides quod te scripseras non videre, quantum boni consequantur populi Christiani, si in praesentibus malis non eis desit praesentia ministrorum Christi: quorum vides etiam quantum obsit absentia, dum sua quaerunt non quae Jesu Christi (Philipp. II, 21); nec habent illam de qua dictum est, Non quaerit quae sua sunt (I Cor. XIII, 5); nec imitantur eum qui dixit, Non quaerens quod mihi utile, sed quod multis, ut salvi fiant (Id. X, 33). Qui etiam persecutoris principis illius insidias non fugisset, nisi se aliis quibus necessarius erat, servare voluisset: propter quod ait, Compellor autem ex duobus: concupiscentiam habens dissolvi et esse cuim Christo, multo magis optimum; manere autem in carne, necessarium propter vos (Philipp. I, 23).

Let us fear more lest living stones be extinguished with us deserting, than lest the stones and wood of earthly buildings be burned with us present. Let us fear more lest the members of the body of Christ destitute of spiritual food be killed, than lest the members of our body oppressed by hostile impetus be tortured. Not because those things are not to be avoided when they can; but because they are rather to be borne, when they cannot be avoided without impiety: unless perhaps someone should contend that he is not an impious minister, who then withdraws the ministry necessary for piety, when it is most necessary.

8. Or do we not think, when it comes to the extremes of these dangers, nor is there any power of fleeing, what a great concourse is accustomed to be made in the Church by both sexes, and by every age; some demanding Baptism, others reconciliation, others even the action of penance itself, all [demanding] consolation and the confection and distribution of the sacraments? Where if ministers are lacking, what great destruction follows those who go out from this world either not regenerated or bound! how great is also the grief of their faithful ones, who will not have them with themselves in the rest of eternal life! how great finally is the groan of all, and how great is the blasphemy of certain ones concerning the absence of ministries and ministers! See what the fear of temporal evils does, and how great an acquisition of eternal evils is in it. If however ministers are present, for the strengths which the Lord ministers to them, subvention is made to all: some are baptized, others are reconciled, none are defrauded of the communion of the Lord's body, all are consoled, edified, exhorted, so that they may pray to God, who is powerful to avert all things which are feared; prepared for either part, so that if this cup cannot pass from them, His will be done (Matth. XXVI, 42) who cannot will anything of evil.

9. Certainly already you see what you had written that you did not see, how much of good the Christian peoples follow, if in present evils the presence of the ministers of Christ is not lacking to them: whose absence also you see how much it obstructs, while they seek their own things not those which are of Jesus Christ (Philipp. II, 21); nor do they have that [charity] concerning which it was said, It does not seek its own things (I Cor. XIII, 5); nor do they imitate Him who said, Not seeking what is useful to me, but what to many, so that they may be saved (Id. X, 33). Who also would not have fled the snares of that prince persecutor, unless He had willed to save Himself for others for whom He was necessary: on account of which He says, But I am compelled out of two: having a concupiscence to be dissolved and to be with Christ, much more best; but to remain in the flesh, necessary on account of you (Philipp. I, 23).

10. Hic forte quis dicat ideo debere Dei ministros fugere talibus imminentibus malis, ut se pro utilitate Ecclesiae temporibus tranquillioribus servent. Recte hoc fit a quibusdam, quando non desunt alii per quos suppleatur ecclesiasticum ministerium, ne ab omnibus deseratur; quod fecisse Athanasium supra diximus: nam quantum necessarium fuerit Ecclesiae, quantumque profuerit, quod vir ille mansit in carne, catholica fides novit, quae adversus Arianos haereticos ore illius et amore defensa est. Sed quando est commune periculum, magisque timendum est ne quisquam id facere credatur, non consulendi voluntate, sed timore moriendi, magisque fugiendi obsit exemplo, quam vivendi prosit officio, nulla ratione faciendum est. Denique sanctus David, ne se committeret periculis praeliorum, et fortassis exstingueretur, sicut ibi dictum est, lucerna Israel (II Reg. XI, 17), a suis hoc petentibus sumpsit, non ipse praesumpsit; alioquin multos imitatores fecisset ignaviae, qui eum crederent hoc fecisse non consideratione utilitatis aliorum, sed suae perturbatione formidinis.

11. Occurrit autem alia quaestio quam contemnere non debemus. Si enim haec utilitas negligenda non est, ut aliqui ministri propterea fugiant imminente aliqua vastitate, ut serventur qui ministrent eis quos post illam cladem residuos potuerint invenire; quid fiet ubi omnes videntur interituri, nisi aliqui fugiant? quid si enim hactenus saeviat illa pernicies, ut solos ministros Ecclesiae persequatur? Quid dicemus? an relinquenda est a ministris fugientibus Ecclesia, ne a morientibus miserabilius relinquatur? Sed si laici non quaeruntur ad mortem, possunt occultare quoquo modo episcopos et clericos suos, sicut ille adjuverit in cujus potestate sunt omnia, qui potest et non fugientem per mirabilem conservare potentiam. Sed ideo quaerimus quid nos facere debeamus, ne in omnibus exspectando divina miracula tentare Dominum judicemur. Non quidem talis est ista tempestas, quando laicorum et clericorum est commune periculum, sicut in navi una commune periculum est mercatorum atque nautarum. Verum absit ut tanti pendenda sit haec navis nostra, ut debeant eam nautae, et maxime gubernator, periclitantem deserere, etiamsi in scapham transiliendo vel etiam natando possint effugere. Quibus enim metuimus ne nostra desertione pereant, non temporalem mortem, quae quandoque ventura est, sed aeternam, quae potest, si non caveatur, venire, et potest, si caveatur, etiam non venire, metuimus. In communi autem periculo vitae hujus cur existimamus, ubicumque fuerit hostilis incursus, omnes clericos et non etiam omnes laicos esse morituros, ut simul finiant hanc vitam, cui sunt clerici necessarii? aut cur non speremus sicut laicos aliquos, sic etiam clericos remansuros, a quibus eis necessarium ministerium valeat exhiberi?

10. Here perhaps someone may say that for this reason the ministers of God ought to flee such imminent evils, so that they may save themselves for the utility of the Church in more tranquil times. This is rightly done by some, when others are not lacking through whom the ecclesiastical ministry may be supplied, lest it be deserted by all; which we said above that Athanasius did: for how necessary he was to the Church, and how much it profited that that man remained in the flesh, the Catholic faith knows, which against the Arian heretics was defended by his mouth and love. But when there is a common danger, and it is more to be feared lest anyone be believed to do it, not with the will of consulting [the Church's good], but with the fear of dying, and rather obstruct by the example of fleeing, than profit by the office of living, it is by no reason to be done. Finally saint David, lest he should commit himself to the dangers of battles, and perhaps be extinguished, as it was said there, the lamp of Israel (II Sam. XI, 17), took this from his own seeking it, not he himself presumed it; otherwise he would have made many imitators of sloth, who would believe him to have done this not from consideration of the utility of others, but from the perturbation of his own dread.

11. But another question occurs which we ought not to despise. For if this utility is not to be neglected, that some ministers flee for this reason with some vastation imminent, so that those may be saved who may minister to those whom they shall be able to find as residues after that slaughter; what will be done where all seem likely to perish, unless some flee? what if indeed that destruction should so far rage, that it persecutes only the ministers of the Church? What shall we say? is the Church to be left by fleeing ministers, lest it be more miserably left by dying ones? But if the laity are not sought for death, they can hide in whatever way their bishops and clerics, as He shall have helped in whose power all things are, who can also preserve one not fleeing by a wonderful power. But for this reason we seek what we ought to do, lest in all things by expecting divine miracles we be judged to tempt the Lord our Judge. Indeed such is not that tempest, when there is a common danger of laity and clerics, just as in one ship there is a common danger of merchants and sailors. But far be it that this ship of ours is to be so valued, that the sailors, and especially the governor, ought to desert it when it is in peril, even if by leaping across into a skiff or even by swimming they can escape. For we fear for those whom we fear lest they perish by our desertion, not temporal death, which at some time is going to come, but eternal [death], which can come, if it is not avoided, and can also not come, if it is avoided. In the common danger however of this life why do we think, wherever there shall be a hostile incursion, that all clerics and not also all laity are going to die, so that they end this life at the same time, for which clerics are necessary? or why do we not hope that just as some laity, so also some clerics are going to remain, by whom the necessary ministry can be exhibited to them?

12. Quanquam, o si inter Dei ministros inde sit disceptatio, qui eorum maneant, ne fuga omnium, et qui eorum fugiant, ne morte omnium deseratur Ecclesia! Tale quippe certamen erit inter eos, ubi utrique ferveant charitate, et utrique placeant charitati. Quae disceptatio si aliter non potuerit terminari, quantum mihi videtur, qui maneant et qui fugiant, sorte legendi sunt. Qui enim dixerint se potius fugere debere, aut timidi videbuntur, quia imminens malum sustinere noluerunt; aut arrogantes, quia se magis qui servandi essent, necessarios Ecclesiae judicarunt. Deinde, fortassis ii qui meliores sunt, eligent pro fratribus animas ponere; et hi servabuntur fugiendo, quorum est minus utilis vita, quia minor consulendi et gubernandi peritia: qui tamen si pie sapiunt, contradicent eis quos vident et vivere potius oportere, et magis mori malle quam fugere. Ideo, sicut scriptum est, Contradictiones sedat sortitio, et inter potentes definit (Prov. XVIII, 18): melius enim Deus in hujuscemodi ambagibus, quam homines, judicat; sive dignetur ad passionis fructum vocare meliores et parcere infirmis, sive istos facere ad mala perferenda fortiores, et huic vitae subtrahere, quorum non potest Dei Ecclesiae tantum quantum illorum vita prodesse. Res quidem fiet minus usitata, si fiat ista sortitio: sed si facta fuerit, quis eam reprehendere audebit? Quis non eam, nisi imperitus, aut invidus, congrua praedicatione laudabit? Quod si non placet facere, cujus facti non occurrit exemplum, nullius fuga faciat ut Ecclesiae ministerium, maxime in tantis periculis necessarium ac debitum, desit. Nemo excipiat personam suam, ut si aliqua gratia videtur excellere, ideo se dicat vita, et ob hoc fuga, esse digniorem. Quisquis enim hoc putat, nimium sibi placet: quisquis autem etiam hoc dicit, omnibus displicet.

13. Sunt sane qui arbitrantur episcopos et clericos non fugientes in talibus periculis, sed manentes, facere ut plebes decipiantur, cum ideo non fugiunt, quia manere suos praepositos cernunt. Sed facile est hanc responsionem vel invidiam declinare, alloquendo easdem plebes, atque dicendo: Non vos decipiat, quod de loco isto non fugimus: non enim propter nos, sed propter vos potius hic manemus, ne vobis non ministremus quidquid saluti vestrae, quae in Christo est, novimus necessarium. Si ergo fugere volueritis, et nos ab istis, quibus tenemur, vinculis solvistis.

12. Although, oh if among the ministers of God there were disceptation concerning this, who of them should remain, lest by the flight of all, and who of them should flee, lest by the death of all the Church be deserted! Indeed such a contest will be among them, where both may burn with charity, and both may please charity. Which disceptation if it could not be terminated otherwise, as it seems to me, those who remain and those who flee are to be chosen by lot. For those who shall have said that they rather ought to flee, will either seem timid, because they were unwilling to sustain the imminent evil; or arrogant, because they judged themselves more necessary to the Church as ones who were to be saved. Then, perhaps those who are better, will choose to lay down their souls for the brothers; and those will be saved by fleeing, whose life is less useful, because there is less skill of consulting and governing: who yet if they are piously wise, will contradict those whom they see it is more fitting rather to live, and who more prefer to die than to flee. Therefore, as it is written, Lots sedate contradictions, and define between the powerful (Prov. XVIII, 18): for God judges better in such ambiguities than men; whether He deigns to call the better ones to the fruit of passion and to spare the weak, or to make those stronger for enduring evils, and to withdraw from this life those whose life cannot profit the Church of God as much as the life of those. Indeed the thing will become less used, if that casting of lots is done: but if it shall have been done, who will dare to reprehend it? Who will not, unless unskilled or envious, praise it with congruous predication? But if it does not please to do this, of which deed an example does not occur, let the flight of no one cause that the ministry of the Church, especially in such great dangers necessary and due, be lacking. Let no one except his own person, so that if he seems to excel by some grace, he therefore says that he is worthier of life, and for this reason of flight. For whoever thinks this, pleases himself too much: whoever however also says this, displeases all.

13. There are indeed those who think that bishops and clerics not fleeing in such dangers, but remaining, cause that the peoples be deceived, since they do not flee for this reason, because they discern their leaders to remain. But it is easy to decline this response or envy, by addressing the same peoples, and saying: Let it not deceive you, that we do not flee from this place: for not on account of ourselves, but on account of you rather we remain here, lest we do not minister to you whatever we know necessary for your salvation, which is in Christ. If therefore you wish to flee, you have also dissolved us from these bonds by which we are held.

Quod tunc puto esse dicendum, quando vere videtur utile esse ad loca tutiora migrare. Quo audito, si vel omnes vel aliqui dixerint, In illius potestate sumus, cujus iram nullus, quocumque vadit, evadit; cujus misericordiam, ubicumque sit, potest invenire qui nusquam vult ire, sive certis necessitatibus impeditus, sive laborare nolens ad incerta suffugia, et non ad finienda, sed ad mutanda pericula: procul dubio isti deserendi non sunt ministerio christiano. Si autem, hoc audito, abire maluerint, nec illis manendum est, qui propter illos manebant; quia ibi jam non sunt propter quos manere adhuc debeant.

14. Quicumque igitur isto modo fugit, ut Ecclesiae necessarium ministerium illo fugiente non desit, facit quod Dominus praecepit, sive permisit. Qui autem sic fugit, ut gregi Christi ea quibus spiritualiter vivit, alimenta subtrahantur, mercenarius ille est, qui videt lupum venientem, et fugit, quoniam non est ei cura de ovibus. Haec tibi, quia me consuluisti, frater dilectissime, qua existimavi veritate et certa charitate rescripsi; sed ne meliorem, si inveneris, sequaris sententiam, non praescripsi. Melius tamen quod in his periculis faciamus, invenire non possumus, quam orationes ad Dominum Deum nostrum, ut misereatur nostri. Quod ipsum, ut scilicet Dei Ecclesias non desererent, Dei dono nonnulli prudentes et sancti viri et velle et facere meruerunt, et inter dentes obtrectantium a sui propositi intentione minime defecerunt.

Epistola CCXXIX.

Augustinus Dario comiti, qui pacis conferendae causa missus sit, gratulatur, et provocat ad rescribendum.

Domino merito illustri, et magnificentissimo atque in Christo charissimo filio DARIO , AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. A sanctis fratribus et coepiscopis meis Urbano et Novato, qualis sis vir et quantus, accepi: quorum alteri apud Carthaginem in Hilarensi oppido, et modo in Siccensi; alteri autem apud Sitifim te nosse provenit. Per hos ergo factum est, ut nec ego te habere incognitum possem. Neque enim quia me infirmitas corporis, et congenitum frigus, id est, genus aetatis non sinit coram tecum colloqui, ideo non te vidi: nam et iste mihi praesens, quando ad me venire dignatus est, ille autem litteris, non faciem tuae carnis, sed cordis ostendit, ut tanto suavius, quanto interius te viderem.

Which I think is then to be said, when it truly seems useful to migrate to safer places. Having heard which, if either all or some should say, We are in the power of Him, whose wrath no one, wherever he goes, escapes; whose mercy, wherever he may be, he can find who nowhere wishes to go, whether hindered by certain necessities, or not willing to labor toward uncertain refuges, and not toward ending, but toward changing dangers: without doubt these are not to be deserted by the Christian ministry. If however, having heard this, they prefer to go away, neither must those remain, who were remaining on account of them; because there are no longer those there on account of whom they ought to remain still.

14. Whoever therefore flees in this manner, so that the necessary ministry of the Church does not fail with him fleeing, does what the Lord commanded or permitted. But he who so flees, that the nourishments by which it lives spiritually are withdrawn from the flock of Christ, is that hireling, who sees the wolf coming, and flees, because he has no care for the sheep. These things I have written back to you, because you consulted me, most beloved brother, with what truth and certain charity I thought [best]; but I have not prescribed, lest you should follow a better opinion, if you should find one. Yet we cannot find anything better that we may do in these dangers, than prayers to the Lord our God, so that He may have mercy on us. Which very thing, namely so that they would not desert the Churches of God, several prudent and holy men by the gift of God deserved both to will and to do, and among the teeth of detractors they by no means failed from the intention of their purpose.

Letter CCXXIX.

Augustine congratulates the count Darius, who was sent for the sake of conferring peace, and provokes him to writing back.

To the lord deservedly illustrious, and most magnificent and most dear son in Christ DARIUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. From my holy brothers and fellow bishops Urbanus and Novatus, I received what kind of man you are and how great: of whom it happened to one at Carthage in the town of Hilara, and now in Sicca; to the other however at Sitifis to know you. Through these therefore it was done, that I also could not have you unknown. For neither because the infirmity of the body, and connatural cold, that is, the kind of age does not permit me to speak with you in person, did I therefore not see you: for both that one present to me, when he deigned to come to me, and the other by letters, showed not the face of your flesh, but of your heart, so that I might see you so much more sweetly, by how much more inwardly.

Hanc faciem tuam et in sancto Evangelio, et nos, et tu ipse, propitio Deo, tanquam in speculo laetissimus inspicis, ubi scriptum est a veritate dicente: Beati pacifici; quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur (Matth. V, 9).

2. Magni quidem sunt, et habent gloriam suam, non solum fortissimi, sed etiam, quod verioris genus est laudis, fidelissimi bellatores, quorum laboribus atque periculis, Dei protegentis atque opitulantis auxilio, hostis indomitus vincitur, et quies reipublicae pacatisque provinciis comparatur: sed majoris est gloriae, ipsa bella verbo occidere, quam homines ferro; et acquirere vel obtinere pacem pace, non bello. Nam et hi qui pugnant, si boni sunt, procul dubio pacem, sed tamen per sanguinem quaerunt; tu autem ne cujusquam sanguis quaereretur, es missus: est itaque aliis illa necessitas, tibi ista felicitas. Proinde, domine merito illustris et magnificentissime, atque in Christo charissime fili, gaude isto tuo tam magno et vere bono, et fruere in Deo unde sumpsisti, ut talis esses, et talia gerenda susciperes. Confirmet Deus quod per te operatus est nobis (Psal. LXVII, 29). Accipe hanc salutationem nostram, et tuam dignare rependere. Sicut mihi scripsit frater Novatus, egit ut me excellentia et eruditio tua etiam in meis opusculis nosset. Si ergo legisti quae dedit, ego quoque innotui interioribus tuis sensibus. Non multum displicent, quantum existimo, si propensiore charitate, quam severitate legisti. Non est multum; sed multum gratum, si pro litteris nostris, et his et illis, unam nobis epistolam reddas. Saluto et pignus pacis , quod Domino Deo nostro adjuvante feliciter accepisti, ea dilectione qua debeo.

Domino merito illustri, et magnificentissimo atque in Christo charissimo filio DARIO , AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. A sanctis fratribus et coepiscopis meis Urbano et Novato, qualis sis vir et quantus, accepi: quorum alteri apud Carthaginem in Hilarensi oppido, et modo in Siccensi; alteri autem apud Sitifim te nosse provenit. Per hos ergo factum est, ut nec ego te habere incognitum possem. Neque enim quia me infirmitas corporis, et congenitum frigus, id est, genus aetatis non sinit coram tecum colloqui, ideo non te vidi: nam et iste mihi praesens, quando ad me venire dignatus est, ille autem litteris, non faciem tuae carnis, sed cordis ostendit, ut tanto suavius, quanto interius te viderem. Hanc faciem tuam et in sancto Evangelio, et nos, et tu ipse, propitio Deo, tanquam in speculo laetissimus inspicis, ubi scriptum est a veritate dicente: Beati pacifici; quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur (Matth. V, 9).

This face of yours both in the holy Gospel, and we, and you yourself, God being propitious, look upon most happily as if in a mirror, where it is written by the Truth saying: Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the sons of God (Matth. V, 9).

2. Great indeed are, and have their glory, not only the strongest, but also, which is a kind of truer praise, the most faithful warriors, by whose labors and dangers, with the help of God protecting and aiding, the untamed enemy is conquered, and rest for the republic and for the pacified provinces is prepared: but it is of greater glory, to kill the wars themselves by word, than men by iron; and to acquire or obtain peace by peace, not by war. For even these who fight, if they are good, without doubt seek peace, but yet through blood; you however were sent lest anyone's blood should be sought: it is therefore for others that necessity, for you this felicity. Accordingly, lord deservedly illustrious and most magnificent, and most dear son in Christ, rejoice in that so great and truly good [gift] of yours, and enjoy in God whence you took it, so that you might be such a one, and might undertake such things to be done. May God confirm what He has worked for us through you (Psal. LXVII, 29). Receive this salutation of ours, and deign to repay yours. Just as brother Novatus wrote to me, he acted so that your excellence and erudition might know me even in my little works. If therefore you have read what he gave, I also have become known to your interior senses. They do not much displease, as much as I judge, if you read with more propense charity than severity. It is not much; but much grateful, if for our letters, both these and those, you return to us one letter. I greet also the pledge of peace, which you happily received with the Lord God helping, with that affection which I owe.

To the lord deservedly illustrious, and most magnificent and most dear son in Christ DARIUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. From my holy brothers and fellow bishops Urbanus and Novatus, I received what kind of man you are and how great: of whom it happened to one at Carthage in the town of Hilara, and now in Sicca; to the other however at Sitifis to know you. Through these therefore it was done, that I also could not have you unknown. For neither because the infirmity of the body, and connatural cold, that is, the kind of age does not permit me to speak with you in person, did I therefore not see you: for both that one present to me, when he deigned to come to me, and the other by letters, showed not the face of your flesh, but of your heart, so that I might see you so much more sweetly, by how much more inwardly. This face of yours both in the holy Gospel, and we, and you yourself, God being propitious, look upon most happily as if in a mirror, where it is written by the Truth saying: Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the sons of God (Matth. V, 9).

2. Magni quidem sunt, et habent gloriam suam, non solum fortissimi, sed etiam, quod verioris genus est laudis, fidelissimi bellatores, quorum laboribus atque periculis, Dei protegentis atque opitulantis auxilio, hostis indomitus vincitur, et quies reipublicae pacatisque provinciis comparatur: sed majoris est gloriae, ipsa bella verbo occidere, quam homines ferro; et acquirere vel obtinere pacem pace, non bello. Nam et hi qui pugnant, si boni sunt, procul dubio pacem, sed tamen per sanguinem quaerunt; tu autem ne cujusquam sanguis quaereretur, es missus: est itaque aliis illa necessitas, tibi ista felicitas. Proinde, domine merito illustris et magnificentissime, atque in Christo charissime fili, gaude isto tuo tam magno et vere bono, et fruere in Deo unde sumpsisti, ut talis esses, et talia gerenda susciperes. Confirmet Deus quod per te operatus est nobis (Psal. LXVII, 29). Accipe hanc salutationem nostram, et tuam dignare rependere. Sicut mihi scripsit frater Novatus, egit ut me excellentia et eruditio tua etiam in meis opusculis nosset. Si ergo legisti quae dedit, ego quoque innotui interioribus tuis sensibus. Non multum displicent, quantum existimo, si propensiore charitate, quam severitate legisti. Non est multum; sed multum gratum, si pro litteris nostris, et his et illis, unam nobis epistolam reddas. Saluto et pignus pacis , quod Domino Deo nostro adjuvante feliciter accepisti, ea dilectione qua debeo.

Epistola CCXXX.

Darius Augustino, pro litteris ab eo acceptis gratiam referens, et petens mitti sibi libros Confessionum, seque ipsius apud Deum precibus commendatum cupiens.

DARIUS AUGUSTINO domino suo salutem.

1. Utinam, domine sancte pater, ut meum nomen ad aures tuas, coepiscoporum, ut ais, tuorum Urbani et Novati benigna erga me gratia faciente, perlatum est; ita memetipsum Deus omnium, Deus tuus, manibus tuis atque oculis obtulisset: non quo majorem, aut forsitan talem, qualem tantorum virorum apud te benevolus sermo, et litterarum mentio fecerat, tui me probasset melior lima judicii; sed ut coelestis sapientiae tuae verissimos atque immortales fructus, ore tuo potius, veluti cujusdam purae aquae dulcedinem, ab ipso fontis praesenti ac perpetuo liquore sumpsissem.

2. Great indeed are, and have their glory, not only the strongest, but also, which is a kind of truer praise, the most faithful warriors, by whose labors and dangers, with the help of God protecting and aiding, the untamed enemy is conquered, and rest for the republic and for the pacified provinces is prepared: but it is of greater glory, to kill the wars themselves by word, than men by iron; and to acquire or obtain peace by peace, not by war. For even these who fight, if they are good, without doubt seek peace, but yet through blood; you however were sent lest anyone's blood should be sought: it is therefore for others that necessity, for you this felicity. Accordingly, lord deservedly illustrious and most magnificent, and most dear son in Christ, rejoice in that so great and truly good [gift] of yours, and enjoy in God whence you took it, so that you might be such a one, and might undertake such things to be done. May God confirm what He has worked for us through you (Psal. LXVII, 29). Receive this salutation of ours, and deign to repay yours. Just as brother Novatus wrote to me, he acted so that your excellence and erudition might know me even in my little works. If therefore you have read what he gave, I also have become known to your interior senses. They do not much displease, as much as I judge, if you read with more propense charity than severity. It is not much; but much grateful, if for our letters, both these and those, you return to us one letter. I greet also the pledge of peace, which you happily received with the Lord God helping, with that affection which I owe.

Letter CCXXX.

Darius to Augustine, returning thanks for the letters received from him, and asking that the books of the Confessions be sent to him, and desiring himself to be commended to his prayers before God.

DARIUS to his lord AUGUSTINE, greeting.

1. Would that, holy lord father, as my name was brought to your ears by the benign grace toward me of your fellow bishops Urbanus and Novatus, as you say; so God of all, your God, had offered myself to your hands and eyes: not that the better file of your judgment would have approved me as greater, or perhaps such as the benevolent speech of such great men with you, and the mention of letters had made; but so that I might take the most true and immortal fruits of your celestial wisdom by your mouth rather, as if the sweetness of some pure water from the present and perpetual liquor of the spring itself.

O me, non modo ter aut quater, ut apud nescio quem est, sed millies, et omni numero plus beatum! si mihi datum esset praesenti intueri tuos vere sidereos vultus, vocemque divinam, ac divina canentem, et non solum mentis fructus, sed etiam cum aurium jucunditate sumere et haurire licuisset. Putarem profecto me quasdam immortalitatis leges, non modo de coelo, sed in ipso constitutum coelo suscipere, et quasdam Dei voces non longe de templo, sed prope ipsum Dei astantem tribunal audire.

2. Hoc ut mihi contingeret, propter ardentissimum tui desiderium forsitan merebar; propter conscientiam, fateor, non merebar. Sed absens quoque cepi fructus cupiditatis bonae non minimos, et est mihi de secundis bonis bonorum summa perfectio. Commendatus sum ei cui vellem, ore sanctorum et duorum locis ac regionibus inter se distantium sacerdotum; unius, quod jam dixi, de me benevolus sermo, et praesens, ut ita dicam, testimonium; alterius ejusdem sensus parilisque sententiae volantia ad te scripta concurrunt. Coronam mihi apud te quamdam, tanti ac tales viri, non viridantium florum germine, sed gloriosae vocis testimonio tanquam quibusdam perpetuitatis gemmulis texuerunt. Propter quod Deum summum oro pro te, et tuam intercessionem, sancte pater, expostulo, ut quoniam minime mihi testimonii tanti sum conscius, esse mihi talem vel quandoque proveniat. Jam illa nonne omnia absentiae meae detrimenta vicerunt, quod ipse nos alloqui, quod scribere, quod salutare dignaris, et absente me, absentem esse non pateris. Dolebam me modo post Deum . . . . . non visum: attamen non carnis faciem, sic enim ais, sed quod plus est, cordis attendis; eoque visus sum tibi esse jucundior, quo penitius inspexisti. Faxit Deus, ut judicio, mi pater, tuo respondeam, nec sim apud meam conscientiam reus, cum talem me, qualem tibi ipse formasti, interius ego non videam.

3. Bella me in eadem divina ac coelesti epistola tua, ex more tibi, quod laudare velles, eloquentia ministrante, bella me, inquam, verbo ais occidere. Hic vero, mi sancte pater, animus mihi tanquam e quibusdam cogitationum tenebris, quasi veras sui laudes recognovisset, emersit. Ut enim totum breviter ac simpliciter Beatitudini tuae confitear, si non exstinximus bella, certe distulimus; et Deo opitulante omnium principe, quae jam usque ad quemdam calamitatum apicem increverant mala, sopita sunt.

Oh me, not only thrice or four times, as is with I know not whom, but a thousand times, and more blessed by every number! if it had been given to me to look upon your truly starry countenances in person, and to hear the divine voice, and [the voice] singing divine things, and it had been permitted to take and draw not only the fruits of the mind, but also with the delight of the ears. I would think indeed that I was receiving certain laws of immortality, not only from heaven, but established in heaven itself, and hearing certain voices of God not far from the temple, but standing near the tribunal of God itself.

2. That this might happen to me, I was perhaps deserving on account of the most ardent desire of you; on account of conscience, I confess, I was not deserving. But absent also I took no small fruits of good cupidity, and it is for me the highest perfection of goods from second goods. I have been commended to him to whom I would wish, by the mouth of the saints and of two priests distant from each other in places and regions; of one, which I already said, a benevolent and present speech, so to say, testimony; of the other flying writings of the same sense and of parile sentence concur to you. Such and so great men have woven for me a certain crown with you, not with the bud of greening flowers, but by the testimony of a glorious voice as if with certain little gems of perpetuity. On account of which I pray the highest God for you, and I expostulate your intercession, holy father, so that since I am by no means conscious to myself of so great testimony, it may some time happen to me to be such. Have not already all the detriments of my absence been conquered, because you yourself deign to address us, to write, to greet, and with me absent, you do not suffer me to be absent. I was grieving that I had not seen . . . just now after God: yet you attend to not the face of the flesh, thus indeed you say, but what is more, of the heart; and for that reason I seemed more pleasant to you, by how much more inwardly you inspected. May God grant, my father, that I may respond to your judgment, nor be guilty before my conscience, since I do not see myself interiorly such as you formed me for yourself.

3. In that same divine and celestial letter of yours, eloquence ministering to you according to your custom what you might wish to praise, you say that I kill wars by word. Here truly, my holy father, my mind as if from certain darkness of thoughts emerged, as if it had recognized true praises of itself. For to confess all briefly and simply to your Beatitude, if we did not extinguish wars, certainly we deferred them; and with God the Prince of all helping, the evils which already had grown even to a certain apex of calamities, were lulled.

Spero tamen ab eo, a quo quidquid bonum est totum sperare debemus, quin etiam epistolae tuae auguror benedictionem tam largam, tam certam, ut haec ipsa bellorum, quam dixi, dilatio, pacis habeat teneatque perennem ac perpetuam firmitatem. Dixisti enim, et perpetua Dei lege fixisti, ut gaudeam isto, ut tu ais, meo tam magno ac vere bono, et fruere in Deo, unde sumpsisse me dicis, ut et talis essem, et talia gerenda susciperes. Connectis deinde: «Confirmet, inquis, Deus quod per te operatus est nobis.» O vota non modo pro me, sed pro salute omnium nuncupata! Nec enim mea ista gloria separari a salute omnium potest, et ut ego orationibus tuis felix esse possim, una mecum omnes felices esse necesse est. Diu, pater, pro Romano imperio, pro Romana republica, pro his etiam, quos dignos esse tibi occurrerit, talia vota sumas ac nuncupes; quandoque te usque in coelum tollis, tradas posteris, mandesque sequentibus.

4. Satis progressus sum fortasse quam debui, sed parum locutus certe quam volui. Confiteor enim, scribens ad te vultus mihi tuos tanquam praesentis imaginor; et cum olim me sermo rudis et inops lingua deficiat, tamen quasi coram tecum colloquar fabulerque, non satior. Proinde hinc etiam nostra in te desideria metire. Cum jamdiu finem mereretur epistolaris paginae forsitan ingrata verbositas, subtrahimus verecundiam; dum cupiditati consulimus, et sermonem relinquere, esse a te recedere suspicamur. Nolo ergo non desinere, sed non possum: si enim credis, mi pater, adeo nostris sensibus ac praecordiis inhaesisti, ex quo non contenti tua fama tam gloriosa, tam maxima, scriptis te tuis intueri maluimus, cum una mihi, atque haec brevis epistola tua, ardoris tantas flammas, incendiaque commoverit. Unde deprecamur te, ac tota mente deposcimus, ut quoniam gentiles ritus te etiam legendo, ut nunquam alias, abunde affatimque contempsimus (quanquam enim a parentibus, ab avis, et postrema usque gentis prole Christi jura percepimus, tamen aliquoties sensibus nostris superfluae superstitionis superba vanitas inerrabat); peto ut etiam Confessionum libros a te perscriptos, nobis mittere ac donare digneris. Si enim alii quoque, prono animo ac benigna mente, tua nobis scripta largiti sunt, quanto magis de tuis ipse excusare non debes?

Yet I hope from Him, from whom we ought to hope for everything which is good, rather indeed I augur so large, so certain a blessing for your letter, that this very delay of wars, as I said, may have and hold a perennial and perpetual firmness of peace. For you said, and fixed by the perpetual law of God, that I should rejoice in that so great and truly good [gift] of mine, and enjoy in God, whence you say that I took it, so that I might be such a one, and might undertake such things to be done. You connect then: "May God confirm," you say, "what He has worked for us through you." Oh vows pronounced not only for me, but for the salvation of all! For neither can that glory of mine be separated from the salvation of all, and so that I may be able to be happy by your prayers, it is necessary that all be happy together with me. For a long time, father, for the Roman empire, for the Roman republic, for these also whom it shall occur to you to be worthy, may you take up and pronounce such vows; whenever you lift yourself even into heaven, may you hand down to posterity, and command to those following.

4. I have progressed enough perhaps than I ought, but I have certainly spoken too little than I wished. For I confess, writing to you I imagine your countenances to me as if of one present; and although formerly rude speech and a needy tongue failed me, yet as if I were speaking and talking with you in person, I am not satiated. Accordingly from this also measure our desires toward you. Since for a long time perhaps the ungrateful verbosity of the epistolary page deserved an end, we withdraw shame; while we consult cupidity, and to leave off speech, we suspect to be to recede from you. I am unwilling therefore not to cease, but I cannot: for if you believe me, my father, you have so much clung to our senses and hearts, from which not content with your so glorious, so greatest fame, we preferred to look upon you in your writings, since for me one, and this brief letter of yours, moved such great flames of ardor, and fires. Whence we deprecate you, and with all mind we demand, that since we have contemned gentile rites abundantly and sufficiently even by reading you, as never at other times (for although from parents, from grandfathers, and even from the last progeny of the race we perceived the laws of Christ, yet sometimes the proud vanity of superfluous superstition was wandering in our senses); I ask that you deign to send and give to us also the books of the Confessions written by you. For if others also, with a prone soul and benign mind, bestowed your writings on us, how much more ought you yourself not to excuse yourself concerning yours?

