SAINT AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

LETTERS

Epistolas

SABBATISMUS

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

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

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

FIRST CLASS.

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

AUGUSTINE TO HERMOGENIANUS.

1. I would never dare to attack the Academics, even in jest: for when would the authority of such great men not move me, unless I thought they held an opinion far different from what is commonly believed? Therefore, I have rather imitated them as much as I was able, than fought against them, which I am not at all able to do. For it seems to me to have been quite suited to the times that if any sincere truth flowed from the Platonic fountain, it should be led into the pastures of a

very few men among shady and thorny thickets, rather than flowing through open spaces, where, with cattle rushing in from all sides, it could in no way be kept clear and pure. For what is more appropriate for cattle than to think that the soul is a body? Against men of this kind, I believe that art and reason of the true God was usefully devised. But in this age, when we see no philosophers, except perhaps by the cloak of the body, whom indeed I would hardly consider worthy of so venerable a name, men seem to me (if any have been deterred from the comprehension of things by the opinion of the Academics through the skill of words) to be brought back to the hope of finding the truth: lest that which was adapted for a time to eradicate the deepest errors should now begin to be an obstacle to the sowing of knowledge.

2. For at that time the zeal for various sects was so burning that nothing was to be feared except the approval of the false. But anyone driven by those arguments from what he had believed himself to hold firm and unshaken, sought another thing so much more constantly and cautiously, as there was greater industry in morals, and truth was felt to lie hidden very deep and very much entangled in the nature of things and minds. Furthermore, there is now such a flight from labor and neglect of good arts that as soon as it has sounded that it seemed to the most acute philosophers that nothing can be comprehended, they dismiss their minds and cover them over for eternity. For they do not dare to believe themselves more vigorous than those, so that it

might appear to them what Carneades could not find with such great study, genius, leisure, and finally so much and manifold learning, and lastly even a very long life. But if, even resisting laziness somewhat, they read those same books by which the perception of human nature is shown as if denied, they fall asleep in such a lethargy that they do not even wake up at the heavenly trumpet.

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

LETTER II.

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

AUGUSTINE TO ZENOBIUS.

1. We agree well between ourselves, as I think, that all things which the bodily sense touches

cannot remain in the same way for even a point of time, but glide away, flow out, and possess nothing present—that is, to speak in Latin, they are not. Therefore, true and divine philosophy warns to restrain and put to sleep the most destructive and most penalty-filled love of these things; so that the mind with all its being, even while it acts in this body, may be carried and glow toward those things which are always of the same kind, and do not please by a foreign beauty. Since these things are so, and since the mind sees you in itself as true and simple, such as can be loved without any anxiety, we confess nevertheless that we seek this meeting and sight of yours, when you depart from us in body and are separated by locations, and we desire it while it is permitted. Which fault indeed, if I know you well, you love in us; and though you wish all good things for your dearest and most intimate friends, you fear that they might be healed of this. But if you are of such a powerful mind that you are able both to recognize this snare and to mock those caught by it, then truly you are great and unique. I indeed, as long as I desire one who is absent, wish to be desired myself. Yet I watch, as much as I can, and strive that I may love nothing that can be absent from me against my will. By which duty I remind you meanwhile, whatever you may be, that the discussion begun with you must be completed, if we are of care to ourselves. For I would by no means allow it to be finished with Alypius, even if he wished it. But he does not wish it. For it is not of his humanity now to give effort with me, so

that we might hold you with us in as many letters as we could, since you are fleeing by I know not what necessity.

LETTER III.

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

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

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

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

2. But where is that happy life? Where? Where indeed? Oh, if it were itself, it would repel the atoms of Epicurus. Oh, if it were itself, it would know that nothing is downward except the world. Oh, if it were itself, it would know that the extremes of the sphere are rotated more slowly than the middle, and other similar things which we likewise know. But now how or in what way am I happy, who do not know why the world is so great, when the reasons of the figures through which it exists prohibit nothing from being as much larger as anyone would wish? Or how would it not be said to me, or rather how would we not be forced to confess that bodies are cut into infinity, so that from a certain base, as it were, into a certain quantity a certain number of small bodies would rise? Why, since no body

is allowed to be the smallest, in what way do we allow there to be a greatest, than which there can be nothing greater; unless perhaps that which I once said very secretly to Alypius has great force: that since that intelligible number increases infinitely, yet it is not infinitely diminished, for it is not permitted to resolve it beyond the monad; on the other hand, the sensible (for what else is sensible number but the quantity of corporeal things or bodies?) can indeed be diminished infinitely, but cannot increase infinitely. And therefore perhaps the philosophers rightly place riches in intelligible things, and poverty in sensible things. For what is more wretched than to be able always to become less and less? What is richer than to grow as much as you wish, to go where you wish, to return when you wish, as far as you wish, and to love this much which cannot be diminished? For whoever understands those numbers loves nothing so much as the monad; nor is it a wonder, since through it it happens that others are loved. But yet why is the world so great? For it could be either larger or shorter. I do not know: for it is such. And why in this place rather than in that? Nor should there be a question in that matter, where whatever it were, it would be a question. This one thing moved much: that bodies were cut infinitely. To which perhaps the answer has been given from the contrary force of the intelligible number.

3. But wait; let us see what this "I know not what" is, which is suggested to the mind: certainly the sensible world is said to be the image

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

4. Of what do we consist? Of soul and body. Which of these is better? Clearly the soul. What do they praise in the body? I see nothing else than beauty. What is the beauty of the body? The congruence of parts with a certain sweetness of color. Where is this form better: where it is true, or where it is false? Who would doubt that where it is true, it is better? Where therefore is it true? In the soul, of course. The soul therefore is more to be loved than the body. But in what part of the soul is that truth? In the mind and intelligence. What is opposed to this? The sense. Must we then resist the senses with all the strengths of the soul? It is clear. What if sensible things delight too much? Let it be done so that they do

not delight. Whence is it done? By the custom of lacking them and seeking better things. What if the soul dies? Then truth dies, or intelligence is not truth, or intelligence is not in the soul, or something in which something immortal is can die: but our Soliloquies already contain that none of these things can happen, and it is sufficiently persuaded; but by I know not what custom of evils we are terrified and we falter. Finally, even if the soul dies, which I see can in no way happen, nevertheless that the happy life is not in the joy of sensible things has been sufficiently explored in this leisure. By these things perhaps and such as these I seem to my Nebridius if not happy, at least as if happy: let me seem so to myself also; what do I lose thereby, or why should I spare a good opinion? These things I said to myself: then I prayed, as I was accustomed, and I slept.

5. These things I was pleased to write to you. For it delights me that you give thanks to me, if I hide nothing from you that comes into my mouth; and I rejoice, because I please you in this way. Before whom therefore would I more willingly speak foolishness, than before him whom I cannot displease? But if it is in the power of fortune that man should love man, see how happy I am, who rejoice so much in chance occurrences, and such good things, I confess, I desire to increase abundantly for me. But the most true wise men, who alone are rightfully called happy, wished that the goods of fortune should neither be feared nor desired (cupi), or whether it should be cupiri, you shall see. And it

happens beautifully. For I wish you would make me knowledgeable of this declension. For when I add similar words, I become more uncertain. For so is cupio, as fugio, as sapio, as jacio, as capio; but whether it is fugiri or fugi, whether sapiri or sapi, be the infinitive mood, I do not know. I could attend to jaci and capi, if I did not fear lest he might catch (caperet) me, and for a mockery throw (jaceret) me where he wished, who would convince me that one thing is thrown (jactum) and caught (captum), and another is fled (fugitum), desired (cupitum), known (sapitum). Which three likewise, whether the penultimate is long and inflected, or to be pronounced with a grave and short accent, I similarly do not know. I would provoke you to a longer letter; I ask that I may read you for a little longer time. For I cannot say as much as it is a pleasure to read you.

LETTER IV.

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

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

1. It is quite wonderful how it has happened to me beyond expectation that, when I look for which of your letters remained to be answered by me, I found only one which still held me as a debtor, in which you ask that in so much of our leisure, as much as you think there is with you, or wish there were with us, we should indicate to you what we have profited in the discernment of

sensible and intelligible nature. But I do not think it is hidden from you that, if anyone is inserted more into false opinions the more he rolls around in them and more familiarly, this happens much more easily to the mind in true things. Yet we profit so gradually as if by age. For since there is a very great difference between a boy and a youth, no one questioned daily from childhood will at some time say that he is a youth.

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

you are more diligent in this matter, lest perhaps unknowingly I still owe something in replies. For such a sudden laying down of so many burdens, which I had once numbered, does not produce faith in me: although I do not doubt that you have received my letters, of which I do not have the replies.

LETTER V.

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

NEBRIDIUS TO AUGUSTINE.

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

LETTER VI.

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

NEBRIDIO TO AUGUSTINE.

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

confusedly, as I am accustomed; you will explore them, and with the false rejected, you will bring truth together in your letter.

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

LETTER VII.

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

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

CHAPTER ONE. That memory can exist without phantasy.

1. I shall omit the preface, and quickly begin what you now want me to say, especially as I am not about to stop soon. It seems to you that no memory can exist without images or imaginary sights, which you have wished to call by the name of phantasies: I think otherwise. First, therefore, it must be seen that we do not always remember passing things, but mostly remaining things.

Wherefore, since memory claims for itself the tenacity of past time; it is established nevertheless that it is partly of those things which desert us, and partly of those which are deserted by us. For when I remember my father, I remember that which certainly has deserted me, and now is not: but when I remember Carthage, I remember that which is, and which I myself deserted. In both of these kinds, however, memory holds the past time. For both that man and that city I remember from that which I saw, not from that which I see.

2. Here you perhaps ask: Whither these things? especially since you notice that neither of these can come into the memory except by that imaginary sight. But it is enough for me thus meanwhile to have shown that memory can be said even of those things which have not yet perished. But make sure you receive attentively what helps me. Some people cavil against that most noble Socratic discovery, by which it is asserted that those things which we learn are not inserted into us as new, but are recalled into memory by recollection; saying that memory is of past things, but these things which we learn by understanding, with Plato himself as author, always remain, nor can they perish, and through this they are not past: who do not attend to the fact that that vision is past by which we once saw these things with the mind; from which because we have flowed away, and have begun to see other things in another way, we revisit those things by remembering, that is, through memory. Wherefore if, to omit other things, eternity itself

always remains, nor does it seek any imaginary figments by which it might come into the mind as if by vehicles, nor yet could it come unless we remembered it, there can be a memory of certain things without any imagination.

CHAPTER II.

That the soul not having used the senses lacks phantasies.

3. Now indeed, that it seems to you that the soul even not having used the senses of the body can imagine corporeal things, is proved to be false in this way. If the soul, before it uses the body to perceive bodies, can imagine those same bodies, and it was better affected (which no sane person doubts) before it was entangled in these deceptive senses, then the souls of those sleeping are better affected than those waking, and the souls of the phrenetic better than those lacking such a plague; for they are affected by these images by which they were affected before those most vain messengers, the senses: and either the sun which those see will be truer than that which the sane and waking see; or false things will be better than true ones. Which if they are absurd, as they are, then that imagination is nothing else, my Nebridius, than a blow inflicted through the senses, by which not, as you write, a certain commemoration occurs so that such things are formed in the soul, but the very bringing in of this falsehood, or, to speak more expressively, the impression. Which indeed moves you—how it happens that we think of those faces and forms which we never

saw—it moves acutely. Therefore, I shall do what would extend this letter beyond its accustomed measure; but not with you, to whom no page is more welcome than that which brings me to you more talkative.

4. I see that all these images, which you call phantasies with many others, are most conveniently and most truly distributed into three kinds: of which one is impressed by things perceived (sensa), another by things thought (putata), and the third by things reasoned (rata). Examples of the first kind are when the mind forms in itself your face, or Carthage, or our former familiar friend Verecundus, and whatever else of remaining or dead things which I nonetheless saw and perceived. To the second kind are subjected those things which we think to have been so or to be so, as when for the sake of discussion we ourselves feign certain things in no way hindering the truth, or such as we figure when we read histories, and when we either hear or compose or suspect fabulous things. For I feign for myself as it pleases and as it occurs to the mind, the face of Aeneas, I that of Medea with her snakes joined to the yoke of winged creatures, I that of Chremes and of some Parmeno. In this kind are also those things which either the wise, involving something of truth in such figures, or the foolish, founders of various superstitions, have brought forward as true; such as is the Tartarean Phlegethon, and the five caves of the nation of darkness, and the northern pillar containing the heaven, and a thousand other

portents of poets and heretics. We say also even in the midst of disputing: suppose there are three worlds one above the other, such as this one is; and, suppose the earth is contained in a square figure; and similar things. For all these things we feign and think according as the tempest of thought has held itself. For concerning things which pertain to the third kind of images, it is dealt mostly with numbers and dimensions: which is partly in the nature of things, as when the figure of the whole world is found, and the image in the mind of the one thinking follows this discovery; partly in the disciplines as in geometric figures and rhythmic musics, and the infinite variety of numbers: which although they are comprehended as true, as I assert, nevertheless they beget false imaginations which reason itself can hardly resist; although it is not easy even for the discipline of disputing itself to be without this evil, when in divisions and conclusions we imagine certain things like counters.

5. In this entire forest of images, I believe it does not seem to you that that first kind pertains to the soul before it cleaves to the senses; nor should we dispute longer about this: concerning the remaining two, it could still be rightly asked, unless it were manifest that the soul is less liable to falsehoods, not yet having suffered the vanity of sensible things and of the senses: but who would doubt that those images are much falser than these sensible things? For those things which we think and believe, or feign, are both false in every part and entirely, and certainly, as

you see, those things which we see and perceive are far truer. Now in that third kind, whatever corporeal space I shall have figured in the mind, although thought may seem to have begotten it by the least deceptive reasons of the disciplines, with those same reasons again arguing against it, I prove it to be false. Whereby it happens that in no way do I believe that the soul, not yet perceiving by the body, not yet beaten through the most vain senses by mortal and fleeting substance, has lain in such an ignominy of falsehood.

CHAPTER III.

The objection is resolved.

6. Whence therefore does it happen that we think of things which we have not seen? What do you think, except that there is a certain power of diminishing and increasing implanted in the soul, which it must bring with it wherever it comes? Which power can be noticed especially in numbers. By this it happens, for instance, that an image of a raven constituted as if before the eyes, which is of course known to the sight, by taking away and adding certain things, may be brought to any image whatsoever that has never been seen. By this it happens that, for those souls rolling themselves in such things by custom, figures of this kind rush into their thoughts as if of their own accord. It is permitted therefore to the imagining soul, from those things which the sense brought to it, by taking away, as was said, and adding, to beget those things which it

touches as a whole by no sense; but the parts of those things which it had touched in various and different objects. Thus we, as boys born and nourished among Mediterranean people, with water seen even in a small cup, could already imagine seas; while the taste of strawberries and cornel-cherries, before we tasted them in Italy, could in no way come into the mind. Hence it is that those blind from their first age, when they are questioned about light and colors, do not find what they should answer. For they suffer no colored images, who have perceived none.

7. Nor should you wonder in what way those things which are figured in the nature of things and can be feigned, are not first rolled around in the soul which is mixed and present in all things, when it has never perceived them from without. For even we, when by being indignant or rejoicing, and other such movements of the soul, we form many countenances and colors in our body, first our thought conceives that we can make such images. Those things follow in those wonderful ways, and to be committed to your thought, when in the soul without any figure of corporeal falsehoods hidden numbers are frequently enacted. From which I would wish you to understand, since you perceive that so many movements of the soul are free from all images of which you now ask, that the soul obtains a body by any other movement than by the thought of sensible forms, which I think it can in no way suffer before it uses the body and the senses. Wherefore, according to our familiarity, and for

the faith of the divine law itself, I would sedulously warn you, my dearest and most pleasant friend, that you join no friendship with those infernal shadows, nor delay to tear away that which has been joined. For in no way is resistance made to the senses of the body, which is our most sacred discipline, if we flatter the blows and wounds inflicted through them.

LETTER VIII.

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

NEBRIDIUS TO AUGUSTINE.

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

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

LETTER IX.

He answers the question about dreams sent through superior powers.

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

1. Although you are a knower of my mind, perhaps nevertheless you are ignorant of how much I wish to enjoy your presence. But God will at some time provide this so great a benefit. I read your most upright letter, in which you complained about solitude, and a certain desertion by your familiar friends, with whom life is most

sweet. But what else should I say to you here, except what I do not doubt you are doing? Betake yourself to your own soul, and lift it into God as much as you can. For there you have us more certainly, not through corporeal images, which it is now necessary to use in our recollection; but through that thought by which you understand that we are not together in place.

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

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

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

4. But nevertheless if you do not wish to receive this likeness from us in passing, turn it over in your thought as much as you can. For if some difficulty of acting and fulfilling what it desires assiduously exists for the soul, it is assiduously angry. But anger is, as far as my opinion goes, a turbulent appetite for removing those things which hinder the facility of action. And so for the most part we are angry not only with men, but with the pen in writing, and we dash it and break

it; and gamblers with the dice, and painters with the brush, and anyone with whatever instrument from which he thinks he suffers difficulty. But physicians also affirm that the bile grows by this assiduity of being angry. Moreover, by the increase of bile, in turn we are angry easily and with almost no causes existing. So that which the soul by its own movement has made in the body, will be strong for moving it again.

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

LETTER X.

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

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

1. Never did anything of your inquiries keep me equally boiling in thinking, as that which I read in your most recent letters, where you accuse us that we neglect to consult so that it may be allowed to us to live together. A great crime,

and, unless it were false, most dangerous. But since a probable reason seems to demonstrate that we can dwell here according to our wish rather than at Carthage, or even in the country, I am altogether uncertain what to do with you, my Nebridius. Should a most suitable vehicle be sent to you? for our Lucinianus is authority that you can be carried harmlessly in a basterna. But I think of your mother, that as she did not bear the absence of a healthy son, she will be much less likely to bear the absence of a weak one. Shall I come to you myself? But here are those who neither can come with me, and whom I should think it a crime to desert. For you can both dwell sweetly in your own mind; but for them, it is labored that they may be able to do the same. Should I go frequently and return, and be now with you, now with them? But this is to live neither together, nor according to our wish. For the way is not short, but so great altogether, that to often undertake the business of performing it, is not to have arrived at the desired leisure. Hither is added the infirmity of the body, by which I also, as you know, am not able for what I wish, unless I altogether cease to wish for anything more than I am able.

2. Therefore to think for a whole life about journeys which you cannot have quiet and easy, is not the part of a man thinking about that one last journey, which is called death; about which alone you understand that one must truly think. God indeed granted to certain few, whom He willed to be governors of the churches, that they

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

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

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

LETTER XI.

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

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

1. When the question was vehemently agitating me, proposed by you some time ago even with a certain familiar reproach, by what means we could live together, and I had determined to write back to you about this alone, and to demand replies, and not to turn my pen to anything else which pertains to our studies, so that that very thing might be terminated between us, the most brief and most true reason of your recent letter quickly made me secure: namely that for this reason one should not think of this, because either we when we are able will come to you, or

you when you are able will necessarily come to us. Having been made secure hence, as I said, I considered all your letters, so that I might see of which responses I am a debtor. In which I found so many questions, that even if they could be easily dissolved, they would surpass the genius and leisure of anyone by the heap itself. But they are so difficult, that even if one of them were imposed on me, I would not doubt to confess myself most burdened. But this preface is strong for this, that you may cease seeking new things for a while, until we are freed from the whole debt, and you may write back to me about your judgment alone. Although I know how much it is against me, who defer being a partaker of your divine thoughts even for a while.

2. Receive therefore what seems to me about the mystical undertaking of man, which the religion in which we have been imbued commends to be believed and known to have been done for our salvation: which question I have not chosen as the easiest of all to which I might chiefly respond. For those things which are sought concerning this world do not seem to me to pertain enough to obtaining the blessed life; and if they bring some pleasure when they are investigated, it is nevertheless to be feared lest they occupy time that should be spent on better things. Wherefore, as to what pertains to this undertaking at present, I first wonder that you were moved why not the Father but the Son is said to have undertaken man, but also the Holy Spirit. For that Trinity is so commended and believed

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

3. There is no nature, Nebridius, and altogether no substance which does not have in itself these three, and display them: first, that it be; then, that it be this or that; third, that it remain in that which it is as much as it can. That first one displays the very cause of nature, from which are all things; the second, the species through which all things are fabricated and in a certain

way formed; the third, a certain permanence, so to speak, in which are all things. But if it can happen that there be something which is not this or that, nor remains in its own genus; or indeed be this or that, but not be, nor remain in its own genus as much as it can; or indeed remain in its own genus according to the strength of its own genus, but nevertheless neither be, nor be this or that: it can also happen that in that Trinity some person does something besides the others. But if you see it is necessary that whatever is, is immediately also this or that, and remains in its own genus as much as it can, those three do nothing besides each other. I see that I have still acted a part of this question, by which the solution becomes difficult. But I wished to open it to you briefly, if nevertheless I have done what I wished, how subtly and with how much truth the inseparability of this Trinity is understood in the Catholic faith.

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

many things are in them, something nevertheless stands out, and therefore not absurdly vindicates for itself a certain property; just as in those three kinds of questions, even if it is asked whether it is, there is also what it is, for it certainly cannot be, unless it is something; there also, whether it is to be proved or disproved; for whatever is, is worthy of some estimation: so when it is asked what it is, it is necessary that it both be, and be weighed by some estimation. In this way also when it is asked of what kind it is, and something certainly is so, when all things are inseparably joined to themselves; nevertheless the question does not take its name from all, but as the intention of the one seeking shall have held itself. Therefore discipline is necessary for men, by which they might be imbued, and by which they might be formed to a measure. Nevertheless we cannot say that that very thing which is done in men through this discipline either is not, or is not to be desired; but we intend to know first, both through what we may conjecture something, and in what we may remain. Therefore a certain norm and rule of discipline was first to be shown; which was done through that dispensation of the undertaken man which is properly to be attributed to the Son, so that the knowledge of the Father Himself, that is of the one principle from which are all things, might be consequent through the Son, and a certain interior and ineffable sweetness and delight of his own, of remaining in that knowledge and contemning all mortal things, which gift and office is properly attributed to the Holy Spirit.

Therefore since all things are done with the highest communion and inseparability, nevertheless they were to be shown distinctly on account of our infirmity, who have fallen from unity into variety. For no one raises anyone to that in which he himself is, unless he descends somewhat to that in which he is. You have a letter, not which has finished your care concerning this matter, but which has perhaps begun your thoughts on some certain foundation; so that you may pursue the rest by your genius which is most known to me, and attain it by piety which must chiefly be stood upon.

LETTER XII.

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

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

1. You write that you have sent more letters than we have received; but I can neither not believe you, nor you me. For even if I am not able to be equal in writing back; nevertheless your letters are kept by me with no less diligence than they are frequented by you. Moreover, it is agreed between us that you have received no more than two of our longer ones; for we have not sent a third. Certainly, having recognized the copies, I noticed that about five of your rogations have been answered; except that one question there, touched upon as if in passing, although it was not rashly committed to your genius, nevertheless perhaps did not satisfy your avarice; which it is

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

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

LETTER XIII.

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

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

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

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

ourselves whole, having implored God, into the highest serenity of the highest living nature?

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

4. If you say this, let it come into the mind that what we call to understand happens in us in two ways: either by the mind itself and reason from within, as when we understand that the intellect itself is; or by admonition from the senses, as that which has already been said, when we understand that a body is. In which two kinds we understand that first one through ourselves, that is, by consulting God about that which is with us; but this second one about that which is announced by the body and sense, nevertheless by consulting God. If these things are certain, no one can understand about that body whether it is, unless the sense has announced something to him about it. In which number of living beings if

there is any, since we perceive that we are not, I think that also is perfect which I had begun to say above, that that question does not pertain to us. I wish you would think on these things again and again, and take care that I may know what you have generated by thinking.

LETTER XIV.

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

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

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

2. You write why I and you, since we are individuals, do many of the same things, but the sun does not do the same as the other stars. For which thing I would try the cause. For if we do the same things, it also does many things with the others: if it does not, neither do we. I walk and you walk, it is moved and they are moved; I wake and you wake; it shines and they shine; I dispute and you dispute; it goes around and

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

3. But indeed this, you will say, is for reason only: but that the sun differs from the stars is clear and manifest even to the senses. If you compel me to look at the magnitude, you know how many things are said about the intervals, and to how much uncertainty that perspicuity is recalled. But that I may concede it is so as it appears, for so I also believe, whose sense finally

has that height deceived, longer by a foot than he who is six feet long? of whom I believe you have too much sought an equal man, and when you had found him least of all, you wished our letter to extend into his form. Wherefore since something such exists on earth also, I think nothing is to be wondered at concerning heaven. But if it moves you, that besides the sun the light of no star fills the day; who, I ask you, has appeared to men as great as that man whom God undertook, far otherwise than the other holy and wise ones? Whom if you compare with other wise men, he is contained by a greater distance than the other stars by comparison with the sun. Which similarity indeed look into diligently. For it can happen by the mind in which you excel, that in passing we have dissolved a certain question about the man Christ proposed by you.

4. Likewise you ask whether that highest Truth and highest Wisdom and Form of things, through whom all things were made, whom our sacred rites profess as the only Son of God, contains the reason of man in general, or also of each of us. A great question. But it seems to me, as far as it pertains to making man, that the reason of man in general only is there, not mine or yours; but as to the orb of time, the various reasons of men live in that sincerity. But since this is most obscure, I am ignorant by what similarity it can be illustrated: unless perhaps we must flee to those arts which are in our mind. For in the discipline of measuring, the reason of an angle is one, and that of a square is one. And so as

often as I wish to demonstrate an angle, only one reason of an angle occurs to me. But I would by no means write a square, unless I looked at the reason of four angles at the same time: thus any man was made by one reason, by which man is understood. But that a people may be made, although that also is one reason, it is nevertheless not the reason of a man, but of men. If therefore Nebridius is a part of this universe, as he is, and the whole universe consists of parts; God the founder of the universe could not not have the reason of the parts. Wherefore, that the reason of very many men is there, does not pertain to man himself, although in wonderful ways again all things are reduced to one. But you will think on that more suitably: I ask that you be content with these for the time being, although I have already exceeded Naevius.

LETTER XV.

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

AUGUSTINE TO ROMANIANUS.

1. This letter does not so indicate the lack of paper, as to witness that at least the parchments abound. The ivory tablets which I have, I sent with a letter to your uncle. For you will more easily forgive this skin, because that which I wrote to him could not be deferred, and I thought it most inept not to write to you also. But I ask that you send the tablets, if any of ours are there, on

account of necessities of this kind. I have written something about the Catholic religion, as much as the Lord has deigned to give, which I wish to send to you before my arrival, if in the meantime paper is not lacking. For you will tolerate whatever kind of writing from the workshop of the elders. Concerning the codices, besides the books on the Orator, the whole has escaped me. But I could write back nothing more than that you yourself should take which you pleased, and now I remain in the same opinion. For being absent I do not find what more I can do.

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

earthly riches. For also in an abundance of honey, not in vain does the little bee have wings; for it kills the one that sticks.

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

MAXIMUS OF MADAURA TO AUGUSTINE.

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

common to all religions. So it happens that while we follow his as if certain members bit by bit with various supplications, we seem to worship the whole indeed.

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

3. But I ask this, O most wise man, that with the strength of eloquence removed and exploded, by which you are clear to all, even with those Chrysippean arguments omitted with which you were accustomed to fight, with dialectic postponed a little, which by the struggle of its nerves strives to leave nothing certain for

anyone, you prove by the thing itself, who that God is whom you Christians vindicate as if your own, and whom you pretend to see present in hidden places. For we adore our gods in the light openly before the eyes and ears of all mortals with pious prayers, and we make them propitious to us through sweet victims, and we contend that these things are seen and proved by all.

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

LETTER XVII.

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

TO MAXIMUS OF MADAURA.

1. Are we doing something serious between us or is it pleasing to joke? For as your letter speaks, whether it was done by the infirmity of the cause

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

For as to what you collected certain Punic names of dead men, by which you thought festive contumelies, as it seemed to you, were to be cast

against our religion, I know not whether I ought to refute them, or pass them over in silence. For if those things seem as light to your gravity as they are, there is not much leisure for me to joke. But if they seem serious to you, I wonder that, moved by the absurdity of the names, it did not come into your mind that you have both Eucaddires among the priests, and Abaddires among the numina. I do not think those were not in your mind when you were writing, but according to the manner of your humanity and wit, you wished to remind us for relaxing the mind, how many things in your superstition are to be laughed at. Nor could you have forgotten yourself to such a degree, that an African man writing to Africans, since we are both constituted in Africa, you should think Punic names were to be hounded. For if we interpret those words, what else does Namphanio signify, than a man of a good foot, that is whose arrival brings something of happiness; as we are accustomed to say, he entered with a second foot, whose entrance some prosperity followed? Which language if it is disapproved by you, deny that many things were wisely committed to memory in Punic books, as is produced by most learned men. Let it repent you certainly to have been born there, where the cradles of this language grow warm again. If indeed both the sound does not reasonably displease us, and you recognize that I have well interpreted that word, you have what you may be angry with your Virgil for, who invites your Hercules to the sacred rites, which are celebrated

for him by Evander, in this way: Both us and your sacred rites approach with a dexterous second foot (Virgil, Aeneid VIII). He wishes that he come with a second foot. Therefore he wishes Hercules to come as a Namphanio, about whom you deign to insult us much. Nevertheless if it delights to laugh, you have among you great matter of facetiousness: the god Stercutius, the goddess Cloacina, Venus the Bald, the god Fear, the god Pallor, the goddess Fever, and other innumerable things of this kind, to which the ancient Romans, cultors of statues, made temples, and thought they should be worshiped: which if you neglect, you neglect the Roman gods; from which you are understood not initiated into the Roman sacred rites, and yet you contemn and despise Punic names, as if dedicated to the altars of the Roman numina.