5. Fertur satrapae, seu regis potius cujusdam epistola , Deum Dominum Christum deprecantis, cum intra Judaeae regiones adhuc versaretur, et necdum in coelum suum remeaverat, quoniam is ad eum ire ac pergere per aegritudinem praepediretur, et sanari aliter se posse non crederet, ad se, si dignaretur, mundi salus ac medicina decurreret; et ne tantae majestati, quam ignarus rex provida, sed non perfecta mente, conceperat, injuria fieri videretur, laudasse insuper suam dicitur civitatem, ut pulchritudine urbis et regis hospitio Deus illectus, preces supplicis non dedignaretur. Adfuit Deus regi; sanatus est: et amplificato petitionis munere, per epistolam non modo salutem ut supplici, sed etiam securitatem ut regi transmisit; jussit insuper ejus urbem ab hostibus in perpetuum esse ac semper immunem. Quid his addi beneficiis potest? Ego humilis, et regum servus, a te meo domino peto ut apud istum Christum ac principem Deum quotidie pro meis peccatis intercedere ne cuncteris, ac pro me indefessus ores, ac petas quidquid ipse volueris.

6. Si tibi taedium affert longa epistola mea, hoc tuae magnanimitatis patientia moderare, et tibi imputa, quoniam ipse jussisti. Oramus tamen, atque identidem deprecamur, ut iterum scribas; sic enim fiet ut libenter suscepisse te scripta mea suspicari possimus. Deus donet nobis Beatitudinem tuam per multos annos pro nobis orantem, domine vere sancte pater. Filius noster Verimodus salutat Beatitudinem tuam, qui admodum gratulatus est quod in epistola ad nos tua ejus mentionem fecisse dignatus es. Nescio quae medicamenta ab archiatro, qui nobiscum est, accepta dedimus Lazapo sacro presbytero, ad tuam Beatitudinem deferenda; quae, ut vir memoratus affirmat, ad alleviationem doloris et morbi curationem non parum proficient.

EPISTOLA CCXXXI . Augustinus Dario, declarans se ipsius litteris summopere delectatum, et quare; ubi multa obiter de humanae laudis amore dicit: mittitque ipsi Confessionum libros et alia quaedam sua opuscula.

AUGUSTINUS servus Christi membrorumque Christi, DARIO filio membro Christi, in ipso salutem.

1. Quod acceperim libenter litteras tuas, mea rescripta indicio esse voluisti. Ecce rescribo, et tamen rescriptis hoc indicare non possum, vel istis, vel quibuslibet aliis, sive breviter, sive prolixissime scribam: neque enim aut paucis aut multis verbis indicari potest quod indicari verbis non potest. Et ego quidem parum eloquor, etsi multum loquar: sed nulli eloquenti omnino concesserim, ut qualicumque et quantacumque epistola sua affectum explicet, quem fecit in mente tua, quod non possum ego, etsi eum possit ita in animo meo videre sicut ego.

5. There is told a letter of a certain satrap, or rather king, deprecating the Lord Christ God, when He was still versing within the regions of Judea, and had not yet returned into His heaven, because he was prepedited from going and proceeding to Him by sickness, and did not believe that he could be healed otherwise, that the salvation and medicine of the world might run down to him, if He deigned; and lest injury should seem to be done to such great majesty, which the ignorant king had conceived with a provident but not perfect mind, he is said moreover to have praised his own city, so that God enticed by the beauty of the city and the hospitality of the king, might not disdain the prayers of the suppliant. God was present to the king; he was healed: and with the gift of the petition amplified, through a letter He transmitted not only salvation as to a suppliant, but also security as to a king; He commanded moreover that his city be and always be immune from enemies in perpetuity. What can be added to these benefits? I humble, and a servant of kings, ask from you my lord that you do not delay to intercede daily for my sins before this Christ and Prince God, and pray indefatigably for me, and ask whatever you yourself shall wish.

6. If my long letter brings tedium to you, moderate this by the patience of your magnanimity, and impute it to yourself, since you yourself commanded. We pray however, and repeatedly deprecate, that you write again; for so it will be done that we may be able to suspect that you received my writings willingly. May God grant to us your Beatitude praying for us through many years, lord truly holy father. Our son Verimodus greets your Beatitude, who was greatly congratulated because in your letter to us you deigned to have made mention of him. I know not what medicines received from the chief physician, who is with us, we gave to Lazapus the holy priest, to be carried to your Beatitude; which, as the mentioned man affirms, will profit not a little for the alleviation of pain and the cure of the disease.

LETTER CCXXXI. Augustine to Darius, declaring himself to have been exceedingly delighted by his letters, and why; where he says many things by the way concerning the love of human praise: and he sends to him the books of the Confessions and certain other little works of his.

AUGUSTINE the servant of Christ and of the members of Christ, to the son DARIUS a member of Christ, greeting in Him.

1. That I received your letters gladly, you wished my replies to be a sign. Behold, I reply, and yet I cannot indicate this in replies, either in these, or in any others, whether I write briefly or most at length: for it cannot be indicated either in few or in many words what cannot be indicated in words. And I indeed speak too little, even if I speak much: but I would grant to no eloquent man at all, that he should explain by any kind of letter and however great it may be the affection which he has made in your mind, which I cannot do, even if he could see it in my soul just as I do.

Restat ergo sic tibi indicare quod scire voluisti, ut in verbis meis, et quod non indicant, sentias. Quid igitur dicam, nisi delectatum me esse litteris tuis, delectatum valde? Repetitio verbi hujus, non est repetitio, sed quasi perpetua dictio: quia fieri non posset, ut semper diceretur, ideo factum est ut saltem repeteretur; sic enim fortasse dici potest.

2. Hic si quaerat aliquis, quid me tandem in tuis tam valde litteris delectaverit; utrum eloquium? respondebo, Non: et ille forsitan respondebit, Ergo laudes tuae; sed de his quoque respondebo, Non: nec ideo, quia non sint ista in illa epistola; nam et eloquium ibi tantum est, ut et optimo te natum ingenio, et talibus disciplinis satis eruditum praeclarissime luceat, et prorsus plena est meis laudibus. Ergone, ait quispiam, non te ista delectant? Imo vero. Neque enim mihi, ut ait quidam, cornea fibra est (Pers. Satyra 1), ut haec non sentiam, vel sine delectatione sentiam. Delectant et ista; sed ad illud quo me valde dixi esse delectatum, quid sunt ista? Nam eloquium tuum me delectat, quoniam graviter suave est, vel suaviter grave: meis autem laudibus, cum profecto nec omnibus delecter, nec ab omnibus, sed eis qualibus me dignum esse arbitratus es, et ab eis qualis es, id est qui propter Christum diligunt servos ejus; etiam laudibus meis me delectatum in litteris tuis negare non possum.

3. Viderint graves et periti viri quid de illo Themistocle sentiant, si tamen hominis nomen verum recolo, qui cum in epulis, quod clari et eruditi Graeciae facere solebant, canere fidibus recusasset, et ob hoc indoctior haberetur, totumque illud jucunditatis genus aspernatus esset; dictum illi est: Quid ergo audire te delectat? Ad quod ille respondisse fertur: Laudes meas. Viderint ergo quo fine et qua intentione illud dixisse crediderint, vel ipse qua dixerit. Erat enim secundum hoc saeculum vir magnificus. Nam etiam cum ei dictum fuisset, Quid igitur nosti? Rempublicam, inquit, ex parva magnam facere. Ego autem quod ait Ennius, Omnes mortales sese laudari exoptant, partim puto approbandum, partim cavendum. Ut enim appetenda est veritas, quae procul dubio est, etiamsi non laudetur, sola laudabilis; sic etiam ea, quae facile subrepit, vanitas in hominum laude fugienda est: haec est autem, vel cum ipsa bona, quae laudatione digna sunt, non putantur habenda, nisi laudetur ab hominibus homo; vel ea quoque vult in se multum quisque laudari, quae aut exigua laude, aut etiam vituperatione digniora sunt. Unde Horatius Ennio vigilantior ait: Laudis amore tumes? Sunt certa piacula, quae te Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello. (Horat. lib. 1, Epist. 1.)

It remains therefore so to indicate to you what you wished to know, that in my words, and what they do not indicate, you may perceive it. What therefore shall I say, except that I was delighted by your letters, delighted greatly? The repetition of this word is not a repetition, but as it were a perpetual saying: because it could not happen that it should always be said, therefore it was done that at least it should be repeated; for so perhaps it can be said.

2. Here if anyone should ask what at last delighted me so greatly in your letters; whether the eloquence? I will answer, No: and he perhaps will answer, Then your praises; but concerning these also I will answer, No: not because those things are not in that letter; for eloquence is there so much that it shines most clearly both that you were born with the best genius and sufficiently erudite in such disciplines, and it is altogether full of my praises. Does anyone say then, do these things not delight you? On the contrary, indeed. For I do not have, as someone says, a "corneous fiber" (Pers. Satire 1), so as not to feel these things, or to feel them without delight. These things also delight me; but compared to that by which I said I was greatly delighted, what are these things? For your eloquence delights me, because it is weightily sweet, or sweetly weighty: but by my praises—since indeed I am not delighted by all, nor by all people, but by those of such a kind as you thought me worthy to be, and by such as you are, that is, those who on account of Christ love His servants—even by my praises in your letters I cannot deny that I was delighted.

3. Let grave and skilled men see what they feel concerning that Themistocles, if however I recall the true name of the man, who when at banquets, as the clear and erudite men of Greece were wont to do, had refused to sing to the strings, and for this reason was held more unlearned, and had spurned that whole kind of pleasantness; it was said to him: What therefore delights you to hear? To which he is reported to have answered: My praises. Let them see therefore for what end and with what intention they believed him to have said that, or with what intention he himself said it. For according to this world he was a magnificent man. For also when it had been said to him, What therefore do you know? He said, To make a great state out of a small one. But I think that what Ennius says, "All mortals desire themselves to be praised," is partly to be approved, partly to be guarded against. For as the truth is to be sought, which without doubt is alone praeworthy even if it is not praised; so also that vanity which easily creeps in is to be fled in the praise of men: but this is either when the good things themselves, which are worthy of praise, are not thought to be held unless the man is praised by men; or each one also wishes those things to be praised much in himself, which are worthy either of slight praise, or even rather of vituperation. Whence Horace, more vigilant than Ennius, says: "Are you swollen with the love of praise? There are certain expiations which can recreate you, if the little book is read purely three times." (Horat. lib. 1, Epist. 1.)

4. Ita tumorem de amore laudis humanae, vel a se penitus morsum medicinalibus verbis quasi excantandum putavit. Docuit itaque nos per Apostolum suum Magister bonus, neque propterea nos recte facere, ut laudemur ab hominibus, id est, finem recti nostri non in hominum laudibus ponere; et tamen propter ipsos homines quaerere laudes hominum. Etenim cum laudantur boni, non laudatis, sed laudantibus prodest. Nam illis, quantum ad ipsos attinet, quod boni sunt sufficit: sed eis, quibus expedit imitari bonos, gratulandum est, cum ab eis laudantur boni; quoniam sic indicant eos sibi placere, quos veraciter laudant. Dicit ergo Apostolus quodam loco, Si hominibus placerem, Christi servus non essem (Galat. I, 10): et idem dicit alio loco, Placete omnibus per omnia, sicut et ego omnibus per omnia placeo; sed adjungens causam, non quaerens quod mihi utile est, sed quod multis, ut salvi fiant (I Cor. X, 32, 33). Ecce quid quaerebat in laude hominum, ubi etiam dicebat, De caetero, fratres, quaecumque sunt vera, quaecumque pudica, quaecumque casta, quaecumque sancta, quaecumque charissima, quaecumque bonae famae, si qua virtus, si qua laus, haec cogitate: quae didicistis, et accepistis, et audistis et vidistis in me, haec agite; et Deus pacis erit vobiscum (Philipp. IV, 8, 9). Caetera igitur, quae supra commemoravi, virtutis nomine amplexus est, dicens, si qua virtus: illud autem quod subjecit, quaecumque bonae famae, alio uno verbo congruo prosecutus est dicendo, si qua laus. Quod itaque ait, Si hominibus placerem, Christi servus non essem, sic utique accipiendum tanquam dixerit: Si bona quae facio, fine laudis humanae facerem, laudis amore tumescerem. Volebat ergo Apostolus placere omnibus, et eis placere gaudebat, non quorum laudibus tumescebat in seipso, sed quos laudatus aedificabat in Christo. Cur ergo me non delectet laudari abs te, cum et vir bonus sis ne me fallas, et ea laudes quae ames, et quae amare utile ac salubre est, etiamsi non sint in me? neque hoc tibi tantum, sed etiam mihi prodest. Si enim non sunt in me, salubriter erubesco, atque ut sint inardesco. Ac per quod agnosco mea in laude tua, gaudeo me habere, et abs te illa ac meipsum diligi propter illa: quae autem non agnosco, non solum ut ipse habeam, desidero consequi, verum etiam ne semper in mea laude fallantur, qui me sinceriter diligunt.

4. Thus he thought that the tumor from the love of human praise, or even the bite of it, should be as it were enchanted away by medicinal words. Therefore our good Master taught us through His Apostle, neither to do correctly for this reason, that we may be praised by men, that is, not to place the end of our correctness in the praises of men; and yet for the sake of the men themselves to seek the praises of men. For when the good are praised, it profits not those who are praised, but those who praise. For for them, as much as pertains to themselves, that they are good suffices: but we must congratulate those for whom it is expedient to imitate the good, when the good are praised by them; since so they indicate that those whom they truly praise please them. Therefore the Apostle says in a certain place, "If I were pleasing men, I would not be the servant of Christ" (Galat. I, 10): and the same says in another place, "Please all through all things, just as I also please all through all things;" but adding the cause, "not seeking what is useful to me, but what is useful to many, that they may be saved" (I Cor. X, 32, 33). Behold what he was seeking in the praise of men, where he also said, "For the rest, brothers, whatever things are true, whatever things are modest, whatever things are chaste, whatever things are holy, whatever things are most dear, whatever things are of good fame, if there be any virtue, if any praise, think on these things: which you have learned, and received, and heard and seen in me, these do; and the God of peace shall be with you" (Philipp. IV, 8, 9). The other things therefore, which I mentioned above, he embraced under the name of virtue, saying, "if there be any virtue": but that which he added, "whatever things are of good fame," he followed up by another single congruent word saying, "if there be any praise." That therefore which he says, "If I were pleasing men, I would not be the servant of Christ," is certainly to be accepted as if he had said: If I were doing the good things which I do, for the end of human praise, I would be swollen with the love of praise. The Apostle therefore wished to please all, and he rejoiced to please them, not by whose praises he was swollen in himself, but whom when praised he built up in Christ. Why therefore should it not delight me to be praised by you, since you are both a good man lest you should deceive me, and you praise those things which you love, and which it is useful and salutary to love, even if they are not in me? nor does this profit you only, but also me. For if they are not in me, I salutarily blush, and I burn that they may be. And through that by which I recognize my things in your praise, I rejoice that I have them, and that those things and myself are loved by you on account of those things: but those which I do not recognize, I desire to attain not only that I myself may have them, but also lest those who love me sincerely be always deceived in my praise.

5. Ecce quam multa dixi, et quid sit illud quod me longe amplius eloquio tuo, longe amplius laudibus meis in tuis litteris delectavit, non adhuc dixi. Quid autem putas esse, o bone homo, nisi quod te talem virum, et non visum feci amicum; si tamen non visum dicere debeo, cujus non corpus, sed animam in ipsis tuis litteris vidi, ubi de te, non sicut antea fratribus meis, sed mihi credidi? Quis enim esses jam quidem acceperam, sed qualis erga me esses, nondum tenebam. Ex hac amicitia tua etiam laudes meas, quae me quo fine delectent satis dixi, multo uberius Ecclesiae Christi non dubito profuturas; quandoquidem etiam labores meos in defensione Evangelii adversus reliquias impiorum daemonicolarum sic habes, sic legis, sic amas, sic praedicas, ut in eis tanto fiam notior, quanto es ipse nobilior: eos enim latenter illustris illustras, clarusque declaras, et ubi prodesse posse perspicies, ignorari omnino non sines. Si unde id sciam quaeris: talis mihi apparuisti in litteris tuis. Hinc jam vide quantum me illae litterae delectare potuerint: si bene de me existimas, cogitas quantum me Christi lucra delectent. Jamvero quod te ipsum, qui, ut scribis, a parentibus, ab avis, et postrema usque gentis prole Christi jura percipere potuisti, tamen adversus gentiles ritus, ut nunquam alias, eisdem laboribus meis adjutum esse significas; parumne cogito quantum boni aliis, et quam multis, quam claris, et quam facile, quamque salubriter per illos caeteris quibus talia conveniunt, possint scripta nostra te commendante atque disseminante conferre? aut hoc cogitans possumne parvorum vel mediocrium gaudiorum jucunditate perfundi?

6. Quia igitur non potui verbis explicare quantam delectationem de tuis litteris ceperim, unde me delectaverint, dixi: jam quod nequivi satis dicere, id est, quantum delectaverint, tibi conjiciendum relinquo. Sume itaque, mi fili, sume, vir bone et non in superficie, sed in christiana charitate christiane; sume, inquam, libros, quos desiderasti, Confessionum mearum: ibi me inspice, ne me laudes ultra quam sum; ibi non aliis de me crede, sed mihi; ibi me attende, et vide quid fuerim in meipso, per meipsum; et si quid in me tibi placuerit, lauda ibi mecum, quem laudari volui de me; neque enim me. Quoniam ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos (Psal. XCIX, 3); nos autem perdideramus nos, sed qui fecit, refecit. Cum autem ibi me inveneris, ora pro me ne deficiam, sed perficiar; ora fili, ora.

5. Behold how many things I have said, and what that thing is which delighted me in your letters far more than your eloquence, far more than my praises, I have not yet said. But what do you think it is, O good man, except that I have made such a man as you, and one not seen, a friend; if however I ought to say not seen, whose soul, not body, I have seen in those very letters of yours, where I believed concerning you, not just as before to my brothers, but to myself? For who you were I had already received, but what kind of man you were toward me, I did not yet hold. From this friendship of yours I do not doubt that even my praises, concerning which I have sufficiently said for what end they delight me, will profit the Church of Christ much more abundantly; since indeed you even so hold, so read, so love, so preach my labors in the defense of the Gospel against the remnants of the impious demon-worshippers, that in them I become more known, as much as you yourself are more noble: for you illustrate them as one hiddenly illustrious, and declare them as one clear, and where you perceive that they can profit, you will not at all allow them to be unknown. If you ask whence I know it: such you appeared to me in your letters. From this now see how much those letters could delight me: if you think well of me, you think how much the gains of Christ delight me. But indeed that you yourself, who, as you write, "from parents, from grandfathers, and even to the last progeny of the race were able to perceive the laws of Christ," yet signify that you were helped by those same labors of mine against the gentile rites, as never at other times; do I think too little how much good our writings, with you commending and disseminating them, can confer on others, and how many, how clear, and how easily, and how salutarily to the rest for whom such things are fitting? or thinking this can I not be poured over with the pleasantness of joys not small or mediocre?

6. Since therefore I could not explain by words how great a delight I have received from your letters, I have said whence they delighted me: now what I was unable to say sufficiently, that is, how much they delighted, I leave to you to conjecture. Take therefore, my son, take, O good man and not in surface, but in Christian charity christianly; take, I say, the books of my Confessions, which you desired: there look into me, lest you praise me beyond what I am; there believe not others concerning me, but me; there attend to me, and see what I have been in myself, through myself; and if anything in me shall have pleased you, praise there with me Him whom I wished to be praised concerning me; for not myself. "For He Himself made us, and not we ourselves" (Psal. XCIX, 3); but we had lost ourselves, but He who made, remade. But when you shall have found me there, pray for me lest I fail, but be perfected; pray son, pray.

Sentio quid dicam, scio quid petam; non tibi videatur indignum, et quasi ultra merita tua: fraudabis me magno adjutorio, si non feceris. Non solum tu, sed etiam omnes qui ex ore tuo dilexerint, orate pro me: hoc eis me petivisse indica, et si multum nobis tribuitis, jussisse nos existimate quod petimus, et tamen date petentibus, vel obtemperate jubentibus. Orate pro nobis. Lege Litteras divinas, et invenies ipsos arietes nostros Apostolos petiisse hoc a filiis suis, sive praecepisse auditoribus suis. Ego certe quoniam hoc a me petiisti pro te, quantum faciam, videt qui exaudiat, qui videbat quia et ante faciebam: sed redde etiam in hac re dilectionis vicem. Praepositi vestri sumus; grex Dei estis: considerate et videte pericula nostra majora esse quam vestra, et orate pro nobis. Hoc enim et nobis condecet et vobis, ut bonam rationem de vobis reddamus pastorum principi et omnium nostrum capiti, pariterque evadamus hujus mundi periculosiores blanditias quam molestias, nisi cum pax ejus ad hoc proficit, quod Apostolus orare nos monuit, ut quietam vitam et tranquillam agamus in omni pietate et charitate (I Tim. II, 2). Si enim desit pietas et charitas, quid est ab illis et a caeteris mundi malis tranquillitas et quies, nisi luxuriae perditionisque materies, sive invitamentum, sive adjumentum? Ut ergo habeamus quietam et tranquillam vitam in omni pietate et charitate, quod nos pro vobis, orate pro nobis, ubicumque estis, ubicumque sumus nusquam enim non est, cujus sumus.

7. Misi et alios libros quos non petisti, ne hoc tantummodo facerem quod petisti; de Fide rerum quae non videntur, de Patientia, de Continentia, de Providentia, et unum grandem de Fide et Spe et Charitate. Hos omnes si dum es intra Africam legeris, judicium tuum mitte de illis; aut mitte nobis, aut quo nobis a domino fratre Aurelio mittatur, ibi dimitte: quanquam et ubicumque fueris speramus inde litteras tuas, et hinc tu, dum possumus, nostras. Suscepi gratissime quae misisti; ubi et salutem meam quamvis corporalem, quoniam vis me utique sine impedimento malae valetudinis Deo vacare, et bibliothecam nostram, ut sint unde libri vel parentur vel reparentur, adjuvare dignatus es. Rependat tibi Dominus et hic et in futuro saeculo bona, quae talibus qualem te esse voluit, praeparavit. Pignus pacis apud te depositum, nostrumque utrique dulcissimum, sicut ante a me salutari, ita nunc resalutari peto.

QUARTA CLASSIS. Epistolae a S. Augustino episcopo scriptae, quarum tempus minus compertum est.

I feel what I say, I know what I ask; let it not seem unworthy to you, and as if beyond your merits: you will defraud me of a great assistance if you do not do it. Not only you, but also all who shall have loved from your mouth, pray for me: indicate to them that I have asked this, and if you attribute much to us, think that we have commanded what we ask, and yet give to those who ask, or obey those who command. Pray for us. Read the divine Letters, and you will find that our rams the Apostles themselves asked this from their sons, or commanded it to their hearers. I certainly, since you asked this of me for you, He who hears sees how much I do, who saw that I was doing it even before: but return also in this matter the turn of love. We are set over you; you are the flock of God: consider and see that our dangers are greater than yours, and pray for us. For this is becoming both to us and to you, that we may render a good account of you to the prince of shepherds and the head of us all, and equally escape the more dangerous flatteries of this world than its troubles, unless when its peace profits to this, which the Apostle admonished us to pray for, "that we may lead a quiet and tranquil life in all piety and charity" (I Tim. II, 2). For if piety and charity be lacking, what is tranquility and quiet from those and from the other evils of the world, except the material of luxury and perdition, either an invitation or an assistance? That we may therefore have a quiet and tranquil life in all piety and charity, which we for you, pray for us, wherever you are, wherever we are; for nowhere is He not, whose we are.

7. I have sent also other books which you did not ask for, lest I should only do that which you asked; on the Faith of things which are not seen, on Patience, on Continence, on Providence, and one large one on Faith and Hope and Charity. If you read all these while you are within Africa, send your judgment concerning them; or send to us, or leave them there where it may be sent to us by the lord brother Aurelius: although wherever you shall be we hope for your letters from there, and you from here, while we can, ours. I received most gratefully what you sent; where you deigned to assist both my health although corporeal, since you wish me certainly to be vacant for God without the impediment of bad health, and our library, so that there may be whence books may be either prepared or repaired. May the Lord repay to you both here and in the future world the good things which He prepared for such as He wished you to be. I ask that the pledge of peace deposited with you, and most sweet to both of us, just as before by me to be saluted, so now to be resaluted.

FOURTH CLASS. Letters written by St. Augustine the bishop, of which the time is less certain.

EPISTOLA CCXXXII . Madaurenses idololatras ad veram religionem hortatur, terrorem incutiens denuntiatione judicii extremi, quod venturum esse persuadet; quippe cum caetera de christiana religione in Scripturis praedicta jam evenerint: et demum perstringit mysterium Trinitatis et Incarnationis.

Dominis praedicabilibus, et dilectissimi fratres MADAURENSIBUS, quorum per fratrem Florentinum epistolam accepi, AUGUSTINUS.

1. Si forte illi qui inter vos catholici christiani sunt, talia mihi scripta miserunt, hoc tantum miror, quod non suo potius quam ordinis nomine. Si autem revera omnes aut prope omnes ordinis viri ad me dignati estis litteras dare, miror quod patri, et in Domino salutem scripsistis; quorum mihi superstitiosus cultus idolorum, contra quae idola facilius templa vestra quam corda clauduntur, vel potius quae idola non magis in templis quam in vestris cordibus includuntur, cum magno est dolore notissimus: nisi forte jam de salute ipsa, quae in Domino est, per quem me salutare voluistis, tandem prudenti consideratione cogitatis. Nam si non ita est, quaeso vos, quid laesi, quid offendi benevolentiam vestram, ut me titulo epistolae vestrae irridendum potius quam honorandum esse putaretis, domini praedicabiles, et dilectissimi fratres?

2. Quod enim scripsistis, Patri Augustino, in Domino aeternam salutem, cum legerem, tanta spe subito erectus sum, ut crederem vos ad ipsum Dominum, et ad ipsam aeternam salutem aut jam esse conversos, aut per nostrum ministerium desiderare converti. Sed ubi legi caetera, refriguit animus meus: quaesivi tamen ab epistolae perlatore utrum jam vel essetis christiani, vel esse cuperetis. Cujus responsione posteaquam comperi nequaquam vos esse mutatos, gravius dolui quod Christi nomen, cui jam totum orbem subjectum esse conspicitis, non solum a vobis repellendum, sed etiam in nobis irridendum esse credidistis. Non enim potui cogitare alterum Dominum, secundum quem posset episcopus pater a vobis vocari, praeter Dominum Christum: et si esset hinc aliqua de interpretatione vestrae sententiae dubitatio, subscriptione epistolae tolleretur, ubi aperte posuistis, Optamus te, domine, in Deo et Christo ejus, per multos annos semper in clero tuo gaudere. Quibus omnibus perlectis atque discussis, quid mihi aliud occurrere potuit, aut cuilibet homini potest, nisi aut veridico aut fallaci scribentium animo haec esse conscripta? Sed si veridico animo ista scribitis, quis vobis ad hanc veritatem interclusit viam? quis aspera dumeta substravit? quis rupium praerupta inimicus opposuit? postremo quis basilicae januam ingredi cupientibus clausit, ut in eodem Domino per quem nos salutatis, eamdem salutem nobiscum habere nolitis?

LETTER CCXXXII. He exhorts the Maduaran idolaters to the true religion, instilling terror by the denunciation of the last judgment, which he persuades them will come; since indeed the other things predicted concerning the Christian religion in the Scriptures have already happened: and finally he touches on the mystery of the Trinity and of the Incarnation.

To the commendable lords, and most dear brothers the MADUARANS, whose letter I received through brother Florentinus, AUGUSTINE.

1. If by chance those among you who are Catholic Christians sent such writings to me, I only wonder at this, that they did not do so in their own name rather than in the name of the order. But if in truth all or nearly all the men of the order deigned to give letters to me, I wonder that you wrote "to the Father," and "greeting in the Lord"; whose superstitious worship of idols is most known to me with great pain, against which idols your temples are more easily closed than your hearts, or rather which idols are no more included in the temples than in your hearts; unless by chance you are at last thinking with prudent consideration concerning that salvation itself, which is in the Lord, through whom you wished to greet me. For if it is not so, I ask you, in what did I hurt, in what did I offend your benevolence, that you should think me to be mocked rather than honored by the title of your letter, commendable lords, and most dear brothers?

2. For that which you wrote, "To Father Augustine, eternal salvation in the Lord," when I was reading it, I was suddenly erected with such great hope, that I believed you to have been already converted to the Lord Himself, and to that eternal salvation itself, or to desire to be converted through our ministry. But where I read the rest, my mind grew cold: I asked however from the bearer of the letter whether you were already Christians, or desired to be. By whose response after I found that you were by no means changed, I grieved more heavily that you believed that the name of Christ, to which you now see the whole world to be subject, should not only be repelled by you, but even mocked in us. For I could not think of another Lord, according to whom a bishop could be called "father" by you, except the Lord Christ: and if there were any doubt from here concerning the interpretation of your sentiment, it would be removed by the subscription of the letter, where you openly placed, "We wish that you, lord, in God and His Christ, may rejoice for many years always in your clergy." All of which having been read through and discussed, what else could occur to me, or can to any man, except that these things were written either with a truthful or with a fallacious mind of the writers? But if you write these things with a truthful mind, who has closed the way to this truth for you? who has spread rough thickets? what enemy has opposed the precipices of rocks? finally who has closed the door of the basilica to those desiring to enter, so that you are unwilling to have the same salvation with us in the same Lord through whom you greet us?

Si autem fallaciter atque irridenter haec scribitis, itane tandem mihi negotia vestra curanda imponitis, ut nomen ejus per quem aliquid possum, audeatis non veneratione debita attollere, sed insultatione adulatoria ventilare?

3. Sciatis me, charissimi, cum ineffabili pro vobis tremore cordis haec dicere: novi enim quanto graviorem et perniciosiorem causam sitis habituri apud Deum, si frustra vobis haec dixero. Omnia quae praeteritis temporibus erga humanum genus majores nostri gesta esse meminerunt, nobisque tradiderunt; omnia etiam quae nos videmus, et posteris tradimus, quae tamen pertinent ad veram religionem quaerendam et tenendam, divina Scriptura non tacuit; sed ita omnino cuncta transeunt, ut transitura esse praedicta sunt. Videtis certe populum Judaeorum avulsum a sedibus suis, per omnes fere terras disseminatum atque diffusum: et origo ejusdem populi, et incrementa, et regni amissio, et per cuncta dispersio, sicut praedicta, ita facta sunt. Videtis certe ex ipso populo verbum Dei legemque prodeuntem per Christum, qui ex illis mirabiliter natus est, omnium gentium fidem occupasse atque tenuisse: ita haec omnia praenuntiata legimus, ut videmus. Videtis certe multos praecisos a radice christianae societatis, quae per Sedes Apostolorum et successiones episcoporum certa per orbem propagatione diffunditur, de sola figura originis, sub christiano nomine, quasi arescentia sarmenta gloriari, quas haereses et schismata nominamus: praevisa, praedicta, scripta sunt omnia. Videtis certe simulacrorum templa partim sine reparatione collapsa, partim diruta, partim clausa, partim in usus alios commutata; ipsaque simulacra vel confringi, vel incendi, vel includi, vel destrui: atque ipsas hujus saeculi potestates, quae aliquando pro simulacris populum christianum persequebantur, victas et domitas, non a repugnantibus, sed a morientibus Christianis, et contra eadem simulacra pro quibus Christianos occidebant, impetus suos legesque vertisse, et imperii nobilissimi eminentissimum culmen ad sepulcrum piscatoris Petri, submisso diademate, supplicare.

4. Haec omnia Scripturae divinae, quae in manus omnium jam venerunt, ante longissima tempora futura esse testatae sunt. Haec omnia tanto robustiore fide laetamur fieri, quanto majore auctoritate praedicata esse in sanctis Litteris invenimus. Numquidnam, obsecro vos, numquidnam solum judicium Dei, quod inter fideles atque infideles futurum esse in eisdem Litteris legimus, cum illa omnia sicut praedicta sunt venerint; numquidnam solum judicium Dei venturum non esse putabimus? Imo vero veniet, sicut illa omnia venerunt.

But if you write these things fallaciously and mockingly, do you so at last impose upon me the care of your business, that you dare not to extol with due veneration the name of Him through whom I can do anything, but to ventilate it with flattering insult?

3. Know, most dear ones, that I say these things with ineffable trembling of heart for you: for I know how much more grave and pernicious a cause you will have before God, if I shall have said these things to you in vain. All the things which in past times our ancestors remembered were done toward the human race, and handed down to us; all also which we see, and hand down to posterity, which however pertain to seeking and holding the true religion, divine Scripture did not keep silent; but so all things altogether pass away, as they were predicted to pass away. You see certainly the people of the Jews plucked away from their seats, disseminated and diffused through almost all lands: and both the origin of the same people, and the increments, and the loss of the kingdom, and the dispersion through all things, just as they were predicted, so were they done. You see certainly from that same people the word of God and the law proceeding through Christ, who was wonderfully born from them, to have occupied and held the faith of all nations: thus we read all these things foreannounced, as we see them. You see certainly many cut off from the root of Christian society, which is diffused through the Seats of the Apostles and the successions of bishops by a certain propagation through the world, boasting of the mere figure of origin, under the Christian name, as it were drying branches, which we call heresies and schisms: all were foreseen, predicted, written. You see certainly the temples of the images partly collapsed without repair, partly destroyed, partly closed, partly changed into other uses; and the images themselves either being broken, or burned, or enclosed, or destroyed: and those powers of this world themselves, which once were persecuting the Christian people for the sake of images, conquered and tamed, not by resisting but by dying Christians, and to have turned their own impetus and laws against those same images for which they were killing Christians, and the most eminent peak of a most noble empire, with the diadem submitted, to supplicate at the tomb of the fisherman Peter.

4. All these things the divine Scriptures, which have now come into the hands of all, testified very long ago that they would be in the future. We rejoice that all these things are being done with a faith so much more robust, as much as we find them to have been preached in the holy Letters with greater authority. Is it possible, I beseech you, is it possible that only the judgment of God, which we read in the same Letters will be between the faithful and the unfaithful, when all those things just as they were predicted shall have come; shall we think that only the judgment of God will not come? On the contrary indeed it will come, just as all those things came.

Nec quisquam erit homo nostrorum temporum, qui se in illo judicio de sua possit infidelitate defendere; cum Christum cantet et justus ad aequitatem, et perjurus ad fraudem, et rex ad imperium, et miles ad pugnam, et maritus propter regimen, et uxor propter obsequium, et pater propter praeceptum, et filius propter obedientiam, et dominus propter dominationem, et servus propter famulatum, et humilis ad pietatem, et superbus ad aemulationem, et dives ut porrigat, et pauper ut sumat, et ebriosus ad phialam, et mendicus ad januam, et bonus ut praestet, et malus ut fallat; et christianus venerator, et paganus adulator, omnes Christum cantant, et qua voluntate atque ore cantent, eidem ipsi quem cantant rationem sine dubio reddituri sunt.

5. Est quiddam invisibile, ex quo Creatore principio sunt omnia quae videmus, summum, aeternum, incommutabile et nulli effabile nisi tantum sibi. Est quiddam, quo se ipsa summitas majestatis narrat et praedicat, non impar gignenti atque narranti Verbum, quo ille qui Verbum gignit, ostenditur. Est quaedam sanctitas, omnium quae sancta fiunt sanctificatrix, ipsius incommutabilis Verbi per quod narratur illud principium, et ipsius principii quod pari se Verbo narrat, inseparabilis et indivisa communio. Quis autem hoc totum, quod non dicendo dicere conatus sum, et dicendo non dicere; quis hoc possit serenissima et sincerissima mente contueri, eoque contuitu beatitudinem ducere, atque in id quod intuetur deficiens quodammodo se oblivisci, et pergere in illud cujus visio nobis invisibilis est, quod est immortalitate indui, et obtinere aeternam salutem, per quam me salutare dignamini? Quis hoc possit, nisi qui omnes superbiae suae toros inanes, peccata sua confitens, complanaverit, seque substraverit mitem atque humilem ad excipiendum Deum doctorem?

6. Quoniam ergo a vanitate superbiae prius ad humilitatem deponendi sumus, ut inde surgentes solidam celsitudinem teneamus; non potuit hoc nobis tanto magnificentius, quanto blandius inspirari, ut nostra ferocitas non vi, sed persuasione sedaretur, nisi verbum illud, per quod se Angelis indicat Deus Pater, quod Virtus et Sapientia ejus est, quod corde humano visibilium rerum cupiditate caecato videri non poterat, personam suam in homine agere atque ostendere dignaretur, ut magis homo timeret extolli fastu hominis, quam humiliari exemplo Dei.

Nor will there be any man of our times, who can defend himself in that judgment concerning his own infidelity; since the just man sings Christ for equity, and the perjurer for fraud, and the king for empire, and the soldier for battle, and the husband on account of rule, and the wife on account of obedience, and the father on account of precept, and the son on account of obedience, and the lord on account of domination, and the servant on account of service, and the humble to piety, and the proud to emulation, and the rich that he may stretch forth, and the poor that he may receive, and the drunkard to the bowl, and the beggar to the door, and the good that he may bestow, and the bad that he may deceive; and the Christian worshiper, and the pagan flatterer, all sing Christ, and with what will and mouth they sing, they are without doubt about to render an account to that same one whom they sing.

5. There is a certain invisible thing, from which as Creator principle are all things which we see, highest, eternal, immutable and effable to no one except only to Himself. There is a certain thing, by which that highest point of majesty tells and preaches itself, a Word not unequal to the one begetting and telling, by which He who begets the Word is shown. There is a certain holiness, the sanctifier of all things which are made holy, of the same immutable Word through which that principle is told, and of the principle itself which tells itself by an equal Word, an inseparable and undivided communion. But who can contemplate this whole, which not by saying I have attempted to say, and by saying not to say; who can contemplate this with a most serene and most sincere mind, and from that contemplation lead beatitude, and in that which he contemplates failing in a certain way forget himself, and proceed into that whose vision is invisible to us, which is to be clothed with immortality, and to obtain eternal salvation, through which you deigned to greet me? Who can do this, except one who shall have leveled all the empty swellings of his pride, confessing his sins, and shall have submitted himself as mild and humble to receive God as teacher?

Since therefore we are first to be deposited from the vanity of pride to humility, that rising from there we may hold solid loftiness; this could not be inspired in us so much more magnificently, as it is more blandly, so that our ferocity might be calmed not by force, but by persuasion, unless that word, through which God the Father indicates Himself to the Angels, which is His Virtue and Wisdom, which could not be seen by a human heart blinded by the cupidity of visible things, deigned to act and show His person in man, so that man might rather fear to be extolled by the pride of man, than to be humbled by the example of God.

Itaque non Christus regno terreno decoratus, nec Christus terrenis opibus dives, nec Christus illa terrena felicitate praefulgens; sed Christus crucifixus, per totum terrarum orbem praedicatur. Quod riserunt prius populi superborum, et adhuc rident reliquiae: crediderunt autem prius pauci, nunc populi; quia tunc ad fidem paucorum, et contra irrisionem populorum, cum Christus crucifixus praedicaretur, claudi ambulabant, muti loquebantur, surdi audiebant, caeci videbant, mortui resurgebant. Sic tandem animadvertit terrena superbia, nihil in ipsis terrenis esse potentius humilitate divina (I Cor. I, 23-25), ut etiam saluberrima humilitas humana, contra insultantem sibi superbiam, divinae imitationis patrocinio tueretur.

7. Expergiscimini aliquando, fratres mei, et parentes mei Madaurenses; hanc occasionem scribendi vobis Deus mihi obtulit. Quantum potui quidem in negotio fratris Florentini, per quem litteras misistis, sicut Deus voluit, adfui et adjuvi; sed tale negotium erat, quod etiam sine opera mea facile peragi posset: prope omnes enim domus ipsius homines, qui apud Hipponem sunt, noverunt Florentinum, et multum ejus orbitatem dolent. Sed epistola mihi a vobis missa est, ut non impudens esset epistola mea, cum, occasione a vobis accepta, idolorum cultoribus de Christo aliquid loqueretur. Sed obsecro vos, si eum non inaniter in ea epistola nominastis, ut non inaniter vobis ista scripserim. Si autem me irridere voluistis, timete illum quem prius judicatum irrisit superbus orbis terrarum, et nunc judicem subjectus exspectat: erit enim testis affectus in vos cordis mei, per hanc, quantum potui paginam expressus; erit testis vobis in judicio ejus qui credentes sibi confirmaturus est, et incredulos confusurus. Deus unus et verus vos ab omni hujus saeculi vanitate liberatos convertat ad se, domini praedicabiles, et dilectissimi fratres.

Epistola CCXXXIII.

Augustinus Longiniano pagano philosopho, provocans illum ad scribendum quonam modo Deum colendum credat, quidve de Christo sentiat.

LONGINIANO AUGUSTINUS.

Therefore not Christ decorated with an earthly kingdom, nor Christ rich with earthly wealth, nor Christ pre-shining with that earthly felicity; but Christ crucified, is preached through the whole world. Which the peoples of the proud first mocked, and still the remnants mock: but first a few believed, now peoples; because then for the faith of the few, and against the mockery of the peoples, when Christ crucified was preached, the lame were walking, the mute were speaking, the deaf were hearing, the blind were seeing, the dead were rising. Thus at last earthly pride noticed that nothing is more powerful in the earthly things themselves than divine humility (I Cor. I, 23-25), so that even most salutary human humility, against pride insulting itself, might be protected by the patronage of divine imitation.

7. Wake up at last, my brothers, and my parents of Madaura; God offered me this occasion of writing to you. As much as I could indeed in the business of brother Florentinus, through whom you sent the letter, just as God willed, I was present and helped; but it was such business as could easily be performed even without my work: for nearly all the men of his house, who are at Hippo, know Florentinus, and grieve much for his bereavement. But the letter was sent to me by you, so that my letter might not be impudent, when, with the occasion accepted from you, it should speak something concerning Christ to the worshipers of idols. But I beseech you, if you named Him not in vain in that letter, that I may not have written these things to you in vain. But if you wished to mock me, fear Him whom the proud world mocked first when judged, and now subject expects as judge: for the affection of my heart toward you will be a witness, expressed through this page as much as I could; it will be a witness to you in the judgment of Him who is about to confirm those believing in Him, and to confound the unfaithful. May the one and true God, having liberated you from all vanity of this world, convert you to Himself, commendable lords, and most dear brothers.

Letter CCXXXIII.

Augustine to Longinianus the pagan philosopher, provoking him to writing in what way he believes God is to be worshiped, or what he feels concerning Christ.

AUGUSTINE TO LONGINIANUS.

Solere aiunt quemdam veterum dicere, quibus satis persuasum esset ut nihil mallent se esse quam viros bonos, his reliquam facilem esse doctrinam. Hanc sententiam (nam, si rite recolo, Socratica est) longe antiquior prophetica jam praecesserat, praecipiens homini breviter et simul, non tantum ut se nihil malit esse quam bonum, verum etiam unde fiat bonus: Diliges, inquit, Dominum Deum tuum ex toto cordo tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua (Deut. VI, 5); et, Diliges proximum tuum tanquam teipsum (Lev. XIX, 18). Hoc cui persuasum esset, non ei reliquam facilem, sed eam totam esse doctrinam duntaxat utilem ac salubrem. Multae enim doctrinae sunt, si tamen doctrinae dicendae sunt, vel superfluae, vel noxiae. Veterum Libris Christus attestans: In his, inquit, duobus praeceptis tota lex pendet et Prophetae (Matth. XXII, 40). Proinde, quia mihi videor inspexisse tanquam in speculo sermocinationis mecum tuae, nihil te esse malle quam virum bonum; Deum, quo nihil est melius, et unde humanus animus haurit ut bonus sit, quoniam modo colendum credas, audeo percontari: nam quod eum colendum credas, jam teneo. Quaero etiam quid de Christo sentias. Quod enim eum non parvipendas, adverti: sed utrum ea et sola via quae ab illo demonstrata est, ad vitam beatam perveniri posse existimes, et aliqua ex causa non eam negligas ire, sed differas; an et aliam vel alias ad tam opimam et prae omnibus appetendam possessionem vias esse arbitreris, et aliquam earum jam te ingredi credas, nosse cupio, ut opinor, non impudenter. Diligo enim te propter id quod supra dixi, meque abs te diligi non temere existimo; nec ulla de re alia inter eos qui se benevole noverunt, sermo fructuosior, vel impenditur, vel reposcitur, vel accipitur, vel recipitur, quam unde boni beatique sumus.

Epistola CCXXXIV.

Longinianus Augustino, ad id respondens juxta Trimegistum et Platonicos, per minores deos perveniri ad summum Deum, sed non sine sacris purificatoriis.

Domino venerando, et vere ac merito percolendo sancto patri AUGUSTINO, LONGINIANO.

1. Beatus sum, et relucentis puro virtutis tuae lumine admodum illustratus, qui dignum me divini tui affaminis honore cumulandum esse duxisti. Sed grave mihi onus et difficillimam respondendi provinciam, domine venerande, satis imponis, praecipue tuis percontationibus, et sub hoc tempore in talibus explicandis, per meae opinionis sententiam, id est, a pagano homine.

They say that one of the ancients was wont to say, to those who were sufficiently persuaded that they should prefer to be nothing else than good men, that to these the remaining doctrine is easy. This sentiment (for, if I recall correctly, it is Socratic) a far more ancient prophetic one had already preceded, commanding to man briefly and at the same time, not only that he should prefer to be nothing else than good, but even whence he may become good: "You shall love," it says, "the Lord your God from all your heart, and from all your soul, and from all your mind" (Deut. VI, 5); and, "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Lev. XIX, 18). To whom this was persuaded, to him not the remaining doctrine would be easy, but that whole doctrine at least useful and salutary. For there are many doctrines, if however they are to be called doctrines, either superfluous or harmful. Christ, attesting to the Books of the ancients, says: "In these two precepts the whole law hangs and the Prophets" (Matth. XXII, 40). Accordingly, because I seem to myself to have looked as if into a mirror of your conversation with me, that you prefer to be nothing else than a good man; in what way you believe God, than whom nothing is better, and from whom the human soul draws that it may be good, is to be worshiped, I dare to ask: for that you believe He is to be worshiped, I already hold. I ask also what you think of Christ. For that you do not value Him at little, I have noticed: but whether you think that it is that and the only way which was demonstrated by Him, that one can arrive at the blessed life, and for some cause you do not neglect to go by it, but defer it; or whether you judge that there is another or other ways to so rich and before all things to be desired a possession, and you believe yourself already to be entering one of them, I desire to know, as I think, not impudently. For I love you on account of that which I said above, and I think not rashly that I am loved by you; nor concerning any other matter between those who have known themselves benevolently, is speech more fruitful, either expended, or required, or received, or accepted, than whence we are good and blessed.

Letter CCXXXIV.

Longinianus to Augustine, responding to that according to Trismegistus and the Platonists, that through minor gods one arrives at the highest God, but not without sacred purificatory rites.

To the venerable lord, and truly and deservedly to be worshipped holy father AUGUSTINE, LONGINIANUS.

1. I am blessed, and greatly illustrated by the light of your pure virtue shining back, you who deigned that I should be worthy to be accumulated with the honor of your divine address. But you impose a heavy burden on me and a most difficult province of responding, venerable lord, especially with your questions, and at this time in explaining such things, by the sentiment of my opinion, that is, by a pagan man.

Quaestionibus siquidem abundet quod ex parte vel jamdudum inter nos convenerit, vel nunc identidem litteris magis magisque conveniat praeceptis, non dicam tantum Socraticis, nec tuis, Romanorum vir vere optime, propheticis, aut paucis Jerosolymiticis; sed etiam Orpheicis atque Ageticis, et Trimegisticis, longe ante illis antiquioribus, et pene rudibus adhuc saeculis diis auctoribus enatis, et toti orbi terrae certis limitibus partitae trifariam divinitus ostensis, priusquam nomen aut Europa caperet, aut Asia acciperet, aut Libya possideret virum bonum, ut tu, medius fidius, et eris et fuisti. Siquidem adhuc post hominum memoriam nisi Xenophontis figmentis compositae fabulae schema concedas, adhuc audierim, legerim, viderim neminem, aut certe post unum, nullum, quod, Deo teste, bono periculo certoque dixerim, nisi te, Deum et conniti semper agnoscere, et posse puritate animi, corporisque projecta gravedine sectari facillime, et spe perfectae conscientiae, non dubia credulitate tenere.

2. Verum qua via effici possit, magis est ut tu non nescias, et mihi non insinuato extrinsecus aliquo dissertes, quam ut a me, domine percolende, scias. Quia tunc, fateor, hujus boni in sedem profecturus sufficiens, ut mea expetunt sacerdotia, minime necdum, et si tamen potuero, viaticum colligo. Verum quid traditum sancte atque antiquitus teneam atque custodiam, ut potuero paucis edicam. Via est in Deum melior, qua vir bonus, piis, puris, justis, castis, veris dictis factisque, sine ulla temporum mutatorum captata jactatione probatus, et deorum comitatu vallatus, Dei utique potestatibus emeritus; id est, ejus unius, et universi, et incomprehensibilis, et ineffabilis, infatigabilisque Creatoris impletus virtutibus, quos, ut verum est, Angelos dicitis, vel quid alterum post Deum vel cum Deo, aut a Deo, aut in Deum intentione animi mentisque ire festinat. Via est, inquam, qua purgati antiquorum sacrorum piis praeceptis expiationibusque purissimis, et abstemiis observationibus decocti, anima et corpore constantes deproperant.

3. De Christo autem tuae jam credulitatis carnali et spiritu Deo, per quem in illum summum, beatum, verum, et patrem omnium ire securus es, domine pater percolende, non audeo nec valeo quid sentiam exprimere; quia quod nescio, difficillimum credo definire. Ut autem me cultorem tuarum virtutum dignatus es jam olim scienti insinuare quod diligas, satis ad bonae vitae testimonium habeo, quod cum ne tibi displiceam, qui Deo te animamque tuam quotidie insinuas, custodio: intelligis procul dubio quod et ego te delectabiliter diligam, cum tui judicii de me habiti normam lineamque accipiens teneam.

Since indeed that which has already for a long time agreed between us in part, or now repeatedly by letters more and more agrees, should abound with questions by precepts, I will not say only Socratic, nor yours, O truly best man of the Romans, prophetic, or a few of Jerusalem; but also Orphic and Agetic, and Trismegistic, far more ancient than those, and born when the ages were almost still rude with the gods as authors, and shown divinely to the whole circle of the earth divided into three parts with certain limits, before either Europe took the name, or Asia received it, or Libya possessed a good man, as you, by the god of faith, both will be and have been. Since indeed still after the memory of men unless you grant the schema of stories composed by the fictions of Xenophon, I have heard, read, seen no one, or certainly after one, none, which, God as witness, I have said with a good and certain peril, except you, both to always strive to recognize God, and to be able to follow most easily by purity of soul and with the heaviness of the body cast off, and to hold by the hope of a perfected conscience, not by a doubtful credulity.

2. But by what way it can be effected, it is rather that you should not be ignorant, and that you should discuss with me not having been insinuated from without, than that you should know from me, O to-be-worshipped lord. Because then, I confess, being about to set out for the seat of this good as sufficient, as my priesthoods require, I am by no means yet, and even if I shall be able, collecting the viaticum. But what I hold and keep as handed down holily and anciently, as I shall be able I will say in few words. There is a better way into God, by which a good man, proved by pious, pure, just, chaste, true words and deeds, without any caught-at boasting of changed times, and walled around by the company of the gods, emeritus as it were by the powers of God; that is, of that one, and universal, and incomprehensible, and ineffable, and indefatigable Creator filled with virtues, whom, as is true, you call Angels, or whatever else after God or with God, or from God, or into God he hastens to go with the intention of soul and mind. There is a way, I say, by which those purged by the pious precepts of ancient sacred rites and by the purest expiations, and boiled down by abstemious observations, constant in soul and body, they speed.

3. But concerning Christ of your now carnal and spirit God credulity, through whom you are secure to go into that highest, blessed, true, and father of all, lord percolend father, I do not dare nor am I able to express what I feel; because what I do not know, I believe it most difficult to define. But that you deigned to insinuate already long ago to one who knows that you love me, as a worshiper of your virtues, I have sufficient testimony for a good life, which I keep lest I should displease you, who daily insinuate yourself and your soul to God: you understand without doubt that I also love you delectably, since I hold accepting the norm and line of your judgment held concerning me.

Sed ante omnia, quaeso te, ut exiguissimae opinioni meae veniam concedas, et sermoni meo ad te, quia coegisti, remisso forte, incongruo facile indulgeas, et me quid de his existimes, vel tu quid sentias, sanctis scriptis tuis, ut ille ait, jam non melle, sed nectare dulcioribus (Ovid. Trist. 5, Eleg. 5), si mereor, informare digneris. Dei pietate perfruaris, domine pater, ac perpetua sanctitate Deo placeas, quod necesse est.

Epistola CCXXXV.

Augustinus Longiniano, explanari quaerens cur putari opus sacrificiis purificatoriis ei qui jam divinis virtutibus sit circumvallatus.

LONGINIANO AUGUSTINUS.

1. Cepi fructum scripti mei, rescriptum scilicet Benevolentiae tuae. Unde jam video exortum et exorsum inter nos magnae hac de re magna disputationis quasi sementem: hoc est quod volebam prius, deinde quod adhuc volo, Deus adjuvabit. Id autem est, ut hoc coeptum debito ac salubri fine claudatur. Proinde, quod de Christo nihil temere tibi negandum vel affirmandum putasti, hoc in pagani animo temperamentum non invitus acceperim. Quod vero etiam scriptis meis doceri te cupis de hac re, nequaquam abnuam, neque desistam huic tam bonae mihique charissimae servire voluntati tuae. Sed prius opus est eliquare quodammodo, perspicuamque sumere sententiam tuam de antiquis sacris. Cum enim dixisses eam viam in Deum esse meliorem, qua vir bonus, piis, justis, puris, castis, veris dictis factisque sine ulla temporum mutatorum captata jactatione probatus, et deorum comitatu vallatus, Dei utique potestatibus emeritus; id est, ejus unius, et universi, et incomprehensibilis, et infatigabilis, ineffabilisque Creatoris adimpletus virtutibus, quos, ut verum est, Angelos dicitis, vel quid alterum post Deum, vel a Deo, vel cum Deo, aut in Deum intentione animi mentisque ire festinat (quae verba ex epistola tua recognoscis); cum addidisti, et aisti: Via est, inquam, qua purgati antiquorum sacrorum piis praeceptis, expiationibusque purissimis, et abstemiis observationibus decocti, anima et corpore constantes deproperant.

But before all things, I ask you, that you grant pardon to my most meager opinion, and easily indulge my speech to you, perhaps remiss, and easily incongruous because you compelled me, and deign to inform me what you think concerning these things, or what you yourself feel, with your holy writings sweeter than, as he says, not now honey, but nectar (Ovid. Trist. 5, Eleg. 5), if I deserve it. May you enjoy the piety of God, lord father, and by perpetual holiness may you please God, which is necessary.

Letter CCXXXV.

Augustine to Longinianus, seeking to be explained why he thinks purificatory sacrifices are necessary for him who is already circumvallated by divine virtues.

AUGUSTINE TO LONGINIANUS.

1. I received the fruit of my writing, namely the reply of your Benevolence. Whence I now see the seed as it were of a great disputation between us concerning this great matter to have arisen and begun: this is what I wished first, then what I still wish, God will help. But that is, that this beginning may be closed with a due and salutary end. Accordingly, that you thought nothing is to be rashly denied or affirmed by you concerning Christ, I would accept this temperament not unwillingly in the mind of a pagan. But that you also desire to be taught by my writings concerning this matter, I by no means refuse, nor will I cease to serve this so good and most dear will of yours to me. But first it is necessary to strain as it were, and to take your clear sentiment concerning the ancient sacred rites. For when you had said that way into God to be better, "by which a good man, proved by pious, just, pure, chaste, true words and deeds without any caught-at boasting of changed times, and walled around by the company of the gods, emeritus as it were by the powers of God; that is, of that one, and universal, and incomprehensible, and indefatigable, and ineffable Creator filled with virtues, whom, as is true, you call Angels, or whatever else after God, or from God, or with God, or into God he hastens to go with the intention of soul and mind" (which words you recognize from your letter); when you added, and said: "There is a way, I say, by which those purged by the pious precepts of ancient sacred rites, and by the purest expiations, and boiled down by abstemious observations, constant in soul and body, they speed."

2. In his verbis sentio, ni fallor, videri tibi non sufficere ad viam qua itur ad Deum, uti vir bonus, piis, justis, puris, castis, veris dictis factisque promereatur deos, quorum comitatu vallatus in illum summum Deum omnium creatorem ire festinet, nisi etiam sacrorum antiquorum piis praeceptis expiationibusque purgetur. Quamobrem velim scire quid arbitreris esse per sacra purgandum in eo qui pie, juste, pure, veraciterque vivendo promeretur deos, et per eos unum illum deorum Deum. Si enim adhuc sacris purgandus est, utique mundus non est: et si mundus non est, pie, juste, pure casteque non vivit. Si enim jam ita vivit, jam mundus est: porro jam mundum atque purum, quid opus est sacris expiando purgari? Itaque hic nodus est disputationis nostrae, quo soluto consequentia videbimus: vivatne homo bene, ut sacris purgetur; an sacris purgetur, ut bene vivat: an ipse quantuscumque bene vivendi in homine modus nondum sit idoneus ad beatam vitam, quae ex Deo capitur, nisi accedant adjumenta sacrorum; an bene vivendi quaedam velut portio sit etiam sacra percipere, scilicet ut non aliud sit bene vivere, aliud sacrate vivere, sed bene vivendi terminis etiam sacrata vita claudatur. Horum quatuor quae proposui, quod potissimum probes, quaeso te litteris aperire non pigeat. Plurimum quippe interest ad id quod suscepimus inter nos colloquendo peragere, ne cum multa non necessaria, tanquam ea sentias quae forte non sentis, refellere molior, tempus necessarium in superfluis insumatur. Onerare te itaque epistola nolui, ut te cito rescribente caetera contexamus.

EPISTOLA CCXXXVI . Augustinus Deuterio episcopo, significat se Victorinum hypodiaconum qui clam docuerat haeresim Manichaeorum, deprehensum e clericorum ordine submovisse; admonens ne illic recipiatur ad poenitentiam, nisi prodat quotquot novit eodem infectos errore. Docet autem qui apud Manichaeos fuerint auditores, qui electi.

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

2. In these words I perceive, unless I am mistaken, that it seems to you not to suffice for the way by which one goes to God, that a good man, by pious, just, pure, chaste, true words and deeds, should merit the gods, walled around by whose company he may hasten to go into that highest God the Creator of all, unless he also be purged by the pious precepts and expiations of the ancient sacred rites. For which reason I would wish to know what you judge is to be purged through sacred rites in him who by living piously, justly, purely, and truthfully merits the gods, and through them that one God of gods. For if he is still to be purged by sacred rites, certainly he is not clean: and if he is not clean, he does not live piously, justly, purely and chastely. For if he already so lives, he is already clean: furthermore, what need is there for one already clean and pure to be purged by expiating sacred rites? Therefore here is the knot of our disputation, which being untied we shall see the consequences: whether a man lives well, that he may be purged by sacred rites; or is he purged by sacred rites, that he may live well: or whether any manner of living well in man is not yet fit for the blessed life, which is taken from God, unless the helps of sacred rites are added; or whether it be as it were a portion of living well also to perceive sacred things, namely so that it is not one thing to live well, another to live sacredly, but that the sacred life is also closed within the boundaries of living well. Which of these four which I have proposed you most approve, I ask you that it may not be irksome to open by letter. For it interests us very much for that which we have undertaken to perform by talking between us, lest when I strive to refell many unnecessary things, as if you felt those things which perhaps you do not feel, the necessary time be spent in superfluous things. I did not wish therefore to burden you with a letter, so that with you quickly replying we may weave together the rest.

LETTER CCXXXVI. Augustine to Bishop Deuterius, signifies that he has removed Victorinus the subdeacon, who had secretly taught the heresy of the Manichaeans, having been caught, from the order of the clergy; admonishing that he should not be received there to penance, unless he betrays as many as he knows infected with the same error. Moreover he teaches who were hearers among the Manichaeans, who elect.

To the most blessed lord, and venerably most dear brother and co-bishop DEUTERIUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. Nihil melius me facere posse arbitratus sum, quam ut tuae Sanctitati potissimum scriberem, ne per negligentiam in vestra provincia Domini nostri Jesu Christi ovile vastet inimicus, qui non desinit insidiari, ut perdat animas tam magno pretio comparatas. Mallianensem quemdam subdiaconum Victorinum, apud nos constitit esse Manichaeum, et in tam sacrilego errore sub nomine clerici latitabat: nam est etiam aetate jam senex. Ita est autem manifestatus, ut etiam ipse a me interrogatus, antequam a testibus coargueretur, negare non posset. Tot enim et tales esse jam sciebat, quibus se incautus effuderat, ut nihil aliud, si negare tentaret, quam, non dico impudentissimus, sed insanissimus appareret. Auditorem sane Manichaeorum, non electum se esse confessus est.

2. Auditores autem qui appellantur apud eos, et carnibus vescuntur, et agros colunt, et, si voluerint, uxores habent; quorum nihil faciunt qui vocantur electi. Sed ipsi auditores ante electos genua figunt, ut eis manus supplicibus imponantur non a solis presbyteris, vel episcopis, aut diaconibus eorum, sed a quibuslibet electis. Solem etiam et lunam cum eis adorant et orant. Die quoque dominico cum illis jejunant, et omnes blasphemias cum illis credunt, quibus Manichaeorum haeresis detestanda est; negantes scilicet Christum natum esse de virgine, nec ejus carnem veram confitentes fuisse, sed falsam: ac per hoc et falsam ejus passionem, et nullam resurrectionem fuisse contendunt. Patriarchas Prophetasque blasphemant. Legem per famulum Dei Moysen datam, non a vero Deo dicunt, sed a principe tenebrarum. Animas non solum hominum, sed etiam pecorum, de Dei esse substantia, et omnino partes Dei esse arbitrantur. Deum denique bonum et verum dicunt cum tenebrarum gente pugnasse, et partem suam tenebrarum principibus miscuisse, eamque toto mundo inquinatam et ligatam per cibos electorum suorum, ac per solem et lunam purgari asseverant: et quod purgari de ipsa parte Dei non potuerit, in fine saeculi aeterno ac poenali vinculo colligari; ut non solum violabilis et corruptibilis et contaminabilis credatur Deus, cujus pars potuit ad mala tanta perduci, sed non possit saltem totus a tanta coinquinatione et immunditia et miseria vel in fine saeculi purgari.

3. Has cum illis intolerabiles blasphemias, subdiaconus iste quasi catholicus, non solum credebat, sed quibus viribus poterat, edocebat. Nam docens patefactus est, cum se quasi discentibus credidit. Rogavit me quidem, posteaquam se Manichaeorum auditorem esse confessus est, ut eum in viam veritatis doctrinae catholicae revocarem: sed, fateor, ejus fictionem sub clerici specie vehementer exhorrui, eumque coercitum pellendum de civitate curavi.

1. I thought that I could do nothing better than that I should write to your Holiness especially, lest through negligence the enemy should lay waste the flock of our Lord Jesus Christ in your province, who does not cease to lie in wait, that he may lose souls compared at so great a price. It was established among us that a certain Victorinus of Malliana, a subdeacon, is a Manichaean, and he was lurking under the name of a cleric in so sacrilegious an error: for he is also now old in age. But he was so manifested, that even he himself, questioned by me before he was convicted by witnesses, could not deny it. For he already knew that those to whom he had incautiously poured himself out were so many and such, that if he tried to deny it, he would appear as nothing else than, I do not say most impudent, but most insane. He confessed indeed that he was a hearer of the Manichaeans, not an elect.

2. But those who are called hearers among them both eat flesh, and cultivate fields, and, if they wish, have wives; none of which things those do who are called elect. But the hearers themselves bend their knees before the elect, that hands may be imposed on them as suppliants not only by their priests, or bishops, or deacons, but by any of the elect. They also adore and pray to the sun and moon with them. They also fast with them on the Lord's day, and believe all the blasphemies with them, by which the heresy of the Manichaeans is to be detested; denying namely that Christ was born of a virgin, nor confessing that His flesh was true, but false: and through this they contend that His passion was false, and that there was no resurrection. They blaspheme the Patriarchs and Prophets. They say that the Law given through the servant of God Moses was not from the true God, but from the prince of darkness. They judge that souls not only of men, but also of cattle, are from the substance of God, and are altogether parts of God. Finally they say that the good and true God fought with the race of darkness, and mixed His own part with the princes of darkness, and they assert that it, polluted and bound in the whole world, is purged through the foods of their elect, and through the sun and moon: and that what could not be purged from that same part of God, is to be bound at the end of the age with an eternal and penal chain; so that not only is God believed to be violable and corruptible and contaminable, whose part could be led to such great evils, but that He cannot even at least as a whole be purged from such great pollution and uncleanness and misery even at the end of the age.

This subdeacon, as if a Catholic, not only believed these intolerable blasphemies with them, but with what strength he could, he taught them. For he was manifested by teaching, when he trusted himself as it were to those learning. He asked me indeed, after he confessed that he was a hearer of the Manichaeans, that I should recall him to the way of the truth of the Catholic doctrine: but, I confess, I vehemently abhorred his fiction under the appearance of a cleric, and I took care that he, having been coerced, should be driven out from the city.

Nec mihi hoc satis fuit, nisi et tuae Sanctitati cum meis litteris intimarem, ut a clericorum gradu congrue ecclesiastica severitate dejectus, cavendus omnibus innotescat. Petenti autem poenitentiae locum, tunc credatur, si et alios quos illic novit esse, manifestaverit vobis, non solum in Malliana, sed in ipsa tota omnino provincia.

EPISTOLA CCXXXVII . Augustinus Ceretio, de Priscillianistarum fraude in Scripturis, cum sacris, tum apocryphis exponendis; deque hymno quem a Christo dictum esse fingentes praeferebant canonicis Litteris.

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

1. Lectis his quae misit Sanctitas tua, videtur mihi Argirius in Priscillianistas aut nesciens irruisse, ita ut omnino utrum ipsi essent Priscillianistae ignoraret, aut jam ejusdem haeresis retibus implicatus. Nam scripturas illas Priscillianistarum esse non dubito. Vix autem mihi vacare utcumque potuit, aliis atque aliis sine intermissione necessitatibus superantibus, ut unus mihi saltem totus ex duobus ipsis codicibus legeretur. Nescio quo enim modo alius aberravit, et diligentissime inter nostros requisitus nullo modo potuit inveniri, domine beatissime, et merito venerabilis pater.

2. Hymnus sane quem dicunt esse Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui maxime permovit Venerationem tuam, in scripturis solet apocryphis inveniri. Quae non propriae Priscillianistarum sunt, sed alii quoque haeretici eis nonnullarum sectarum impietate vanitatis utuntur; inter se quidem diversa sentientes, unde suas quisque varias haereses sunt secuti, sed scripturas istas habent in sua diversitate communes, easque illi praecipue frequentare assolent, qui Legem veterem et Prophetas canonicos non accipiunt. Negant enim haec ad Deum bonum, et ad Christum ejus Filium pertinere; sicut Manichaei, sicut Marcionistae, et caeteri quibus haec blasphemia damnabilis placuit. Qui etiam in Scripturis canonicis Testamenti Novi, hoc est in veris evangelicis et apostolicis Litteris, non accipiunt omnia, sed quod volunt, et libros eligunt quos accipiant, aliis improbatis. Sed et in singulis quibusque libris loca distinguunt quae putant suis erroribus convenire: caetera in eis pro falsis habent. Nam quidam Manichaei canonicum librum, cujus titulus est Actus Apostolorum, repudiant.

Nor was this enough for me, unless I also intimated it to your Holiness with my letter, so that having been congruously cast down from the grade of clerics by ecclesiastical severity, he may become known to be guarded against by all. But to him seeking a place of penance, let him then be believed, if he shall have manifested to you also others whom he knows to be there, not only in Malliana, but in that whole province altogether.

LETTER CCXXXVII. Augustine to Ceretius, concerning the fraud of the Priscillianists in the Scriptures, both sacred and apocryphal to be explained; and concerning the hymn which feigning it to have been said by Christ they preferred to the canonical Letters.

To the most blessed lord, and deservedly venerable brother and co-bishop CERETIUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. Having read these things which your Holiness sent, Argirius seems to me either to have rushed into the Priscillianists unknowingly, so that he was altogether ignorant whether they themselves were Priscillianists, or already to be implicated in the nets of the same heresy. For I do not doubt those writings to be of the Priscillianists. But I could hardly have leisure in any way, other and other necessities surpassing without intermission, so that at least one whole one from those two codices might be read to me. For I know not in what way the other went astray, and having been most diligently sought among ours it could in no way be found, most blessed lord, and deservedly venerable father.

2. The hymn indeed which they say is of our Lord Jesus Christ, which especially moved your Veneration, is usually found in apocryphal scriptures. These are not proper to the Priscillianists, but other heretics also of some sects use them in the impiety of vanity; thinking indeed diverse things among themselves, whence each followed their own various heresies, but they have those scriptures in common in their diversity, and those are especially accustomed to frequent them who do not receive the Old Law and the canonical Prophets. For they deny that these pertain to the good God, and to Christ His Son; as the Manichaeans, as the Marcionists, and others to whom this damnable blasphemy has pleased. Who also in the canonical Scriptures of the New Testament, that is in the true evangelical and apostolic Letters, do not receive all things, but what they wish, and they choose books which they may receive, others being disapproved. But also in each individual book they distinguish places which they think agree with their errors: the rest in them they hold as false. For certain Manichaeans repudiate the canonical book, whose title is the Acts of the Apostles.

Timent enim evidentissimam veritatem, ubi apparet sanctus Spiritus missus, qui est a Domino Jesu Christo in evangelica veritate promissus (Act. II, 2-4). Sub ejus quippe Spiritus nomine, a quo penitus alieni sunt, indocta hominum corda decipiunt, mira caecitate asserentes eamdem Domini promissionem in suo haeresiarcha Manichaeo esse completam. Quod et illi haeretici faciunt, qui vocantur Cataphryges, dicentes, per nescio quos insanos, Montanum scilicet et Priscilla, quos et proprios suos prophetas habent, venisse Spiritum sanctum, quem Dominus missurum se esse promisit.

3. Priscillianistae vero accipiunt omnia, et canonica et apocrypha simul. Sed quaecumque quae contra eos sunt, in suae perversitatis sensus aliquando callida et astuta, aliquando ridicula et hebeti expositione pervertunt. Nec saltem ita ut ea ipsa, quae exponunt ab suae sectae hominibus alienis, vera esse credant; alioquin aut catholici essent, aut non multum a veritate alieni, qui et in ipsis scripturis apocryphis sensus catholicos invenirent, aut invenire velle viderentur: sed cum ipsi alia cum suis sentiant, atque inter suos doceant, sive discant, quae non audent prodere, quoniam re vera nefaria sunt et detestanda; tamen fidem catholicam eis quos timent, praedicant, non quam teneant, sed sub qua lateant. Possunt enim aliqui haeretici reperiri fortasse immundiores, sed nullus istis fallacia comparatur. Alii quippe, ut sunt hominum vitia, de hujus vitae consuetudine vel infirmitate mentiuntur: isti autem in ipsa nefaria doctrina haeresis suae praeceptum habere perhibentur, ut occultandorum dogmatum suorum causa, etiam cum falsa juratione mentiantur. Hi qui eos experti sunt, et ipsorum fuerant, atque ab eis Dei misericordia liberati sunt, etiam verba ipsa praecepti hujus ista commemorant: Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli.