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

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

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

5. Since therefore you have made us record these and other things, which I think are now to be passed over, through your letter, why should we not deride your gods, whom no one does not understand to be subtly derided by you yourself, who both knows your genius and reads your letters? And so if you wish us to act something between us concerning these things,

which is congruent with your age and prudence, which finally can be demanded by right from our dearest ones concerning our purpose, seek something worthy of our discussion: and take care to say those things for your numina, in which we may not think you a prevaricator of the cause, by which you rather remind us of what things can be said against them, than say anything for them. To the sum nevertheless, lest this should be hidden from you, and draw you imprudent into sacrilegious insults, know that by Catholic Christians, of whom even in your town a church is established, no dead man is worshiped, finally nothing is adored as a numen which was made and founded by God, but the one God himself who made and founded all things. These things will be discussed more widely, with the true and one God himself helping, when I shall have known that you wish to act seriously.

LETTER XVIII.

The triple genus of natures is touched upon.

AUGUSTINE TO CAELESTINUS.

1. Oh would that I could assiduously say something to you! But that something is, that we should be stripped of vain cares, and be clothed with useful cares. For concerning security I know not whether anything is to be hoped for in this world. I have written, nor have I received any replies. I sent the books against the Manichaeans, which I could send prepared and emended, nor

has anything of your judgment and movement concerning them been made known to me. Now it is proper that I already repeat them, but you restore them. And so I ask that you do not defer remitting them with replies, by which I desire to know what you are doing concerning them, or what armor you still judge to be necessary for you for expugning that error.

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

LETTER XIX.

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

AUGUSTINE TO GAIUS.

1. Since we departed from you, it cannot be said with how much sweetness the recollection of you has suffused us, and often suffuses us. For we recall by the ardor of your inquiry, since it was wonderful, that the modesty of disputing was not disturbed. For I might not easily find anyone either more flagrantly inquiring or more tranquilly hearing. And so I would wish to speak much with you: for it would not be much, however much it might be, if I spoke with you. But because it is difficult, what need is there to seek causes? It is altogether difficult: it will perhaps sometime be very easy; so may God wish: now certainly it is otherwise. Therefore I gave the business to the brother, through whom I sent the letters, that he might offer all our things to be read to your most prudent Charity. For he will not press anything of mine on one unwilling; for I know what of kindness you bear in your mind toward us; which nevertheless if having read you shall have approved, and having seen through you shall have perceived as true, you may not think them to be ours, unless because they have been given, and thither you may turn yourself, whence it was given to you also that you should approve them. For no one discerns that what he reads is true in the codex itself, or in him who wrote it;

but rather in himself, if a certain light of truth, not commonly bright but most remote from the dregs of the body, has been impressed on his mind. But if you shall have found some false and to be disapproved things, know that they were sprinkled from a human cloud, and think them truly to be ours. Moreover, I would exhort you to seeking, unless I seemed to see certain gaping mouths of your heart; I would also exhort that what you have known as true you hold manfully, unless you displayed the most evident strength of your mind and counsel. For that which lives in you opened itself to me in a short time, almost with the coverings of the body shaken off. Nor would the most merciful providence of our Lord in any way have allowed that you, a man so good and remarkably wise, should be alien from the catholic flock of Christ.

LETTER XX.

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

AUGUSTINE TO ANTONINUS.

1. Since writings were owed to you from two, the part has been more than abundantly rendered, because you see one of us present, from whose mouth when you receive me also, I could have not written back, unless I had done it by him ordering, by whom departing it seemed to be superfluous what I did. Wherefore I speak with you perhaps more fruitfully than if I were present

in person, since you both read my letter and hear him in whose breast you know very well that I dwell. With great joy I considered and digested the letters of your Holiness, because they bear both your Christian mind without any dye of an iniquitous time, and a most friendly one toward us.

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

concerning the good of the man, but concerning the man himself. For your reward of beatitude, as far as this matter pertains, it is enough that believing us to be such as it behooves the servants of God to be, you embrace us with the whole bosom of your heart. But we give you abundant thanks, because when you praise us, as if we were such, you wonderfully exhort us that we should desire to be such; even more abundant, if you not only commend yourself to our prayers, but also do not omit to pray for us. For deprecation for a brother is more pleasing to God where the sacrifice of charity is offered.

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

LETTER XXI. Augustine, having been ordained as a presbyter of Hippo, especially for dispensing

the word of God, and reflecting with himself how difficult it is to act as a pious priest, beseeches Valerius that he allow him to act in this in retreat by prayers and study, so that he may be fit for the office imposed.

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

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

2. But I think that my Lord wished to emend me in this way, because I was daring to reprehend the sins of many sailors as if more learned and better, before I had experienced what is done

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

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

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

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

which business I wished to impetrate a small time as if until Easter through the brothers from your most sincere and venerable charity, and now I wish it through these prayers.

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

6. Attend to all those things, old man Valerius, I beseech you by the goodness and severity of Christ, by His mercy and judgment, by Him who

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

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

To Bishop AURELIUS, AUGUSTINE, presbyter.

CHAPTER I.

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

1. With what grace I might respond to the letters of your Holiness since for a long time hesitating I did not find (for the affection of my mind conquered all things, which already spontaneously rising the reading of your epistle much more ardently excited), nevertheless I committed myself to God, who might work in me according to my strengths, so that I might write back those things which might be congruent to the study in the Lord and ecclesiastical care of both of us for your excellence and my obedience. And that first, that you believe yourself to be helped by my prayers, not only I do not flee, but truly even I gladly embrace. For thus, even if not by mine, certainly by yours, our Lord will hear me. Because you have most benevolently accepted that brother Alypius has remained in our conjunction, so that he may be as an example to the brothers desiring to avoid the cares of this world, I give thanks, which I could explain with no words: may the Lord repay this into your soul. And so every assembly of brothers, which has begun to coalesce among us, is bound to you by so much prerogative, that you have consulted for us in places of the lands so far disjoined just as if most present in spirit. Wherefore we apply ourselves as much as we are able to prayers, that the Lord may deign to sustain the flock committed to you with you, nor desert you anywhere, but be present as a helper in opportunities, making with His Church mercy through your priesthood, such as spiritual men, that He may do it, interpellate Him with tears and groans.

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

Therefore of these three, chamberings and impurities are thought so great a crime, that no one seems worthy not only of the ecclesiastical ministry, but also of that very communion of the sacraments, who has stained himself with that sin: and altogether rightly. But why only? For feastings and drunkenness are so conceded and thought licit, that in honor even of the most blessed martyrs, not only through solemn days (which who might not see it to be lamented, who

inspects these not with eyes of the flesh), but also they are celebrated daily. Which foulness if it were only flagitious and not also sacrilegious, we would think it to be sustained with whatever strengths of tolerance. Although where is that, that when he had enumerated many vices, the same apostle, among which he placed drunkards, so concluded, that he said not even to eat bread with such? (I Cor. V, 11). But let us bear these in luxury and domestic ruin, and of those banquets which are contained within private walls, and let us receive with them the body of Christ, with whom we are prohibited to eat bread; at least from the sepulchres of the bodies of the saints, at least from the places of the sacraments, from the houses of prayers let so much disgrace be driven away. For who dares to forbid privately what, when it is frequented in holy places, is called the honor of martyrs?

4. If Africa were the first to attempt to take these things away from other lands, she ought to be worthy of imitation: since however both through the greatest part of Italy, and in all or almost all other transmarine Churches, partly because they were never done, partly because either having arisen or having become inveterate, they have been extinguished and deleted by the diligence and animadversion of holy bishops truly thinking about the future life, do we doubt how we can emend so great a ruin of morals, even by the example proposed so widely? And we indeed have a man of those parts as bishop, whence we give great thanks to God: although of such

modesty and lenity is he, of such finally prudence and solicitude in the Lord, that even if he were an African, he would quickly be persuaded from the Scriptures that care must be taken for what a licentious and ill-free custom has inflicted as a wound. But so great a pestilence is this evil, that it altogether cannot be healed, as it seems to me, except by the authority of a council. Or if the medicine is to be begun by one church; just as it seems of audacity to attempt to change what the Carthaginian Church holds, so it is of great impudence to wish to serve what the Carthaginian Church has corrected. Moreover for this matter who else might be a bishop to be wished for, unless he who as a deacon was execrating those things?

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

most lenient but most instant admonitions the rest of the multitude may be broken.

But since those drunkennnesses and luxurious banquets in the cemeteries are wont to be believed by the carnal and ignorant populace to be not only honors of martyrs, but also solaces of the dead; it seems to me that that foulness and turpitude can be more easily dissuaded there, if both it be prohibited from the Scriptures, and the oblations for the spirits of those sleeping, which it is to be believed truly to help something, be not sumptuous over the memories themselves, and be offered to all asking without pride and with alacrity: nor be sold; but if anyone, for religion, shall have wished to offer something of money, let him erogate it in the present to the poor. Thus they will not seem to desert the memories of their own, which can beget no light grief of heart, and that will be celebrated in the Church which is celebrated piously and honestly. Let these things be said meanwhile concerning feastings and drunkennnesses.

CHAPTER II.

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

7. Moreover, what pertains to me to say concerning contention and guile, when those vices are more serious not in the populace, but in our number? Moreover, the mother of these diseases is pride, and the greed for human praise, which also often generates hypocrisy. This is not

resisted, unless fear and the charity of God be struck in by frequent testimonies of the divine Books: if nevertheless he who acts this, offers himself as an example of patience and humility, by assuming less for himself than is offered; but nevertheless by taking neither everything nor nothing from those who honor him, and let that which is received of praise or honor be received not on account of himself, who ought to be entirely before God and to contemn human things, but on account of those for whom he cannot consult, if he becomes vile by too much dejection. For to this pertains what was said: Let no one contemn your youth (I Tim. IV, 12); since he said this, who in another place says: If I wished to please men, I would not be a servant of Christ (Gal. I, 10).

8. It is a great thing not to be gladdened by the honors and praises of men, but both to cut off all vain pomp, and if anything necessary is retained thence, to confer all that to the utility and salvation of those honoring. For not in vain was it said: God will break the bones of those wishing to please men (Psal. LII, 6). For what is more languid, what so without stability and fortitude, which the bones signify, than a man whom the tongue of those speaking ill debilitates, when he knows those things which are said to be false? The grief of which matter would in no way tear the viscera of the soul, if the love of praise did not break his bones. I presume concerning the strength of your mind: and so those things which I confer with you, I say to myself; you deign nev-

ertheless, I believe, to consider with me how serious they are, how difficult. For one does not feel the strengths of this enemy, unless he who shall have declared war on him; because if it is easy for anyone to lack praise while it is denied, it is difficult not to be delighted by it when it is offered; and yet so great ought the suspension of the mind in God to be, that if we are not praised deservedly, we may correct those whom we can; lest they judge either that there is in us what is not, or that what is of God is ours, or they praise those things which although they are not lacking to us, or even abound, nevertheless are in no way laudable; such as are all the goods which either we have in common with the beasts, or with impious men. But if we are praised deservedly on account of God, let us congratulate those to whom the true good pleases; not nevertheless us because we please men, but if we are such before God, as they believe us to be, and it is attributed not to us, but to God, whose gifts are all things which are truly and deservedly praised. I sing these things to myself daily, or rather He whose salutary precepts they are, whatever are found either in the divine Readings, or which are suggested intrinsically to the mind; and yet vehemently fighting with the adversary, often I receive wounds from him, when I cannot take away from myself the delectation of offered praise.

9. I have written these things for this reason, that if they are already not necessary to your Holiness, either because you yourself think more things of this kind and more useful, or because

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

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

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

1. Before I come to the matter concerning which I wished to write to your Benevolence, I will briefly render the reason for the title of this epistle, lest it should move either you or any other. Lord, I have written, because it is written: You were called into liberty, brothers, only do not give liberty for an occasion of the flesh, but serve one another through charity (Gal. V, 13). Since therefore even by this very office of letters I serve you through charity, not absurdly do I call you lord on account of our one and true Lord who commanded those things to us. Moreover, that I wrote Most Beloved, God knows that I not only love you, but so love you as myself; since indeed I am well conscious to myself that I wish good things for you which for me. Truly that I added Honorable, I did not add it to this, that I might honor your episcopate; for to me you are not a bishop, nor may you receive this as said with insult; but from the mind in which there ought to be in our mouth, Yea, yea, No, no. Nor are you ignorant, or anyone of men who knows us is ignorant, neither that you are my bishop, nor that I am your presbyter. Therefore I gladly call

you Honorable from that rule, by which I know you to be a man, and I know a man made to the image and likeness of God, and placed in honor by that very order and right of nature, if nevertheless by understanding those things which are to be understood, he preserves his honor. For thus it is written: Man placed in honor did not understand; he was compared to senseless beasts, and was made similar to them (Psal. XLVIII, 21). Why therefore should I not call you honorable in as much as you are a man, since especially concerning your salvation and correction, as long as you are in this life, I may not dare to despair? But that I call you Brother, it is not hidden from you that it has been commanded to us divinely, that even to those who deny themselves to be our brothers, we should say: You are our brothers; and this vehemently avails for the cause, for which I wish to write to your Fraternity. For already with the reason rendered why I made such a door to the epistle, hear most placidly what follow.

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

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

3. Wherefore I beseech you, most beloved brother, by the divinity and humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you deign to write back to me what has been done, and so to write back, that you may know me to wish to recite your epistle in the Church to our brothers. Which I wrote for this reason, lest when I should do that afterwards which you might not hope me to be about to

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

4. That therefore which you do with so pious and so religious a mind, if nevertheless you do it, that you do not iterate the baptism of the Catholic Church, but rather approve it as of one truest mother, who to all nations, both to those to be regenerated offers her bosom, and

to those regenerated pours out her breasts, as of one possession of Christ, stretching itself even to the ends of the earth; if you truly do this, why do you not burst out into an exulting and free voice? why do you press the so useful splendor of your lamp under a bushel? Why, with the old skins of timid servitude torn and cast away, do you not rather come out clothed with Christian confidence and say: I know one baptism, consecrated and signed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit? where I find this form it is necessary that I approve; I do not destroy what I acknowledge as the Lord's, I do not blow out the banner of my king. Even those who divided the garment of Christ did not violate it (John XIX, 24); and they had believed Christ not yet about to rise, but were seeing Him dying. If the garment of Him hanging on the cross was not torn by persecutors, why is the sacrament of Him sitting in heaven destroyed by Christians? If in the times of the ancient people I were a Jew, when I could not be anything else better, I would have certainly received circumcision. Which seal of the justice of faith so much availed in that time, before it should be evacuated by the coming of the Lord, that an Angel might have suffocated the infant son of Moses, unless the mother, with a stone snatched up, had circumcised the boy, and by this sacrament had driven away the imminent ruin (Exod. IV, 24, 25). This sacrament also restrained the river Jordan, and led it back into the source. This sacrament the Lord himself, although He evacuated it crucified, nevertheless

born received. For those seals were not damned, but with more opportune things succeeding they departed. For just as the first advent of the Lord took away circumcision, so the second advent will take away Baptism. For just as now after the liberty of faith has come, and the yoke of servitude has been removed, no Christian is circumcised in the flesh; so then with the just reigning with the Lord, and the impious damned, no one will be baptized, but that which those prefigure, that is circumcision of the heart and cleanness of conscience will remain for eternity. If therefore in that time I were a Jew, and a Samaritan should come to me, and should wish, with that error abandoned which even the Lord disapproved saying: You adore what you know not; we adore what we know, since salvation is from the Jews (John IV, 22): if therefore the Samaritan, whom the Samaritans had circumcised, should wish to be made a Jew, certainly the audacity of iteration would be vacant, and that which had been done among heresy, which God had commanded, we would be compelled not to repeat but to approve. But if in the flesh of a circumcised man I might not find a place where I might repeat circumcision, because that member is one; much less is a place found in one heart, where the baptism of Christ may be repeated. Therefore you who wish to duplicate Baptism, it is altogether necessary that you seek double hearts.