4. Proinde ut sine ulla difficultate videatur quam non hoc sentiunt de scripturis apocryphis, quod se exponere simulant, ratio consideranda est quam reddere videntur, ut eisdem scripturis tanquam divina tribuatur auctoritas, ut quod scelestius est, etiam canonicis praeferant. Habes verba eorum in illo codice ita posita: Hymnus Domini, quem dixit secrete sanctis Apostolis discipulis suis, quia scriptum est in Evangelio, «Hymno dicto, ascendit in montem» (Matth. XXVI, 30); et qui in canone non est positus, propter eos qui secundum se sentiunt, et non secundum spiritum et veritatem Dei, eo quod scriptum est, «Sacramentum regis bonum est abscondere; opera autem Dei revelare honorificum est (Tob. XII, 7).»

For they fear the most evident truth, where the Holy Spirit appears sent, who was promised by the Lord Jesus Christ in evangelical truth (Acts 2:2-4). Namely under the name of that Spirit, from whom they are thoroughly alien, they deceive the unlearned hearts of men, asserting with wondrous blindness that same promise of the Lord to have been completed in their heresiarch Manichaeus. Which those heretics also do, who are called Cataphrygians, saying that through I know not what insane persons, namely Montanus and Priscilla, whom they also have as their own prophets, the Holy Spirit came, whom the Lord promised He would send.

3. But the Priscillianists receive all things, both canonical and apocryphal at once. But whatever things are against them, they pervert into the senses of their perversity by a sometimes clever and astute, sometimes ridiculous and dull exposition. Nor even so that they believe those very things which they explain to men alien to their sect to be true; otherwise they would either be Catholics, or not much alien from the truth, who would even find Catholic senses in those apocryphal scriptures, or would seem to wish to find them: but since they themselves think other things with their own, and teach or learn among themselves things which they do not dare to bring forth, since in truth they are nefarious and to be detested; nevertheless they preach the Catholic faith to those whom they fear, not which they hold, but under which they lie hidden. For some heretics can perhaps be found more foul, but none is compared to these in fallacy. For others, as are the vices of men, lie concerning the custom of this life or infirmity: but these are said to have a precept in the nefarious doctrine of their heresy itself, so that for the sake of hiding their dogmas, they lie even with a false oath. These who have experienced them, and had been of them, and were liberated from them by the mercy of God, also commemorate these very words of this precept: Swear, forswear, do not betray the secret.

4. Therefore, so that it may be seen without any difficulty how they do not feel this concerning the apocryphal scriptures which they pretend to explain, the reason is to be considered which they seem to give, so that divine authority may be attributed to those same scriptures, so that what is more wicked, they even prefer them to the canonical ones. You have their words in that codex thus placed: "The Hymn of the Lord, which he said secretly to the holy Apostles his disciples, because it is written in the Gospel, 'A hymn being said, he ascended into the mountain' (Matth. 26:30); and which is not placed in the canon, on account of those who think according to themselves, and not according to the spirit and truth of God, for that which is written, 'It is good to hide the sacrament of the king; but to reveal the works of God is honorable (Tob. 12:7).'"

Ista est magna eorum ratio cur iste hymnus non sit in canone, quia velut sacramentum regis abscondendum fuit his qui secundum carnem sentiunt, et non secundum spiritum et veritatem Dei. Ergo Scripturae canonicae non pertinent ad sacramentum regis, quod istis abscondendum videtur; et eis conscriptae sunt, qui secundum carnem sentiunt, et non secundum spiritum et veritatem Dei. Quod quid est aliud, quam dicere Scripturas sanctas canonicas nec secundum spiritum Dei sapere, nec pertinere ad veritatem Dei? Quis hoc audiat? quis valeat sustinere tantae impietatis horrorem? Aut si Scripturae canonicae spiritualiter a spiritualibus, carnaliter a carnalibus sentiuntur; cur non est et iste hymnus in canone, si et ipsum spirituales spiritualiter, carnales carnaliter sentiunt?

5. Deinde quid causae est ut eumdem hymnum isti secundum Scripturas canonicas conentur exponere? Si enim propterea non est in Scripturis canonicis, quia illae Scripturae carnalibus, hymnus autem iste spiritualibus scriptus est; quomodo de Scripturis ad carnales homines pertinentibus exponitur hymnus, qui non pertinet ad carnales? Si enim, verbi gratia, propterea in isto hymno cantatur et dicitur, Solvere volo, et solvi volo, quia, sicut isti haec verba exponunt, solvit nos Dominus Christus a conversatione saeculi, ut non iterum ligemur in eo; haec in Scripturis canonicis utique didicimus, quod solvat nos Dominus a conversatione saeculi, et quia in eo non debemus iterum colligari. Nam quid est aliud, Dirupisti vincula mea (Psal. CXV, 16)? quid est aliud, Dominus solvit compeditos (Psal. CXLV, 7)?. Jam solutos autem Apostolus admonet dicens, State ergo, et ne iterum servitutis jugo detineamini (Galat. V, 1): et apostolus Petrus dicit, Si enim refugientes coinquinationes mundi in cognitione Domini nostri et Salvatoris Jesu Christi, his rursus impliciti superantur; facta sunt eis posteriora deteriora prioribus (II Petr. II, 20); sic ostendens, cum soluti fuerimus, alligari nos mundo iterum non debere. Cum itaque ista in canone, sive ex his testimoniis quae commemoravi, sive ex aliis plurimis manifesta sint, et legi et praedicari non cessent; quid est quod isti hunc hymnum, ubi, ut secundum ipsos loquar, verba obscurissime sunt posita, propterea dicunt in canone non esse, ne velarentur carnalibus? cum potius ea videamus in canone revelata, in hoc autem hymno omnino velata, sicut ipsi asserunt; nam sicut magis credendum est, prorsus non sunt ipsa, sed nescio quae alia, quae tali expositione multo amplius velant, et revelare formidant.

This is their great reason why this hymn is not in the canon, because as a sacrament of the king it had to be hidden from those who think according to the flesh, and not according to the spirit and truth of God. Therefore the canonical Scriptures do not pertain to the sacrament of the king, which seems to these to be hidden; and they were written for those who think according to the flesh, and not according to the spirit and truth of God. Which what else is it, than to say that the holy canonical Scriptures neither savor according to the spirit of God, nor pertain to the truth of God? Who would hear this? who would be able to sustain the horror of such great impiety? Or if the canonical Scriptures are felt spiritually by the spiritual, carnally by the carnal; why is this hymn not also in the canon, if the spiritual feel it spiritually, and the carnal feel it carnally?

5. Then what is the cause that these same people try to explain the same hymn according to the canonical Scriptures? For if for that reason it is not in the canonical Scriptures, because those Scriptures were written for the carnal, but this hymn for the spiritual; how is the hymn explained from the Scriptures pertaining to carnal men, which does not pertain to the carnal? For if, for the sake of example, for this reason it is sung and said in this hymn, "I wish to loose, and I wish to be loosed," because, as these explain these words, the Lord Christ looses us from the conversation of the age, so that we may not be bound again in it; we have certainly learned these things in the canonical Scriptures, that the Lord looses us from the conversation of the age, and because we ought not to be bound again in it. For what else is, "Thou hast broken my bonds" (Psalm 115:16)? what else is, "The Lord looses the fettered" (Psalm 145:7)? But the Apostle already admonishes those loosed, saying, "Stand therefore, and do not be held again by the yoke of servitude" (Galat. 5:1): and the apostle Peter says, "For if fleeing the pollutions of the world in the cognition of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, being again entangled in these they are overcome; the later things are made worse for them than the prior" (2 Peter 2:20); thus showing, when we shall have been loosed, that we ought not to be bound to the world again. Since therefore these things are manifest in the canon, either from these testimonies which I have commemorated, or from very many others, and they do not cease to be read and preached; what is it that these say this hymn, where, to speak according to them, the words are placed most obscurely, is not in the canon for that reason, lest they might be veiled from the carnal? when rather we see those things revealed in the canon, but in this hymn altogether veiled, as they themselves assert; for as is more to be believed, they are simply not those same things, but I know not what other things, which they veil much more by such an exposition, and they dread to reveal.

6. Nam utique si hoc illis verbis significatur, quod nos solvit Dominus a conversatione saeculi, et ut non iterum ligemur in eo; non diceretur, Solvere volo, et solvi volo, sed, Solvere volo, et eos quos solvero, ligari nolo. Aut si membra sua, id est, fideles suos in se transfigurat, quemadmodum ait, Esurivi, et dedistis mihi manducare (Matth. XXV, 35); diceret potius, Solvi volo, et ligari nolo. Aut si propterea ipse solvit, et ipse solvitur, quia solvit caput, membra solvuntur, quae persequebatur cui clamavit de coelo, Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris (Act. IX, 4)? hoc quidem verborum istorum expositor iste non dixit; sed etiamsi dixisset, id ei responderemus quod paulo ante respondimus: quoniam haec in Scripturis canonicis legimus, ibi intelligimus, inde firmamus, inde quotidie praedicamus. Quid est igitur quod iste hymnus dicitur carnalibus fuisse subtractus, ut non poneretur in canone, cum quod in illo opertum est, in canone apertum sit? An usque adeo desipiunt, imo insaniunt, ut audeant dicere sacramentum regis in hoc hymno absconditum esse spiritualibus, in canone autem manifestum esse carnalibus?

7. Hoc de superioribus ejusdem hymni verbis dici potest, ubi ait: Salvare volo, et salvari volo. Si enim, sicut ipsi exponunt, hoc ista verba significant, quod salvamur a Domino per Baptismum, et salvamus, id est custodimus in nobis Spiritum datum nobis per Baptismum; nonne istum sensum Scriptura canonica clamat, ubi legimus, Salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis (Tit. III, 5)? et ubi nobis dicitur, Spiritum nolite exstinguere (I Thess. V, 19)? Quomodo ergo iste hymnus in canone ideo non est, ne carnalibus innotescat, cum id quod in illo obscurum est, in canone luceat; nisi quia sub hac qualicumque expositione, quam quibuslibet aliis obtendunt, illud quod hic ipsi sapiunt, occultare conantur? qui tamen usque adeo caeci sunt, ut etiam quaedam verba de ipso canone adhibeant ad exponendum hymnum, quem propterea dicunt in canone non esse, ne sacramentum regis carnalibus proderetur. Quid ergo faciunt in canone clarius posita, per quae in isto hymno aperiantur obscura?

8. Nam si hoc, ut dicunt, intelligendum est in isto hymno, ubi ait, Generari volo, quod in canonica Epistola Pauli apostoli scriptum est, Quos iterum parturio donec Christus formetur in vobis (Galat. IV, 19): si hoc intelligendum est in isto hymno ubi ait, Cantare volo, quod in Psalmo canonico scriptum est, Cantate Domino canticum novum (Psal. XCV, 1): si hoc intelligendum est in isto hymno, ubi ait, Saltate cuncti, quod scriptum est in cantico evangelico, Cantavimus vobis, et non saltastis:

6. For certainly if this is signified by those words, that the Lord looses us from the conversation of the age, and so that we may not be bound again in it; it would not be said, "I wish to loose, and I wish to be loosed," but, I wish to loose, and those whom I shall have loosed, I wish not to be bound. Or if he transfigures his members, that is, his faithful, in himself, as he says, "I was hungry, and you gave me to eat" (Matth. 25:35); he would rather say, I wish to be loosed, and I wish not to be bound. Or if for this reason he himself looses, and he himself is loosed, because he the head looses, the members are loosed, which he was persecuting to whom he cried from heaven, "Saul, Saul, why dost thou persecute me" (Acts 9:4)? this expositor of those words indeed did not say; but even if he had said it, we would respond to him that which we responded a little before: since we read these things in the canonical Scriptures, there we understand, thence we confirm, thence we daily preach. What is it therefore that this hymn is said to have been subtracted from the carnal, so that it might not be placed in the canon, when what is covered in it, is open in the canon? Or are they so foolish, nay rather insane, that they dare to say the sacrament of the king is hidden from the spiritual in this hymn, but is manifest to the carnal in the canon?

7. This can be said concerning the prior words of the same hymn, where it says: "I wish to save, and I wish to be saved." For if, as they explain, these words signify this, that we are saved by the Lord through Baptism, and we save, that is we guard in ourselves the Spirit given to us through Baptism; does not the canonical Scripture shout this sense, where we read, "He made us safe through the washing of regeneration" (Tit. 3:5)? and where it is said to us, "Do not extinguish the Spirit" (1 Thess. 5:19)? How therefore is this hymn not in the canon for this reason, lest it become known to the carnal, when that which is obscure in it, shines in the canon; unless because under this whatever kind of exposition, which they hold out to any others, they try to hide that which they themselves savor here? who nevertheless are so blind, that they even employ some words from the canon itself for explaining the hymn, which for that reason they say is not in the canon, lest the sacrament of the king be betrayed to the carnal. What therefore do the things placed more clearly in the canon do, through which the obscure things in this hymn might be opened?

8. For if this, as they say, is to be understood in this hymn, where it says, "I wish to be generated," which is written in the canonical Epistle of the Apostle Paul, "Whom I again travail until Christ be formed in you" (Galat. 4:19): if this is to be understood in this hymn where it says, "I wish to sing," which is written in the canonical Psalm, "Sing to the Lord a new song" (Psalm 95:1): if this is to be understood in this hymn, where it says, "Dance all of you," which is written in the evangelical song, "We have sung to you, and you have not danced":

si hoc intelligendum est in isto hymno, Plangere volo, tundite vos omnes, quod scriptum est in cantico evangelico, Planximus vobis, et non luxistis (Matth. XI, 17): si, Ornare volo, et ornari volo, hoc significat in isto hymno, quod scriptum est in canone, Habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus vestris (Eph. III, 17); et, Vos estis templum Dei, et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis (I Cor. III, 16): si quod ait in isto hymno, Lucerna sum tibi, ille qui me vides, hoc significat, quod scriptum est in Psalmo canonico, In lumine tuo videbimus lumen (Psal. XXXV, 10): si quod ait in isto hymno, Janua sum tibi quicumque me pulsas, hoc significat quod in Psalmo canonico legitur, Aperite mihi portas justitiae; ingressus in eis, confitebor Domino (Psal. CXVII, 19); et in alio psalmo, Tollite portas principes vestri, et elevamini portae aeternales, et introibit rex gloriae (Psal. XXIII, 7): si quod ait in isto hymno, Qui vides quod ago, tace opera mea, hoc significat quod scriptum est in libro Tobiae, Sacramentum regis bonum est abscondere (Tob. XII, 7): cur iste hymnus non esse in canone propterea dicitur, ut sacramentum regis abscondatur carnalibus; cum ea quae in isto hymno exponuntur, etiam in canone legantur, et sic ibi reperiantur manifesta, ut per haec illa exponantur obscura: nisi quia istas expositiones habent in quibus lateant; in verbis vero illius hymni, quem exponere se simulant, hoc sapiunt quod alienis exponere timeant?

9. Longum est cuncta disputando monstrare. Verum ex his quae diximus, caetera considerare facillimum est, et videre ea quae in expositione hujus hymni bona et honesta dicunt, etiam in canone reperiri. Unde illa eorum non ratio, sed tergiversatio est, ideo illum esse a canone separatum, quia carnalibus hominibus abscondendum regis fuerat sacramentum. Unde non immerito creduntur istis expositionibus non aperire velle quod legunt, sed potius operire quod sentiunt. Nec mirum, quandoquidem ipsum Dominum Jesum loquentem, non per ora Prophetarum, vel Apostolorum, vel Angelorum, sed per os proprium, illusorem potius quam veritatis doctorem fuisse crediderunt. Huic utique hymno divinam tribuentes auctoritatem, ubi eum dixisse nescio quis ejusdem hymni conditor finxit, Verbo illusi cuncta, et non sum illusus in totum; respondeant, si possunt, egregii spirituales, quo eamus, cui aures aperiamus, cui loquenti utcumque credamus, in cujus promissione spem ponamus, si verbo cuncta Christus illusit, si verbo cuncta omnipotens magister illusit, si verbo cuncta ille qui est Unigenitus Verbum Dei Patris illusit.

if this is to be understood in this hymn, "I wish to wail, beat yourselves all," which is written in the evangelical song, "We have wailed to you, and you have not mourned" (Matth. 11:17): if, "I wish to adorn, and I wish to be adorned," signifies this in this hymn, which is written in the canon, "That Christ may dwell through faith in your hearts" (Eph. 3:17); and, "You are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in you" (1 Cor. 3:16): if what it says in this hymn, "I am a lamp to thee, thou who seest me," signifies this, which is written in the canonical Psalm, "In thy light we shall see light" (Psalm 35:10): if what it says in this hymn, "I am a door to thee whosoever knockest at me," signifies this which is read in the canonical Psalm, "Open to me the gates of justice; having entered into them, I will confess to the Lord" (Psalm 117:19); and in another psalm, "Lift up the gates, O ye princes, and be ye lifted up, O eternal gates, and the king of glory shall enter in" (Psalm 23:7): if what it says in this hymn, "Thou who seest what I do, keep silence about my works," signifies this which is written in the book of Tobit, "It is good to hide the sacrament of the king" (Tobit 12:7): why is this hymn said not to be in the canon for this reason, that the sacrament of the king may be hidden from the carnal; since those things which are explained in this hymn, are read even in the canon, and are so found manifest there, that through these those obscure things are explained: unless because they have these expositions in which they may lie hidden; but in the words of that hymn, which they pretend to explain, they savor this which they fear to explain to aliens?

9. It is long to show all things by disputing. But from these things which we have said, it is most easy to consider the rest, and to see that those things which in the exposition of this hymn they call good and honest, are found even in the canon. Whence that is not a reason of theirs, but a tergiversation, that it was for that reason separated from the canon, because the sacrament of the king had to be hidden from carnal men. Whence not undeservedly they are believed to wish not to open what they read by these expositions, but rather to cover what they feel. Nor is it a wonder, since they have believed the Lord Jesus himself speaking, not through the mouths of the Prophets, or Apostles, or Angels, but through his own mouth, to have been a deceiver rather than a teacher of truth. Attributing divine authority to this hymn, where I know not what founder of the same hymn feigned him to have said, "I have deceived all by a word, and I am not deceived altogether"; let the excellent spiritual ones respond, if they can, whither we should go, to whom we should open our ears, to whom speaking should we in any way believe, in whose promise should we place hope, if Christ deceived all by a word, if the omnipotent master deceived all by a word, if he who is the Only-begotten Word of God the Father deceived all by a word.

Quid ulterius loquar de perditis vaniloquis, et mentis seductoribus, primum suae, deinde caeterorum, quos sibi ad interitum praedestinatos aeternum consociare potuerunt? Rescripsi Venerationi tuae, et multo serius quam volueram, et plura quam disposueram. Optime facitis vigilanter lupos cavere; sed etiam pro sanandis ovibus, si quas forte violaverint, sive jam vulneraverint, pastorali diligentia, ipso adjuvante pastorum Domino, laborate.

EPISTOLA CCXXXVIII . Augustinus Pascentio, domus regiae comiti ariano, qui ipsum ad colloquium apud Carthaginem provocarat (ex Possidio, c. 17), et in professione fidei eluserat, ac post jactarat Augustinum ab ipso superatum; scripto reddit rationem fidei suae, de tribus personis et uno Deo, deque verbo ὁμούσιον.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Volueram quidem, petente te atque instante, ut meminisse dignaris, imo pro merito aetatis ac dignitatis tuae jubente te, de fide christiana etiam praesens cum praesente, in quantum mihi facultatem Dominus largiretur, conferre sermonem. Sed quia tibi post prandium displicuit quod inter nos mane placuerat, ut a notariis verba nostra exciperentur; ne ulterius dicas, quod te audio non tacere, non me fuisse ausum tibi dicere fidem meam, his litteris accipe quod et tu legas, et cui volueris legendum tradas, et quod volueris vicissim scribendo ipse respondeas. Iniquum est enim ut quisque de alio judicare velit, et judicari de se nolit.

2. Et de praeterito quidem placito nostro, quod condicto meridiano implere noluisti, facile existimari potest quis nostrum fidei suae fiduciam non habuerit: utrum qui volebat ut diceretur, et timebat ne teneretur; an qui usque adeo nolebat eam disceptantium judicio subtrahi, ut mandata litteris vellet etiam legentium memoriae commendari, ne quisquam vel oblivione opinatus, vel dissensione irritatus, diceret ab aliquo nostrum aut non esse dictum quod dictum erat, aut dictum esse quod dictum non erat. In his enim solent latebras suae malae defensionis inquirere, qui contentionis sunt cupidiores quam veritatis. Hoc autem nec a te nec a me, nec de te nec de me dici posset, si in fide condicti permaneres, ut verba nostra exciperentur et scriberentur; praesertim quia tu ipse in iis verbis quibus fidem tuam pronuntiasti, quoties ea repetisti, toties variasti, quod nulla credo fraude, sed oblivione factum esse.

Why should I speak further of the lost vain-talkers, and seducers of the mind, first of their own, then of the rest, whom they have been able to associate to themselves predestined to eternal destruction? I have written back to your Veneration, and much later than I had wished, and more things than I had disposed. You do very well vigilantly to beware of the wolves; but also for healing the sheep, if they have violated any by chance, or have already wounded any, labor with pastoral diligence, the Lord of shepherds himself helping.

LETTER CCXXXVIII. Augustine to Pascentius, an Arian count of the royal house, who had provoked him to a colloquy at Carthage (from Possidius, c. 17), and had eluded him in the profession of faith, and afterwards had boasted that Augustine had been overcome by him; in writing he gives a reason for his faith, concerning the three persons and one God, and concerning the word *homoousios*.

CHAPTER I.

1. I had indeed wished, you asking and insisting, as you deign to remember, nay rather you commanding on account of the merit of your age and dignity, to confer a sermon concerning the Christian faith even present with present, in as much as the Lord would grant me faculty. But because after lunch it displeased you what in the morning had pleased us, that our words should be taken by notaries; lest you say further, what I hear you not keeping silence, that I have not dared to tell you my faith, receive in these letters what you also may read, and to whom you wish you may deliver for reading, and what you wish in turn by writing you yourself may respond. For it is iniquitous that anyone should wish to judge concerning another, and should not wish to be judged concerning himself.

2. And concerning our past agreement indeed, which you did not wish to fulfill on the appointed noon, it can easily be estimated which of us has not had the confidence of his faith: whether he who wished that it be said, and feared lest it be held; or he who so much did not wish it to be subtracted from the judgment of those debating, that he wished things mandated to letters even to be commended to the memory of those reading, lest anyone either having thought by oblivion, or irritated by dissension, should say that what had been said was not said by someone of us, or that what had not been said was said. For in these those are accustomed to seek the lurking-places of their bad defense, who are more desirous of contention than of truth. But this could be said neither from you nor from me, nor concerning you nor concerning me, if you remained in the faith of the appointment, so that our words might be taken and written; especially because you yourself in those words in which you pronounced your faith, as often as you repeated them, so often you varied, which I believe to have been done by no fraud, but by oblivion.

3. Nam primo dixisti credere te in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, invisibilem, ingenitum, incapabilem: et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus, Deum , natum ante saecula, per quem facta sunt omnia; et in Spiritum sanctum. Quibus ego auditis, cum respondissem nondum a te quidquam dictum quod meae fidei repugnaret, et ideo, si ea scripsisses, me his etiam posse subscribere; ad hoc nescio quomodo res perducta est, ut accepta charta, ea ipsa quae dixeras, velles etiam litteris tua manu exprimere. Quod cum mihi ad legendum dedisses, animadverti minus te scripsisse, Patrem, cum scripsisses, Deum omnipotentem, invisibilem, ingenitum, innatum. Quod ubi commemoravi, non post multam allegationem addidisti, Patrem: et incapabilem quidem, quod verbis dixeras, scripto praetermiseras; sed nulla hinc a me facta commemoratio est.

4. Deinde cum dixissem me paratum esse subscribere adhuc illa verba etiam mea esse posse, prius quaesivi, ne quod in mentem venerat, laberetur, utrum alicubi Scripturarum divinarum legeretur, Pater ingenitus. Hoc autem feci, quia in exordio sermonis nostri cum Arius et Eunomius commemorati essent, non a me, sed a fratre meo Alypio, requirente quemnam eorum secutus esset Auxentius, qui abs te fuerat non parva praedicatione laudatus; exclamando anathematizasti et Arium et Eunomium: tum continuo flagitasti ut et nos anathematizaremus ὁμούσιον, quasi quisquam homo esset, qui hoc vocaretur, sicut Arius et Eunomius. Deinde vehementer exigebas ut hoc verbum tibi in Scripturis ostenderemus, et statim nobis communicares. Respondebatur a nobis, quia nos latine loqueremur, et illud graecum esset, prius quaerendum esse quid sit ὁμούσιον, et tunc exigendum ut in Libris sanctis ostenderetur. Tu contra, verbum ipsum crebro repetens, et invidiose ventilans, atque in conciliis majorum nostrorum conscriptum commemorans, vehementer urgebas ut ipsum omnino verbum quod est ὁμούσιον, in sanctis Libris ostenderemus; nobis etiam atque etiam revocantibus, quia lingua nostra graeca non esset, prius interpretandum et exponendum esse quid sit ὁμούσιον, tum demum in divinis Litteris requirendum: quia etsi fortasse nomen ipsum non inveniretur, res tamen ipsa inveniretur. Quid est enim contentiosius, quam, ubi de re constat, certare de nomine?

5. Haec ergo quia inter nos jam collocuti fueramus, posteaquam ad id ventum est ut fidem tuam, sicut commemoravi, scriberes, quanquam nihil in eis verbis viderem nostrae fidei esse contrarium, et propterea me dicerem paratum esse subscribere; quaesivi, ut dixi, utrum Scriptura Dei contineret hoc verbum, quod Pater esset ingenitus: et cum scriptum esse respondisses, instantius quaerebam ut ostenderes.

3. For first you said that you believe in God the Father omnipotent, invisible, unbegotten, incapable: and in Jesus Christ his Son, God, born before the ages, through whom all things were made; and in the Holy Spirit. Which having been heard by me, when I had responded that not yet had anything been said by you which was repugnant to my faith, and therefore, if you had written those things, I could also subscribe to these; to this I know not how the matter was led, that the paper being accepted, those very things which you had said, you wished also to express in letters by your own hand. Which when you had given it to me for reading, I noticed that you had written less, Father, when you had written, God omnipotent, invisible, unbegotten, unborn. Which when I commemorated, after not much allegation you added, Father: and incapable indeed, which you had said in words, you had omitted in writing; but no commemoration was made from me here.

4. Then when I had said that I was prepared to subscribe while those words still could be mine, first I asked, lest what had come into mind should slip away, whether anywhere in the divine Scriptures it was read, Unbegotten Father. But I did this, because in the beginning of our sermon when Arius and Eunomius had been commemorated, not by me, but by my brother Alypius, seeking which of them Auxentius had followed, who had been praised by you with no small preaching; by exclaiming you anathematized both Arius and Eunomius: then continuously you demanded that we also should anathematize *homoousios*, as if anyone was a man, who was called this, as Arius and Eunomius. Then vehemently you exacted that we should show this word to you in the Scriptures, and immediately you would communicate with us. It was responded by us, because we were speaking in Latin, and that was Greek, first it had to be sought what *homoousios* is, and then it had to be exacted that it be shown in the holy Books. You on the contrary, frequently repeating the word itself, and invidiously ventilating it, and commemorating it as written in the councils of our elders, vehemently urged that we should show the word itself which is *homoousios* in the holy Books; we again and again recalling, because our language was not Greek, first it had to be interpreted and explained what *homoousios* is, then finally it had to be required in the divine Letters: because even if perhaps the name itself was not found, yet the thing itself was found. For what is more contentious, than, where it is clear concerning the thing, to strive concerning the name?

5. These things therefore because we had already spoken among ourselves, after it came to that that you should write your faith, as I have commemorated, although I saw nothing in those words to be contrary to our faith, and therefore I said that I was prepared to subscribe; I asked, as I said, whether the Scripture of God contained this word, that the Father was unbegotten: and when you had responded that it was written, I was seeking more instantly that you should show it.

Tunc unus ex iis qui aderant, quantum intelligi datur, fidei tuae socius, ait mihi: Quid ergo? tu patrem genitum dicis? Respondi: Non dico. Et ille: Si ergo genitus non est, inquit, utique ingenitus est. Cui ego: Vides, inquam, posse fieri ut etiam de verbo quod in Scriptura Dei non est, reddatur tamen ratio unde recte dici ostendatur. Sic ergo et ὁμούσιον quod in auctoritate divinorum Librorum cogebamur ostendere, etiamsi vocabulum ipsum ibi non inveniamus, fieri posse ut illud inveniamus cui hoc vocabulum recte adhibitum judicetur.

6. Quibus dictis, quid hinc tibi videretur attendi ut audirem, et aisti, Recte factum esse ut ingenitus Pater in Scripturis sanctis non diceretur, ne illi vel tali verbo fieret injuria. Ergo, inquam, modo facta est injuria Deo, et hoc manu tua. Quo audito, fateri jam coepisti nec te hoc dicere debuisse. Sed cum admonerem ut, si tibi tale videretur hoc verbum ut ad Dei pertineret injuriam, deleres illud inde ubi scripseras; considerasti, credo, posse id recte dici, et posse defendi; et rursus aisti: Prorsus ego hoc dico. Tum ego illud quod jam dixeram repetivi, ita fieri posse ut etiam ὁμούσιον neque scriptum in sanctis paginis inveniatur, et tamen dictum in assertione fidei defendatur; sicut Patrem in illis Libris nusquam ingenitum legimus, et tamen dicendum esse defenditur. Tunc a me chartam, quam dederas, abstulisti et conscidisti. Et constituimus, post meridianum tempus ut adessent notarii ad excipienda verba nostra, atque inter nos ista, quantum possemus, diligentius tractaremus.

7. Venimus, ut nosti, ad horam condictam, notarios adduximus; ut et tui adessent, consedimus. Dixisti rursus fidem tuam, atque in verbis tuis non audivi ingenitum Patrem. Credo quod cogitaveris quid inde mane dictum fuerit, et praecavere volueris. Deinde poposcisti ut ego etiam dicerem fidem meam. Ubi cum postulassem, commemorans antemeridianum placitum nostrum, ut ea quae dixeras, dictare potius dignareris; tunc exclamasti calumniam parare nos tibi, et ideo verba tua conscripta velle retinere. Ibi quid responderim recordari non libet, atque utinam nec tu memineris. Servavi tamen debitam honorificentiam honori tuo, nec maledictum deputavi, quod non a veritate, sed a potestate audire meruissem. Tamen quia vel ipsa verba repetivi, ut pressa voce dicerem, Itane calumniam paramus nos tibi? ut ignoscas peto.

Then one from those who were present, as much as it is given to be understood, a companion of your faith, said to me: "What therefore? do you say the father is begotten?" I responded: I do not say it. And he: "If therefore he is not begotten," he said, "certainly he is unbegotten." To whom I: You see, I said, it can be done that even concerning a word which is not in the Scripture of God, a reason may yet be rendered whence it may be shown to be rightly said. So therefore also *homoousios* which we were compelled to show in the authority of the divine Books, even if we do not find the term itself there, it can be that we find that to which this term is judged to be rightly applied.

6. Which having been said, I attended that I might hear what seemed to you here, and you said, "That it was rightly done that the unbegotten Father was not said in the holy Scriptures, lest injury should be done to him even by such a word." Therefore, I said, just now injury was done to God, and this by your hand. Which having been heard, you already began to confess that neither you ought to have said this. But when I admonished that, if such this word seemed to you as that it pertained to the injury of God, you should delete it from there where you had written it; you considered, I believe, that it could be rightly said, and could be defended; and again you said: "I certainly say this." Then I repeated that which I had already said, that it can so be that even *homoousios* is neither found written in the holy pages, and yet is defended having been said in the assertion of faith; as we nowhere read the Father unbegotten in those Books, and yet it is defended that he is to be so called. Then you took away from me the paper, which you had given, and you tore it. And we constituted, after the afternoon time that notaries should be present for taking our words, and among ourselves we should treat those things, as much as we could, most diligently.

7. We came, as you know, at the appointed hour, we brought notaries; that yours also might be present, we sat down. You said again your faith, and in your words I did not hear unbegotten Father. I believe because you thought what had been said there in the morning, and you wished to take precaution. Then you demanded that I also should say my faith. Where when I had posturated, commemorating our morning agreement, that you should rather deign to dictate those things which you had said; then you exclaimed that we were preparing a calumny for you, and for that reason you wished to retain your words written. There what I responded it does not please me to record, and would that you also should not remember. I saved however the due honorificence to your honor, nor did I depute it as a malediction, which not from truth, but from power I had deserved to hear. Yet because I repeated the very words, so that I might say with a pressed voice, Is it so that we are preparing a calumny for you? I ask that you forgive.

8. Sed tu, his auditis, rursus fidem tuam sono clariore repetiisti, atque in verbis tuis non audivi, Deum Filium; quod nunquam, quoties eam dixisti, tacueras. Hic ego tam modeste ut nusquam pulsarem, ut de excipiendis verbis nostris quod inter nos placuerat impleretur, etiam ipsam utilitatem de praesenti experimento suggessi, dicens teipsum non potuisse in memoria verba tua tibi usitatissima retinere, quando nunquam ea repetere valuisse videbamus, cum non aliquid maxime necessarium parares; quanto minus posse illos qui nos audirent, ita nostrorum meminisse verborum, ut si quid forte vel tu de meis, vel ego de tuis verbis vellem retractare atque discutere, valerent seu dictum seu non dictum liquido recordari; in qua nobis difficultate facile notariorum recitatio subveniret. Tunc indignanter dixisti melius fuisse ut meam famam semper audires, eo quod longe inferiorem me expertus esses, quam tibi illa jactasset. Tunc ego commemoravi, cum te ante prandium salutaremus, et eam famam nobis praedicasses, hoc me dixisse, quod de me illa mentita sit: hic sane aisti verum me dixisse. Proinde cum duo tibi de me diversa locuti sint, aliud fama mea, et aliud ego; magis utique gaudere debeo, me potius quam illam repertum esse veracem. Sed quia scriptum est, Solus Deus verax, omnis autem homo mendax (Rom. III, 4); vereor ne hoc quoque de me temere dixerim: neque enim in nobis ipsis, vel per nos ipsos veraces sumus, cum sumus; sed cum ille in servis suis loquitur, qui solus est verax.

9. Haec si, ut narravi, gesta esse recolis, vides quam non debeas jactare apud homines quod non ausus sim tibi asserere fidem meam; quandoquidem in fide nostri placiti stare noluisti; et vir tantus qui pro fide quam reipublicae debes, non times maledicta provincialium, pro fide quam Christo debes, times calumnias episcoporum. Deinde cum disputationi nostrae etiam honoratos viros interesse cupiveris, miror quomodo in ipsa devitatione calumniae verba tua times a notariis conscribi, et ex ore tuo a clarissimis testibus non times audiri. Nonne consideras difficile esse ut homines suspicentur te a nobis ullam formidasse calumniam, ut verba tua excipi nolles; sed cum cogitasses retentum te fuisse in verbo ante prandium manu tua conscripto, simul etiam cogitasse non tam facile te notariorum tabulas delere potuisse, quam facile illam chartulam conscidisti? Si autem dicis non illa ita gesta esse ut a me narrata sunt, aut tu oblivione falleris, non enim audeo dicere mentiris; aut ego vel similiter fallor, vel mentior. Vides ergo quam recte dicam ea quae de his maxime rebus geruntur, excipi atque conscribi oportere, et quam tibi quoque hoc ipsum recte placuerat, nisi postmeridianus timor antemeridianum placitum frangeret.