5. Cry out, therefore, that you do rightly if you do not rebaptize; and write back to me from there not only without trepidation, but even with joy.

Let no councils of your people, brother, terrify you. For if this should displease them, they are not worthy to have you; but if it should please them, we believe from the mercy of the Lord, who never deserts those fearing to displease Him and striving to please Him, that there will soon be peace between you and us: lest on account of our honors, of which a dangerous account will be rendered, the wretched common people believing in Christ should have common foods in their houses, and not be able to have the table of Christ common. Do we not groan that husband and wife, so that they may faithfully join their bodies, often swear to each other by Christ, and tear apart the very body of Christ by diverse communion? This so great scandal, so great triumph of the devil, so great ruin of souls, if through your modesty, and prudence, and the love which we owe to Him who shed His blood for us, should be removed from the midst in these regions; who could explain in words what palm the Lord prepares for you, so that for the healing of the other members, which lie miserably wasted through all Africa, such an imitable example of medicine may proceed from you? How I fear, since you cannot see my heart, lest I seem to speak to you with insult rather than with love! But certainly I find nothing further to do, except to offer you my speech to be inspected, and my soul to God.

6. Let us remove from the midst empty objections, which are wont to be tossed against each other by ignorant parties; neither you object the Macarian times, nor I the cruelty of the Circum-

cellions: if this does not pertain to you, neither does that to me. The Lord's threshing-floor has not yet been winnowed; it cannot be without chaff. Let us pray, and act as much as we can, that we may be wheat. I cannot be silent concerning our rebaptized deacon: for I know how pernicious silence is for me. For I do not think to pass windy times in ecclesiastical honors, but I think that I shall render an account to the prince of all shepherds for the committed sheep. If by chance you should not wish that I write these things to you, it behooves you, brother, to forgive my fear. For I fear much lest, while I am silent and dissimulating, others also be rebaptized by you. I have decreed, therefore, as much as the Lord deigns to provide strength and faculty, to conduct this cause thus, so that by our peaceful conferences all who communicate with us may know how much the Catholic Church stands apart from heresies or schisms, and how much the ruin either of tares or of branches cut off from the Lord's vine is to be avoided. Which conference if you receive from me with a willing mind, so that with us in concord the letters of both may be recited to the peoples, I shall exult with ineffable joy. But if you do not receive it with an even mind, what shall I do, brother, except read our letters to the Catholic people even against your will, that they may be better instructed? But if you should not deign to write back, I have decreed at least to read mine, so that with your lack of confidence known they may at least be ashamed to be rebaptized.

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

8. My Bishop would perhaps rather have sent letters to your Benevolence, if he were present, or I would have written with him either commanding or permitting. But with him absent, since the rebaptization of the deacon is said to be recent,

I have not allowed the action itself to grow cold by delay, excited by the stings of most bitter grief from fraternal and true death. Which grief of mine, with the mercy and providence of the Lord helping, perhaps the compensation of peace is about to soften. May our God and Lord deign to inspire a peaceful mind in you, most beloved lord brother.

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

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

1. This is true charity, this perfect love, which you have taught to be in you toward our humility, lord truly holy, and deservedly most blessed and desirable. For we received through our man Julian returning from Carthage, letters bringing so much light of your Holiness to us, that we seemed to ourselves not to acknowledge, but to recognize your charity. Because namely from Him, who predestined us to Himself from the origin of the world, that charity flowed, in whom we were made before we were born, because He himself made us, and not we ourselves (Psal. XCIX, 3), who made the things that are to be. Formed therefore by the prescience and work of this one into the likeness of wills and the unity of faith,

or rather the faith of unity, we are connected by charity prevening notice, so that we might know each other before corporal sights, the spirit revealing. We congratulate therefore and glory in the Lord, who one and the same everywhere on earth works His love in His own by the Holy Spirit, whom He poured out upon all flesh, gladdening His city with the impetus of a river. In whose citizens He deservedly placed you principal with the princes of His people, in the apostolic seat: and us also, whom He raised up being dashed down, and raised the needy from the earth, He wished to be numbered in your lot. But we more congratulate in that gift of the Lord, by which He constituted us in the habitation of your breast; and by which He deigned so to insinuate into your bowels, that we claim for ourselves a peculiar confidence of your charity, provoked by these offices and gifts, so that it may not be allowed to us to love you diffidently or lightly.

2. For we received the chief mark of your love and solicitude, the work of a holy man and perfect in the Lord Christ, our brother Augustine, completed in five books, which we so admire and look up to, that we believe the words to be dictated divinely. Therefore, in the confidence of receiving your unanimity, we even dared to write to him, while we presume that we are both to be excused to him by you for our unskillfulness, and to be commended to his charity; just as to all the saints, whose duties even when absent you deigned to preserve for us, you will undoubtedly care with equal affection, so that through your

Holiness, they may be saluted by our mutual services, both the companions in the clergy of your Holiness, and the emulators of your faith and virtue in the monasteries. For although you act among the peoples and over the people, ruling the sheep of the Lord's pasture as a watchful pastor with solicitous vigils: nevertheless, by the abdication of the world, and the rejection of flesh and blood, you made a desert for yourself, secret from the many, called among the few.

3. Certainly by a somewhat vicarious gift, although in all things unequal to you, as you had ordered, I provided that history of all times by the venerable Bishop Eusebius of Constantinople. But in this there was a delay of obeying, because by your instruction, since I did not have this codex myself, I found it at Rome at the house of our truly most holy parent Domnio, who undoubtedly more promptly obeyed me in this benefit, which I indicated was to be deferred to you. Nevertheless, because you deigned to signify your places to me, as you yourself monished, we wrote to the venerable associate of your crown, our father Aurelius, so that if you were now staying at Hippo Regius, he might deign to send our letters and the membrane transcribed at Carthage to you there. Which also the holy men, whom we knew by your speech as the indices of their charity. We asked Comes and Evodius, that they themselves would take care to write these things, lest either the codex should be wanting to the parent Domnio any longer, and it might

remain transmitted to you without the necessity of returning.

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

5. But lest you should be ignorant of anything concerning me, you should know that I am a

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

6. The peace and grace of God be with you, and may the crown of justice remain for you on that day, lord father, deservedly most beloved and venerable and most desired. We greet, with much affection and salutary devotion, the blessed companions and fellow-strivers of your Holiness — our brothers in the Lord, if they deign to be so — both in the churches and in the monasteries, at Carthage, at Thagaste, at Hippo Regius, and throughout all your parishes and all the places known to you through Africa, serving the Lord

in catholic fashion. If you should receive the very parchment of holy Domnio, you will deign to send it back to us transcribed. And I ask this too, that you write to me which hymn of mine you have come to know. We have sent one loaf of bread to your Holiness for the sake of unity, in which also the solidity of the Trinity is contained. You will make this bread to be a blessing by your gracious condescension in receiving it.

LETTER XXV.

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

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

1. The charity of Christ, which urges us on, and binds us, though absent, through the unity of faith, itself gave me confidence to write to you, shame having been cast aside: and it made you known intimately to my heart through your writings, which — abounding in scholarly resources, and sweet with heavenly honeycombs, as medicinal and nourishing to my soul — I hold meanwhile in five books, which we received as a gift from our blessed and venerable bishop Alypius, not only for our own instruction, but also for the benefit of the Church of many cities. These books, therefore, I now keep for reading; in them I take my delight; from them I take food, not that which perishes, but that which works the substance of

eternal life through our faith, by which we are incorporated into Christ Jesus our Lord: since our faith, which, neglecting visible things, longs after the invisible, believing all things according to the truth of almighty God through charity, is strengthened by the writings and examples of the faithful. O truly salt of the earth, by which our hearts are seasoned, that they may not vanish away in the error of the world! O lamp worthily placed above the candlestick of the Church, which, pouring forth far and wide upon the catholic cities light nourished with the oil of gladness from a sevenfold lamp, dispel the dense darkness of the heretics, and clear the light of truth from the confusion of shadows by the splendor of your luminous discourse!

2. You see, like-minded brother, admirable in Christ the Lord and to be embraced, how intimately I have come to know you, with what wonder I admire you, with how great a love I embrace you, I who daily enjoy the converse of your letters, and feed upon the spirit of your mouth. For I might rightly call your mouth a pipe of living water and a vein of the eternal fountain, because Christ has become in you a fountain of water springing up into eternal life (John IV, 14). With desire for which my soul has thirsted in you, and my land has longed to be made drunk by the abundance of your river. And so, since you have armed me sufficiently with this Pentateuch of yours against the Manichaeans, if you have prepared any defenses also against the other enemies of the catholic faith (since our enemy, who

has a thousand arts of harming, must be fought with as many kinds of weapons as the snares with which he attacks), I beg you not to refuse to bring forth for me from your armory, and to confer upon me, the weapons of justice. For I am a laborious man, even now a sinner under a great burden, a veteran in the number of sinners, but for the eternal King a new recruit in body for the warfare. Wretched, I have admired the wisdom of the world up until now, and through useless learning and reprobate prudence I was foolish and mute before God. After I had grown old among my enemies, and had become vain in my thoughts, I lifted up my eyes to the mountains, looking up to the precepts of the law and the gifts of grace: whence help came to me from the Lord, who, not rewarding according to iniquities, enlightened the blind man, loosed the fettered one, humbled the one wrongly exalted, that He might raise up the one rightly humbled.

3. I follow, therefore, though not yet with equal steps, the great footsteps of the just, if I might be able to overtake by your prayers him in whom I have been overtaken by the mercies of God. Rule therefore the little one crawling on the earth, and teach him to walk by your steps. For I do not wish you to consider me by the age of my corporal birth more than by the age of my spiritual rising. Indeed, my age according to the flesh is already that which he was who was healed by the power of the word by the Apostles at the Beautiful Gate (Acts III, 7, and IV, 22). But in the birthdays of the soul, it is still for

me a time of infancy, which, immolated by the wounds unattempted against Christ, preceded as a victim by the worthy blood of the lamb, and inaugurated the passion of the Lord. And therefore, as an infant still suckling on the word of God and in spiritual age, nourish me by your words, panting for the breasts of faith, wisdom, and charity. If you consider the common office, you are a brother; if the maturity of your genius and senses, you are a father to me, even if you are perhaps younger in age, because hoary prudence has brought you, a young man, to the maturity of merit and the honor of the elders. Cherish therefore and strengthen me in the sacred Scriptures and spiritual studies, being recent in time, as I said, and for this reason, after long dangers, after many shipwrecks, rude in use, scarcely yet emerging from the waves of the world—you who are already established on the solid shore, receive me into your safe bosom, that we may sail together in the port of salvation, if you think it worthy. Meanwhile, support me by your prayers as by a plank, as I strive to escape from the perils of this life and the depth of sins, that I may escape naked from this world as from a shipwreck.

4. For for this reason I have taken care to relieve myself of burdens, and to strip off the encumbering garments, so that, unencumbered, I may swim out through this billowy sea of the present life, which separates us from God with sins barking between, with every clothing of the flesh and care for the following day removed, by the command and help of Christ. Nor do I boast

that I have perfected this; which even if I could boast, I would boast in the Lord, whose it is to perfect what lies near to us to will: but my soul still longs to desire the judgments of the Lord. See when he may attain by effect the will of God, who still desires to desire it. What is in me, however, I loved the beauty of the holy house, and as much as was in me, I had chosen to be cast down in the house of the Lord. But to whom it pleased to separate me from my mother's womb, and to draw me from the friendship of flesh and blood to his grace, to the same it pleased to raise me, destitute of all good merit, from the earth and from the lake of miseries, and to lead me out from the mud of the dregs, that he might place me with the princes of his people, and put my part in your lot, so that, you excelling in merits, I might be made equal, associated in office.

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

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

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

TO LICENTIUS, AUGUSTINE.

1. I scarcely found an occasion of writing to you; who would believe it? But yet it is necessary for me that Licentius believe it. I do not wish you to search out causes and reasons, which even if they could be rendered, yet I do not owe them to the faith by which you believe me. For I did not receive your letters through those by whom

I could return writings. But those things which you asked that I should ask, I took care of through a letter as much as seemed to be brought forward; but what I have effected you shall see. Which if it is not yet effected, either when I shall know, I will act more urgently, or when you yourself shall have admonished me again. Hitherto let me have spoken with you of those things which resound the chains of this life: now receive in few words the heats of my breast concerning your non-transitory hope, in what manner the way may be open for you to God.

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

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

THE POEM OF LICENTIUS TO HIS TEACHER AUGUSTINE.