8. But you, these things having been heard, again repeated your faith with a clearer sound, and in your words I did not hear, God the Son; which never, as often as you had said it, had you been silent. Here I so modestly as nowhere to strike, so that what had been agreed between us concerning taking our words might be fulfilled, even suggested the utility itself from the present experiment, saying that you yourself were not able to retain in memory your words most used to you, when we saw that you were never able to repeat them, when you were not preparing something most necessary; how much less could those who heard us, so remember our words, that if by chance either you from mine, or I from your words wished to retract and discuss, they might be able to clearly record either said or not said; in which difficulty the recitation of the notaries would easily help us. Then indignantly you said "that it would have been better that you always heard my fame, because you had experienced me far inferior, than it had boasted to you." Then I commemorated, when we saluted you before lunch, and you had preached that fame to us, that I had said this, that it had lied concerning me: here truly you said that I had said the truth. Therefore since two things have spoken to you concerning me diverse things, one my fame, and another I; I ought certainly rather to rejoice, that I rather than it have been found truthful. But because it is written, "God alone is truthful, but every man a liar" (Rom. 3:4); I fear lest I have also said this concerning myself rashly: for neither in ourselves, or through ourselves are we truthful, when we are; but when he speaks in his servants, who alone is truthful.

If you record these things to have been done as I have narrated, you see how you ought not to boast among men that I have not dared to assert my faith to you; since you did not wish to stand in the faith of our agreement; and so great a man who for the faith which you owe to the republic, do not fear the maledictions of provincials, for the faith which you owe to Christ, fear the calumnies of bishops. Then since you desired also honored men to be present at our disputation, I wonder how in that very avoidance of calumny you fear your words to be written by notaries, and you do not fear to be heard from your mouth by most clear witnesses. Do you not consider it to be difficult that men should suspect that you feared any calumny from us, so that you would not wish your words to be taken; but when you had thought that you had been retained in the word written by your hand before lunch, at the same time you also thought that you could not so easily delete the tables of the notaries, as easily as you tore that little paper? But if you say those things were not so done as they are narrated by me, either you are deceived by oblivion, for I do not dare to say you lie; or I am either similarly deceived, or I lie. You see therefore how rightly I say those things which are done concerning these things especially, ought to be taken and written, and how this very thing had rightly pleased you, unless afternoon fear broke the morning agreement.

CAPUT II.

10. Audi ergo jam fidem meam: potens est misericordia Domini Dei nostri, quae praestet me quod credidi sic loqui, ut nec ejus offendam veritatem, nec humanitatem tuam. In omnipotentem Deum Patrem me credere profiteor, eumque aeternum ea aeternitate, hoc est, immortalitate, dico, quam solus Deus habet; hoc et de Filio ejus unigenito credo in forma Dei; hoc et de Spiritu sancto, qui Spiritus est Dei Patris et Filii ejus unigeniti. Sed quia ipse Dei Patris unigenitus Filius, Dominus et Deus noster Jesus Christus, posteaquam venit plenitudo temporis, opportunus ad diem salutis nostrae formam servi accepit (Galat. IV, 4), multa de illo in Scripturis secundum formam Dei dicuntur, multa secundum formam servi. Quorum, exempli gratia, duo quaedam commemoro, ut singula ad singula referantur. Secundum formam Dei de se ipse dixit, Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 30): Secundum formam servi, Quoniam Pater major me est (Id. XIV, 28).

11. Quod autem de Deo scriptum est, Qui solus habet immortalitatem (I Tim. VI, 16); et, Invisibili, soli Deo honor et gloria (Id. I, 17); et caetera hujusmodi, non de Patre tantum accipimus, sed etiam de Filio, quod ad formam Dei attinet, et de Spiritu sancto. Pater enim et Filius et Spiritus sanctus unus Deus est, et solus verus Deus, et solus immortalis secundum incommutabilem omnino substantiam. Si enim de carne diversi sexus dictum est, Qui adhaeret meretrici, unum corpus est; et de spiritu hominis, qui non est quod Dominus, consequenter scriptum est, Qui autem adhaeret Domino, unus spiritus est (I Cor. VI, 16, 17); quanto magis Deus Pater in Filio, et Deus Filius in Patre, et Deus Spiritus Patris et Filii unus Deus est, ubi nulla est diversa natura; cum pro diversis modo quodam sibi cohaerentibus dicatur vel spiritus unus vel corpus unum?

12. Et cum pro anima et corpore sibi cohaerentibus dicatur unus homo; cur non multo magis de Patre et Filio sibi cohaerentibus dicatur unus Deus, cum sibemet inseparabiliter cohaereant quomodo non corpus et anima? Et cum corpus et anima sit unus homo, quamvis corpus et anima non sint unum; cur non multo magis sit Pater et Filius unus Deus, cum Pater et Filius unum sint, secundum illam Veritatis vocem, Ego et Pater unum sumus?

CHAPTER II.

10. Hear therefore now my faith: the mercy of the Lord our God is powerful, which may grant me to speak what I have believed so that I may neither offend his truth, nor your humanity. In the omnipotent God the Father I profess that I believe, and I say him to be eternal by that eternity, that is, immortality, which God alone has; this also I believe concerning his only-begotten Son in the form of God; this also concerning the Holy Spirit, who is the Spirit of God the Father and of his only-begotten Son. But because the only-begotten Son of God the Father himself, our Lord and God Jesus Christ, after the fullness of time came, opportune for the day of our salvation, he took the form of a servant (Galat. 4:4), many things are said concerning him in the Scriptures according to the form of God, many according to the form of a servant. Of which, for the sake of example, I commemorate certain two, so that each may be referred to each. According to the form of God he said of himself, "I and the Father are one" (John 10:30): According to the form of a servant, "Because the Father is greater than me" (Id. 14:28).

11. But that which is written concerning God, "Who alone has immortality" (1 Tim. 6:16); and, "To the invisible, only God honor and glory" (Id. 1:17); and other things of this kind, we do not receive concerning the Father only, but also concerning the Son, as much as pertains to the form of God, and concerning the Holy Spirit. For Father and Son and Holy Spirit is one God, and alone true God, and alone immortal according to altogether unchangeable substance. For if concerning flesh of diverse sex it is said, "He who adheres to a harlot, is one body"; and concerning the spirit of man, which is not what the Lord is, it is consequently written, "But he who adheres to the Lord, is one spirit" (1 Cor. 6:16, 17); how much more God the Father in the Son, and God the Son in the Father, and God the Spirit of the Father and of the Son is one God, where there is no diverse nature; when for diverse ones in a certain way cohering to themselves it is said either one spirit or one body?

12. And when for soul and body cohering to themselves it is said one man; why is it not much more said of the Father and Son cohering to themselves one God, when they cohere inseparably to themselves as not body and soul? And when body and soul is one man, although body and soul are not one; why is it not much more Father and Son one God, since Father and Son are one, according to that voice of Truth, "I and the Father are one?"

Item cum homo interior et homo exterior non sint unum, neque enim ejusdem naturae est exterior cujus interior, quia exterior cum nuncupato corpore dicitur homo, interior autem in sola rationali anima intelligitur; utrumque tamen simul non homines duo, sed unus dicitur: quanto magis Pater et Filius unus Deus est, cum Pater et Filius unum sint; quia ejusdem naturae vel substantiae sunt, vel si quo alio vocabulo congruentius dicitur id quod Deus est, unde dictum est, Ego et Pater unum sumus? Itaque unus Spiritus Domini, et unus spiritus hominis, et non sunt unum; et tamen ille cum cohaeret Domino, non sunt duo, sed unus spiritus: et unus homo interior, et unus homo exterior, et non sunt unum; et tamen ejus connexione vinculi naturalis simul utrumque non duo, sed unus est homo. Multo magis igitur cum Filius Dei dicat, Ego et Pater unum sumus, unus est Deus Pater, et unus est Deus Filius; et tamen simul utrumque non duo, sed unus Deus.

13. Quod enim fecit in multis sanctis in adoptionem filiorum vocatis cohaeredibus Christi una fides et una spes et una charitas, ut esset eis una anima et cor unum in Deum; hoc praecipue cogit intelligi una eademque Patris et Filii natura, si ita dicendum est, deitatis, ut Pater et Filius qui unum sunt, et inseparabiliter unum sunt, et sempiterne unum sunt, non sint duo dii, sed unus Deus. Illi enim homines per consortium et communionem unius ejusdemque naturae, qua omnes homines erant, unum erant: et si aliquando secundum diversitates voluntatum et sententiarum, opinionum morumque dissimilitudines non erant unum; erunt autem plene perfecteque unum, cum perventum fuerit ad eum finem, ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus. Deus autem Pater et Filius ejus, Verbum ejus Deus apud Deum, semper atque ineffabiliter unum sunt; unde magis non duo dii, sed unus Deus.

14. Homines autem minus intelligentes, quid propter quid dicatur, patentes volunt habere sententias: et Scripturis non diligenter scrutatis, cum arripiunt defensionem cujusque opinionis, et ab ea vel nunquam vel difficile deflectuntur, dum docti atque sapientes magis putari quam esse concupiscunt; ea quae propter formam servi dicta sunt, volunt transferre ad formam Dei; et rursus quae dicta sunt ut ad se invicem personae referantur, volunt nomina esse naturae atque substantiae. Fides autem nostra est, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum unum Deum credere et confiteri; nec tamen eum qui Filius est, Patrem dicere; nec eum qui Pater est, Filium; nec eum qui Spiritus Patris et Filii est, aut Patrem aut Filium nuncupare. His enim appellationibus hoc significatur quo ad se invicem referuntur, non ipsa substantia qua unum sunt. Nam et pater cum dicitur, nonnisi alicujus filii dicitur; et filius nonnisi alicujus patris intelligitur; et spiritus secundum id quod ad aliquid refertur, spirantis alicujus est, et spirans utique spiritum spirans est .

Likewise when the interior man and the exterior man are not one, for the exterior is not of the same nature of which the interior is, because the exterior with the named body is called man, the interior however is understood in the rational soul alone; yet both at once are called not two men, but one: how much more Father and Son is one God, since Father and Son are one; because they are of the same nature or substance, or if by any other term more congruously it is said that which God is, whence it is said, "I and the Father are one?" Therefore one Spirit of the Lord, and one spirit of man, and they are not one; and yet when that one adheres to the Lord, they are not two, but one spirit: and one interior man, and one exterior man, and they are not one; and yet by its connection of a natural bond both at once is not two, but one man. Much more therefore since the Son of God says, "I and the Father are one," one is God the Father, and one is God the Son; and yet both at once are not two, but one God.

13. For that which one faith and one hope and one charity made in many saints called into the adoption of sons, co-heirs of Christ, so that they might have one soul and one heart in God; this especially compels to be understood the one and the same nature of the Father and Son, if it is to be so called, of deity, so that Father and Son who are one, and are inseparably one, and are eternally one, are not two gods, but one God. For those men were one through the consortium and communion of one same nature, by which all were men: and if sometimes according to the diversities of wills and sentences, the dissimilitudes of opinions and manners they were not one; they will be however fully and perfectly one, when it shall have been come to that end, that God may be all in all. But God the Father and his Son, his Word God with God, are always and ineffably one; whence rather not two gods, but one God.

14. But men less understanding, why something is said for what, wish to have open sentences: and the Scriptures not diligently scrutinized, when they snatch the defense of any opinion, and are never or with difficulty deflected from it, while they desire rather to be thought learned and wise than to be; those things which are said on account of the form of a servant, they wish to transfer to the form of God; and again those things which are said so that the persons may be referred to each other, they wish to be names of nature and substance. But our faith is, to believe and confess Father and Son and Holy Spirit one God; yet not to call him who is Son, Father; nor him who is Father, Son; nor him who is the Spirit of the Father and Son, either Father or Son. For by these appellations this is signified by which they are referred to each other, not the substance itself by which they are one. For also a father when he is called, he is not called unless of some son; and a son is not understood unless of some father; and a spirit according to that which it is referred to something, is of someone breathing, and he breathing certainly is breathing a spirit.

15. Non autem ista corporaliter sentiuntur, nec usitato more intelliguntur in Deo, Qui potens est facere, sicut dicit Apostolus, supra quam petimus et intelligimus (Eph. III, 20): si autem facere, quanto magis esse? Nam hoc nomen quod spiritus dicitur, non secundum id quod refertur ad aliquid, sed secundum id quod aliqua natura significatur, omnis incorporea natura spiritus in Scripturis appellatur; unde non tantum Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto, sed omni rationali creaturae et animae hoc vocabulum congruit. Unde Dominus dicit, Spiritus est Deus; et ideo qui adorant Deum, in spiritu et veritate oportet adorare (Joan. IV, 24): scriptum est etiam, Qui facit Angelos suos spiritus (Psal. CIII, 4): dictum est de hominibus quibusdam, Quoniam caro sunt, et spiritus ambulans, et non revertens (Psal. LXXVII, 39): et Apostolus ait, Nemo scit quid agatur in homine, nisi spiritus hominis, qui in ipso est (I Cor. II, 11): item scriptum est: Quis scit spiritus filiorum hominis si ascendat ipse sursum, et spiritus pecoris, descendat ipse deorsum in terram (Eccle. III, 21)? Dicitur etiam spiritus in Scripturis secundum quamdam distinctionem in ipsa una unius hominis anima: unde Apostolus dicit, Et integer spiritus vester, et anima, et corpus in diem Domini nostri Jesu Christi servetur (I Thess. V, 23): item alio loco, Si oravero lingua, spiritus meus orat; mens autem mea infructuosa est. Quid ergo est? Orabo spiritu, orabo et mente (I Cor. XIV, 14, 15). Proprio autem modo quodam dicitur Spiritus sanctus, secundum quod refertur ad Patrem et Filium, quod eorum Spiritus sanctus sit. Nam secundum substantiam, quoniam semel dictum est, Spiritus est Deus, et Pater spiritus est, et Filius, et ipse Spiritus sanctus, nec tamen tres spiritus, sed unus spiritus; sicut non tres dii, sed unus Deus.

16. Quid miraris? Tantum valet pax, non qualiscumque, ut solet intelligi, nec talis qualis laudatur in hac vita per concordiam charitatemque fidelium; sed illa pax Dei, quae, sicut dicit Apostolus, supergreditur omnem intellectum (Philipp. IV, 7): quem, nisi nostrum, id est, omnis rationalis creaturae? Quapropter considerantes infirmitatem nostram, et audientes Apostolum confitentem et dicentem, Fratres, ego me non arbitror apprehendisse (Id. III, 13); et, Qui se putat aliquid scire, nondum scit quemadmodum oporteat eum scire (I Cor. VIII, 2); cum divinis Scripturis, quantum possumus, colloquamur sine contentione pacati, non inani ac puerili animositate studentes alterutrum vincere, ut pax Christi potius vincat in cordibus nostris (Coloss. III, 15), quantum eam nobis et in hac vita percipere posse donavit: ut cogitantes quid eadem pax inter fratres egerit, quorum ex tam multis animis et multis cordibus fecit animam unam et cor unum in Deum, debita pietate credamus multo maxime in illa pace Dei, quae superat omnem intellectum, et Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum non esse tres deos, sed unum Deum;

15. But those things are not felt corporally, nor are they understood in the used manner in God, "Who is powerful to do," as the Apostle says, "above what we ask and understand" (Eph. 3:20): but if to do, how much more to be? For this name which is called spirit, not according to that which it is referred to something, but according to that which some nature is signified, every incorporeal nature is called spirit in the Scriptures; whence not only to the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, but to every rational creature and soul this term agrees. Whence the Lord says, "God is a spirit; and therefore those who adore God, it behooves to adore in spirit and truth" (John 4:24): it is written also, "Who makes his Angels spirits" (Psalm 103:4): it was said concerning certain men, "Because they are flesh, and a spirit walking, and not returning" (Psalm 77:39): and the Apostle says, "No one knows what is done in a man, except the spirit of man, which is in him" (1 Cor. 2:11): likewise it is written: "Who knows if the spirit of the sons of man ascends upward, and the spirit of the cattle, descends downward into the earth" (Eccles. 3:21)? Spirit is also called in the Scriptures according to a certain distinction in that one soul of one man: whence the Apostle says, "And may your whole spirit, and soul, and body be kept for the day of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Thess. 5:23): likewise in another place, "If I shall pray with a tongue, my spirit prays; but my mind is unfruitful. What therefore is it? I will pray with the spirit, I will pray also with the mind" (1 Cor. 14:14, 15). But in a certain proper way the Holy Spirit is called, according to which he is referred to the Father and Son, that he is their Holy Spirit. For according to substance, since it has been said once, "God is a spirit," and the Father is a spirit, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit himself, yet not three spirits, but one spirit; as not three gods, but one God.

16. Why do you wonder? So much is peace worth, not of whatever kind, as it is accustomed to be understood, nor such as is praised in this life through the concord and charity of the faithful; but that peace of God, which, as the Apostle says, "surpasses all understanding" (Philipp. 4:7): whose, unless ours, that is, of every rational creature? Wherefore considering our infirmity, and hearing the Apostle confessing and saying, "Brethren, I do not judge myself to have apprehended" (Id. 3:13); and, "He who thinks himself to know something, does not yet know how it behooves him to know" (1 Cor. 8:2); with the divine Scriptures, as much as we can, let us speak pacified without contention, not in vain and puerile animosity studying to conquer each other, so that the peace of Christ rather may conquer in our hearts (Coloss. 3:15), as much as he has granted us to be able to perceive it even in this life: so that thinking what the same peace has done among brethren, from whose so many minds and many hearts it made one soul and one heart in God, with due piety we may believe much especially in that peace of God, which surpasses all understanding, both Father and Son and Holy Spirit not to be three gods, but one God;

tanto excellentius quam istorum erat anima et cor unum, quanto illa pax quae superat omnem intellectum, excellentior est ista pace quam tenebat omnium illorum cor unum et una anima in Deum.

17. Filium autem hominis eumdem dicimus quem Filium Dei; non tamen propter formam Dei, in qua est aequalis Deo Patri, sed propter acceptam formam servi, qua minor est Patre . Et quia eumdem Filium hominis dicimus, propter hoc et Filium Dei crucifixum fatemur, non ex virtute divinitatis, sed ex infirmitate humanitatis; non ex suae naturae permansione , sed ex nostrae susceptione.

CAPUT III.

18. Jam nunc paululum intuere quae Scripturarum eloquia nos cogant unum Dominum Deum confiteri, sive tantum de Patre, sive tantum de Filio, sive tantum de Spiritu sancto, sive simul de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto interrogemur. Certe scriptum est, Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus tuus Dominus unus est (Deut. VI, 4): de quo dictum putas? Si tantum de Patre, non est Dominus Deus noster Jesus Christus: et ubi est vox illa tangentis et clamantis, Dominus meus et Deus meus; quam Christus ipse non reprehendit, sed approbavit, dicens, Quia vidisti me, credidisti (Joan. XX, 28)? Porro si et Filius Dominus Deus est, et Pater Dominus Deus est, et ambo jam duo domini et duo dii, quomodo erit verum, Dominus Deus tuus Dominus unus est? An forte Pater est unus Dominus, Filius autem non unus Dominus, sed tantum Dominus, sicut sunt dii multi et domini multi, non sicut ille unus de quo scriptum est, Dominus unus est? Quid ergo respondebimus Apostolo dicenti: Nam etsi sunt qui dicuntur dii, sive in coelo, sive in terra, sicut sunt dii multi et domini multi; nobis tamen unus Deus Pater, ex quo omnia, et nos in ipso; et unus Dominus noster Jesus Christus, per quem omnia, et nos per ipsum (I Cor. VIII, 5, 6)? Porro si quod de uno Deo Patre dicitur, cogit inde Filium separare, dicant qui audent, non posse jam intelligi Dominum Patrem, quia unus, inquit, Dominus noster Jesus Christus. Nam si unus, utique solus: si solus, quomodo et Pater; nisi quia et ipse et Pater, unus Deus et solus Deus, non separato Spiritu sancto? Unus ergo Deus Pater, et cum illo Filius unus Deus, quamvis non cum illo unus Pater. Itemque unus Dominus Jesus Christus, et cum illo unus Dominus Pater, quamvis non cum illo unus Jesus Christus tanquam et Pater sit Jesus Christus. Hoc enim nomen ex dispensatione misericordiae susceptaeque humanitatis assumptum est.

so much more excellently than the one soul and heart of those was, as much as that peace which surpasses all understanding, is more excellent than that peace which the one heart and one soul of all those was holding in God.

17. But we call the same Son of man whom we call the Son of God; yet not on account of the form of God, in which he is equal to God the Father, but on account of the accepted form of a servant, by which he is less than the Father. And because we call him the same Son of man, on account of this we confess also the Son of God crucified, not from the virtue of divinity, but from the infirmity of humanity; not from the permanence of his nature, but from the susception of ours.

CHAPTER III.

18. Now look a little at what the utterances of the Scriptures compel us to confess one Lord God, whether we be interrogated only about the Father, or only about the Son, or only about the Holy Spirit, or at the same time about the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Certainly it is written: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God is one Lord" (Deut. 6:4): of whom do you think it is said? If only of the Father, Jesus Christ is not our Lord God: and where is that voice of the one touching and crying out, "My Lord and my God"; which Christ himself did not rebuke, but approved, saying, "Because you have seen me, you have believed" (John 20:28)? Furthermore, if both the Son is Lord God, and the Father is Lord God, and both are now two lords and two gods, how will it be true, "The Lord your God is one Lord"? Or perhaps the Father is one Lord, but the Son is not one Lord, but only Lord, as there are many gods and many lords, not as that one of whom it is written, "The Lord is one"? What then shall we answer the Apostle saying: "For although there be those who are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth, as there are many gods and many lords; yet to us there is one God the Father, from whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him" (1 Cor. 8:5, 6)? Furthermore, if what is said of the one God the Father compels to separate the Son from there, let those say who dare, that the Lord Father can no longer be understood, because "one," he says, "is our Lord Jesus Christ." For if one, certainly alone: if alone, how also the Father; unless because both he and the Father are one God and alone God, the Holy Spirit not being separated? Therefore one God is the Father, and with him the Son is one God, although the Father is not one with him. And likewise one Lord is Jesus Christ, and with him the Father is one Lord, although one Jesus Christ is not with him as if the Father were also Jesus Christ. For this name was assumed from the dispensation of mercy and of the human nature received.

19. An forte quod ait Apostolus, Unus Dominus noster Jesus Christus, per quem omnia, non vultis adjungi quod dictum est unus, ad id quod est Dominus, sed ad id quod ait, per quem omnia; ut non unus Dominus, sed unus per quem omnia intelligatur, ut non sit Pater per quem omnia, sed Pater solus ex quo omnia, et Filius solus per quem omnia? Si ita est, jam tandem fatemini unum Dominum et Deum nostrum esse Patrem et Filium. Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini? aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit? Aut quis prior dedit illi, et retribuetur ei? Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia; ipsi gloria (Rom. XI, 34-36). Neque enim dixit, Ex Patre omnia, et per Filium omnia; sed, ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso; quo? nisi Domino, de quo ait, Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini? Ex Domino ergo et per Dominum et in Domino omnia, non alio illo et alio isto, sed uno Domino; quia non dixit, Ipsis gloria, sed, ipsi gloria.

20. Quod si quisquam dicit, id quod ait Apostolus, unus Dominus Jesus Christus per quem omnia, non intelligi unus Dominus, nec unus per quem omnia, sed unus Jesus Christus, qui unus Jesus Christus etiam Dominus dicitur, non tamen ut unus Dominus sit unus, sed ut unus Jesus Christus; quid dicturus est cum audierit eumdem apostolum clamantem, Unus Dominus, una fides, unum Baptisma, unus Deus et Pater omnium (Ephes. IV, 5, 6)? Cum enim Deum Patrem hic commemoret, ubi ait, Unus Deus et Pater omnium; procul dubio id quod ibi dixit, Unus Dominus, quem, nisi Jesum Christum voluit intelligi? Si ergo eis placet, desinat esse Dominus Pater, quia unus est Dominus Jesus Christus. Quod si absurdum et impium est opinari, discamus intelligere unitatem Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti; ut quod de uno solo Deo dictum fuerit, non continuo prohibeamur de Filio vel de Spiritu sancto intelligere: quia Pater quidem non est Filius, et Filius non est Pater, et Spiritus utriusque non est Pater aut Filius; sed tamen et Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, unus solus et verus est Dominus Deus.

CAPUT IV.

19. Or perhaps because the Apostle says, "One is our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things," you do not wish what is said as "one" to be joined to that which is "Lord," but to that which he says, "through whom are all things"; so that not one Lord, but one through whom all things are understood, so that it is not the Father through whom all things are, but the Father alone from whom all things are, and the Son alone through whom all things are? If it is so, now at last you confess that our one Lord and God are the Father and the Son. "For who has known the mind of the Lord? or who has been his counselor? Or who first gave to him, and it shall be repaid to him? Since from him, and through him, and in him are all things; to him be glory" (Rom. 11:34-36). For he did not say, From the Father all things, and through the Son all things; but, "from him, and through him, and in him"; in whom? unless in the Lord, of whom he says, "For who has known the mind of the Lord?" Therefore from the Lord and through the Lord and in the Lord are all things, not another that one and another this one, but one Lord; because he did not say, To them be glory, but, "to him be glory."

20. But if anyone says that what the Apostle says, "one Lord Jesus Christ through whom are all things," is not understood as one Lord, nor as one through whom all things are, but as one Jesus Christ, who is also called one Jesus Christ Lord, yet not so that the one Lord may be one, but as one Jesus Christ; what is he going to say when he hears the same Apostle crying out, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all" (Ephes. 4:5, 6)? For when he commemorates God the Father here, where he says, "One God and Father of all"; without doubt that which he said there, "One Lord," whom, unless Jesus Christ, did he wish to be understood? If therefore it pleases them, let the Father cease to be Lord, because one is the Lord Jesus Christ. But if it is absurd and impious to think this, let us learn to understand the unity of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; so that what shall have been said of one only God, we may not continuously be prohibited from understanding of the Son or of the Holy Spirit: because the Father indeed is not the Son, and the Son is not the Father, and the Spirit of both is not the Father or the Son; but yet both Father and Son and Holy Spirit are one only and true Lord God.

CHAPTER IV.

21. Neque enim Spiritus sanctus si aut Deus aut verus Deus non esset, templum ejus essent corpora nostra. Nescitis, inquit, quia corpora vestra templum in vobis est Spiritus sancti, quem habetis a Deo? et ne quisquam ipsum Spiritum negaret Deum, continuo secutus ait, Et non estis vestri: empti enim estis pretio magno. Glorificate ergo et portate Deum in corpore vestro, eum scilicet cujus templum corpora nostra esse praedixerat. Jam hoc mirabile est, si verum est quod vos audio dicere, ita esse Spiritum sanctum minorem Filio, sicut Patre minor est Filius. Cum enim corpora nostra membra sint Christi, sicut dicit Apostolus; itemque corpora nostra templum sint Spiritus santi, sicut idem ipse dicit apostolus (I Cor. VI, 19, 20, 15), nimium miror quomodo sint membra majoris, templum minoris. An forte jam placet dicere Spiritum sanctum Domino Jesu Christo esse majorem? Videtur enim suffragari huic opinioni etiam illa sententia: Quoniam qui dixerit verbum adversum Filium hominis, remittetur ei: qui autem dixerit adversus Spiritum sanctum, non remittetur ei, neque in hoc saeculo, neque in futuro (Matth. XII, 32). Periculosius enim peccatur in majorem quam in minorem: nec separari fas est Filium hominis a Filio Dei, quia ipse Filius Dei factus est Filius hominis, non mutando quod erat, sed assumendo quod non erat. Sed absit etiam talis impietas, ut Spiritus sanctus major Filio esse credatur. Non ergo facile in perversum moveant quae ita dicuntur, quasi ostendant alterum altero esse majorem.

22. Nam quaedam etiam sic dicuntur, ut hominibus parum intelligentibus et ipse Filius major Patre videatur. Quis enim cum fuerit interrogatus, quid sit majus, verum an veritas, non potius respondeat veritatem esse majorem? ab illa enim vera sunt quaecumque vera sunt. Non autem ita est in Deo. Nam Filium majorem Patre utique non dicimus; et tamen Filius dicitur esse veritas: Ego sum, inquit, via, et veritas, et vita (Joan. XIV, 6). De Patre autem tantummodo vos vultis intelligi quod ait, Ut cognoscant te unum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum (Id. XVII, 3); ubi nos subaudimus etiam Jesum Christum verum Deum, ut haec sit sententia: Te et quem misisti Jesum Christum cognoscant unum verum Deum; ne illa consequatur absurditas, ut si propterea non est verus Deus Jesus Christus, quia dictum est Patri, te unum verum Deum; propterea non sit Dominus Pater, quia dictum est de Christo, unus Dominus. Verumtamen secundum pravum intellectum, vel potius errorem, major est Deus veritas, quam Deus verus; quia verus a veritate est: major ergo Patre Filius, quia iste est veritas, ille verus. Hanc perversitatem pellit ex animo, qui didicerit Patrem verum Deum esse gignendo veritatem, non participando: non est autem alia substantia veri gignentis, et alia genitae veritatis.

21. For neither if the Holy Spirit were not either God or true God, would our bodies be his temple. "Do you not know," he says, "that your bodies are the temple in you of the Holy Spirit, whom you have from God?" and lest anyone should deny the Spirit himself to be God, immediately following he says, "And you are not your own: for you have been bought at a great price." Therefore glorify and carry God in your body, him namely whose temple he had foretold our bodies to be. Now this is wonderful, if it is true what I hear you saying, that the Holy Spirit is so much less than the Son, as the Son is less than the Father. For since our bodies are members of Christ, as the Apostle says; and likewise our bodies are the temple of the Holy Spirit, as the same Apostle says (1 Cor. 6:19, 20, 15), I wonder exceedingly how they are members of the greater, the temple of the lesser. Or perhaps it already pleases you to say that the Holy Spirit is greater than the Lord Jesus Christ? For that sentence also seems to support this opinion: "Because he who shall have said a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but he who shall have said it against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the future" (Matt. 12:32). For one sins more dangerously against the greater than against the lesser: nor is it right for the Son of man to be separated from the Son of God, because the Son of God himself was made the Son of man, not by changing what he was, but by assuming what he was not. But far be even such impiety, that the Holy Spirit be believed to be greater than the Son. Therefore let not those things which are so said as if they show one to be greater than the other, easily move into perversity.

22. For certain things are also so said, that to men little understanding even the Son himself seems greater than the Father. For who, when he shall have been asked what is greater, the true or the truth, would not rather answer that the truth is greater? for by it whatever things are true are true. But it is not so in God. For we certainly do not call the Son greater than the Father; and yet the Son is said to be the truth: "I am," he says, "the way, and the truth, and the life" (John 14:6). But of the Father only you wish to be understood what he says, "That they may know you the one true God, and him whom you have sent, Jesus Christ" (Id. 17:3); where we understand also Jesus Christ true God, so that this may be the sense: That they may know you and him whom you have sent, Jesus Christ, one true God; lest that absurdity follow, that if for this reason Jesus Christ is not true God, because it was said to the Father, "you one true God"; for this reason the Father may not be Lord, because it was said of Christ, "one Lord." Nevertheless according to a depraved understanding, or rather error, God the truth is greater than God the true; because the true is from the truth: therefore the Son is greater than the Father, because the former is the truth, the latter the true. This perversity he drives from the mind, who shall have learned that the Father is true God by begetting the truth, not by participating: but there is not one substance of the true begetting, and another of the truth begotten.

23. Sed cum ad haec contemplanda infirmus sit oculus cordis humani, accedit ut de contentione etiam turbulentus sit. Et quando ista conspiciet? Dicit Scriptura Filium Dei, Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum Jesum Christum, Verbum Dei esse, et veritatem, et sapientiam; et homines eum ante incarnationem, quam de Maria virgine accepit, sine ulla omnino susceptione corporeae creaturae per ipsam naturam et substantiam suam, qua Verbum Dei est, et sapientia Dei, visibilem et corruptibilem dicunt, dum sibi volunt constare quod sentiunt, de Patre tantummodo esse dictum, Invisibili, incorruptibili, soli Deo (I Tim. I, 17). Rogo te, verbum hominis non est visibile, nedum Verbum Dei. Jam vero sapientia illa, de qua dictum est, Attingit ubique propter suam munditiam; et, Nihil inquinatum in eam incurrit; et, In seipsa manens innovat omnia, et si qua similia quae numerari non possunt; si corruptibilis est, nescio quid dicam, nisi ut doleam praesumptionem humanam, et mirer patientiam divinam.

24. Cum vero de illa dictum sit, Candor est enim lucis aeternae (Sap. VII, 24-27); nec vestri, ut arbitror, jam dicunt lucem Patris (quae quid est, nisi ejus substantia?) fuisse aliquando sine candore a se genito, sicut ista in divinis et spiritualibus et incorporeis et incommutabilibus credi, et utcumque intelligi possunt: audio enim jam eos emendasse. An forte falsum est hoc eos aliquando dixisse, quod fuerit aliquando Pater sine Filio, tanquam fuerit lux aeterna sine candore quem genuit? Quid ergo dicimus? Si natus est Filius Dei de Patre, jam Pater destitit gignere; et si destitit, coepit: si autem coepit gignere, fuit aliquando sine Filio; sed nunquam fuit sine Filio, quia Filius ejus sapientia ejus est, quae candor est lucis aeternae. Ergo semper gignit Pater, et semper nascitur Filius. Hic rursus timendum est ne putetur imperfecta generatio, si non dicimus natum esse, sed nasci. Compatere mecum, obsecro, in his angustiis humanae cogitationis et linguae, et pariter confugiamus ad Spiritum Dei per prophetam dicentem: Generationem ejus quis enarrabit (Isai. LIII, 8).

25. Hoc unum peto interim ut diligenter exquiras, utrum alicubi divina Scriptura de diversis substantiis dixerit quod unum sint. Si enim non invenitur dictum, nisi de iis rebus quas constat esse unius ejusdemque substantiae; quid opus est ut rebellemus adversus veram et catholicam fidem? Si autem inveneris alicubi hoc scriptum etiam de diversis substantiis; tunc aliud cogar inquirere, unde ostendam recte ὁμούσιον dictum Patrem et Filium.

23. But since the eye of the human heart is weak to contemplate these things, it happens that from contention it is also turbulent. And when will it behold those things? The Scripture says that the Son of God, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, is the Word of God, and the truth, and wisdom; and men call him before the incarnation, which he took from the Virgin Mary, without any at all susception of a corporeal creature through that nature and substance itself by which he is the Word of God, and the wisdom of God, visible and corruptible, while they wish to make consistent for themselves what they feel, that it was said only of the Father, "To the invisible, incorruptible, only God" (1 Tim. 1:17). I ask you, the word of man is not visible, let alone the Word of God. Now indeed that wisdom, of which it is said, "It reaches everywhere on account of its purity"; and, "Nothing defiled runs into it"; and, "Remaining in itself it renews all things," and if there are any similar things which cannot be numbered; if it is corruptible, I know not what to say, except to grieve for human presumption, and to wonder at divine patience.

24. But when it has been said of her: "For she is the brightness of the eternal light" (Wis. 7:26); nor do your people, as I think, now say that the light of the Father (which what is it, unless his substance?) was at any time without the brightness begotten from itself, as these things can be believed and in some way understood in divine and spiritual and incorporeal and immutable things: for I hear already that they have emended this. Or perhaps it is false that they at some time said this, that there was at some time the Father without the Son, as if there had been eternal light without the brightness which it begat? What then do we say? If the Son of God was born of the Father, already the Father ceased to beget; and if he ceased, he began: but if he began to beget, he was at some time without the Son; but he was never without the Son, because his Son is his wisdom, which is the brightness of the eternal light. Therefore the Father always begets, and the Son is always being born. Here again it is to be feared lest the generation be thought imperfect, if we do not say that he has been born, but is being born. Suffer with me, I beseech you, in these straits of human thought and tongue, and likewise let us flee to the Spirit of God through the prophet saying: "Who shall declare his generation" (Isa. 53:8)?