3. In searching out the secret path of profound Varro, my mind grows dull, and, terrified, flees the opposing light. Nor is it a wonder, for all my zeal for reading lies prostrate when you do not give your hand, and alone it fears to rise up. For as soon as love persuaded me to unroll the perplexing summaries of so great a man, and to touch upon the sacred meanings — of him who gave the tones of number, and by his thundering discoursed to sing of the world, and to set in motion the matching dances — it entangled my breast in manifold darkness, and brought upon my mind a cloud from the violence of the matters. Thence, mad, I demand the figures set

out without dust, and I meet with other heavy darknesses. In sum, the causes of the stars and their bright courses, whose obscure positions he shows through the clouds. Thus I lay tottering, so that in such utter ruin, neither he who forbids us to recognize the hiding places of heaven, nor any person, might give access to the caverns of the stricken. For they say, according to the inventions of the ancient Pelasgians, that Proteus, while he does not wish to reveal the future to the anxious, foams as a boar, flows as a wave, roars as a lion, hisses as a serpent — yet is sometimes caught, in the small guise of birds. But to me, who am tormented overmuch by heavier cares, and who seek every sweet, semi-sweet nourishment of the soul, the answers of Varro lie hidden. Should I with suppliant song entreat a guardian spirit or a nymph, and beg the rivers? Or should I call upon you with my voice, you whom the ruler of bright Olympus has set over the fountains of the young, and bidden to pour forth from afar the hidden streams with the fertility of your mind? Bring help, O master, and do not abandon my feeble strength, and begin with me to turn over the sacred clods; for time, unless mortal things deceive me, slips away, and draws me on toward old age. For you our Apollo fills your heart, and reconciles you to his own father and to the father of the gods, and shows you the good law, and the bloody peace, and, the veil withdrawn, discloses each thing. For perhaps you had passed through twenty long circuits of the sun, when the most beautiful reason of the world, richer than

all dominions, and sweeter than every nectar, seized you as you wandered, and set you firm, and placed you in the middle, whence you might direct your gaze upon all things. O good man, seize the course of the years, as much as wisdom grows by love of itself, ever finding new heights. Go on along the road by which the illustrious offspring of the thunderer leads you, leveling the steep places into flat fields. And when evening has carried your heart forward toward the light-bearing risings, and has blessed the sacred fire above, be mindful yourself of me: you who lend an eager ear to unconquered laws, strike your breasts with your palms, lay your limbs upon the ground, and stir up deserved sorrows, and forbid wickedness — God commands one thing to all, the priest admonishes, and the coming thunderbolts terrify. O, if only the aurora of old, with its joy-bringing wheels, would recall to me the days now past, which, trying free leisure with you, and the bright laws of the good, we spent in the midst of Italy, and among the high mountains! Neither the harsh cold of the hoary frost would hold me back, nor the fierce storm of the west winds, and the roaring of the north wind, from pressing your footsteps with an anxious step. Only command this task, though blood should drench my limbs — at the solstice we shall pursue the Neuri, in winter the Ister. The unknown Garamantian will loosen for me the bonds of his people. The river Hypanis, fleeing the Xampaean lakes, foaming, resounds by the Scythian waves of the Callipidae. We shall go also to the Leuci, where Leucia

stretches toward the risings of the sun; and to the deserted summits of vast Cassus, to which the Cassian rock makes itself equal to the Epidamnian cliffs; whence I might see the resting dawn, and the unyoked chariots, and the day lulled to sleep in the midst of night — this I would seek at your urging; for no labor or fear terrifies, where God hears the innocent with open prayers. And now I would abandon the seats of the sons of Romulus, and the empty roof-heights of houses, and the frenzied dwellings, and the vain tumults, and I would come wholly at once into your heart, were it not that my mind, inclining toward marriage, held me back as I went. Believe, O learned one, my ills and my true grief, that without you the sails promise no harbors, and we wander far off through the troubled seas of life. Like sailors headlong in dense fog, whom the fury of the south wind, and the hissing blast from the east, has struck, and whom the whirlwind has robbed of their snatched-away pilots; at once, wretched, they are rolled amid the broken waves: neither deck nor prow, nor sails thereafter, can bear the storms, and the power of steering lies stunned: so the wind drives me, and the tides of desire roll me into the death-bearing sea, nor are the lands yet far away. But reflecting within myself, master, I judge it more fitting to trust your candid words in this: it is a cunning thing, it deceives, and it weaves nets for our minds. For, forgetful of things past, I now render present things to you, dear one — we who have now slipped from your heart. Alas, whither am I being carried, and from

where would I wish to disclose my mind to you! Sooner will doves fit their pious nests beneath the Aegean, and the halcyon, transformed, will build her nests in a tree; sooner will a hungry lioness nurse following calves, and a wolf, long unfed, will nourish tender lambs, and, the regions of the world exchanging their divided parts, either the Barcaean will nourish a bull, or Hyrcania lizards; sooner will the day, once more badly terrified by the feast of Thyestes, broken off, vanish back into its fleeing risings; sooner will the rains give birth to the Nile, deer wander above the heavens, mountains sing, and rivers clap their hands — than your gifts, master, would come to lie forgotten behind my back. Love keeps it far off, and holds fast the bond of a common honorable good. Here, here reigns the glory of friendship, the enemy put to flight. For neither on account of glassy riches, nor rebellious gold, do we join the assent of our minds; nor has the crumbling fortune of the crowd, which separates lofty things, joined us. But rather the labor of reading inward things, published in books, and the discoveries of your mind, and the noble doctrine unspoken, and, in return, the good report of your answers. And my Calliope, although at close quarters she may shudder before you, lofty as you are, and hide her face, handling something unworthy: yet this, this bond of soul, and these faithful ties, not even he who broke the Alps, made firm by their mountainous crags, and crushed the Italian cities together with their walls, could sever, nor could anything terrify by

force against our strength. Go far off, waters of the Oxus with your swollen windings, or, from the Arimphaeans, the Rhipaean towns, or those of the Caspian, and the Cimmerian dwellings — go to sunder them with your broad stream: and let the regions of the Maeotians, which the Pontus of Helle overwhelms, stretch far the boundaries between Europe and Asia. Does not Dodona, wearying the herds of oxen along both flanks, cut off the Molossians, and the kindred Arabs, from Thalarus by its boundaries? Nor did the friendly covenant of peace remain among the Sidonians, and the kingdom of Pelops, and the sacrilegious Phrygians, although for a time it was a common hospitality to all. Why, finally, should I sing of the discord of brothers, and their fights? Why of the honorable beatings of parents, why of the fury of mothers, and of proud sons? There is also among the gods above a harmonious discord of things, and as many rites flow forth as opinion gives laws. Nor does a single love hold sway — not even if Boreas should grant me a hundred murmurs, and as many souls, and a tongue hardened with adamant should roar through a hundred mouths, would I be able to recount all that the nature of the ancient regions, once joined together, has since dispersed, and has smoothed with rounded gravel throughout the world. But I pass over ourselves — that we rise from one city, that one house bore us, that we are touched by one blood of the ages, that the Christian faith has bound us together, and that an immense journey separates us, and a stretch of sea poured between

confines us; love despises both. Love, spurning the joys of the eyes, always enjoys the absent friend; since it hangs upon the depth of the heart, and searches out the nourishment of the inmost fiber. Meanwhile, whatever future writings of your salvation-bearing discourse shall come, and those to be likened to the honeycombs of the ancients — reflecting, deep in your breast, on what you have poured forth into the light, the nectarous honey once conceived — these will themselves render you present to me, if you will grant my wish, and hand over the books in which unhurried Music reclines in you; for I am wholly aflame for them. Grant this, so that the truth may lie open to us through reason; so that it may flow more abundantly than the Eridanus, and so that the contagions of the world may flit in vain around the fields of our tenant farmer.

4. If your verse were distorted by disordered measures, if it did not stand firm by its own laws, if it offended the ears of the hearer with uneven meters, you would surely be ashamed, and you would not delay nor rest until you had ordered, corrected, established, and made your verse even, by learning and practicing the metrical art with the keenest zeal and whatever labor was needed: what then, when you yourself are disordered and depraved, when you yourself do not stand by the laws of your God, nor, in the conduct of your life, by the honorable resolves of your own people, and while you make this very learning of yours resound so harmoniously, do you think that this is a thing to be cast behind your back and

neglected? As if, in comparison with the sound of your tongue, you were of less worth to yourself, and it were a lighter matter that you offend the ears of God by your disordered morals, than if the authority of grammar were angered at your disordered syllables. You write: "O, if only the dawn with its joy-bringing wheels might recall to me those bygone days of old, which, trying free leisure with you, and the pure laws of the good, we spent in the midst of Italy, and through the lofty mountains!" Not the harsh cold with its hoary frost would keep me back, nor the fierce storm of the Zephyrs and the roaring of Boreas, from pressing your footsteps with an eager step. This alone is needed: that you but command it.

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

is needed, that you but command it. Behold my command: give yourself to me, if this alone is the task; give yourself to my Lord, who is the Lord of us all, who gave you that talent. For what am I, but your servant through him, and your fellow-servant under him?

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

riches of talent he offers him sacrifices of praise, pouring back to him whatever good he received from him, lest he lose everything, if he does not lay it up in him from whom he has these things.

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

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

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

1. O good man and good brother, you were hidden from my soul: and I tell it to tolerate that you are still hidden from my eyes, and it scarcely obeys me; nay, it does not obey. Or does it truly tolerate? Why then does the desire for you excruciate me within that very soul? For if I were suffering molestations of the body, and if they did not perturb the equity of my mind, I would rightly be said to tolerate them; but when I do not bear with an equal mind that I do not see you, it is intolerable to call that tolerance. But when you are such a one, to be without you would perhaps be tolerated more intolerably. It is well therefore, because I cannot bear it with an equal mind, which if I were to bear with an equal mind, I should not be to be borne with an equal mind. It is a wonder, but yet true, what has happened to me: I grieve because I do not see you, and the grief itself consoles me. Thus that fortitude displeases me by which the absence of the good, such as you are, is borne patiently. For we certainly desire the future Jerusalem also, and by how much more impatiently we desire it, by so much more patiently we sustain all things on account of it. Who therefore can not rejoice when you are seen, so that he may be able, as long as he does not see you, not to grieve! Therefore I can do neither, and since if I could, I could monstrously, I am delighted not to be able, and in that I am delighted there is some solace. My grief therefore

consoles me while grieving, not being settled, but being considered. Do not reprehend me, I pray, with the holier gravity in which you prevail, and say that I do not rightly grieve, because I have not yet known you, when you have opened your mind to me to be beheld, that is, your interior self. For what if somewhere I had learned that you were my brother and lover even in your earthly city, and so great and such a man in the Lord, would you think that I would have felt no grief if I were not permitted to know your house? How therefore should I not grieve, that I do not yet know your face, that is, the house of your soul, which I know as my own?

2. For I have read your letters flowing with milk and honey, preferring the simplicity of your heart, in which you seek the Lord feeling concerning him in goodness, and bringing to him clarity and honor. The brothers have read them, and they rejoice indefatigably and ineffably at the so abundant and so excellent gifts of God, your goods. As many as have read them, snatch them, because they are snatched away when they read. How sweet the odor of Christ is, and how it fragrances from them, cannot be said. Those letters, when they offer you that you may be seen, how much they excite us that you may be sought; for they make you both perspicuous and desirable. For by how much they exhibit your presence to us in a certain way, by so much they do not allow us to bear your absence. All love you in them, and desire to be loved by you. God is praised and blessed, by whose grace you

are such a one. There Christ is excited, that he may deign to placate the winds and seas for you tending to his stability. There is seen by those reading a wife, not a leader to softness for her husband, but returned to fortitude into the bones of her husband; whom having been reduced and restored into your unity, and coupled to you by spiritual nexuses by so much more firm as they are more chaste, we re-salute in you alone, with the duties due to your Holiness. There the cedars of Lebanon, laid down to the earth, and erected into the fabric of the ark by the joinery of charity, cut the waves of this world imputribly. There glory, that it may be acquired, is contemned, and the world, that it may be obtained, is left. There the little ones, or even the somewhat larger sons of Babylon, are dashed against the rock, namely the vices of confusion and secular pride.

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

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

4. Behold, he is my most dear friend, and since my early youth most intimately friendly to me, who brings this letter to your Excellency and most excellent Charity. His name is in the book On Religion, which your Holiness, as much as you indicate by letters, most willingly reads: for it was made even more pleasant to you by the commendation of so great a man, who sent it to you. Yet I would not wish you to believe this so familiar friend of mine in what things he may perhaps have said praising me. For I have felt even him often, not by a study of lying, but by a propensity of loving, to be deceived in judging, and to think

that I have already received certain things, for the receiving of which from the Lord I pant with the open mouth of my heart. And if this to my face, who might not conjecture how many better than truer things he joyfully pours out concerning me while absent? But he will make a copy of our books for your venerable study: for I do not know that I have written anything, whether to those who are outside the Church of God, or to the ears of the brothers, which he does not have. But when you read, my holy Paulinus, let not those things which the Truth speaks through our infirmity so snatch you away, that you advert less diligently to those things which I speak myself; lest while you greedily drink the good and right things which being given I minister, you do not pray for the sins and errors which I commit myself. For in those things which rightly, if you advert, will displease you, I myself am beheld; but in those things which through the gift of the Spirit which you have received, rightly please you in my books, he is to be loved, he is to be preached with whom is the fountain of life, and in whose light we shall see light (Psalm XXXV, 10), without an enigma, but face to face, whereas now we see in an enigma (I Cor. XIII, 12). In those things therefore which I myself have belched forth from the old leaven, reading them I recognize them, I judge myself with grief; but in those things which I have said concerning the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth as a gift of God, I exult with trembling. For what have we, which we have not received? But indeed he is better who is rich with

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

5. There is also another thing for which you may love this brother more amply: for he is a kinsman of the venerable and truly blessed bishop Alypius, whom you embrace with your whole heart, and deservedly; for whoever thinks kindly of that man, thinks of the great mercy of God and of the wonderful gifts of God. Therefore when he had read your petition, in which you indicated that you desire that he should write his history to you, and he wished to do it on account of your benevolence, and did not wish on account of his bashfulness: when I saw him fluctuating between love and shame, I transferred the burden from him onto my shoulders; for he also commanded this to me through a letter. Quickly therefore, if the Lord shall have helped, I will insert the whole of Alypius into your heart; for I most feared this, lest he should fear to open all things which the Lord has conferred upon him, lest to some one less understanding (for those things would not be read by you alone), he should seem to preach not divine gifts granted to men, but himself, and you who know how to read

these things, on account of the infirmity of others to be avoided, should be defrauded of the debt of fraternal knowledge: which I would have done already, and you would now be reading him, unless the unforeseen departure of the brother had suddenly pleased. Whom I so commend to your heart and tongue, that you so courteously present yourself to him, as if you had learned him not now, but before with me. For if he shall not have doubted to open himself to your heart, he will be healed either entirely or in great part through your tongue. For I wish him to be more numerously struck by the voices of those who do not love a friend secularly.

6. But as for his son, our son, whose name too you will find in some of our books, even if he himself were not to come into the presence of your charity, I had determined to deliver him by letter into your hand, to be consoled, exhorted, and instructed, not so much by the sound of your mouth as by the example of your strength. For I burn with desire that, while his age is still in the green hay, he may turn the tares into grain, and believe those with experience concerning what he dangerously desires to experience for himself. Now, therefore, from his poem and from the letter which I sent to him, your most benevolent and most gentle prudence understands what I grieve over concerning him, what I fear, and what I desire. Nor do I despair that the Lord will be present, so that through you as his minister I may be freed from such great tides of care. Indeed, since you are about to read many of our writings,

your love will be much more pleasing to me if, concerning the things that displease you, you, as a just man, correct me in mercy and reprove me. For you are not such a one that I should fear my head being fattened by your oil. The brothers—not only those who dwell with us, and those who, dwelling anywhere, likewise serve God, but almost all who have gladly come to know us in Christ—greet, venerate, and long for your Brotherliness, your Beatitude, your Kindness. I do not dare to ask; but if you have leisure from your ecclesiastical duties, you see for what Africa thirsts along with me.

LETTER XXVIII.

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

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

CHAPTER ONE.

1. Never has anyone become so known to another by face, as the quiet, joyful, and truly liberal exercise of your studies in the Lord has become known to me. Although therefore I greatly desire to know you entirely; yet I have a certain small thing of you less, namely the presence of the

body: which itself also, after the most blessed now bishop, but then indeed already worthy of the episcopate, brother Alypius saw you, and returning was seen by me, I cannot deny that it has been impressed upon me in great part by his relation; and before his return, when he saw you there, I saw you, but with his eyes. For one who knows us would not say that I and he are two in mind, but in body, at least in concord and most faithful familiarity, not in merits in which he excels. Because therefore you already love me primarily by the communion of the spirit by which we are bound into one, then from his mouth; I by no means impudently, as if some unknown person, commend to your Brotherhood the brother Profuturus, who we hope will be truly profitable to our endeavors, and then by your help; unless perhaps because he is such a one, that I myself may become more commended to you through him, than he through me. Hitherto perhaps I ought to have written, if I wished to be content after the manner of solemn epistles; but the mind gushes into speeches to be communicated with you concerning our studies, which we have in Christ Jesus our Lord; who deigns to minister to us many utilities and certain provisions of the journey demonstrated by him, even through your charity not moderately.

CHAPTER TWO.

2. We ask therefore, and with us the entire studious society of the African Churches asks, that you would not find it burdensome to expend

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

would beseech that you make me certain of this matter.

CHAPTER III.

Pernicious simulation.

3. I have also read certain writings, which were said to be yours, on the Epistles of the apostle Paul; of which to the Galatians, when you wished to explain it, there came into your hands that passage where the apostle Peter is recalled from a pernicious simulation. There I confess, I grieve not moderately, that a patronage of lying has been undertaken either by you, such a man, or by someone else, if another wrote those things, until those things which move me are refuted (if perchance they can be refuted). For it seems most disastrous to me to believe that any lie is held in the Holy Books; that is, that those men, through whom that Scripture was ministered and written for us, lied about anything in their books. For it is one question whether a good man should ever lie; and another question is whether the writer of the Holy Scriptures ought to have lied: or rather, it is not another, but no question at all. For once an officious lie has been admitted into such a height of authority, no small part of those books will remain which will not, as it seems to each person either difficult for morals or incredible for faith, be referred by the same most pernicious rule to the counsel and duty of a lying author.

4. For if the apostle Paul was lying when, rebuking the apostle Peter, he said, 'If you, though

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

no less or perhaps even greater crime that falsehood is praised in God, than truth is disparaged? Therefore, it must be acted so that such a man approaches the knowledge of the divine Scriptures, who thinks so holily and truthfully of the Holy Books, that he would not wish to be delighted in any part of them through officious lies, and would rather pass over that which he does not understand, than prefer his own heart to that truth. For surely when he says this, he seeks to be believed, and he acts so that we do not believe the authorities of the divine Scriptures.

5. And I indeed with whatever strengths the Lord suggests, would show that all those testimonies, which have been applied to establish the utility of a lie, ought to be understood otherwise, so that the firm truth of them might be taught everywhere. For as testimonies ought not to be false, so they ought not to favor a lie. But I leave this to your understanding. For by applying a more diligent consideration to the reading, you will perhaps see it much more easily than I. But piety will compel you to this consideration, by which you recognize that the authority of the divine Scriptures fluctuates, so that in them each one believes what he wishes, and does not believe what he does not wish, if once it has been persuaded that those men, through whom these things have been ministered to us, could have lied officiously in their writings. Unless perhaps you are going to give certain rules, by which we may know where it is appropriate to lie, and where it is not appropriate. If which can be done, in no

way explain it with lying and doubtful reasons, I pray; nor judge me burdensome or impudent, through the most true humanity of our Lord. For, that I may not say no fault, certainly no great fault favors truth in my error, if rightly in you truth can favor a lie.

CHAPTER IV.

6. Many other things I would desire to speak with your most sincere heart, and to confer about Christian study; but no epistle is sufficient for this desire of mine. I am able to do that same thing more abundantly through the brother, whom I rejoice to have sent to be mixed and nourished with your sweet and useful conversations. And yet, however much I might wish, not even he himself (if I may say it with his peace) perhaps captures it; although I would prefer myself to him in nothing. For I confess myself to be more capable of you; but I see him becoming fuller, by which he excels me without doubt: and after he shall have returned, which I hope will be prospered by the Lord helping, when I shall have been a partaker of his breast filled by you, he is not going to fill what will still be empty and greedy for your senses in me. Thus it will happen that even then I may be more needy, he more copious. Certainly the same brother carries some of our writings with him; in reading which if you apply deign, I pray that you also apply a sincere and fraternal severity. For I do not otherwise understand what is written, 'The just man shall correct me in mercy, and shall rebuke me; but the

oil of the sinner shall not fatten my head' (Psal. CXL, 5); except because a healing rebuker loves more than a flattering anointer of the head. But I read what I have written as a good judge with the greatest difficulty, but either more timid than is right, or more greedy. I also see my vices at times; but I prefer to hear these from better men, lest when I have perhaps rightly blamed myself, I again flatter myself, and seem to myself rather to have brought a fearful than a just sentence upon myself.

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

1. Concerning the business in the meantime which I cannot not care about, I have been able to write nothing certain, in the absence of brother Macharius, who is said to be about to return quickly; and what can be accomplished with God helping, will be accomplished. But concerning our solicitude for them, although our brother citizens who were present were able to make their own secure; yet a thing worthy of epistolary conversation, by which we console each other, has been granted by the Lord; in the meriting of which we believe ourselves to have been much

helped by your very solicitude, which certainly could not have been for us without prayer.

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

3. But although these things were gratefully received, yet because few had assembled, it was not satisfied for so great a business. But when this discourse was ventilated outside by those who were present, according to each one's faculty

and zeal, it had many gainsayers. But afterwards when the day of Lent had dawned, and a frequent multitude ran together at the hour of the discourse, that was read in the Gospel, where the Lord, the sellers of animals having been expelled from the temple, and the tables of the money-changers overturned, said that the house of his Father was made a den of thieves instead of a house of prayers (Id. XXI, 12): which chapter, when I made them intent by the proposed question of wine-bibbing, I myself also recited, and added a disputation, by which I might show how much more movedly and vehemently our Lord would expel drunken banquets, which are everywhere base, from the temple, from where he thus expelled permitted commerce, since those things were being sold which were necessary for the sacrifices lawful at that time; asking of them, to which they thought a den of thieves more similar, to those selling necessaries, or to those drinking immoderately.

4. And since prepared readings were held to be suggested to me, I added then the still carnal people of the Jews themselves, in that temple, where the body and blood of the Lord was not yet offered, never celebrated not only drunken, but not even sober banquets indeed; nor are they found in history to have been inebriated publicly in the name of religion, except when they performed feasts to the idol they had made (Exod. XXXII, 6). When I was saying these things, I also took the book and recited that whole place. I added also with what grief I could, since the

Apostle says, for discerning the Christian people from the hardness of the Jews, that his Epistle was not written on tablets of stone, but on the carnal tablets of the heart (II Cor. III, 3), since Moses the servant of God, on account of those princes, had broken the two stone tablets (Exod. XXXII, 19), how we could not break the hearts of these men, who being men of the New Testament, wished to exhibit solemnly in celebrating the days of the saints those things which the people of the Old Testament celebrated both only once and to an idol.

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

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

6. I commemorated also the chapter of the Gospel which I had treated the day before, where it is said concerning false prophets: 'By their fruits you shall know them' (Matth. VII, 16). Then I recalled to memory that fruits were not called in that place except works; then I asked among which fruits drunkenness was named, and I recited that to the Galatians: But the works

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

7. Which things having been performed, I returned the book, and the prayer having been commanded, as much as I was able, and as much as the danger itself was pressing me, and the Lord was deigning to minister strengths, I set before their eyes the common danger, both of those who were committed to us, and of us who were to give an account of them to the Prince of pastors,

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

already wept together, with the fullest hope of their correction, the end of my discourse was made.

8. But on the following day, when the day had dawned for which they were accustomed to prepare their throats and bellies, it is announced to me that some, even of those who were present at the discourse, had not yet ceased from murmuring, and that the force of the worst custom was so strong in them, that they used only its voice and were saying: 'Why now? For were those not Christians before, who did not prohibit these things?' Which having been heard, I altogether did not know what greater machines I should prepare to move them: yet I was disposing, if they thought they should persevere, having read that place from the prophet Ezekiel: 'The watchman is absolved, if he shall have announced the danger, even if those to whom it is announced, shall not have wished to beware' (Ezek. XXXIII, 9), to shake my garments and depart. But then the Lord showed that he does not desert us, and in what modes he exhorts us that we should presume in him: for before the hour in which we ascended the exhedra, those very same men entered to me whom I had heard had complained concerning the attacking of the ancient custom; whom having been kindly received, I transferred in a few words into a sound sentence; and when it was come to the time of disputation, the reading which I had prepared having been omitted, because it did not seem necessary now, I disserted a few things concerning this very question, that

we could bring nothing neither shorter nor truer against those who say, 'Why now?' except that we also say, 'Even now.'

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

10. Then I exhorted them that we should wish to be imitators of the transmarine Churches, in which these things partly have never been received, and partly have already been corrected through good rulers with the people obeying. And since concerning the basilica of the blessed apostle Peter, examples of daily wine-bibbing (quotidianae vinolentiae) were brought forward; I said first that we had heard that it has been often prohibited, but because the place is remote from the conversation of the bishop, and in so great a city there is a great multitude of carnal men, especially with pilgrims, who come from time to time from elsewhere, and retain that custom so much more violently as they do so more ignorantly, so great and immoderate a pestilence could not yet be restrained and calmed. Nevertheless, if we honored the apostle Peter, we ought to hear his precepts, and much more devoutly look upon the Epistle in which his will appears, than the basilica in which it does not appear; and immediately, the book having been taken up, I recited where he says: For Christ having suffered for us through the flesh, arm yourselves also with the same thought; because he who has suffered in the flesh has ceased from the flesh, that he may no longer live the rest of his time in the flesh according to the desires of men, but according to the will of God. For the time past is sufficient for you to have perfected the will of men, walking in lusts, desires, drunkenness, revellings, and forbidden services of idols (1 Pet. 4:1-3). Which things having been done, when I perceived all

with one mind going into a good will, the evil custom having been contemned, I exhorted them that at the noon hour they should be present for the divine readings and psalms; thus that day would please to be celebrated much more purely and sincerely; and certainly from the multitude of those coming together it could easily appear who followed the mind and who followed the belly. Thus, all things having been read, the discourse was ended.

11. But on the afternoon of the day, a greater multitude was present than before noon, and even until the hour in which we went out with the bishop, there was reading and singing of psalms alternately; and after we went out two psalms were read. Then, against my will, who already desired that so dangerous a day should be finished, the old man compelled me by command to speak something to them. I had a brief discourse, in which I gave thanks to God. And since in the basilica of the heretics we heard that the usual banquets were celebrated by them, when even at that same time in which these things were being done by us, they still persisted in their cups, I said that the beauty of the day is decorated by comparison with the night, and the white color is more pleasing by the vicinity of the black; thus our assembly of spiritual celebration would perhaps have been less pleasant, unless on the other side carnal engorgement were brought into comparison, and I exhorted them that they should instantly seek such feasts, if they had tasted how sweet the Lord is; but that

those should be feared, who follow as the first thing that which will sometime be destroyed, since everyone is made a companion of that thing which he worships, and the Apostle insulted such men saying, whose God is their belly (Phil. 3:19), when the same said in another place: Meat for the belly and the belly for meats; but God shall evacuate both this and those (1 Cor. 6:13). We therefore ought to follow that which is not evacuated, which, being most remote from the affection of the flesh, is retained by the sanctification of the spirit; and in this sentence, for the time, when those things which the Lord deigned to suggest had been said, the evening acts which are usual daily were performed, and as we receded with the bishop, the brothers in the same place said a hymn, with no small multitude of both sexes remaining and singing psalms until the day grew dark.

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

have sent a letter to the Asiarch. Most blessed ones, may you persevere in the Lord, mindful of us. Amen.

EPISTLE XXX.

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

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

2. But you, a spiritual brother judging all things, do not weigh our love toward you by duty alone, or by the time of the letters. For the Lord is witness, who, being one and the same, works his charity in his own everywhere, that from then on, since we knew you by the benefit of the ven-

erable bishops Aurelius and Alypius through your works against the Manicheans, your love was so implanted in us, that we seemed to ourselves not to take up some new friendship, but to resume, as it were, an old charity. Finally, now, although we write as if rude in speech, yet not so in affection, and we, as it were, recognize you in turn in spirit through the inner man. Nor is it a wonder if even while absent we are present to ourselves, and although unknown we know ourselves; since we are members of one body, have one head, are drenched with one grace, live by one bread, walk by one way, and dwell in the same house. Finally, in all that we are, with all hope and faith by which we stand in the present, we strive toward the future; we are one both in the spirit and in the body of the Lord, lest we be nothing if we fall away from the One.

How small a thing it is, then, that bodily absence envies us of ourselves, unless indeed it be that fruit on which the eyes of those who wait for temporal things are fed? Although not even bodily grace should be called temporal in spiritual things, to which the resurrection will also grant the eternity of bodies, as we dare, though unworthy, to presume in the virtue of Christ and the goodness of God the Father. Wherefore, would that the grace of God might also grant us this gift, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that we might also see your face in the flesh! Not only would a great joy be conferred on our desires, but also light would increase in our minds, and our poverty would be enriched from your abundance.

Which indeed you can grant even to those who are absent, especially on this occasion in which our sons of one mind and most dear to us in the Lord, Romanus and Agilis, whom we commend to you as our other selves, will return in the name of the Lord, their work of charity being fulfilled; in which we ask that they may especially use the affection of your charity. For you know how high things the Most High promises to a brother helping a brother. Through these, if you shall wish to reward me with any gift of the grace which has been given to you, you will do so safely. For they are, I would have you believe, one heart and one soul with us in the Lord. May the grace of God be with you, as it is, and remain forever, my brother of one mind in Christ the Lord, venerable, most beloved, and desirable. Salute from us all the saints, such as no doubt are joined with you. Commend us to all the saints, that they may deign to pray for us with you.

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

EPISTLE XXXI. To Paulinus, for the second letters received from him, he exhibits the service of a grateful mind, and announcing that he has been ordained co-bishop of Hippo to Valerius, he earnestly desires that he himself should wish to cross over into Africa, where he would be both a great solace to himself and an example to the rest of the Christians. To the most beloved and

most sincere, truly most blessed and most excellent brothers by the most abundant grace of God, PAULINUS and THERASIA, AUGUSTINE sends greeting in the Lord.

1. When I desired that my letter, in which I responded to your prior ones—if indeed your letters can in any way be responded to by me—should come most swiftly into the hands of your Charity, so that in whatever way I, though absent, might quickly be with you, my delay has conferred a gain on me from your epistle. Good is the Lord, who often does not grant what we wish, that he may bestow what we would prefer. For it is one thing what you are about to write having received my letter, and another what you wrote by not receiving it. Which when we have read most joyfully, that joy would certainly have been lacking to us if, as we wished and most greatly desired, our letter had quickly reached your Holiness. But now, both to have these written things and to hope for those rewritten things, delights with more accumulated joy. Thus neither can our fault be accused, and the more bountiful benignity of the Lord has done what he judged to be more conducive to our desire.