25. This one thing I ask in the meantime that you diligently seek out, whether anywhere the divine Scripture has said of different substances that they are one. For if it is not found said, except of those things which it is clear are of one and the same substance; what need is there that we should rebel against the true and Catholic faith? But if you shall have found anywhere this written also of different substances; then I shall be compelled to seek another thing, whence I may show that the Father and the Son are rightly called *homoousios*.

Nam si illi qui Scripturas nostras aut nesciunt, aut non laboriose scrutantur, et tamen Filium ejusdem substantiae et aequalem Patri credunt, dicant eis qui hoc nolunt credere, cum tamen Deum Patrem Filium habere unigenitum credant, Noluit Deus habere aequalem Filium, an non potuit? si noluit, invidus est; si non potuit, infirmus est; utrumvis autem horum de Deo sentire sacrilegum est: nescio utrum possint invenire quid dicant, si nolint res absurdissimas et stultissimas dicere.

CAPUT V.

26. Ecce quantum potui, exposui tibi fidem meam. Et plura quidem dici possunt, et diligentius disputari; sed vereor ne ista ipsa quae dixi, oneri sint occupationibus tuis: tamen ea non solum dictata conscribi volui, sed etiam manu mea subscribenda curavi; quod quidem et antea volueram, si quod inter nos placuerat, servaretur. Sed modo certe puto jam non a te debere dici timuisse me tibi dicere fidem meam, quando non solum dixi, sed scriptam subscripsi, ne me quisquam dicat aut dixisse quod non dixi, aut non dixisse quod dixi. Hoc fac et tu, si judices quaeris, non qui in ore tuo revereantur personam tuam, sed qui in litteris tuis exserant libertatem suam. Si enim calumniam times (quod nullo modo auderem dicere, nisi hoc ipse dixisses), licet tibi non subscribere: nam et ego propterea nolui nomen tuum scribi in his meis litteris, ne hoc forte noluisses.

27. Facile est ut quisque Augustinum vincat; videris utrum veritate an clamore. Non est meum dicere, nisi quia facile est ut quisque Augustinum vincat: quanto magis ut vicisse videatur; aut etsi non videatur vicisse, tamen dicatur? Facile est hoc: nolo magnum putes, nolo; nolo pro magno appetas. Nam cum adverterint homines in hac re tam ingentem famem cordis tui, multi gaudebunt se invenisse occasionem ut ad pauca Euge, Euge, tam potentem virum faciant amicum. Nolo dicere quia si non faveant, vel si contrariam sententiam proferant, etiam formidare poterunt inimicum; inepte quidem et stulte, sed tamen plerique homines ita sunt.

For if those who either do not know our Scriptures, or do not laboriously scrutinize them, and yet believe the Son to be of the same substance and equal to the Father, should say to those who do not wish to believe this, when yet they believe that God the Father has an only-begotten Son: Did God not wish to have an equal Son, or could he not? if he did not wish, he is envious; if he could not, he is weak; but to think either of these about God is sacrilegious: I do not know whether they can find what they may say, if they do not wish to say most absurd and most foolish things.

CHAPTER V.

26. Behold, as much as I could, I have set forth my faith to you. And more things indeed can be said, and more diligently disputed; but I fear lest these very things which I have said be a burden to your occupations: nevertheless I wished them not only to be written as dictated, but I also took care that they should be signed by my hand; which indeed I had wished before, if that which had pleased us between ourselves were observed. But now certainly I think it ought no longer to be said by you that I feared to tell you my faith, when I have not only said it, but signed it written, lest anyone should say either that I said what I did not say, or did not say what I said. Do this also yourself, if you seek judges, not who in your presence may revere your person, but who in your letters may exert their liberty. For if you fear calumny (which I would by no means dare to say, unless you yourself had said this), it is permitted to you not to sign: for I also for this reason did not wish your name to be written in these letters of mine, lest perhaps you should not have wished this.

27. It is easy for anyone to conquer Augustine; you will see whether by truth or by clamor. It is not mine to say, except because it is easy for anyone to conquer Augustine: how much more that he may seem to have conquered; or even if he does not seem to have conquered, yet it may be said? This is easy: I do not wish you to think it great, I do not wish it; I do not wish you to seek it as something great. For when men shall have noticed in this matter so huge a hunger of your heart, many will rejoice that they have found an occasion so that for a few "Well done, Well done" they may make so powerful a man a friend. I do not wish to say that if they should not favor, or if they should bring forth a contrary opinion, they could even fear an enemy; foolishly indeed and stupidly, but yet most men are so.

28. Noli ergo attendere quomodo vincatur Augustinus, qualiscumque unus homo; sed attende potius utrum vinci possit ὁμούσιον, non ipsum verbum graecum, quod facile est non intelligentibus irridere, sed illud quod scriptum est, Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 30); et, Pater sancte, serva eos in nomine tuo, quos dedisti mihi ; ut sint unum, sicut et nos. Item paulo post: Non pro his autem rogo tantum, inquit, sed et pro eis qui credituri sunt per verbum eorum in me: ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu, Pater, in me, et ego in te, ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint; ut mundus credat quia tu me misisti. Et ego claritatem quam dedisti mihi, dedi illis, ut sint unum, sicut et nos unum sumus: ego in eis, et tu in me, ut sint consummati in unum (Joan. XVII, 11, 20-23). Vide quoties dixit, sint unum, sicut et nos unum sumus; nusquam tamen dixit. Ipsi et nos simus unum; sed, sicut ego et tu sumus unum, sic et ipsi in nobis sint unum: quia sicut illi erant unius ejusdemque substantiae, quos etiam unius participes vitae aeternae facere volebat; ita de Patre et Filio propterea dictum est, Unum sumus, quia unius sunt ejusdemque substantiae, et non participes vitae aeternae, sed ipsa principaliter vita aeterna. Et poterat dicere secundum formam servi, Ego et ipsi unum sumus, aut, unum simus; nec tamen hoc dixit, quia unam substantiam Patris et suam, et unam illorum volebat ostendere. Si autem dixisset, Ut tu et ipsi unum sitis, sicut ego et tu unum sumus; aut, Ut tu et ego et ipsi unum simus, sicut ego et tu unum sumus; nemo nostrum recusaret posse dici, Unum sunt, etiam diversas substantias. Nunc autem vides quam non ita sit, quia non ita dixit, et saepe dicendo vehementer commendavit quod dixit.

29. Invenis ergo in Scripturis aliquid unum de diversis naturis, sicut supra ostendimus, sed additur vel subauditur quid unum: sicut ex anima et corpore dicimus, Unum animal, et una persona, et unus homo vel est, vel sunt. Sine aliqua vero adjunctione dici, Unum sunt, si inveneris in Scripturis, nisi de iis quae unius substantiae sunt, justissime flagitabis ut aliud proferamus, unde ὁμούσιον demonstremus. Sunt enim et alia multa; sed interim de hoc uno cogita, deposito studio contentionis, ut habeas propitium Deum. Non enim bonum hominis est hominem vincere, sed bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem; quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem. Da veniam, si quid liberius dixi, non ad contumeliam tuam, sed ad defensionem meam. Praesumpsi enim de gravitate et prudentia tua, quia potes considerare quantam mihi respondendi necessitatem imposueris; aut si et hoc non recte feci, et hinc da veniam. Huic scripturae a me dictatae et relectae ego Augustinus subscripsi.

28. Do not therefore attend to how Augustine, whatever kind of one man, may be conquered; but attend rather to whether *homoousios* can be conquered, not the Greek word itself, which it is easy for those not understanding to deride, but that which is written: "I and the Father are one" (John 10:30); and, "Holy Father, keep them in your name, whom you have given to me; that they may be one, as we also." Likewise a little after: "But not for these only do I ask," he says, "but also for those who are going to believe in me through their word: that all may be one, as you, Father, in me, and I in you, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe because you have sent me. And I have given to them the glory which you gave to me, that they may be one, as we also are one: I in them, and you in me, that they may be consummated into one" (John 17:11, 20-23). See how many times he said, "that they may be one, as we also are one"; nowhere however did he say: Let them and us be one; but, "as I and you are one, so let them also be one in us": because as those were of one and the same substance, whom he also wished to make partakers of one eternal life; so concerning the Father and the Son it was for this reason said, "We are one," because they are of one and the same substance, and not partakers of eternal life, but itself principally eternal life. And he could have said according to the form of a servant: I and they are one, or, let us be one; yet he did not say this, because he wished to show one substance of the Father and his own, and another of those. But if he had said: That you and they may be one, as I and you are one; or, That you and I and they may be one, as I and you are one; none of us would refuse that it could be said, "They are one," even of different substances. Now however you see how it is not so, because he did not say so, and by saying it often he vehemently commended what he said.

29. You find therefore in the Scriptures something one from different natures, as we showed above, but it is added or understood what "one": as from soul and body we say, One animal, and one person, and one man either is, or they are. But to be said without any adjunction, "They are one," if you shall have found in the Scriptures, except of those which are of one substance, you will most justly demand that we bring forth another thing, whence we may show *homoousios*. For there are also many other things; but in the meantime think of this one, the study of contention being laid aside, so that you may have God propitious. For it is not the good of man to conquer man, but it is good for man that the truth may conquer him willing; because it is bad for man that the truth may conquer him unwilling. For it must needs conquer itself, whether denying or confessing. Give pardon, if I have said anything too freely, not to your contumely, but to my defense. For I have presumed from your gravity and prudence, because you can consider how great a necessity of answering you have imposed on me; or if even this I have not done rightly, from this also give pardon. To this writing dictated by me and reviewed, I Augustine have signed.

Epistola CCXXXIX.

Augustinus Pascentio, de eadem re urgens ut explanet fidem suam.

1. Si dicis te mihi dixisse fidem tuam, et me tibi noluisse dicere fidem meam, quod te audio non tacere; recordare, obsecro, quam utrumque sit falsum. Nam nec tu mihi voluisti dicere fidem tuam, et ego tibi fidem meam non dicere nolui; sed ita dicere volui ut nemo posset dicere, aut dixisse me aliquid quod non dixerim, aut non dixisse quod dixerim. Diceres autem mihi fidem tuam, si hoc diceres unde dissentis a nobis; si diceres, Credo in Deum Patrem, qui Filium fecit primam creaturam ante omnes caeteras creaturas; et in ipsum Filium, nec aequalem Patri, nec similem, nec verum Deum; et in Spiritum sanctum, factum per Filium post Filium: haec enim vos audio dicere. Aut si forte falsum est quod ista dicatis, hoc potius abs te volo scire. Si autem verum est quod ista dicitis, volo scire quemadmodum ea de Scripturis sanctis defendatis. Nunc autem dixisti credere te in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, invisibilem, immortalem, non ab aliquo genitum, et ex quo sunt omnia. Et in Filium ejus Jesum Christum, Deum natum ante saecula, per quem facta sunt omnia. Et in Spiritum sanctum. Haec fides non est tua, sed utriusque nostrum; quemadmodum si adjungeres quod eumdem Filium Dei Jesum Christum etiam Maria virgo peperit, quod pariter credimus, et si qua alia communiter confitemur. Si voluisses ergo tuam dicere, non istam diceres quae communis est nobis, sed illam potius in qua dissentimus a vobis.

2. Haec et praesens dicerem, si quemadmodum placuerat, verba nostra exciperentur. Sed quia hoc noluisti, dicens te a nobis timere calumniam, et a placito cui mane consenseras, post prandium recessisti; utquid dicerem quod, quemadmodum velles, me dixisse narrares, et ego non haberem unde ostenderem quid vel quemadmodum dixerim? Noli ergo ulterior jactare quod tu fidem tuam dixeris, et ego meam non dixerim; quia sunt homines qui considerent me potius habuisse fiduciam fidei meae, qui eam scribi voluerim; te autem non habuisse, dum quasi calumniam pertimescis. Paratus ergo eras negare, si tibi objiceretur quod contra fidem meam aliquid dixeris. Vide ergo quid de te ipse sentiri feceris. Quod si objectum non eras negaturus, cur dictum scribi noluisti; praesertim cum magnopere voluisses etiam honoratos viros nostro interesse sermoni? Cur ergo volens calumniam devitare, notariorum stilum timebas, et clarissimorum virorum testimonium non timebas?

Epistola CCXXXIX.

Augustine to Pascentius, on the same matter urging that he explain his faith.

1. If you say that you told me your faith, and that I did not wish to tell you my faith, which I hear you are not silent about; remember, I beseech you, how both are false. For neither did you wish to tell me your faith, and I did not refuse to tell you my faith; but I wished to tell it so that no one could say either that I said anything which I did not say, or that I did not say what I said. But you would tell me your faith, if you said this whence you dissent from us; if you said: "I believe in God the Father, who made the Son the first creature before all other creatures; and in the Son himself, neither equal to the Father, nor similar, nor true God; and in the Holy Spirit, made through the Son after the Son": for these things I hear you say. Or if perhaps it is false that you say these things, this rather I wish to know from you. But if it is true that you say these things, I wish to know how you defend them from the holy Scriptures. But now you said that you believe "in God the Father almighty, invisible, immortal, not begotten by anyone, and from whom are all things. And in his Son Jesus Christ, God born before the ages, through whom all things were made. And in the Holy Spirit." This faith is not yours, but of both of us; just as if you should join that the Virgin Mary also bore the same Son of God Jesus Christ, which we likewise believe, and if we confess any other things in common. If therefore you had wished to tell your own, you would not say this which is common to us, but that rather in which we dissent from you.

2. These things I would also say when present, if, as had been agreed, our words were taken down. But because you did not wish this, saying that you feared calumny from us, and from the agreement to which you had consented in the morning, you withdrew after lunch; why should I say that which, as you wished, you would narrate that I had said, and I would not have whence I might show what or how I said? Do not therefore further boast that you told your faith, and that I did not tell mine; because there are men who consider that I rather had confidence in my faith, who wished it to be written; but that you did not have it, while you fear as if calumny. You were ready therefore to deny, if it should be objected to you that you said something against my faith. See therefore what you have made to be felt about yourself. But if you were not going to deny what was objected, why did you not wish what was said to be written; especially since you had greatly wished even honored men to be present at our discourse? Why then, wishing to avoid calumny, did you fear the style of the notaries, and did not fear the testimony of most illustrious men?

3. Si autem sic vis ut etiam ego dicam fidem meam, quomodo te dicis dixisse tuam, ego etiam brevius possum dicere, credere me in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum. Si autem proprium aliquid unde dissentis a me, vis audire: credo in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum, nec Filium dicens Patrem, nec Patrem Filium, nec utriusque Spiritum sanctum vel Patrem vel Filium; et tamen Patrem Deum, et Filium Deum, et Spiritum sanctum Deum, solum aeternum et immortalem propria sua substantia, sicut Deus solus et aeternus et immortalis est, ea divinitate quae est ante saecula. Hoc si tibi displicet, et placet a me audire quemadmodum de Scripturis sanctis asseratur, lege etiam illud quod prolixius conscriptum misi Benignitati tuae. Si autem illud tibi non vacat legere, nec mihi vacat frustra verba jactare. Possum tamen, quantum Dominus dederit facultatis, vel dictanti tibi vel scribenti ego quoque vel dictando vel scribendo ad quod volueris respondere. Huic scripturae a me dictatae et relectae ego Augustinus subscripsi.

Epistola CCXL.

Pascentius Augustinum contumeliose compellat, urgens ut proferat qui se tribus personis sit unus Deus, ad conflictum sub arbitris provocans.

Optaveram te, frater dilectissime, pristini erroris tui consilium deponere; nunc miror te in ipso adhuc permanere, sicut epistola quam ad me misisti, clamat. Nam ita est Dignatio tua, sicut sitiens nimio calore accensus, si invenerit aquam coenosam et se inde ingurgitaverit; postea, etiamsi limpidam et frigidam reperiens biberit, non satis proficere potest, quandoquidem coeno semel ejus cor et anima obruitur. Denique, quod pace tua dicam, ita est consilium Praestantiae tuae, sicut arbor curva et nodosa, quae nihil in se rectum habet, et aciem pervertit oculorum. Rescribit mihi Sanctitas tua Patrem Deum, Filium Deum, Spiritum sanctum Deum, sed unum Deum. Quis e tribus unus Deus? an forte est una persona triformis, quae hoc nomine nuncupetur? Tu si voluisses et confideres de professione tua, resideres mecum cum coepiscopis tuis puro ac pacifico animo et spiritu, et conferres de iis quae sunt Dei, et quae ad gloriam et gratiam spiritualem pertinent. Unde, quid opus est scribere et rescribere quod nos non aedificat?

Epistola CCXLI.

Augustinus Deum unum profitetur, triformem negat, conflictum non detrectat, si excipiantur quae dicuntur.

3. But if you wish also that I tell my faith, in the way you say you told yours, I can say even more briefly that I believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. But if you wish to hear something proper whence you dissent from me: I believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, neither calling the Son the Father, nor the Father the Son, nor the Holy Spirit of both either the Father or the Son; and yet the Father God, and the Son God, and the Holy Spirit God, only eternal and immortal in his own substance, as God alone is eternal and immortal, by that divinity which is before the ages. If this displeases you, and it pleases you to hear from me how it may be asserted from the holy Scriptures, read also that which I sent more prolixly written to your Benevolence. But if you do not have leisure to read that, neither do I have leisure to cast away words in vain. I can however, as much as the Lord shall have given faculty, either to you dictating or writing, I also either by dictating or by writing respond to what you shall wish. To this writing dictated by me and reviewed, I Augustine have signed.

Epistola CCXL.

Pascentius addresses Augustine contumeliously, urging that he bring forth who from three persons is one God, provoking him to a conflict under arbiters.

I had wished, most beloved brother, that you would lay aside the counsel of your former error; now I wonder that you still remain in it, as the letter which you sent to me cries out. For your Worthiness is so, as if one thirsting, kindled with excessive heat, if he shall have found muddy water and shall have engorged himself therefrom; afterwards, even if finding clear and cold water he shall have drunk it, he cannot profit enough, since once for all his heart and soul is overwhelmed with mud. Finally, that I may say it with your peace, the counsel of your Excellence is so, as a curved and knotty tree, which has nothing right in itself, and perverts the sharpness of the eyes. Your Holiness writes back to me: the Father God, the Son God, the Holy Spirit God, but one God. Who from the three is one God? or perhaps there is one triform person, which is called by this name? If you wished and were confident of your profession, you would reside with me with your fellow bishops with a pure and peaceful mind and spirit, and would confer about those things which are of God, and which pertain to spiritual glory and grace. Whence, what need is there to write and write back that which does not edify us?

Epistola CCXLI.

Augustine professes one God, denies a triform one, does not decline a conflict, if those things which are said are taken down.

1. Litterae tuae nec ad reddenda convicia me provocare, nec a reddendis litteris revocare potuerunt. Ea quippe quae scripsisti, moverent me, si a veritate Dei non a potestate hominis dicerentur. Dixisti consilium meum arborem curvam et nodosam, quae nihil in se rectum habet, et aciem pervertit oculorum. Quid in me diceres, si a veritate Dei non a potestate hominis dicerentur? Dixisti consilium meum arborem curvam et nodosam, quae nihil in se rectum habet, et aciem pervertit oculorum. Neque enim aqua coenosa ingurgitatum me judicares, sed perfidiae, quod multo pejus est, ebrietate submersum, si non talis post prandium rediissem, qualis ante prandium recessissem. Sed ecce numquid non rescripsisti quod voluisti, et nullam calumniam formidasti? Sic ergo potes et caetera, ut sit quod vel nos ipsi, vel alii possint considerare et judicare. Quod enim dicis triformem Dei personam me credere, si legere dignatus fuisses quod aliud aliquanto prolixius misi, et ad ea quae ibi scripta sunt respondere voluisses; hoc fortasse non diceros. Sed tamen ecce et hoc ipsum quod triformem Dei personam dicam, et dictasti, et conscriptum misisti, et nullam calumniam timuisti: ecce ostendisti verum esse quod dico, non ideo te, sicut placuerat cum simul essemus, verba tua dictare noluisse, quia calumniam timebas, sed quia de veritate non confidebas. Modo quia jam tibi placuit dictare an triformem Dei personam credam; respondeo me non ita credere: una quippe forma est, quia una, ut ita dicam, deitas, et ideo unus Deus Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus.

2. Tu autem, peto, digneris breviter respondere quomodo accipias quod ait Apostolus, Qui adhaeret meretrici, unum corpus est; qui autem adhaeret Domino, unus spiritus est (I Cor. VI, 16, 17). Diversi enim sexus corpora sibi adhaerentia, unum corpus dixit. Et cum spiritus humanus nullo modo possit dicere, Ego et Dominus unum sumus; tamen cum adhaeret Domino, unus spiritus est: quanto magis ille qui verissime dixit, Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 30), quia inseparabiliter Patri cohaeret, ipse et Pater unus Deus est? Si tamen vel hoc verbum admittitur in illa divinitate, ut dicamus, cohaeret, quod nunquam omnino vel fuit vel esse poterit ulla distantia separatum. Ad hoc responde, utrum tibi placeat biformem spiritum dici, quando qui adhaeret Domino, unus spiritus est. Quod si tibi non placet, nec ego triformem Deum dixi Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum, sed unum Deum. Si autem in praesentia vis ut colloquamur, gratiam quidem habeo dignationi et benevolentiae tuae.

1. Your letter could neither provoke me to return insults, nor recall me from returning a letter. For those things which you wrote would move me, if they were said by the truth of God and not by the power of man. You called my counsel a "curved and knotty tree, which has nothing right in itself, and perverts the sharpness of the eyes." What would you say against me, if I had withdrawn from the agreement which we had established between us in the morning, and had placed a curved recalcitrance and knots of difficulty in a very easy matter which had rightly pleased? For neither would you judge me engorged with muddy water, but submerged in the drunkenness of perfidy, which is much worse, if I had not returned such after lunch as I had withdrawn before lunch. But behold, did you not write back what you wished, and feared no calumny? So therefore you can do also the rest, so that there may be what either we ourselves, or others can consider and judge. For as to what you say, that I believe a triform person of God, if you had deigned to read that other thing somewhat more prolix which I sent, and had wished to respond to those things which were written there; perhaps you would not say this. But yet behold even this itself, that I say a triform person of God, you both dictated, and sent written, and feared no calumny: behold you have shown it to be true what I say, that you did not wish to dictate your words when we were together as had been agreed, not because you feared calumny, but because you did not trust in the truth. Now because it has already pleased you to dictate whether I believe a triform person of God; I respond that I do not so believe: for there is one form, because there is one, so to speak, deity, and therefore one God is Father and Son and Holy Spirit.

2. But you, I ask, deign briefly to respond how you accept what the Apostle says: "He who adheres to a harlot, is one body; but he who adheres to the Lord, is one spirit" (1 Cor. 6:16, 17). For he said that bodies of different sex adhering to themselves are one body. And since the human spirit can in no way say, I and the Lord are one; yet when it adheres to the Lord, it is one spirit: how much more he who most truly said, "I and the Father are one" (John 10:30), because he inseparably co-adheres to the Father, is he himself and the Father one God? If however even this word is admitted in that divinity, that we should say, "he co-adheres," which never at all was or could be separated by any distance. Respond to this, whether it pleases you that a biform spirit be said, when he who adheres to the Lord is one spirit. But if it does not please you, neither did I say a triform God, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, but one God. But if you wish that we talk in presence, I have indeed thanks for your worthiness and benevolence.

Sed sicut jam mihi aliud quod voluisti rescribere dignatus es; ita dignare rescribere dictaturos nos esse quae dicturi sumus, et non deero voluntati tuae, quantum me adjuverit Dominus. Nam si scribis et scribo non nos aedificat; quomodo nos aedificat dicis et dico, ubi post verborum strepitum non inveniamus quod legendo recenseamus? Augustinus haec dictavi, et relectis subscripsi. Abstineamus nos a conviciis, ne tempus inaniter impendamus; et ad id quod agitur inter nos potius advertamus.

EPISTOLA CCXLII . Augustinus Elpidio ariano, probans Filium Dei esse Deo aequalem, genitumque ex ipso, non factum; spondens etiam se ariani cujusdam libello plenius responsurum, si otium et facultas detur.

Domino eximio meritoque honorabili et desiderabili ELPIDIO , AUGUSTINUS.

1. Quis nostrum erret in fide vel in cognitione Trinitatis, alia quaestio est. Gratum sane habeo quod me, quamvis incognitum facie, tamen quia errare credidisti, revocare ab errore conatus es. Hujus tibi benevolentiae mercedem retribuat Deus, et nosse te faciat quod nosse te putas: res enim ardua est, ut existimo. Et quaeso te ne in ullam contumeliae partem acceperis, quod tibi tantae cognitionis munus optavi. Vereor enim ne opinatae scientiae praejudicium, si non praecepta vera, quae nequaquam ad te mihi arrogaverim, at certe bona vota nostra, quae mihi etiam indocto habere de te licet (non enim perite, sed amice exhibenda sunt), repellat ab auribus tuis, potiusque mihi succenseas quod non tibi jam sicut sapienti gratulatus, quam gratias agas quod tibi sapientiam deprecatus sim. Verumtamen si ego portans episcopalis nominis sarcinam, libentissime amplector benevolentiam tuam, quod me Bonoso et Jasoni, ut scribis, doctissimis viris, etiam trans mare mittere dignatus es, ad reportandos ex eorum disputationibus uberes fructus; quod denique ad detergendas totius erroris caligines, libellum cujusdam episcopi vestri ingenio et viribus elaboratum, ad me perferendum sollicita benignitate curasti: quanto est aequius te bono animo accipere, quod ea quae nullo humano ingenio et viribus dari possunt, a Domino Deo tibi ut concedantur optavi? Apostolus enim inquit: Non spiritum hujus mundi accepimus, sed Spiritum qui ex Deo est; ut sciamus quae a Deo donata sunt nobis: quae et loquimur non in doctis humanae sapientiae verbis, sed docti Spiritu, spiritualibus spiritualia comparantes. Animalis autem homo non percipit quae sunt Spiritus Dei: stultitia est enim illi (I Cor. II, 12-14).

But as already you have deigned to write back to me another thing which you wished; so deign to write back that we are going to dictate those things which we are going to say, and I shall not be wanting to your will, as much as the Lord shall have helped me. For if "you write and I write" does not edify us; how does "you say and I say" edify us, where after the noise of words we may not find what we may review by reading? I Augustine dictated these things, and signed them after review. Let us abstain from insults, lest we spend time in vain; and let us rather attend to that which is being acted between us.

EPISTOLA CCXLII. Augustine to Elpidius the Arian, proving the Son of God to be equal to God, and begotten from him, not made; promising also that he will respond more fully to a certain little book of an Arian, if leisure and faculty be given.

To the most excellent and deservedly honorable and desirable Lord ELPIDIUS, AUGUSTINE.

1. Which of us may err in faith or in the knowledge of the Trinity, is another question. I have it certainly as a grateful thing that you, although unknown in face, yet because you believed me to err, have tried to recall me from error. May God repay to you the reward of this benevolence, and make you know what you think you know: for the matter is arduous, as I estimate. And I ask you that you accept in no part of contumely, that I have opted for you the gift of so great a knowledge. For I fear lest the prejudice of an imagined science, if not true precepts, which I should by no means arrogate to myself toward you, but certainly our good vows, which even unlearned I am permitted to have concerning you (for they are to be exhibited not skillfully, but friendlily), may repel from your ears, and rather you may be angry with me that I have not already congratulated you as a wise man, than that you give thanks because I have prayed for wisdom for you. Nevertheless if I, carrying the burden of the episcopal name, most willingly embrace your benevolence, that you have deigned to send me even across the sea to Bonosus and Jason, as you write, most learned men, to report back from their disputations rich fruits; that finally to wipe away the darkness of all error, you have cared with solicitous benignity to bring to me a little book of a certain bishop of yours elaborated with genius and strength: how much more equitable is it that you receive with a good mind, that I have opted that those things which can be given by no human genius and strength, be granted to you by the Lord God? For the Apostle says: "We have not received the spirit of this world, but the Spirit which is from God; that we may know the things which have been given to us by God: which also we speak not in learned words of human wisdom, but learned by the Spirit, comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the natural man does not perceive those things which are of the Spirit of God: for it is foolishness to him" (1 Cor. 2:12-14).

2. Magis ergo tecum, si fieri posset, mallem quaerere quousque appellandus sit animalis homo, ut si eum jam transcendimus, recte fortasse illa quae supra humanam mentem atque intelligentiam incommutabiliter manent, aliqua ex parte nos attigisse gaudeamus. Cavendum est enim ne propterea videatur stultum, cum Filium Patri audimus aequalem, quia hominem animalem adhuc agimus, de quo dictum est quod stultitia sunt illi quae sunt Spiritus Dei. Quanquam sane majestas illa supra cuncta sublimis a spiritualibus cogitari possit, a nullo autem possit effari; videre tamen, quantum arbitror, facile est non esse factum per quem facta sunt omnia, et sine quo factum est nihil. Si enim per seipsum factus est, erat antequam fieret, ut fieri per se posset: quod certe tanto absurdius dicitur, quanto vanius cogitatur. Si autem non per se factus est, non est factus omnino; quoniam quidquid factum est, per ipsum factum est: Omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil (Joan. I, 3).

3. Miror parum attendi quae tam expresse Evangelista voluit intimare, ut neminem dissimulare permitteret: non enim satis fuit dicere, Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, nisi adderet, et sine ipso factum est nihil. At ego quamvis tardus, et nondum detersa caligine, saucium mentis oculum gerens ad intuendam Patris et Filii incomparabilem ineffabilemque praestantiam; tamen hoc tota facilitate complector, quod nobis in Evangelio propterea praeseminatum est, non ut hinc comprehenderemus illam divinitatem, sed ut hinc admoneremur non oportere nos de temeraria comprehensione jactare. Si enim omnia per ipsum facta sunt; quidquid non per ipsum factum est, non est factum. Ipse autem per se factus non est: non est igitur factus. And omnia per ipsum facta esse ab Evangelista credere cogimur: ab eodem ergo cogimur eum factum esse non credere. Item, si sine ipso factum est nihil, ipse ergo nihil est, quia sine se factus est. Quod si opinari sacrilegum est; restat ut fateamur, non sine se factum esse, aut factum non esse. Non autem sine se factum esse, non possumus dicere. Si enim ipse se fecit, jam erat antequam fieret: si autem ac se faciendum alteri, a quo factus est, adjutorium praebuit; nihilominus ut se adjuvante ipse fieret, jam erat antequam fieret. Relinquitur itaque ut sine se factus sit. Quidquid autem sine illo factum est, nihil est. Aut nihil est igitur, aut factus non est: sed non est nihil, factus igitur non est. At si factus non est, et tamen Filius est, sine dubio natus est.

2. Therefore, if it were possible, I would rather seek with you as to how long one must be called a "natural man," so that if we have already transcended him, we may perhaps rightly rejoice that we have attained in some part those things which remain unchangeably above the human mind and intelligence. For we must beware lest for this reason it seem foolish, when we hear that the Son is equal to the Father, because we still act as the natural man, of whom it is said that the things which are of the Spirit of God are foolishness to him. Although indeed that majesty sublime above all things can be thought by the spiritual, but can be expressed by no one; yet it is easy to see, as I judge, that he through whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made, is not a thing made. For if he was made through himself, he was before he was made, so that he could be made through himself: which is certainly said the more absurdly, as it is thought more vainly. But if he was not made through himself, he was not made at all; since whatever was made, was made through him: All things were made through him, and without him was made nothing (John 1:3).

3. I wonder that those things are little attended to which the Evangelist wished so expressly to intimate, that he would permit no one to ignore them: for it was not enough to say, All things were made through him, unless he added, and without him was made nothing. But I, although slow, and with the darkness not yet wiped away, carrying a wounded eye of the mind for intuiting the incomparable and ineffable excellence of the Father and the Son; yet I embrace this with all facility, which was presown for us in the Gospel for this reason, not that we should from this comprehend that divinity, but that we should from this be admonished that we ought not to boast concerning a rash comprehension. For if all things were made through him; whatever was not made through him, was not made. But he himself was not made through himself: he was not made, therefore. And we are compelled by the Evangelist to believe that all things were made through him: we are therefore compelled by the same not to believe that he was made. Likewise, if without him was made nothing, he himself therefore is nothing, if he was made without himself. But if to opine this is sacrilegious; it remains that we confess either that he was not made without himself, or that he was not made. But we cannot say that he was made without himself. For if he made himself, he already was before he was made: but if he provided help for himself to be made by another, by whom he was made; nonetheless so that he himself might be made with himself helping, he already was before he was made. It remains therefore that he was made without himself. But whatever was made without him is nothing. Therefore either he is nothing, or he was not made: but he is not nothing, therefore he was not made. But if he was not made, and yet is the Son, without doubt he was born.

4. Quomodo, inquis, potuit de solo Patre nasci Filius aequalis ei de quo natus est? Jam hoc enarrare non possum, et cedo prophetae dicenti: Generationem ejus quis enarrabit (Isai. LIII, 8)? Quod si tu de humana generatione qua per virginem natus est, accipiendum putas; ipse te discute, et interroga animam tuam, utrum si in generatione humana defecit, audeat enarrare divinam. Noli ergo, inquis, dicere aequalem. Cur non dicam quod dixit Apostolus? Non rapinam, inquit, arbitratus est esse aequalis Deo (Philipp. II, 6). Etsi enim aequalitatem illam non explicavit humanae menti nondum purgatae, posuit tamen in Verbo, quod in re possit inveniri purgata. Demus itaque operam mundando cordi nostro, ut inde exsurgat acies qua ista videre valeamus: Beati enim, inquit, mundicordes; quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 7). Ita excedentes animalis hominis caliginosas imagines, ad serenitatem illam sinceritatemque veniemus, qua videre possimus quod dici non posse videmus.

5. Nam libello quem dignatus es mittere, si mihi sit otium, facultasque tribuatur ad singula respondere, arbitror te cogniturum tanto minus quemque vestiri lumine veritatis, quanto magis sibi videtur nudam depromere veritatem. Quis enim ferat, ut alia omittam, et hoc solum interim commemorem quod maxime ingemui, cum apostolus Paulus dicat, Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate; tunc autem facie ad faciem (I Cor. XIII, 12); istum jam dicere omni integumento retecto nudam se depromere veritatem? Qui si diceret, Nudam videmus veritatem, nihil esset caecius ista arrogantia visionis: non autem dixit, Videmus, sed, depromimus; ut non solum jam veritas inventioni mentis patere, sed etiam potestati linguae subjacere videatur. Multa sunt quae de Trinitatis ineffabilitate dicantur; non ut ipsa dicatur, alioquin non est ineffabilis, sed ut illis dictis illa dici non posse intelligatur. Verum jam, ut arbitror, modum excessit epistola mea, cum per tuam me admonueris breviter scribere: sed quia institutione veterum te excusare dignatus es, non tibi absurdus videbor, si modum quarumdam epistolarum Ciceronis, quia ejus quoque in litteris tuis mentionem fecisti, non te pigeat recordari.

EPISTOLA CCXLIII . Augustinus Laeto, qui perfectum mundi contemptum aggressus, videbatur sollicitari per satanam ad repetenda quae reliquerat. Hunc animat, ut contemptis cognatorum affectibus fortiter pergat.

Domino dilectissimo et desiderantissimo fratri LAETO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem .

4. "How," you say, "could a Son be born from the Father alone equal to him from whom he was born?" Now I cannot narrate this, and I yield to the prophet saying: Who shall narrate his generation? (Isaiah 53:8). But if you think this is to be accepted concerning the human generation by which he was born through the virgin; examine yourself, and interrogate your soul, whether if it failed in the human generation, it dares to narrate the divine one. "Do not therefore," you say, "call him equal." Why should I not say what the Apostle said? He did not think it robbery, he says, to be equal to God (Philippians 2:6). For even if he did not explain that equality to a human mind not yet purged, yet he placed it in the Word, so that it can be found in a thing purged. Let us therefore give effort to cleansing our heart, so that from there may rise the sharpness by which we may be able to see those things: Blessed, he says, are the clean of heart; for they shall see God (Matthew 5:8). Thus exceeding the dark images of the natural man, we shall come to that serenity and sincerity, by which we may be able to see what we see cannot be said.

5. For if leisure and faculty be granted to me to respond to each point in the little book which you deigned to send, I judge that you will know that anyone is clothed with so much less light of truth, as he seems more to himself to draw forth the naked truth. For who would bear, that I may omit other things, and only commemorate this one for the time being at which I most groaned, when the Apostle Paul says: We see now through a mirror in an enigma; but then face to face (1 Cor. 13:12); that this man now says that with every covering pulled back, he draws forth the naked truth? Who if he said, "We see the naked truth," nothing would be blinder than that arrogance of vision: but he did not say, "We see," but, "we draw forth"; so that not only already the truth may seem to lie open to the invention of the mind, but even to lie subject to the power of the tongue. There are many things which are said concerning the ineffability of the Trinity; not that it itself may be said, otherwise it is not ineffable, but so that by those things said it may be understood that it cannot be said. But now, as I judge, my letter has exceeded the measure, since you admonished me by yours to write briefly: but because you deigned to excuse yourself by the institution of the ancients, I shall not seem absurd to you, if it does not irk you to recall the measure of certain letters of Cicero, because you also made mention of him in your letters.

EPISTOLA CCXLIII. Augustine to Laetus, who, having approached the perfect contempt of the world, seemed to be solicited by Satan to seek again those things which he had left. He animates him, that having contemned the affections of kinsmen he may strongly proceed.

To the most beloved Lord and most desired brother LAETUS, AUGUSTINE, greetings in the Lord.

1. Legi epistolam quam misisti fratribus, consolari te cupiens quod multis tentationibus tua tirocinia quatiantur; in qua etiam insinuasti desiderare te litteras meas. Condolui, frater, et cessare ab scribendo non potui, ne non solum tuo, sed etiam meo desiderio negarem quod me videbam officio debere charitatis. Si te igitur tironem Christi profiteris, castra ne deseras; in quibus tibi etiam aedificanda turris est illa, de qua in Evangelio Dominus loquitur. En ea quippe stantem, et sub armis verbi Dei militantem, nulla ex parte penetrare ullae tentationes valent: inde et jacta in adversarium tela gravi pondere veniunt, et prospecta firmo munimine devitantur. Considera etiam Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, cum sit rex noster, tamen ea societate qua etiam frater esse dignatus est, reges appellasse milites suos, et unumquemque ad bellandum cum rege qui habet viginti millia, instructione decem millium idoneum esse debere praemonuit.

2. Sed paulo antequam de turre et de rege exhortatorias similitudines praeponeret, attende quid dixerit: Si quis venit ad me, et non odit patrem suum, et matrem, et uxorem, et filios, et fratres, et sorores, adhuc et animam suam, non potest meus esse discipulus. Et si non tulerit crucem suam et venerit post me, non potest meus esse discipulus. Deinde subjungit: Quis ex vobis volens turrim aedificare, non primo sedet, et computat si sumptus habet ad consummationem, nequando, cum posuerit fundamentum, non possit aedificare; et omnes qui transeunt et vident, incipiant dicere, Hic homo coepit aedificare, et non potuit perficere? Aut quis rex vadens committere bellum cum alio rege, non primum sedet, et cogitat si potens est cum decem millibus ei occurrere, qui cum viginti millibus venit ad illum? Caeterum dum adhuc longe est, mittit legationem, rogans pacem. Quo autem pertinerent istae similitudines, ipsa conclusione satis aperuit: ait enim, Sic ergo omnis ex vobis qui non renuntiat omnibus quae sunt ejus, non potest meus esse discipulus (Luc. XIV, 26-33).

3. Itaque et sumptus ad turrim aedificandam, et bellantium valentia decem millium adversus regem qui viginti habet, nihil est aliud quam ut renuntiet unusquisque omnibus quae sunt ejus. Praelocutio autem superior cum extrema conclusione concordat. In eo enim quod unusquisque renuntiat omnibus quae sunt ejus, etiam illud continetur, ut oderit patrem suum, et matrem, et uxorem, et filios, et fratres, et sorores, adhuc et animam suam. Omnia enim haec propria ejus sunt, quae plerumque implicant et impediunt ad obtinenda, non ista propria temporaliter transitura, sed in aeternum mansura communia.

1. I read the letter which you sent to the brothers, desiring to console you that your beginnings are shaken by many temptations; in which you also insinuated that you desire my letters. I have condoled, brother, and I could not cease from writing, lest I should deny what I saw I owed by the office of charity not only to your desire, but also to mine. If therefore you profess yourself a recruit of Christ, do not desert the camp; in which that tower is also to be built for you, of which the Lord speaks in the Gospel. Standing in it indeed, and militating under the arms of the word of God, no temptations are able to penetrate in any part: from there also the weapons thrown into the adversary come with heavy weight, and those seen are avoided by a firm defense. Consider also our Lord Jesus Christ, since he is our king, yet in that society by which he also deigned to be a brother, he called his soldiers kings, and forewarned that each one ought to be fit for warring with a king who has twenty thousand, by the instruction of ten thousand.

2. But a little before he proposed the exhortatory similitudes concerning the tower and the king, attend to what he said: If anyone comes to me, and does not hate his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brothers, and sisters, and yet also his own soul, he cannot be my disciple. And if he has not carried his cross and come after me, he cannot be my disciple. Then he subjoins: Which of you wanting to build a tower, does not first sit, and compute if he has the expenses for the consummation, lest when he has placed the foundation, he cannot build; and all who pass by and see, begin to say: This man began to build, and could not finish? Or what king going to commit war with another king, does not first sit, and think if he is powerful to meet with ten thousand him who comes to him with twenty thousand? Otherwise while he is still far off, he sends a legation, asking peace. To what however those similitudes pertained, he opened enough by the conclusion itself: for he says, So therefore every one of you who does not renounce all things which are his, cannot be my disciple (Luke 14:26-33).

3. Therefore both the expenses for building the tower, and the strength of the ten thousand of the combatants against the king who has twenty, is nothing other than that each one should renounce all things which are his. But the superior preamble agrees with the extreme conclusion. For in that each one renounces all things which are his, that is also contained, that he should hate his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brothers, and sisters, and yet also his own soul. For all these are his own things, which for the most part involve and impede from obtaining, not those own things about to pass away temporally, but those common things about to remain in eternity.

Quo enim tibi nunc quaedam mulier mater est, hoc ipso utique non est et mihi. Quapropter hoc temporale ac transitorium est: sicut transisse jam vides quod te concepit, quod gestavit utero, quod peperit, quod lacte nutrivit. Quod autem soror in Christo est, et tibi est et mihi, et omnibus quibus una coelestis haereditas, et pater Deus, et frater Christus, in eadem charitatis societate promittitur. Haec aeterna sunt; haec nulla temporis labe deteruntur; haec tanto firmius tenenda sperantur, quanto minus privato, sed communi potius jure obtinenda praedicantur.

4. Potes hoc facillime in ipsa tua matre cognoscere. Nam unde te nunc irretitum involvit, et ab instituto cursu retardatum reflectit et curvat, nisi ex quo tua propria mater est? Nam ex quo soror est omnium, quibus est pater Deus et mater Ecclesia, jam te non impedit, quam neque me, neque omnes fratres nostros, qui eam non privata, sicut tu in domo vestra, sed publica in domo Dei charitate diligimus. Quod ergo tu illi etiam carnali necessitudine annecteris, ad sortem valere debet familiarius colloquendi, et apertiore janua consulendi ut hoc ipsum, quo te privatim diligit, interficiatur in ea, ne quod ex utero suo te genuit, pluris pendat, quam quod ex utero Ecclesiae genita est tecum. Quod autem de matre dixi, hoc de tali caetera propinquitate intelligendum est. Hoc etiam quisque de anima sua cogitet, ut etiam in ipsa privatum affectum oderit, qui procul dubio temporalis est: diligat autem in ea communionem societatemque illam, de qua dictum est, Erat illis in Deum anima una et cor unum (Act. IV, 32). Sic enim anima tua non est propria, sed omnium fratrum; quorum etiam animae tuae sunt, vel potius quorum animae cum tua non animae, sed anima una est, Christi unica, quae de manu canis ut eruatur, cantatur in Psalmis (Psal. XXI, 21). Inde ad contemptum mortis facillime pervenitur.

5. Nec succenseant parentes hoc praecipere Dominum ut eos oderimus, quando nobis hoc de anima nostra praecipitur. Nam sicut nunc de anima jubetur, ut eam propter Christum cum parentibus oderimus; ita quod alio loco de anima idem Dominus dicit, in parentes quoque potest congruentissime convenire: Qui amat, inquit, animam suam, perdet eam (Joan. XII, 25). Dicam etiam fidenter: Qui amat parentes suos, perdet eos. De anima quippe hoc ibi dixit, oderit, quod hic, perdet.

For by what a certain woman is now a mother to you, by this same thing she is certainly not so to me. Wherefore this is temporal and transitory: as already you see has passed that she conceived you, that she carried you in the womb, that she gave birth, that she nourished you with milk. But what she is as a sister in Christ, is both to you and to me, and to all to whom one celestial inheritance, and God as father, and Christ as brother, is promised in the same society of charity. These are eternal; these are worn away by no lapse of time; these are hoped to be held more firmly, by as much as they are preached as to be obtained not by private, but rather by common right.

4. You can know this most easily in your own mother. For from what does she now involve you as one ensnared, and retard you from the instituted course and reflect and bend you, except from that by which she is your own mother? For from that by which she is the sister of all, to whom God is father and the Church mother, she already does not impede you, any more than me, or all our brothers, who love her not with private charity, as you in your house, but with public charity in the house of God. Because therefore you are annexed to her also by carnal necessity, it ought to avail for the lot of talking more familiarly, and of consulting with a more open door so that this same thing, by which she loves you privately, may be killed in her, lest because she begot you from her womb, she weigh it more, than that she was begotten from the womb of the Church with you. But what I have said concerning the mother, this is to be understood concerning other such propinquity. Let each one also think this concerning his own soul, so that also in it he may hate the private affection, which without doubt is temporal: but let him love in it that communion and society, concerning which it is said: There was to them in God one soul and one heart (Acts 4:32). For thus your soul is not your own, but of all the brothers; whose souls also are yours, or rather whose souls with yours are not souls, but one soul, the unique one of Christ, which it is sung in the Psalms that it may be rescued from the hand of the dog (Psalm 21:21). From there one arrives most easily at the contempt of death.

5. Nor should parents be angry that the Lord prescribes this, that we should hate them, when this is prescribed to us concerning our own soul. For just as it is now commanded concerning the soul, that we should hate it because of Christ along with our parents; so what in another place the same Lord says concerning the soul, can also most congruently agree in the case of parents: He who loves, he says, his soul, shall lose it (John 12:25). I shall also say confidently: He who loves his parents, shall lose them. For concerning the soul he said "hate" there, what he said "lose" here.

Sicut autem hoc praeceptum, quo perdere jubebur animam nostram, non ad id valet ut se quisque interimat, quod inexpiabile nefas est; et tamen valet ut interimat in se carnalem animae affectum, quo cum impedimento futurae vitae praesens vita delectat; hoc est enim quod dictum est, oderit animam suam, et, perdet eam: quod tamen diligendo fit; quandoquidem apertissime fructum ejusdem animae acquirendae, in eodem praecepto commemorat dicens, Qui perdiderit eam in isto saeculo, in vitam aeternam inveniet eam: ita de parentibus rectissime dicitur ut qui eos amat, perdat eos; non more parricidarum interficiens, sed spirituali gladio verbi Dei carnalem affectum eorum, quo et seipsos, et eos quos genuerunt implicamentis hujus saeculi obligare conantur, pie fidenterque percutiens et occidens, illud in eis vivere faciat, quo fratres sunt, quo cum filiis suis temporalibus, parentes aeternos Deum Ecclesiamque cognoscunt.

6. Ecce rapit te studium veritatis, et cognoscendae atque percipiendae voluntatis Dei in Scripturis sanctis; rapit evangelicae praedicationis officium. Dat signum Dominus ut vigilemus in castris, ut aedificemus turrim, de qua hostem sempiternae vitae et prospicere et propellere valeamus. Rapit militem Christi tuba coelestis ad praelium, et retinet mater! non plane talis, qualis Machabaeorum fuit, nec saltem similis Lacedaemoniis matribus, de quibus memoriae proditum est quod filios suos, ut pro terrena patria sanguinem funderent, multo amplius atque ardentius in certamina bellica, quam signorum sonitus excitabant. Nam mater quae te ad discendam vitam removeri a curis saecularibus non permittit, satis ostendit quemadmodum te, si opus esset, ad obeundam mortem penitus saeculum repudiare permitteret.

7. Sed quid dicit, aut quid allegat? Forte decem illos menses quibus viscera ejus onerasti, et dolores parturitionis, ac labores educationis. Hoc, hoc interfice verbo salutari; hoc perde matris, ut in vitam aeternam invenias eam. Hoc memento ut oderis in ea, si diligis eam, si tiro Christi es, si turris fundamenta posuisti; ne dicant transeuntes: Hic homo coepit aedificare, et non potuit perficere. Carnalis enim affectus est iste, et adhuc veterem hominem sonat. Hunc carnalem affectum, et in nobis et in nostris, militia christiana ut perimamus hortatur; nec tamen ita ut ingratus sit quisque parentibus, et eadem ipsa beneficia quibus in vitam hanc editus, susceptus atque nutritus est, enumerata derideat. Servet potius ubique pietatem: habeant haec locum ubi majora non vocant.

But just as this precept, by which we are commanded to lose our soul, does not avail to this, that each one should kill himself, which is an inexpiable nefas; and yet it avails that he should kill in himself the carnal affection of the soul, by which the present life delights with the impediment of the future life; for this is what was said, he shall hate his soul, and, he shall lose it: which however is done by loving; since indeed he commemorates most openly the fruit of acquiring the same soul, in the same precept saying: He who shall have lost it in this age, shall find it unto eternal life: so it is most rightly said concerning parents that he who loves them, shall lose them; not killing them after the manner of parricides, but by the spiritual sword of the word of God striking and killing their carnal affection, by which they try to bind both themselves and those whom they begot to the implications of this age, piously and confidently striking and killing, may he make that to live in them by which they are brothers, by which with their temporal children, they know God and the Church as eternal parents.

6. Behold, the study of truth and of knowing and perceiving the will of God in the Holy Scriptures carries you away; the office of evangelical preaching carries you away. The Lord gives the sign that we should watch in the camp, that we should build the tower, from which we may be able to both look out for and repel the enemy of eternal life. The celestial trumpet carries the soldier of Christ away to battle, and the mother retains him! plainly not such as was the mother of the Maccabees, nor at least similar to the Lacedaemonian mothers, concerning whom it has been handed down to memory that their sons, so that they might pour out blood for their earthly fatherland, they excited to warlike contests much more and more ardently than the sounds of the signals. For the mother who does not permit you to be removed from secular cares for learning life, shows enough in what way she would permit you, if it were necessary, to repudiate the world utterly for undergoing death.

7. But what does she say, or what does she allege? Perhaps those ten months in which you burdened her viscera, and the pains of parturition, and the labors of education. This, this kill by the salutary word; this lose of the mother, so that you may find her unto eternal life. Remember to hate this in her, if you love her, if you are a recruit of Christ, if you have placed the foundations of the tower; lest those passing by say: This man began to build, and could not finish. For this is a carnal affection, and it still sounds of the old man. The Christian warfare exhorts that we should kill this carnal affection, both in ourselves and in our own; and yet not so that anyone should be ungrateful to parents, and deride those same benefits by which he was edited into this life, received, and nourished, when enumerated. Let him rather preserve piety everywhere: let these have a place where greater things do not call.

8. Mater Ecclesia, mater est etiam matris tuae. Haec vos de Christo concepit, haec martyrum sanguine parturivit, haec in sempiternam lucem peperit, haec fidei lacte nutrivit et nutrit, cibosque majores praeparans, quod adhuc parvuli et sine dentibus vagire vultis, horrescit. Haec mater toto orbe diffusa, tam variis et multiplicibus errorum infestationibus agitatur, ut abortivi jam filii ejus adversus eam infrenis armis belligerare non dubitent. Ignavia etiam atque torpore quorumdam quos gremio continet, membra sua frigescere plurimis locis et fovendis parvulis minus idonea fieri dolet. Unde nisi per alios filios, unde nisi per alia membra, quorum e numero es, justum ac debitum poscit auxilium? Hujusne tu necessitates deserens, ad carnalia verba converteris? Nonne haec gravioribus querelis insonat auribus? nonne haec chariora viscera, et coelestia ubera ostentat? Adde viri ejus susceptionem carnis, ne carnalibus inhaereres, et a Verbo aeterno universa quae tibi mater improperat, ne his implicareris assumpta; adde contumelias, flagella, mortem, mortem autem crucis.

9. Talibus concepte seminibus, talique in vitam novam connubio procreate, languescis et contabescis in veterem hominem! Itane matrem terrenam non habebat Imperator tuus? Quae tamen cum ei nuntiaretur agenti coelestia, respondit: Quae mihi mater, aut qui fratres? Et extendens manum in discipulos suos, dixit non pertinere ad cognationem suam, nisi qui facerent voluntatem Patris ejus (Matth. XII, 48-50). In quo numero profecto etiam ipsam Mariam benignus inclusit; faciebat enim et illa voluntatem Patris. Ita optimus Magister atque divinus, et maternum nomen, quod ei quasi privatum propriumque nuntiaverant, quia terrenum erat, in comparatione coelestis propinquitatis abjecit: et eamdem coelestem propinquitatem in discipulis suis commemorans, quo sibi rursum consortio generis cum caeteris sanetis virgo illa cohaereret, ostendit. Et ne isto saluberrimo magisterio quo contemni carnalem affectum in parentibus docuit, adminiculum error acciperet, quo matrem habuisse a quibusdam negatur, alio loco discipulos monuit ne se patrem in terris dicant habere (Id. XXIII, 9), ut quomodo illos manifestum est habuisse patres, sic se habuisse matrem manifestaret, cujus tamen terrena cognatione contempta, contemnendarum talium necessitudinum discipulis praeberet exemplum.

8. Mother Church is also the mother of your mother. She conceived you from Christ, she was in labor by the blood of the martyrs, she gave birth unto sempiternal light, she nourished and nourishes with the milk of faith, and preparing greater foods, she is horrified that you still wish to wail as little ones and without teeth. This mother diffused through the whole world is agitated by so various and multiple infestations of errors, that her already abortive children do not doubt to war against her with unbridled arms. She also grieves that because of the sloth and torpor of certain ones whom she contains in her bosom, her members grow cold in many places and become less fit for fostering the little ones. From where except through other children, from where except through other members, of whose number you are, does she ask just and due help? Deserting the necessities of this one, do you turn back to carnal words? Does she not sound in your ears with weightier complaints? does she not show dearer viscera and celestial breasts? Add the reception of the flesh of her husband, lest you should adhere to carnal things, and all things which the mother reproaches you from the eternal Word, lest you should be involved in these things assumed; add the contumelies, the scourges, the death, even the death of the cross.

9. Conceived by such seeds, and procreated by such a marriage into a new life, you languish and waste away into the old man! Was it so that your Emperor did not have an earthly mother? Who nevertheless when she was announced to him while doing celestial things, responded: Who is my mother, or who are my brothers? And extending his hand toward his disciples, he said that they did not pertain to his kinship, except those who did the will of his Father (Matthew 12:48-50). In which number he certainly also included Mary herself, for she was also doing the will of the Father. Thus the best and divine Master rejected even the maternal name, which they had announced to him as if private and his own, because it was earthly, in comparison with celestial propinquity: and commemorating the same celestial propinquity in his disciples, he showed by what consortium of race that virgin was again coherent with himself along with the other saints. And lest this most salutary magistery by which he taught that carnal affection in parents should be contemned, should receive an administrative error, by which it is denied by some that he had a mother, in another place he admonished the disciples that they should not say they have a father on earth (Matthew 23:9), so that as it is manifest that they had fathers, so he might manifest that he had a mother, whose earthly kinship nevertheless having been contemned, he might provide to the disciples an example of such necessities to be contemned.

10. Haec ergo interrumpuntur vocibus matris tuae, et inter haec locum invenit commemoratio praegnantis atque lactantis, ut de Adam et Eva, alius Adam nascereris et nutrireris? Respice potius, respice Adam secundum de coelo, et porta jam coelestis imaginem, sicut terreni portasti (I Cor. XV, 47-49). Imo et hic habeant locum materna ipsa beneficia, quae tibi ad enervationem cordis enumerantur: habeant prorsus locum; noli esse ingratus, repende gratiam matri tuae, repende spiritualia pro carnalibus, pro temporalibus sempiterna. Sed non vult sequi? non impediat. Non vult converti in melius? cave ne te in deterius pervertat, et evertat. Quid interest utrum in uxore, an in matre, dum tamen Eva in qualibet muliere caveatur? Nam ista umbra pietatis de foliis illius arboris venit, quibus se primum parentes nostri in illa damnabili nuditate texerunt. Et quidquid in illis verbis atque suggestione quasi officium tibi charitatis obtendit, ut a germanissima atque sincerissima Evangelii charitate te detorqueat, ad astutiam serpentis pertinet, et ad duplicitatem regis illius qui habet viginti millia, quam nos docemur decem millium, hoc est, cordis, in qua Deum quaerimus, simplicitate superare.

11. His potius intende, charissime, et tolle crucem tuam, et sequere Dominum. Nam cum te praesens animadverterem domesticis curis a divino studio retardari, ferri te potius et duci a cruce tua, non eam te ferre ac ducere sentiebam. Crux enim nostra quam Dominus portari a nobis jubet, ut eum expeditissimi sequamur, quid aliud quam mortalitatem carnis hujus significat? Ipsa enim nos cruciat donec absorbeatur mors in victoriam (I Cor. XV, 54). Crux ergo haec ipsa crucifigenda est, et transfigenda est clavis timoris Dei, ne solutis et liberis membris reluctantem portare non possis. Segui enim Dominum nisi eam portans, omnino non vales: nam quomodo eum sequeris, si non es ejus? Qui autem Jesu Christi sunt, ait Apostolus, carnem suam crucifixerunt cum passionibus et desideriis (Galat. V, 24).

12. Si quid sane pecuniae res tua familiaris habet, cujus te implicari negotio nec oportet nec decet, revera tribuendum est matri et domesticis tuis. Horum quippe indigentia, si pauperibus, ut sis perfectus, instituisti distribuere talia tua, primum apud te locum obtinere debet: Si quis enim suis et maxime domesticis, ait Apostolus, non providet, fidem negavit, et est infideli deterior (I Tim. V, 8).

10. These things therefore are interrupted by the voices of your mother, and among these things a place is found for the commemoration of the pregnant and lactating one, so that from Adam and Eve, you should be born and nourished as another Adam? Look back rather, look back at the second Adam from heaven, and carry now the image of the celestial one, as you have carried that of the earthly (1 Cor. 15:47-49). Nay and here let those maternal benefits themselves have a place, which are enumerated to you for the enervation of the heart: let them have a place by all means; do not be ungrateful, repay thanks to your mother, repay spiritual things for carnal things, eternal for temporal. But she does not wish to follow? let her not impede. She does not wish to be converted into the better? beware lest she pervert you into the worse, and subvert you. What does it matter whether in a wife, or in a mother, as long as however Eve is avoided in whatever woman? For that shadow of piety comes from the leaves of that tree, with which our first parents first covered themselves in that damnable nakedness. And whatever in those words and suggestion she holds out to you as if an office of charity, that she may detort you from the most german and most sincere charity of the Gospel, pertains to the astuteness of the serpent, and to the duplicity of that king who has twenty thousand, whom we are taught to overcome by the simplicity of ten thousand, that is, of the heart, in which we seek God.

11. Attend rather to these things, dearest one, and take up your cross, and follow the Lord. For when present I noticed you were being retarded from divine study by domestic cares, I felt that you were rather being carried and led by your cross, not that you were carrying and leading it. For our cross which the Lord commands to be carried by us, so that we may follow him most expeditiously, what else does it signify than the mortality of this flesh? For it itself tortures us until death is absorbed into victory (1 Cor. 15:54). This cross therefore itself is to be crucified, and is to be transfixed with the nail of the fear of God, lest with loose and free members you should not be able to carry it when reluctant. For you are not at all able to follow the Lord unless carrying it: for how do you follow him, if you are not his? But those who are of Jesus Christ, says the Apostle, have crucified their flesh with its passions and desires (Gal. 5:24).

12. If indeed your family estate has any money, with the business of which it is neither opportune nor decent for you to be involved, it is truly to be given to your mother and your domestics. For the indigence of these, if you have instituted to distribute such things of yours to the poor so that you may be perfect, ought to obtain the first place with you: For if anyone does not provide for his own and especially for his domestics, says the Apostle, he has denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel (1 Tim. 5:8).

Quibus ordinandis rebus, si, ut collum exueres induendum sapientiae vinculis, profectus a nobis es; quid tibi nocent, aut quo pacto te pervellunt matris lacrymae fluentes carne, aut servi fuga, aut mors ancillarum, aut fratrum morbosa valetudo? Si est in te charitas ordinata, scias praeponere majora minoribus, et misericordia moveri, ut pauperes evangelizentur, ne messis Domini copiosa, operariorum inopia, in praedam volucribus jaceat, et paratum habere cor ad sequendum Domini voluntatem, in eo quod vel flagellando vel parcendo agere statuerit cum servis suis: haec meditare, in his esto, ut provectus tuus manifestus sit in omnibus (I Tim. IV, 15). Obsecro te ut caveas ne majorem tristitiam des bonis fratribus torpore tuo, quam laetitiam alacritate jam dederas. Commendare te autem litteris quibus voluisti, tam superfluum putavi, quam si quisquam te mihi eodem modo commendare voluisset.

Epistola CCXLIV.

Augustinus Chrisimo, consolans ne deficiat in adversis.

Domino vere ac merito charissimo, et praedicando fratri CHRISIMO , AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Rumor ad me detulit (Deus faciat ut non sit) sic te animo perturbatum, ut multum mirer prudentiam tuam et christianum animum parum cogitare rerum terrenarum conditionem nullo modo aequari posse coelestibus, ubi cor nostrum et spes nostra collocanda est. Vir cordate, numquid aut totum bonum tuum in his rebus erat, quas nunc videris amittere; aut tam magnum bonum illic deputabas, ut eo subtracto sic tenebrescat mens nimia tristitia, quasi lumen ejus, non Deus, sed terra sit? Audivi enim (jam dixi, Deus faciat ut falsum audierim) quod tibi manus etiam velles inferre; quod melius non credo aut ascendisse in cor tuum, aut exisse de ore tuo. Sed tamen quia ita perturbatus es, ut hoc de te dici potuerit, graviter de te contristatus, hoc litterarum alloquio putavi consolandam Charitatem tuam; quanquam non dubitem Dominum Deum nostrum in corde tuo loqui meliora: novi enim quam pio studio semper audieris verbum ejus.

2. Erige itaque animum, frater in Christo charissime; Deus noster nec perit a suis, nec perdet suos: vult autem monere nos quam sint haec fragilia et incerta, quae nimis diligunt homines, ut solvamus ab eis vinculum cupiditatis, per quod implicatos nos trahunt, et totum amorem nostrum consuefaciamus in eum currere, in quo nulla damna timeamus.

For the sake of ordering which things, if you departed from us so that you might bare your neck to be clothed with the bonds of wisdom; what do the tears of your mother flowing from the flesh, or the flight of a servant, or the death of handmaids, or the morbid health of brothers hurt you, or in what way do they pull you? If there is ordered charity in you, you should know to prefer greater things to minor ones, and to be moved by mercy so that the poor may be evangelized, lest the copious harvest of the Lord, by the penury of workers, lie as prey for the birds, and to have a heart prepared for following the will of the Lord, in that which he shall have determined to act with his servants either by scourging or by sparing: meditate on these things, be in these, so that your progress may be manifest in all things (1 Tim. 4:15). I beseech you that you beware lest you give greater sadness to good brothers by your torpor, than the joy you had already given by your alacrity. But to commend you by letters which you wished, I thought as superfluous as if anyone had wished to commend you to me in the same way.

Epistola CCXLIV.

Augustine to Chrisimus, consoling him lest he fail in adversities.

To the Lord truly and deservedly most dear, and to be preached brother CHRISIMUS, AUGUSTINE, greetings in the Lord.

1. Rumor has brought to me (may God make it not to be so) that you are so perturbed in mind, that I much wonder that your prudence and Christian mind should little think that the condition of earthly things can in no way be equaled to celestial things, where our heart and our hope ought to be placed. Wise man, was either your whole good in these things, which now you seem to lose; or did you depute so great a good there, that with it subtracted the mind should so grow dark with excessive sadness, as if its light were not God, but earth? For I heard (I have already said, may God make that I have heard a false thing) that you even wished to lay hands on yourself; which I better believe has not ascended into your heart, or gone out from your mouth. But nevertheless because you have been so perturbed, that this could be said concerning you, heavily saddened concerning you, I thought your Charity was to be consoled by this allocution of letters; although I do not doubt that the Lord our God speaks better things in your heart: for I know with how pious a study you have always heard his word.

2. Erect therefore your mind, most dear brother in Christ; our God neither perishes from his own, nor will he lose his own: but he wishes to admonish us how fragile and uncertain these things are, which men love too much, so that we may loose from them the bond of cupidity, through which they draw us entangled, and may accustom all our love to run into him, in whom we may fear no losses.

Ipse te hortatur per ministerium nostrum, viriliter cogites te fidelem esse christianum, et ejus redemptum esse sanguine, qui non solum aeterna sapientia, sed etiam humana praesentia docuit nos temperanter prospera saeculi hujus contemnere, et fortiter adversa tolerare; ejus felicitatis mercedem pollicens, quam nemo possit a nobis auferre. Scripsi sane etiam ad virum laudabilem comitem; quam epistolam, in tuo erit arbitrio utrum dari velis. Nam per quem detur, non dubito deesse non posse, adjuvante Domino, vel episcopum, vel presbyterum, vel quemlibet.

Epistola CCXLV.

Augustinus Possidio, de cultu, fucis et inauribus, et de non ordinando quodam in parte Donati baptizato.

Domino dilectissimo, et venerabili fratri et consacerdoti POSSIDIO, et qui tecum sunt fratribus, AUGUSTINUS, et qui mecum sunt fratres, in Domino salutem.

1. Magis quid agas cum eis qui obtemperare nolunt, cogitandum est, quam quemadmodum eis ostendas non licere quod faciunt. Sed nunc epistola Sanctitatis tuae, et occupatissimum me reperit, et celerrimus bajuli reditus neque non rescribere tibi, neque ad ea quae consuluisti, ita ut oportet, respondere permisit. Nolo tamen de ornamentis auri vel vestis praeproperam habeas in prohibendo sententiam, nisi in eos qui neque conjugati, neque conjugari cupientes, cogitare debent quomodo placeant Deo. Illi autem cogitant quae sunt mundi, quomodo placeant vel viri uxoribus, vel mulieres maritis (I Cor. VII, 32-34). Nisi quod capillos nudare feminas, quas etiam caput velare Apostolus jubet (I Cor. XI, 5-13), nec maritatas decet. Fucari autem pigmentis, quo vel rubicundior vel candidior appareat, adulterina fallacia est, qua non dubito etiam ipsos maritos se nolle decipi, quibus solis permittendae sunt feminae ornari, secundum veniam, non secundum imperium. Nam verus ornatus maxime Christianorum et Christianarum, non tantum nullus fucus mendax, verum ne auri quidem vestisque pompa, sed mores boni sunt.

2. Exsecranda autem superstio ligaturarum, in quibus etiam inaures virorum in summis ex una parte auriculis suspensae deputantur, non ad placendum hominibus, sed ad serviendum daemonibus adhibetur. Quis autem possit speciales nefariarum superstitionum prohibitiones in Scripturis invenire, cum generaliter Apostolus dicat, Nolo vos socios fieri daemoniorum (I Cor. X, 20)? et iterum, Quae enim consonantia Christi ad Belial (II Cor. VI, 15)?

He himself exhorts you through our ministry, that you think manfully that you are a faithful Christian, and that you have been redeemed by his blood, who not only by eternal wisdom, but also by human presence taught us to temperately contemn the prosperous things of this age, and strongly to tolerate adverse things; promising the reward of his felicity, which no one can take away from us. I have indeed written also to the praiseworthy man the count; which letter, it will be in your arbitrament whether you wish it to be given. For by whom it may be given, I do not doubt it cannot be wanting, with the Lord helping, either a bishop, or a presbyter, or anyone.

Epistola CCXLV.

Augustine to Possidius, concerning ornament, face-paint and earrings, and concerning not ordaining a certain one baptized in the part of Donatus.

To the most beloved Lord, and venerable brother and fellow-priest POSSIDIUS, and to the brothers who are with you, AUGUSTINE, and the brothers who are with me, greetings in the Lord.

1. More what you should do with those who do not wish to obey, is to be thought, than in what way you should show to them that what they do is not permitted. But now the letter of your Holiness both found me most occupied, and the most swift return of the carrier permitted me neither not to write back to you, nor to respond to those things which you consulted, as is opportune. I do not wish however that you have a too-hasty sentence in prohibiting concerning the ornaments of gold or of dress, except against those who neither married, nor desiring to be married, ought to think how they may please God. But those think what things are of the world, how they may please either the husbands the wives, or the women the husbands (1 Cor. 7:32-34). Except that it does not become even married women to bare their hair, whom the Apostle also commands to veil the head (1 Cor. 11:5-13). But to be colored with pigments, by which one appears either more ruddy or more candid, is an adulterine fallacy, by which I do not doubt even the husbands themselves do not wish to be deceived, to whom alone it is to be permitted that women be adorned, according to venial allowance, not according to command. For true ornament especially of Christians and Christian women, is not only no lying face-paint, but indeed not even the pomp of gold and dress, but good manners.

2. But the execrable superstition of ligatures, in which also the earrings of men suspended in the tops of the ears from one part are deputed, is applied not for pleasing men, but for serving demons. But who could find special prohibitions of nefarious superstitions in the Scriptures, when the Apostle says generally: I do not wish you to become partners of demons (1 Cor. 10:20)? and again: What indeed is the consonance of Christ to Belial? (2 Cor. 6:15).

Nisi forte quia Belial nominavit, et generalem societatem daemoniorum prohibuit, licet Christianis sacrificare Neptuno, quia nihil proprie de Neptuno vetitum legimus! Moneantur interim miseri, ut si obtemperare nolunt praeceptis salubrioribus, saltem sacrilegia sua non defendant, ne majori se scelere implicent. Quid autem cum eis agendum sit, si solvere inaures timent, et corpus Christi cum signo diaboli accipere non timent? De ordinando autem qui in parte Donati baptizatus est, auctor tibi esse non possum: aliud est enim facere si cogaris, aliud consulere ut facias.

Epistola CCXLVI.

Augustinus Lampadio, ostendens fatum in peccatis perperam excusari, quippe cujus vel ipsi mathematici nullam rationem habeant in subditis castigandis.

AUGUSTINUS LAMPADIO.

1. De quaestione fati ac fortunae, qua tuum animum non leviter moveri, et cum praesens essem adverti, et nunc tuis litteris gratius certiusque cognovi, rescriptum tibi non parvi voluminis debeo; quod Dominus praestabit ut ita explicem, quemadmodum novit tibi congruere ad salutem fidei tuae. Non enim parvum malum est, perversis opinionibus non solum ad committendum blandimento voluptatis adduci, sed etiam ad defendendum peccatum a medicamento confessionis averti.