2. We have received with great joy in the Lord the holy brothers Romanus and Agilis, another epistle of yours, hearing and returning voices, and a most sweet part of your presence, but by which we might gape more eagerly for visiting you. Whence, or when, or how could either you provide, or we demand, that you should teach us so many things concerning you by writing,

as many as we have learned by their mouth? There was also present, which can be present to no paper, so great a joy in the narrators, that even through the very face and eyes of the speakers, we read you written in their hearts with ineffable gladness. This also was more, that any page, however great good things it may contain in writing, profits nothing itself, although it may be explained for the profit of others; but this epistle of yours, namely a fraternal soul, we so read in their conversation, that it appeared so much more blessed to us, by how much more abundantly it had been written from you. Therefore, by inquiring most studiously all things concerning you, we transcribed that epistle into our hearts for the imitation of the same beatitude.

3. Yet we did not therefore suffer them so quickly from us, although they were returning to you, without distress. For see, I ask you, with what affections we were tossed. They were certainly to be dismissed so much more swiftly, by how much more impensively they desired to obey you; but the more they desired that, the more presently they exhibited you to us: for by that they indicated how dear your bowels were; therefore we wished to dismiss them so much less, by how much more justly they insisted that they should be dismissed. O thing not to be borne, unless by this departure we did not depart from ourselves, unless we were members of one body, had one head, were drenched with one grace, lived by one bread, walked by one way, and dwelt in the same house! For why should we not even

use the same words? For you recognize, I believe, that these things are from your epistle. But why should these words be yours rather than mine, which, as they are indeed true, so they proceed to us from the communion of the same head? And if they have something proper given to you, so much more have I loved them thus, that they might besiege the way of my breast, nor permit words to pass from my heart to my tongue, until they should proceed so much earlier as they are yours. Holy brothers and beloved of God, and our members in turn, who would doubt that we are quickened by one spirit, except he who does not feel by what love we are bound together?

4. I would wish to know, however, whether you bear this bodily absence more patiently and easily than we do? If it is so, I confess, I do not love that fortitude of yours, unless perhaps because we are such that we ought to be desired less by you than we ought to desire you. In me certainly if there were patience in bearing your absence, it would displease me; for I would act sluggishly that I might see you: but what is more absurd than to become more sluggish by fortitude? But by what care of the Church I am held, your charity ought to attend to from this, that the most blessed father Valerius—who, you will hear from the brothers how much he salutes you and how much he thirsts for you—did not suffer me to be his presbyter, unless he should impose on me the greater burden of the co-bishopric. Which indeed because, from his so great charity and from so great study of the people, I believed

that the Lord willed it, several examples already preceding by which every excuse was closed to me, I vehemently feared to excuse myself. But although the yoke of Christ in itself is easy, and his burden light (Matt. 11:30); yet on account of our roughness and infirmity, if this bond bites me anything, and this burden urges me, it would be rendered ineffably more tolerable and portable to me by some solace of your presence, whom I hear live more unencumbered and free from cares of this kind. Wherefore, not impudently I ask you, and request, and demand, that you deign to come into Africa, laboring with a greater thirst for such men than with the nobility of its drought.

5. God knows that not only on account of my desire, nor only on account of those who either through us have learned of your purpose, or from wherever fame preaching it, but also on account of the others who partly do not hear, and partly having heard do not believe, yet can love what has been found out, we desire you to be present even bodily in these lands. For although you do this sedulously and mercifully, yet even before the men of our regions let your works shine, that they may see your good deeds, and glorify your Father who is in heaven (Matt. 5:16). The fishermen, when the Lord called, because they left their little ships and nets, rejoiced also in commemorating that they had left all things and followed the Lord (Matt. 19:27). And indeed he contemns all things, who contemns not only as much as he could, but also as much as he wished to have. But in that which was desired, the eyes of God

are witnesses; in that which was possessed, those of men also. I know not in what way, however, when superfluous and earthly things are loved, they bind more closely when attained than when desired. For whence did that sad man depart, who sought counsel from the Lord for attaining eternal life, when he had heard that all his things were to be sold and distributed to the poor, and that he would have treasure in heaven if he wished to be perfect, unless because he had great riches, as the Gospel speaks? (Luke 18:22, 23). For it is one thing not to wish to incorporate what is lacking, and another to tear away what is already incorporated: those things are rejected like food, these are cut off like members. With how much, therefore, and how great and admirable joy in our times does Christian charity behold being done with gladness through the Gospel of the Lord, what the rich man heard from the mouth of the Lord with sadness?

Although I can explain by no words the conception and parturition of my heart; yet because you prudently and piously understand that this is not yours, that is, human, but the glory of the Lord in you; for you also look upon the enemy most cautiously, and act most devoutly, that as disciples of Christ you may be humble of heart and meek; for earthly opulence is more usefully held humbly than left proudly: because therefore you rightly understand that this is not your glory, but the Lord's, you see how small and meager things I have said. For I have spoken of the praises of Christ, to which the tongues of Angels

are unequal. This glory of Christ, therefore, we also desire to be moved to the eyes of our men, in one marriage proposed as examples to both sexes of treading upon pride and not despairing of perfection. I know not if you act anything more mercifully than if you should only be unwilling to lie hid, that you are such as you have wished to be.

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

his son, you have read, as I hope, with what solicitude I have commended, and by how great a necessity they are joined to me. May the Lord build them up through you. Which is rather to be asked from him; for I know how much you wish it.

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

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

EPISTLE XXXII.

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

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

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

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

3. Would that this trumpet of the Lord, with which he thunders through Augustine, might now strike the hearing of our son Licentius, but

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

with your whole house, as we desire, in Christ, lord brother, worthily most honorable and most longed for.

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

with a perfect heart, and to consult for the people for salvation with a masterly mouth.

5. Enough of this for admonition and exhortation: for by a moderate speech and labor I think you, my Licentius, can be incited to Christ, already from boyhood enflamed by the spirit and mouth of the venerable Augustine for the studies of truth and wisdom—both of which is truly Christ, and the supreme good of every good. If he has availed little with you for yourself, what shall I—so much later in interval, and a pauper of all his riches—accomplish? But because, trusting both in the power of his faculty and in the humanity of your genius, I hope for fuller and greater things worked out in you than yet to be worked out, I have dared to open my mouth with a double grace: that I might be compared to that man with due charity in solicitude for you, and that I might be numbered with a witnessed affection among those who love your salvation. For the effect in your perfection I know to be destined chiefly as a palm for Augustine. I fear, son, lest I should have offended your ears by the asperity of a rash speech, and through your ears should have brought the wound of my weariness even to your mind. But your epistle came to my mind, by which I understood you to be familiar with musical modes: from which study I once, at your age, did not abhor. Therefore, to soothe your mind, if I should have exacerbated it in anything, I found a remedy by remembering your letters, that I might evoke you to the Lord, the artisan of all-formed harmony, by the modulation of a poem. I beseech

you that you hear with your ear, nor despise the cause of your salvation in my words; but that you willingly receive the pious care and fatherly mind even in despicable speeches, in which the implanted name of Christ—which is above every name—makes this veneration due, so that it cannot be contemned by a believer.

ELEGIAC POEM OF PAULINUS TO LICENTIUS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

have wished. Which it now helps to wish, soon it shames to have wished.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And add your head to the yokes, give your mouth to the soft halters, and subject your low-

ered shoulders to the light burden. And subject your lowered shoulders to the light burden.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For as great as is the distance between heaven and earth, so great is it in the things and empires

of Caesar and of Christ. In the things and empires of Caesar and of Christ.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. I ask you, what have we to do with ancient dissensions? Let those hard wounds last until now, which the animosity of proud men has inflicted on our members; by the putrefaction of which wounds we have even lost the pain, by which the physician is wont to be implored. You see with how great and how miserable foulness the Christian houses and families are disturbed. Husbands and wives agree with each other concerning their bed, and disagree concerning the altar of Christ. By him they swear to each other, that they may have peace between themselves, and in him they cannot have it. Children have one house of their own with parents, and they do not have one house of God. They desire to succeed to

their inheritance, with whom they wrangle concerning the inheritance of Christ. Servants and masters divide a common Lord, who took the form of a servant, that he might liberate all by serving. Your people honor us, our people honor you. Your people adjure us by our crown, our people adjure you by your crown. We receive the words of all, we wish to offend no one. Why does Christ alone offend us, whose members we tear? And indeed men desiring to finish their secular causes before us, when we shall have been necessary to them, call us holy and servants of God in such a way, that they may carry out the business of their land: sometimes let us also carry out the business of our salvation and of their own salvation, not concerning gold, not concerning silver, not concerning farms and cattle, for which things we are daily saluted with bowed head, that we may terminate the dissensions of men, but concerning our head himself there is so base and pernicious a dissension among us. However much they bow their heads who salute us, that we may make them concordant on earth, our head has been bowed from heaven even to the cross, in whom we are not concordant.

6. I ask and beseech you, if there is in you any humanity, which many proclaim, let your goodness appear here, if it is not simulated on account of transitory honors, that the bowels of mercy may tremble in you, and you may wish at length the matter to be discussed by insisting with us in prayers, and by conferring all things peacefully: lest the miserable peoples, who obey our honors,

should press us with their obsequies in the judgment of God; but rather by our unfeigned charity being recalled with us from errors and dissensions, they may be directed into the paths of truth and peace. I wish you to be blessed before the eyes of God, honorable and most beloved lord.

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

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

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

2. For what more execrable, I ask you, that I may be silent of other things, than that which

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

3. Do these things then please you, most grave man? By no means would I have believed this of you: I know your consideration. The carnal mother is beaten in the members with which she bore and nourished the ungrateful one; the spiritual mother the Church prohibits this, and she herself is beaten in the Sacraments with which she bore and nourished the ungrateful one. Does it not seem to you that he said, parricidally gnashing: What shall I do to the Church which prohibits me from beating my mother? I have found what I may do: let her also be struck by the injuries by which she can be; let something be done in me from which her members may grieve. I will go to those who know how to exsufflate the grace in which I was born to her, to destroy the form which I received in her womb. I may torture both my mothers with savage torments: let the

one which bore me later, bring out the first. To her grief, I shall die spiritually; to her beating, I shall live carnally. What else do we expect, honorable man Eusebius; except that against the miserable woman, decrepit with old age, destitute in widowhood, from whose beatings he was prohibited in the Catholic Church, he may now be armed secure as a Donatist? For what else did he conceive in his furious heart, when he said to his mother: I will transfer myself to the party of Donatus, and I will drink your blood? Behold, already bloody in conscience, made white in garment, he has perfected part of his promise; the other part remains, that he may drink the blood of his mother. If therefore these things please, let them be urged by the clerics and their sanctifiers, that within their octaves he may pay all that he has vowed.

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

be opportune, should think that I am feigning anything in deploring these things, when even at Hippo itself it is already said, that Proculeianus did not command this which the public office has renounced.

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

is especially with Proculeianus. But if by chance he thinks himself unequal, let him implore the aid of whichever of his colleagues he shall have wished. For in other cities we act only so much, what pertains to the Church, as much as either they permit us, or the bishops of the same cities, our brothers and fellow-priests, impose on us.

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

LETTER XXXV. Again he interpellates Eusebius, that he may take care that the license of

the Donatist clerics be coerced through Bishop Proculeianus: otherwise that no one should complain of him, if he shall have caused this to be brought to his notice through public codices.

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

1. I have not, as a troublesome exhorter or deprecator, imposed upon your unwilling will the judgment to be undergone among bishops, as you say. Which indeed if I had wished to persuade, I could perhaps easily show how much you are able to judge between us in so manifest and open a cause, and of what sort that is which you do, that the parts not being heard, you already do not doubt to bring a sentence for one part, who dread judgment; but this, as I said, I meanwhile omit. But I had asked nothing else of your honorable benignity, which I ask at length that you deign to advert to in this letter at least, except that you should inquire from Proculeianus, whether he himself said this to his presbyter Victor, which the public office renounced was said to it by him; or by chance those who were sent, did not follow what they heard from Victor, but followed a falsehood in the Acts; then what should seem to him concerning that whole question to be discussed between us. But I think he does not become a judge, who is asked that he should interrogate some one, and should deign to write back what shall have been responded to him. This therefore I ask even now that you do not think it heavy to do, because he

does not wish to receive my letters, as I have also experienced: which if he had wished, I would surely not act through your Excellency. But when he does not wish it, what can I act more mildly, than that through you, such a man, and who loves him, something should be interrogated, from which my burden prohibits me to be silent? But that the mother was beaten by the son, displeased your gravity; but he, you said, if he knew, would be about to prohibit so nefarious a youth from his communion; I briefly respond: now he has learned, now let him prohibit.

2. I add also another thing: A subdeacon once of the Spanish Church, by name Primus, when he was prohibited from the undisciplined access of holy women, and contemned ordained and sound precepts, was removed from the clerical office, and he himself, irritated against the discipline of God, transferred himself to them, and was rebaptized. Two holy women also, his fellow-colonists from a farm of Catholic Christians, whether he himself transferred them, or they followed him, nevertheless they also were rebaptized; and now with troops of Circumcellions among wandering troops of women, who for that reason did not wish to have husbands lest they should have discipline, he exults proud in revelries of detestable wine-bibbing, rejoicing that a most wide license of bad conversation is open to him, whence in the Catholic Church he was prohibited. And this perhaps Proculeianus is ignorant of. Therefore through your gravity and modesty let it be brought to his notice; let him

command him, who for no other reason chose that communion, except because in the Catholic Church he had lost the clerical office on account of inobedience and lost morals, to be removed from his communion.

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

Tit. 1:9-11), let no man think that silence concerning these things is to be persuaded to me. But if they shall have thought that anything is to be dared violently or robber-like, the Lord will not be wanting to protect his Church, who subjected all earthly kingdoms to his yoke in her bosom diffused through the whole world.

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

your sheep depredate them with bites; you, if you are good shepherds, be silent. For what else did Proculeianus command, if he truly himself commanded it? If you are a Christian, keep this for the judgment of God, unless we do it, you be silent. The same presbyter also dared to threaten a rustic man, the conductor of a farm of the church.

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

LETTER XXXVI.

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

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

CHAPTER ONE.

1. I do not know how it happened that I did not return my letter to your first one; nevertheless, I know that I did not do it out of contempt. For I am delighted both by your studies and by your

speech itself, and I both desire and exhort you at this youthful age to progress in the word of God and to abound for the edification of the Church. But now, having received your second writings, in which you demand that you be responded to at last by the right of charity, in which we are one, in a fraternal and most equitable manner, I did not think that the desire of your affection should be deferred further, and among my most pressing occupations, I undertook to absolve myself of this debt to you.

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

should be sent with your prior letters so that it might be responded to.

CHAPTER II.