2. Illud sane quantocius ac breviter noveris, omnes leges atque omnia instituta disciplinae, laudes, vituperationes, exhortationes, terrores, praemia, supplicia, caeteraque omnia quibus humanum genus administratur et regitur, penitus labefactari atque subverti, nihilque in eis omnino justitiae remanere, nisi voluntas sit causa peccandi. Quanto ergo licentius et aequius mathematicorum improbamus errores, quam divinas leges, vel etiam domorum nostrarum curam damnare atque abjicere cogimur; quod nec ipsi mathematici faciunt? Nam cum aliquis eorum hominibus nummatis fatua fata vendiderit; mox ut oculum a tabellis eburneis ad domus suae moderamen ac sollicitudinem revocaverit, non solum vocibus, sed etiam plagis emendat uxorem; non dico si petulantius jocantem, sed si immoderatius per fenestram aspicientem animadverterit. Quae tamen si ei dicat, Quid me caedis? Venerem caede si potes, a qua cogor hoc facere: tum vero ille non curat quam vana verba componat fallendis extraneis, sed quam justa verbera imponat corrigendis suis.

Unless perhaps because he named Belial, and prohibited the general society of demons, it is permitted to Christians to sacrifice to Neptune, because we read nothing properly forbidden concerning Neptune! Let the miserable ones be admonished meanwhile, that if they do not wish to obey more salutary precepts, they should at least not defend their sacrileges, lest they involve themselves in a greater crime. But what is to be done with them, if they fear to loosen the earrings, and do not fear to receive the body of Christ with the sign of the devil? Concerning ordaining him however who was baptized in the part of Donatus, I cannot be an author to you: for it is one thing to do it if you are compelled, another to consult that you do it.

Epistola CCXLVI.

Augustine to Lampadius, showing that fate is wrongly excused in sins, since indeed the mathematicians themselves have no account of it in chastising subjects.

AUGUSTINE to LAMPADIUS.

1. Concerning the question of fate and fortune, by which I noticed both when I was present that your mind was moved not lightly, and now by your letters I have known more gratefully and certainly, I owe you a rescript of no small volume; which the Lord will grant that I may thus explain, as he knows to be congruent to you for the salvation of your faith. For it is no small evil, by perverse opinions not only to be led to committing by the blandishment of pleasure, but also to be turned away from the medicine of confession for defending the sin.

2. That indeed you should know as soon as possible and briefly, that all laws and all institutions of discipline, praises, vituperations, exhortations, terrors, rewards, punishments, and all other things by which the human race is administered and ruled, are utterly undermined and subverted, and nothing of justice remains in them at all, unless the will be the cause of sinning. How much therefore more licentiously and equitably do we improbate the errors of the mathematicians, than we are compelled to damn and cast away the divine laws, or even the care of our houses; which the mathematicians themselves do not do? For when anyone of them has sold fatuous fates to men with money; as soon as he has revoked his eye from the ivory tablets to the management and solicitude of his house, he emends his wife not only with voices, but even with blows; I do not say if noticing her playing too petulantly, but if looking out through the window too immoderately. Who nevertheless if she should say to him: Why do you beat me? Beat Venus if you can, by whom I am compelled to do this: then indeed he does not care what vain words he composes for deceiving strangers, but what just stripes he imposes for correcting his own.

3. Quando ergo quisque, cum reprehendi coeperit, causam convertit in fatum, et ideo se culpari non vult, quia fato se dicit coactum fecisse id quod arguitur; redeat ad seipsum, servet hoc in suis, non castiget servum furem, non de contumelioso filio conqueratur, vicino improbo non minetur. Quid enim horum faciens, juste facit, si omnes a quibus injurias patitur, non culpa sua, sed fato impelluntur ut faciant? Si autem jure proprio et patrisfamilias diligentia, quoscumque homines pro tempore in potestate habet, hortatur ad bonum, deterret a malo, imperat suae voluntati ut obtemperent, honorat eos qui sibi ad nutum obediunt, vindicat in eos qui se contemnunt, rependit gratiam beneficis, odio ingratos; egone exspectabo ut contra fata disputem, cum tanta eum non verbis, sed factis eloqui deprehendam, ut prope manibus suis omnes mathematicorum capillos super capita eorum frangere videatur? His itaque paucis si aviditas tua contenta non est, et librum aliquem de hac re, quem diutius legat, desiderat; patienter tibi sunt exspectandae vacationes nostrae, et rogandus Deus, qui et otium et facultatem satiando de hac re animo tuo tribuere dignetur. Ero tamen alacrior, si et saepe commemorare me litteris tuam non piguerit charitatem, et quid de hac epistola sentias rescribendo docueris.

EPISTOLA CCXLVII . Augustinus Romulum potentem hominem, quem in Christo genuerat, obsecrat ne nimium acerbus et injustus exactor sit tributorum administratoribus suis solutorum: minitans ei, si tyrannice exigere pergat, extremum judicium.

Domino dilectissimo ROMULO filio, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Veritas et dulcis est et amara. Quando dulcis est, parcit; et quando amara, curat. Si non recusas bibere quod in hac epistola offero, probabis quod dixi. Utinam sicut mihi non obest, sic nec tibi obesset quidquid contumeliarum mihi irrogas: et utinam vel tantum tibi obesset iniquitas quam miseris et pauperibus facis, quantum obest ipsis quibus eam facis. Illi enim ad tempus laborant, tu autem vide quid tibi thesaurizes in die irae et revelationis justi judicii Dei, qui reddet unicuique secundum opera sua (Rom. II, 5, 6). Cujus misericordiam deprecor ut hic te corrigat quomodo ipse novit, potius quam reservet in illum diem quando nullus jam erit correctionis locus; ut qui tibi dedit timorem suum, propter quem de te non despero, aperiat tibi sensum, ut videas quae facis, et exhorreas, et emendes. Parva enim et quasi nulla tibi videntur, quae tam magna mala sunt, ut quando te domita cupiditas ea considerare permiserit, riges lacrymis terram, ut Deus misereatur tui.

3. When therefore anyone, when he has begun to be reprehended, converts the cause into fate, and for that reason does not wish himself to be blamed, because he says he did that which is argued as compelled by fate; let him return to himself, let him preserve this in his own, let him not chastise a thief servant, let him not complain about a contumelious son, let him not threaten an evil neighbor. For doing which of these things, does he act justly, if all from whom he suffers injuries, are impelled not by their own fault, but by fate to do them? But if by his own right and the diligence of a father of a family, whatever men he has in his power for the time, he exhorts to the good, deters from the evil, commands his will that they obey, honors those who obey at his nod, vindicates upon those who contemn him, repays thanks to the beneficent, hatred to the ungrateful; shall I expect to dispute against fates, when I catch him speaking out so many things not by words, but by deeds, that he seems almost with his own hands to break all the hairs of the mathematicians upon their heads? If therefore your avidity is not content with these few things, and desires some book concerning this matter, which it may read longer; our vacations are to be patiently expected by you, and God is to be asked, who may deign to grant both leisure and faculty for satiating your mind concerning this matter. I shall be however more alacritous, if it shall not have irked your Charity also often to commemorate me by letters, and you shall have taught by writing back what you feel concerning this letter.

EPISTOLA CCXLVII. Augustine obsecrates Romulus, a powerful man whom he had begotten in Christ, lest he be a too sharp and unjust exactor of tributes paid to his administrators: threatening him, if he should proceed to exact tyrannically, with the extreme judgment.

To the most beloved Lord ROMULUS son, AUGUSTINE, greetings in the Lord.

1. Truth is both sweet and bitter. When it is sweet, it spares; and when it is bitter, it cures. If you do not refuse to drink what I offer in this letter, you will prove what I said. Would that just as it does not hurt me, so also it would not hurt you whatever of contumelies you cast upon me: and would that either iniquity which you do to the miserable and the poor would only hurt you as much as it hurts those themselves to whom you do it. For those labor for a time, but you, see what you treasure up for yourself in the day of wrath and of the revelation of the just judgment of God, who will render to each one according to his works (Romans 2:5, 6). Whose mercy I deprecate that he may here correct you as he himself knows, rather than reserve you for that day when there shall be no place now for correction; so that he who gave you his fear, because of which I do not despair of you, may open the sense to you, so that you may see what things you do, and may abhor, and may emend. For small and as if nothing those things seem to you, which are so great evils, that when a tamed cupidity shall have permitted you to consider them, you may stiffen the earth with tears, so that God may have mercy on you.

Aut si ego iniquus sum, qui hoc tecum ago ne miseri et egeni homines bis reddant quod debent, cum coloni actori suo dederint, subdito praeposito et jubenti servientes, nec ille se accepisse negare potuerit: si ergo ego iniquus sum, quia mihi videtur injustum ut bis exigantur, qui vix semel reddere sufficiunt; fac quod vis. Si autem tu vides quia injustum est; fac quod decet, fac quod Deus jubet, et ego rogo.

Aestus indicantes piam flammam cordis tui, indicavit mihi fidelissimus, ut scis, particeps eorum, frater Deogratias. Lege itaque Tychonium quem bene nosti, non quidem omnia probaturus; nam quae in illo cavenda sint, bene nosti. Hanc tamen quaestionem, quomodo in Ecclesia Dei si qua forte perversa vel etiam scelerata corrigere aut exstinguere non valemus, salvo unitatis vinculo toleranda sint, strenue videtur mihi tractavisse atque solvisse. Quanquam in ejus litteris tantummodo intentione correcta, ad ipsos divinarum Scripturarum fontes recurrere nos oportet, ut ibi videamus quam pauca de hac re testimonia sententiarum, vel exempla gestorum posuit, et quam nemo possit omnia ponere, nisi qui pene omnes sanctorum Librorum paginas in sua scripta transferre voluerit: ita prope nulla est quae nos non admoneat, intus in ipsa societate Sacramentorum quibus imbuimur ad vitam aeternam, cum his qui oderunt pacem esse debere pacificos, donec ingemiscendo nostra longinqua peregrinatio transeat (Psal. CXIX, 5-7); atque in virtute Jerusalem matris aeternae securissima pace perfruamur, et in turribus ejus abundantia verorum fratrum (Psal. CXXI), quorum nunc inter multos falsos gemimus paucitatem. Quae est autem virtus illius civitatis, nisi Deus ejus Deus noster? Vides igitur in quo solo fiat pax, et singulis hominibus, qui secum sine illo bellum gerunt, etiam nullo extrinsecus oborto scandalo; et omnibus simul, qui quanquam in hac se vita diligant, et amicitiae fidae nexibus teneantur, tamen nec praesentia corporis nec consensione animi summe perfecteque copulantur. Confortetur cor tuum in Domino, memor nostri.

EPISTOLA CCL. Augustinus senex Auxilio episcopo juveni, ut aut anathematis sententiam rescindat, aut doceat quibus adductus causis putet ob unius peccatum totam familiam excommunicari posse.

Domino dilectissimo, et venerable fratri et consacerdoti AUXILIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Vir spectabilis filius noster Classicianus graviter apud me litteris questus est, quod sit anathematis injuriam a tua Sanctitate perpessus:

Or if I am unjust, who act this with you lest miserable and needy men should twice render what they owe, when the colonists have given to their actor, serving the subject superior and commanding, nor he could have denied himself to have accepted: if therefore I am unjust, because it seems to me unjust that they should be twice exacted, who scarcely suffice to render once; do what you wish. But if you see that it is unjust; do what is decent, do what God commands, and I ask.

The heats indicating the pious flame of your heart were shown to me by the most faithful participant in them, as you know, our brother Deogratias. Therefore, read Tyconius, whom you know well, although not to approve of everything; for you know well what things in him are to be avoided. Nevertheless, he seems to me to have vigorously treated and solved this question: how in the Church of God, if any perverse or even wicked things we are not strong enough to correct or extinguish, they are to be tolerated with the bond of unity preserved. Although in his writings, the intention having been corrected only, it behooves us to recur to the very fountains of the divine Scriptures, so that we may see there how few testimonies of opinions or examples of deeds he has placed concerning this matter, and how no one can place all unless he who should wish to transfer almost all the pages of the holy Books into his own writings: thus there is almost none which does not admonish us that, within that very society of the Sacraments by which we are imbued for eternal life, we ought to be peacemakers with those who hate peace, until our long pilgrimage passes away in groaning (Ps. 119:5-7); and in the virtue of Jerusalem the eternal mother we may enjoy most secure peace, and in her towers the abundance of true brothers (Ps. 121), of whom now among many false ones we groan at the fewness. But what is the virtue of that city, except her God our God? You see therefore in whom alone peace is made, both for individual men, who wage war with themselves without Him, even with no scandal arisen from without; and for all together, who although they may love each other in this life, and be held by the bonds of faithful friendship, yet are joined together neither by the presence of the body nor by the consent of the soul most highly and perfectly. May your heart be comforted in the Lord, mindful of us.

LETTER 250. Augustine the old man to Auxilius the young bishop, that he should either rescind the sentence of anathema, or teach by what causes led he thinks that on account of the sin of one, a whole family can be excommunicated.

To the most beloved lord, and venerable brother and fellow-priest AUXILIUS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. The honorable man our son Classicianus has gravely complained to me by letters, that he has suffered the injury of anathema from your Holiness:

narrans quod venerit ad ecclesiam apparitione paucorum suae potestati congrua comitatus, et egerit tecum, ne contra salutem suam faveres eis qui per Evangelium pejerando, adjutorium violandae fidei in ipsa fidei domo requirebant; quos tamen considerantes quid mali fecerint, non inde violenter abductos, sed sponte dicit egressos, atque hinc Venerationem tuam ita sibi succensuisse, ut ecclesiasticorum confectione Gestorum cum omni domo sua anathematis sententia feriretur. Quibus litteris ejus lectis, non mediocriter aestuans, cogitationibus magna cordis tempestate fluctuantibus, apud Charitatem tuam tacere non potui; ut si habes de hac re sententiam certis rationibus vel Scripturarum testimoniis exploratam, nos quoque docere digneris quomodo recte anathemetur pro patris peccato filius, aut pro mariti uxor, aut pro domini servus, aut quisquam in domo etiam nondum natus, si eodem tempore, quo universa domus est anathemate obligata, nascatur, nec ei possit per lavacrum regenerationis in mortis periculo subveniri. Neque enim haec corporalis est poena qua legimus quosdam contemptores Dei cum suis omnibus, qui ejusdem impietatis participes non fuerunt, pariter interfectos. Tunc quidem ad terrorem viventium mortalia corpora perimebantur, quandoque utique moritura: spiritualis autem poena, qua fit quod scriptum est, Quae ligaveris in terra, erunt ligata et in coelo (Matth. XVI, 19), animas obligat, de quibus dictum est, Anima patris mea est, et anima filii mea est: anima quae peccaverit, ipsa morietur (Ezech. XVIII, 4).

2. Audisti fortasse aliquos magni nominis sacerdotes cum domo sua quempiam anathemasse peccantium: sed forte si essent interrogati, reperirentur idonei reddere inde rationem. Ego autem, quoniam si quis ex me quaerat utrum recte fiat, quid ei respondeam non invenio; nunquam hoc facere ausus sum, cum de quorumdam facinoribus immaniter adversus Ecclesiam perpetratis, gravissime permoverer. Sed si tibi forte quoniam juste fiat, Dominus revelavit nequaquam juvenilem aetatem tuam, et honoris ecclesiastici rudimenta contemno: en adsum, senex a juvene et episcopus tot annorum a collega necdum anniculo paratus sum discere, quomodo vel Deo vel hominibus justam possumus reddere rationem, si animas innocentes pro scelere alieno, ex quo non trahunt sicut ex Adam, in quo omnes peccaverunt (Rom. V, 12), originale peccatum, spirituali supplicio puniamus.

relating that he came to the church accompanied by an apparition of a few suited to his power, and acted with you, lest against his own safety you should favor those who, by perjuring themselves through the Gospel, were seeking the aid of violating faith in the very house of faith; whom nevertheless considering what evil they had done, he says went out not violently abducted thence, but of their own accord, and that hence your Veneration was so incensed at him, that by the making of ecclesiastical Acts he was struck with the sentence of anathema with all his house. Which letters of his having been read, being not moderately agitated, with thoughts fluctuating in a great tempest of the heart, I could not be silent with your Charity; so that if you have an explored opinion concerning this matter by certain reasons or testimonies of the Scriptures, you may deign to teach us also how a son is rightly anathematized for the sin of a father, or a wife for a husband, or a servant for a lord, or anyone in the house even not yet born, if he be born at the same time in which the whole house is bound by anathema, nor can he be succored by the laver of regeneration in the peril of death. For neither is this a corporal punishment by which we read certain contemners of God were killed together with all their own, who were not participants of the same impiety. Then indeed for the terror of the living mortal bodies were destroyed, which were surely sometime to die: but spiritual punishment, by which that is done which is written, *Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven* (Matt. 16:19), binds souls, concerning which it is said, *The soul of the father is mine, and the soul of the son is mine: the soul that shall sin, it shall die* (Ezek. 18:4).

2. You have heard perhaps some priests of great name to have anathematized someone with his house because of sinning: but perhaps if they were interrogated, they would be found suitable to render a reason thence. But I, since if anyone should ask from me whether it be rightly done, I do not find what I should respond to him; have never dared to do this, although I was most gravely moved concerning the crimes of certain ones perpetrated enormously against the Church. But if perhaps the Lord revealed to you why it should be done justly, I by no means contemn your youthful age, and the rudiments of ecclesiastical honor: lo I am here, an old man from a youth and a bishop of so many years from a colleague not yet a yearling am prepared to learn, how we can render a just reason either to God or to men, if we punish innocent souls with spiritual punishment for a foreign crime, from which they do not draw original sin, as from Adam, in whom all have sinned (Rom. 5:12).

Etenim Classiciani filius, etsi traxit ex patre primi hominis culpam sacro fonte Baptismatis expiandam; tamen quidquid, posteaquam genuit eum, peccati pater ejus admisit, ubi particeps ipse non fuit, ad eum non pertinere quis ambigit? Quid dicam de conjuge? quid de tot animabus in universa familia? unde si una anima per istam severitatem qua tota domus ista anathemata est, sine Baptismate de corpore exeundo perierit; innumerabilium mors corporum, si de ecclesia homines innocentes violenter abstrahantur et interficiantur, huic damno non potest comparari. Si ergo de hac re potes reddere rationem, utinam et nobis rescribendo praestes ut possimus et nos: si autem non potes, quid tibi est inconsulta commotione animi facere, unde si fueris interrogatus, rectam responsionem non vales invenire?

3. Haec autem dixi, etiamsi filius noster Classicianus aliquid admisit, quod tibi anathemate plectendum justissime videretur. Caeterum si veras ad me litteras misit, nec solus in domo sua debuit ista sententia coerceri. Sed hinc cum tua Sanctitate nihil ago, nisi tantu peto ignoscas petenti veniam, si agnoverit culpam: si autem nihil eum peccasse prudenter agnoscis, quoniam ipse in domo fidei justius flagitabat fidem debere servari, ne ibi frangeretur ubi docetur; fac quod sanctum virum facere oportet, ut si tibi contigit tanquam homini, quod utique homo Dei dicit in Psalmo, Turbatus est prae ira oculus meus, exclames ad Dominum, Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum (Psal. VI, 8, 3); ut porrigat tibi dexteram suam, et comprimat iracundiam tuam, et tranquillet mentem tuam ad videndam faciendamque justitiam. Sicut enim scriptum est, Iracundia viri justitiam Dei non operatur (Jacobi I, 20). Nec arbitreris ideo nobis non posse subrepere injustam commotionem, quia episcopi sumus: sed potius cogitemus inter laqueos tentationum nos periculosissime vivere, quia homines sumus. Aufer itaque Gesta ecclesiastica quae perturbatior fortasse fecisti, et redeat inter vos charitas quam cum illo et catechumenus habuisti: aufer litem et revoca pacem, ne tibi pereat homo amicus, et de vobis gaudeat diabolus inimicus. Potens est autem misericordia Dei nostri, quae et me exaudiat orantem, ne mea tristitia de vobis augeatur, sed potius quae est exorta sanetur; et erigat per gratiam suam, et laetificet juventutem tuam non contemnentem senectutem meam. Vale.

FRAGMENTUM Quod in veteri codice Ecclesiae Trecensis continente collectiones Cresconii et Ferrandi repertum est, cum titulo hic affixo. EX EPISTOLA AD CLASSICIANUM, Qui excommunicatus fuerat.

For the son of Classicianus, although he drew from his father the fault of the first man to be expiated by the sacred fount of Baptism; yet whatever of sin his father admitted after he begot him, where he himself was not a participant, who doubts that it does not pertain to him? What shall I say of the spouse? what of so many souls in the whole family? whence if one soul should perish by departing from the body without Baptism through that severity by which this whole house is anathematized; the death of innumerable bodies, if innocent men should be violently abstracted from the church and killed, cannot be compared to this loss. If therefore you can render a reason concerning this matter, would that by rescribing you would grant it to us so that we also might: but if you cannot, what is it for you to do by an unconsulted commotion of the mind, whence if you shall have been interrogated, you are not strong enough to find a right response?

3. But these things I have said, even if our son Classicianus admitted something, which seemed to you most justly to be punished with anathema. Otherwise if he sent true letters to me, not even he alone ought to have been coerced with this sentence in his own house. But hence I act nothing with your Holiness, except only I ask that you forgive one asking pardon, if he shall have acknowledged his fault: but if you prudently acknowledge him to have sinned nothing, since he himself in the house of faith was more justly flagging that faith ought to be preserved, lest it should be broken there where it is taught; do what it behooves a holy man to do, so that if it happened to you as to a man, which surely a man of God says in the Psalm, *My eye is troubled because of ire*, you may exclaim to the Lord, *Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am weak* (Ps. 6:8, 3); so that he may reach out his right hand to you, and compress your wrath, and tranquilize your mind to seeing and doing justice. For as it is written, *The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God* (Jas. 1:20). Nor should you think that therefore an unjust commotion cannot creep upon us, because we are bishops: but rather let us think that we live most perilously among the snares of temptations, because we are men. Take away therefore the ecclesiastical Acts which you have made perhaps more disturbed, and let that charity return between you which you had with him even as a catechumen: take away the strife and recall peace, lest a friend man perish to you, and the devil enemy rejoice concerning you. But the mercy of our God is powerful, which may also hear me praying, lest my sadness concerning you should be increased, but rather that which has arisen should be healed; and may he erect by his grace, and gladden your youth not contemning my old age. Farewell.

FRAGMENT Which was found in an old codex of the Church of Troyes containing the collections of Cresconius and Ferrandus, with the title affixed here. FROM THE LETTER TO CLASSICIANUS, Who had been excommunicated.

Ego propter eos qui pro peccato unius animae, totam domum ejus, id est plurimas animas anathemate ligant, maxime ne ibi quisquam sine Baptismate de corpore abscedat; et utrum non etiam de ecclesia pellendi sunt, qui eo confugiunt quo fidem fidejussoribus frangant, adjuvante Domino, et in concilio nostro agere cupio, et si opus fuerit ad Sedem apostolicam scribere; ut in his causis quid sequi debeamus concordi omnium auctoritate constituatur, atque firmetur. Illud plane non temere dixerim, quod si quisquam fidelium fuerit anathematus injuste, ei potius oberit qui faciet, quam ei qui hanc patietur injuriam. Spiritus enim sanctus habitans in sanctis, per quem quisque ligatur aut solvitur, immeritam nulli poenam ingerit: per eum quippe diffunditur charitas in cordibus nostris, quae non agit perperam.

Epistola CCLI.

Augustinus Pancario, de Secundino presbytero criminum quorumdam insimulato: contra quem accusationes haereticorum admittere non vult, catholicorum audire paratus.

Domino dilectissimo, meritoque honorabili filio PANCARIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Cum, antequam veniret Religio tua, presbyter Secundinus Germanicianensibus non displiceret, unde modo factum est ut eum, sicut scripsisti, etiam de nescio quibus criminibus accusare parati sint, nescio, domine dilectissime, meritoque honorabilis fili. Verumtamen nullo modo nos possumus contemnere quod presbytero videntur objicere, tantum si catholici sunt qui objiciunt: nam haereticorum accusationes contra catholicum presbyterum admittere, nec possumus, nec debemus. Proinde hoc primo agat prudentia tua, ut haeretici non sint, ubi ante adventum tuum non fuerunt; et audiemus causam presbyteri, sicut eam oportet audiri. Illud sane moneo, quia dignaris, quoniam et salus et existimatio tua charissima nobis est, et ipsi Germanicianenses pertinent ad curam humilitatis nostrae, ut ea quae a gloriosissimis Imperatoribus impetrasti, et ea quae apud competentes judices egisti, fidenter allegare digneris; ut appareat omnibus nihil te inordinate agere, ne iterum in causa vestra, qui de possessione contenditis, ipsi miseri fatigentur, et gravius afflicti dispereant. Simul etiam commendo ut ejusdem presbyteri domus non diripiatur, neque vastetur: nam de ecclesia sua nuntiatum est nobis, quod eam nescio qui velint deponere; sed non puto quod ullo pacto possit hoc a tua religione permitti.

I, on account of those who for the sin of one soul, bind his whole house, that is very many souls, with anathema, especially lest anyone there should depart from the body without Baptism; and whether those also are not to be expelled from the church, who flee thither where they may break faith with their sureties, with the Lord helping, desire both to act in our council, and if it shall be necessary to write to the Apostolic See; so that in these causes what we ought to follow may be constituted and confirmed by the concordant authority of all. That certainly I would not rashly have said, that if anyone of the faithful shall have been unjustly anathematized, it will rather hurt him who does it, than him who shall suffer this injury. For the Holy Spirit dwelling in the saints, through whom everyone is bound or loosed, brings no unmerited punishment on anyone: for through Him indeed charity is diffused in our hearts, which does not act perversely.

Letter 251.

Augustine to Pancarius, concerning the priest Secundinus accused of certain crimes: against whom he does not wish to admit the accusations of heretics, being prepared to hear those of Catholics.

To the most beloved lord, and worthily honorable son PANCARIUS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

When, before your Religion came, the priest Secundinus did not displease the Germanicianenses, whence it has now been done that they are prepared to accuse him, as you wrote, even of I know not what crimes, I know not, most beloved lord, and worthily honorable son. Nevertheless in no way can we contemn what they seem to object to the priest, provided only they are Catholics who object: for we can neither, nor ought we to admit the accusations of heretics against a Catholic priest. Therefore let your prudence act this first, that they be not heretics, where they were not before your arrival; and we shall hear the cause of the priest, as it behooves it to be heard. That indeed I admonish, because you deign, since both your safety and estimation are most dear to us, and the Germanicianenses themselves pertain to the care of our humility, that you deign confidently to allege those things which you have obtained from the most glorious Emperors, and those things which you have acted before competent judges; so that it may appear to all that you act nothing inordinately, lest again in your cause, who contend concerning possession, the miserable people themselves be fatigued, and more gravely afflicted perish. Simultaneously also I commend that the house of the same priest be not plundered, nor wasted: for concerning his church it has been announced to us, that I know not who wish to depose it; but I do not think that in any way this can be permitted by your religion.

Epistola CCLII.

Augustinus Felici, de pupilla quadam Ecclesiae tutelae commissa.

Domino dilectissimo meritoque honorabili, et praeferendo fratri FELICI, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Novit optime Religio tua quam curam tuendis cum omnibus hominibus, tum maxime pupillis Ecclesia vel episcopi debeant. Unde receptis litteris tuis, et exemplo litterarum viri spectabilis fratris nostri, nec potui nec debui passim puellam cuiquam committere: praesertim quia eam Ecclesiae commendavit, domine dilectissime meritoque honorabilis, et praeferende frater. Proinde adventum ejus exspecto, ut si quid fieri oporteat, ejus praesentia deliberem, et faciam quod Lord faciendum esse inspiraverit.

Epistola CCLIII.

Augustinus ad Benenatum, de eadem puella (ut videtur) in matrimonium non tradenda nisi viro catholico.

Domino beatissimo, et venerabili ac desiderabili fratri BENENATO, et qui tecum sunt fratribus, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Per quem saluto Sanctitatem tuam, de fide ejus et bono circa Ecclesiam studio gratulamur. Voluit autem ad tuam Benignitatem cum litteris meis venire, domine dilectissime ac venerabilis frater. Et quoniam audivi quod de negotio illo transigere cogitas, si verum est (quod miror, si verum est), nosti quemadmodum debeas episcopali paternitate catholicae Ecclesiae providere; ut non cum quolibet id agas, si tamen, ut dixi, verum est quod audivi, sed potius cum domo catholica, cujus non solum nullam adversitatem, verum etiam fidele adjutorium habere possit Ecclesia.

Epistola CCLIV.

Augustinus ad eumdem Benenatum, pronubum agentem Rustici filio.

Domino beatissimo, et venerabili ac desiderabili fratri et consacerdoti BENENATO, et qui tecum sunt fratribus, AUGUSTINUS et qui mecum sunt fratres, in Domino salutem.

Letter 252.

Augustine to Felix, concerning a certain ward committed to the guardianship of the Church.

To the most beloved lord worthily honorable, and to-be-preferred brother FELIX, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

Your Religion knows best what care for protecting all men, then especially wards, the Church or bishops owe. Whence your letters having been received, and the example of the letters of the honorable man our brother, I could not nor ought I to commit the girl anywhere at random: especially because he commended her to the Church, most beloved lord worthily honorable, and to-be-preferred brother. Therefore I expect her arrival, so that if anything ought to be done, I may deliberate by her presence, and do what the Lord shall have inspired to be done.

Letter 253.

Augustine to Benenatus, concerning the same girl (as it seems) not to be given in marriage except to a Catholic man.

To the most blessed lord, and venerable and desirable brother BENENATUS, and the brothers who are with you, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

Through whom I salute your Holiness, we congratulate concerning his faith and good zeal about the Church. But he wished to come to your Benignity with my letters, most beloved lord and venerable brother. And since I have heard that you think to transact concerning that business, if it is true (which I wonder at, if it is true), you know how you ought with episcopal paternity to provide for the Catholic Church; so that you act it not with anyone at random, if nevertheless, as I said, it is true what I have heard, but rather with a Catholic house, of which not only no adversity, but even faithful aid the Church can have.

Letter 254.

Augustine to the same Benenatus, acting as matchmaker for the son of Rusticus.

To the most blessed lord, and venerable and desirable brother and fellow-priest BENENATUS, and the brothers who are with you, AUGUSTINE and the brothers who are with me, health in the Lord.

Puella de qua mihi scripsit Sanctitas tua, in ea voluntate est, ut si aetas ei jam matura esset, nulli in nuptiis conveniret. In ea vero aetate est, ut si voluntatem nubendi haberet, nulli adhuc dari vel promitti deberet. Huc accedit quia eam Deus in Ecclesia sic tuetur, ut contra improbos tueatur; non ut cui voluero tradi possit, sed ut a quo non oportet, rapi non possit, domine Benenate dilectissime et venerabilis frater. Conditio itaque quam insinuare dignatus es, non mihi displicet, si nuptura est: utrum autem nuptura sit, etsi illud quod in ore habet magis optamus, nunc tamen ignoramus; quia in his annis est, ut et quod se dicit velle esse sanctimonialem, jocus sit potius garrientis, quam sponsio profitentis. Deinde habet materteram, cujus vir honorabilis frater noster Felix, dum de hac re contulissem cum illo (neque enim possem aliter, vel deberem) non quidem invitus accepit, imo etiam gratulatus est; sed jure amicitiae non importune doluit quod eis nihil inde sit scriptum. Fortassis enim quae nunc non apparet, apparebit et mater, cujus voluntatem in tradenda filia, omnibus, ut arbitror, natura praeponit; nisi eadem puella in ea jam aetate fuerit, ut jure licentiore sibi eligat ipsa quod velit. Illud quoque cogitet Sinceritas tua, quia si mihi de nuptiis ejus potestas summa ac tota tribuatur, atque ipsa quoque jam matura et nubere volens, cui voluero se tradendam sub Deo judice mihi committat; sic dico, et verum dico, mihi placere istam conditionem, ut propter Deum judicem non possim respuere meliorem: quae utrum adventura sit, utique incertum est. Quapropter videt Charitas tua quanta consideranda concurrant, ut nunc a me cuiquam promitti omnino non possit.

Epistola CCLV.

Augustinus ad Rusticum, de puella in connubium ejus filio petita.

Domino dilectissimo, et merito praedicabili ac suspiciendo filio RUSTICO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Quamvis tibi et universae domui tuae omnia bona optem, nec tantum ad felicitatem praesentis saeculi pertinentia, verum etiam ad vitam futuram atque sempiternam, quae tibi nondum credenda persuasa est; tamen quae me moveant, ut de puella quam petis, nihil adhuc audeam polliceri, quantum sufficere visum est, sancto fratri et coepiscopo meo Benenato rescripsi, domine dilectissime et venerabilis fili.

The girl concerning whom your Holiness wrote to me, is in that will, that if her age were now mature, she would agree with no one in marriage. But she is in that age, that if she had the will of marrying, she ought as yet to be given or promised to no one. To this is added that God so protects her in the Church, that he protects her against the wicked; not so that she can be delivered to whom I should wish, but so that she cannot be snatched away by whom it is not fitting, most beloved and venerable brother Benenatus. And so the condition which you have deigned to insinuate, does not displease me, if she is to marry: but whether she is to marry, although we more desire that which she has in her mouth, yet now we are ignorant; because she is in these years, that even that she says she wishes to be a nun, is rather the joke of one chattering, than the promise of one professing. Then she has a maternal aunt, whose honorable husband our brother Felix, while I had conferred with him concerning this matter (for I could not otherwise, or ought I) did not indeed accept unwillingly, nay even congratulated; but by the right of friendship he not importunately grieved that nothing was written to them thence. For perhaps the mother also, who does not now appear, will appear, whose will in delivering the daughter, as I think, nature prefers to all; unless the same girl should be now in that age, that by a more licit right she may choose for herself what she wishes. That also let your Sincerity think, because if the highest and whole power concerning her nuptials be attributed to me, and she herself also now mature and wishing to marry, should commit to me under God the judge herself to be delivered to whom I should wish; so I say, and true I say, that condition pleases me, so that for the sake of God the judge I cannot reject a better one: which whether it be about to come, is surely uncertain. Wherefore your Charity sees how many things concur to be considered, so that now by me it cannot at all be promised to anyone.

Letter 255.

Augustine to Rusticus, concerning the girl asked for his son in marriage.

To the most beloved lord, and worthily to-be-praised and to-be-respected son RUSTICUS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

Although I wish all good things to you and your whole house, and not only those pertaining to the happiness of the present world, but even to the future and sempiternal life, which has not yet been persuaded to be believed by you; yet those things which move me, so that concerning the girl whom you ask, I dare to promise nothing as yet, as much as seemed to suffice, I have rescribed to my holy brother and fellow-bishop Benenatus, most beloved lord and venerable son.

Si enim tu, cum certissime noveris, etiamsi nostrae absolutae sit potestatis quamlibet puellam in conjugium tradere, tradi a nobis christianam nisi christiano non posse; nihil tamen mihi tale de filio tuo, quem adhuc paganum audio, promittere voluisti: quanto magis ego, propter illa quae in epistola memorati fratris mei legere poteris, quidquam de illius puellae connubio spondere non debeo, etiamsi quod dixi de filio tuo non tantum promissum tenerem, sed jam etiam factum esse gauderem?

For if you, when you most certainly know, even if it were of our absolute power to deliver any girl in marriage, a Christian cannot be delivered by us except to a Christian; yet you wished to promise me no such thing concerning your son, whom I hear as yet a pagan: how much more I, on account of those things which you will be able to read in the letter of my mentioned brother, ought to promise nothing concerning the marriage of that girl, even if I should not only hold that which I said concerning your son promised, but should already even rejoice it to have been done?