3. But my spans of time are not so broad that I may spend them in refuting each of his sentences, which I have necessary for explaining other more urgent works. But with that talent by which you show yourself to me in your letters, which gift of God in you I greatly love, consider that same discourse of a certain Urbicus (as you write) a little more diligently yourself, and you will see that he has not at all feared to tear the almost universal Church of Christ, from the rising of the sun even to its setting, with most injurious words. Nor would I say almost universal, but plainly universal. For he is found not to have spared even the Romans themselves, whose custom he seems to defend; but he does not know how the impetus of his reproaches also overflows upon them, because he does not notice. For when arguments fail him by which he may prove that one must fast on the Sabbath, he mockingly inveighs against the luxuries of banquets and drunken feasts and the most wicked ebrieties, as if not to fast were to be inebriated. But if this is so, what then does it benefit the Romans to fast on the Sabbath? since indeed on other days on which they do not fast, it is necessary that they, according to the disputation of this man, be judged drunkards and belly-worshippers. Furthermore, if it is one thing to weigh down hearts in surfeiting and ebriety, which is always evil, but another thing,

with modesty and temperance preserved, to relax a fast, which certainly when it is done on the Lord's day has no Christian reprover; let that man first discern the luncheons of the saints from the voracity and ebriety of belly-worshippers, lest he make the Romans themselves belly-worshippers when they do not fast, and then let him inquire, not whether it is lawful to be inebriated on the Sabbath, which is not lawful even on the Lord's day; but whether one should not fast even on the Sabbath, just as it is not customary on the Lord's day.

4. Which would that he thus sought, or thus affirmed, so that he would not most openly blaspheme the Church diffused throughout the whole world, the Romans and still a few Westerners excepted. But now who could bear it that throughout all the Oriental and many Western Christian peoples, concerning so many and such great servants and handmaids of Christ, dining soberly and modestly on the Sabbath, it is said by this man that they are in the flesh and cannot please God, and that it is written of them: 'Depart from me, you wicked, I will not know their way'; and that they are belly-worshippers, preferring Judea to the Church, and children of the bondwoman; and consulting the belly by a law not just but voluptuous, not succumbing to discipline; and that they are flesh and savor of death, and other things of this kind: which if he said of any one servant of God, who ought to hear him, who not to avoid him? But when he pursues with these reproaches and maledictions

the Church throughout the whole world bearing fruit and growing and dining almost everywhere on the day of the Sabbath, I admonish whoever he is that he should restrain himself. For since you wished me to be ignorant of his name, surely you did not wish me to judge concerning him.

CHAPTER III.

5. 'The Son of Man,' he says, 'is Lord of the Sabbath': in which especially it is lawful to do well rather than ill (Matth. XII, 8-12). If therefore we do ill when we dine, we live well on no Lord's day. But because he confesses that the Apostle ate on the Sabbath, and says that at that time there was no time for fasting, on account of which the Lord said: 'The days will come that the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall the children of the bridegroom fast' (Id. IX, 15), because there is a time of joy and a time of mourning (Eccle. III, 4), he ought first to have attended to the fact that there the Lord was speaking of fasting, not of the Sabbath fast. Then when he wishes mourning to be understood by fasting, and joy to be deputed to food, why does he not consider that whatever it is that God wished to signify in that which is written, that on the seventh day He rested from all His works (Gen. II, 2), not mourning was signified there, but joy? Unless perhaps he is going to say that in that rest of God and sanctification of the Sabbath, joy was signified to the Jews, and mourning to the Christians. And yet neither when God sanctified the seventh day, because in it He rested from all

His works, did He express anything concerning the fast or the luncheon of the Sabbath; nor when afterwards He commanded the Hebrew people concerning the observation of that same day, did He speak anything concerning taking or not taking foods. Only cessation (vacatio) for man from his own or from servile works is commanded: which the former people, receiving in the shadow of future things, thus ceased from works just as we now see the Jews ceasing; not, as it is thought, to carnal Jews not rightly understanding what Christians rightly understand. For neither do we understand this better than the Prophets, who nevertheless at that time in which it was necessary thus to be done, observed this Sabbath cessation, which the Jews think is still to be observed. Whence it is that God commanded the man to be stoned who had collected wood on the Sabbath (Num. XV, 35); but nowhere do we read of anyone stoned or judged worthy of any punishment, whether fasting on the Sabbath or dining. Yet which of these two is suitable for rest, which for labor, let that man himself see, who deputed joy to those eating and mourning to those fasting, or understood it to be deputed by the Lord, where responding concerning fasting He says: 'The children of the bridegroom cannot mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them' (Matth. IX, 15).

6. But as to what he says, that the Apostles ate on the Sabbath for this reason, because it was not yet time that they should fast on the Sabbath; because forsooth the tradition of the

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

CHAPTER IV.

7. 'How,' he says, 'shall we not be condemned with the Pharisee, fasting twice in the Sabbath?' as if the Pharisee were condemned for this reason, because he fasted twice in the Sabbath, and not because he puffed up himself above the Publican (Luke XVIII, 11, 12). But this man can also say that those who give tithes of all their fruits to the poor are condemned with the Pharisee, because

he also proclaimed this among his works; which we desire to be done by many Christians, and we find scarcely a very few: or indeed that he who is not unjust, an adulterer, and a robber will be condemned with the Pharisee, because he boasted that he was not such; which certainly whoever feels, is insane. Furthermore, if these without doubt good things which the Pharisee mentioned as being in himself are not to be held with the proud boasting which appeared in him, but yet are to be held with the humble piety which was not in him: thus also to fast twice in the Sabbath in a man such as that Pharisee was is unfruitful; but in a man humbly faithful, or faithfully humble, it is religious: although the evangelical Scripture has not said the Pharisee was condemned, but rather said the Publican was justified.

8. But if this man thinks that what the Lord said is to be understood in this way: 'Unless your justice shall abound more than that of the Scribes and Pharisees, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven' (Matth. V, 20), and that unless we fast more than twice in the Sabbath, we cannot fulfill this precept; it is well that there are seven days which are recalled by the volume of time through their own tracks. When therefore anyone shall have subtracted two days from these, lest he fast on the Sabbath and on the Lord's day, there remain five days in which he can surpass the Pharisee fasting twice in the Sabbath. For I think that if anyone fasts three times in the Sabbath, he already surpasses the Pharisee, who

fasted twice in the Sabbath. But if also four times, or even so that none of the days, the Sabbath and the Lord's day excepted, be omitted, he fasts five times in the week, which many do in their whole life, especially those constituted in monasteries; not only the Pharisee who fasted twice in the Sabbath, but even the Christian who has been accustomed to fast on the fourth and sixth days and on the Sabbath itself, which the Roman populace frequently does, will be surpassed in the labor of fasting: and yet I know not who this disputant Urbicus is, as you say, who even if anyone fasts for five continuous days besides the Sabbath and the Lord's day so that on no day at all he refreshes his body, calls him carnal, as if food and drink on the other days did not pertain to the flesh; and judges him a belly-worshipper, as if the luncheon of the Sabbath alone descended into the belly.

CHAPTER V.

9. To this man it certainly does not suffice that which already suffices for overcoming the Pharisee, that one fast three times in the Sabbath; but he compels to fast on the six other days, the Lord's day excepted, so that he says: 'The ancient stain being removed, the two in one flesh, already remaining under the discipline of Christ, ought not to exercise the voluptuous banquets of the Sabbaths with the children without law, and with the princes of Sodom, and with the populace of Gomorrah;' 'but with the inhabitants of holiness and those devoted to God, to fast more and more legitimately by solemn and ecclesiastical

right, so that the light error of six days may be washed away by the fountains of fasting, prayer, and almsgiving,' 'by which we may all be able, refreshed by the Lord's alogia, to sing worthily with an equal heart: "Thou hast satisfied, O Lord, the empty soul, and hast given drink to the thirsty soul."' Saying these things and excepting only the Lord's day from the frequency of fasting, he improvidently and incautiously accuses not only the Oriental and Western Christian peoples, among whom no one fasts on the Sabbath; but even the Roman Church itself. For when he says: 'those remaining under the discipline of Christ ought not to exercise the voluptuous banquets of the Sabbaths with the children without law, with the princes of Sodom, with the populace of Gomorrah, but with the inhabitants of holiness and those devoted to God, to fast more and more legitimately by solemn and ecclesiastical right;' and then defining what it is to fast legitimately, he subjoins and says: 'so that the light error of six days may be washed away by the fountains of fasting, prayer, and almsgiving;' surely he does not think that those who fast less than six days in a week exercise fasting legitimately, nor that they are devoted to God, nor that they wash away the stains of error which are contracted from this mortality. Let the Romans see, therefore, what they should do, because they also are treated too contumeliously by the disputation of this man; among whom on all those six days, a very few clerics or monks excepted, how many are found who frequent daily fasts? especially since it does

not seem that one should fast there on the fifth day (Thursday).

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

11. Now indeed since he wishes to be seen as a spiritual man, and accuses those dining on the Sabbath as carnal, attend to how on the Lord's day he is refreshed not by a spare luncheon, but is delighted by alogia. But what is alogia, which word is usurped from the Greek language,

unless when one indulges in banquets so that one deviates from the path of reason? Whence animals lacking reason are called aloga, to which those given to the belly are similar: on account of which, an immoderate feast, by which the mind, in which reason dominates, is in a certain way overwhelmed by the engorgement of eating and drinking, is called alogia. Moreover, also on account of food and drink, he says it should be sung with the alogia of the belly, not of the mind, on the Lord's day: 'Thou hast satisfied, O Lord, the empty soul, and hast given drink to the thirsty soul.' O spiritual man! O reprover of the carnal! O great faster, and not a belly-cultivator! Behold him who admonishes us lest by the law of the belly we corrupt the law of the Lord, lest we sell the bread of heaven for earthly food, and he adds: 'Because by food Adam perished from paradise, by food Esau lost his birthright.' Behold him who says: 'For it is a usual calumny of Satan, the temptation of the belly, which persuades a little that it may take away the whole.' And the interpretation of these precepts, he says, bows down belly-worshippers less.

12. Does he not seem by these words of his to act so that one should fast even on the Lord's day? Otherwise the Sabbath day, on which the Lord rested in the tomb, will be more holy than the Lord's day, on which He rose from the dead. For surely the Sabbath is holier if, according to the words of this man, in the Sabbath every sin is avoided through fasting, and that which was contracted on other days is abolished: but

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

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

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

fast on the Sabbath, just as it does not pertain to the matter that we should fast on the Lord's day.

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

CHAPTER VII.

15. And he tries to prove by divine testimonies that one should fast on the Sabbath: but whence he may prove this he finds not at all. 'Jacob ate,'

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

'That I may more expressly,' he says, 'contradict those erring, no one by fasting offends God,

even if he does not merit; furthermore, even not to offend is to merit.' Who would say this, except he who would not consider what he said? Therefore the Pagans when they fast do not for that reason more offend God: or if he wished what he said to be understood concerning Christians, who will not offend God if he wishes, with the scandal of the whole Church which is dilated everywhere, to fast on the Lord's day? Then he subjects testimonies from the Scriptures that are worth nothing for the cause which he undertook. 'By fasting,' he says, 'Elijah, gifted with paradise, reigns in the body': as if they do not preach fasting who do not fast on the Sabbath, just as they preach fasting who nevertheless do not fast on the Lord's day; or Elijah fasted at that time in which the people of God also fasted on the Sabbath. But what we responded concerning the forty days of the fast of Moses, think that this is the response also concerning the forty days of Elijah. 'By fasting,' he says, 'Daniel escaped unharmed the dry rage of the lions': as if he had read that he fasted on the Sabbath, or even was with the lions on the Sabbath; where nevertheless we read that he also dined. 'By fasting,' he says, 'the faithful brotherhood of the three, having dominated the prison flashing with fires, adored the Lord received by the hospitality of the pyre.' These examples of the saints are worth nothing for persuading the fast of any day; how much less of the Sabbath? Since indeed it is not only not read that the three men were sent into the furnace of burning fire on the Sabbath; but

not even that is read, that they were there so long that anyone could say they fasted, rather indeed it is scarcely the space of one hour in which their confession and hymn is sung: nor did they walk longer among those harmless flames than they finished that canticle. Unless perhaps by this man even the space of one hour is deputed to fasting. But if it is so, he has no reason to be angry with those dining on the Sabbath: for up to the hour of luncheon, it is fasted much more prolixly than in that furnace.

17. He also employs that testimony of the Apostle, where he says: 'The kingdom of God is not food and drink, but justice and peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit' (Rom. XIV, 17); and by the kingdom of God he wishes the Church to be understood, in which God reigns. I beseech you, was the Apostle doing this when he spoke those things, that it should be fasted on the Sabbath by Christians? But neither was he speaking of the fast itself of any day when he said these things. For it was said against those who, in the manner of the Jews, according to the old Law thought there was cleanliness in the observation of certain foods, and for the admonition of those brothers, by whose food and drink accepted indifferently the weak were scandalized. Therefore when he had said: 'Do not destroy him with thy food, for whom Christ died' (Ibid., 15); and, 'Let not then our good be blasphemed' (Ibid., 16); then he added: 'For the kingdom of God is not food and drink.' For just as this man understands these words of the Apostle, so that the kingdom

of God, which is the Church, should not be in food and drink, but in fasting; I do not say, to fast on Sabbaths, but we ought never at all to take food and drink, lest we should ever depart from this kingdom of God. But I think that, by this man's confession, we pertain somewhat more religiously to the Church on the Lord's day, when nevertheless even with him conceding it we dine.

CHAPTER VIII. 'Why,' he says, 'do we murmur to offer a sacrifice dear to the more powerful Lord, which the spirit desires and the angel praises?' then he adds the testimony of the angel saying: 'Prayer is good with fasting and almsgiving' (Tob. XII, 8). What he meant by 'to the more powerful Lord,' I know not, unless perhaps the writer erred, and it escaped you, so that you did not emend what you sent to me to be read. He wishes fasting therefore to be understood as a sacrifice dear to the Lord, as if this question turned upon fasting, and not upon the Sabbath fast. For neither is the Lord's day passed without a sacrifice which is dear to God, because it is not fasted. He follows still and brings in testimonies completely alien to the cause which he undertook to defend. 'Offer,' he says, 'to God the sacrifice of praise' (Psal. XLIX, 14); and wishing to connect that voice of the divine psalm to that which is being done, I know not how: 'Surely,' he says, 'not a banquet of blood or of ebriety, in which not the praises due to God, but blasphemies with the devil supporting them grow wild.' O improvident presumption! Therefore the sacrifice of praise is not offered on the Lord's day, because it is not fasted; but a ban-

quet of ebriety is enacted, and blasphemies with the devil supporting them grow wild. Which if it is a nefarious thing to say; let him understand that fasting is not signified in that which is written: 'Offer to God the sacrifice of praise.' For fasting is not enacted on certain days, and especially on feast days. But the sacrifice of praise is offered on all days by the Church diffused throughout the whole world. Otherwise, what no one, I do not say Christian, but not even insane, would dare to say, those fifty days after Easter until Pentecost in which it is not fasted, will be according to this man alien from the sacrifice of praise, on which days only in many churches, but in all especially, Alleluia is sung; which voice to be one of praise no Christian, however unskilful, is ignorant.

19. He confesses nevertheless that even on the Lord's day itself one dines not in ebriety, but in pleasantness, when he says that we, from the Jews and Gentiles many Christians in name, few elect in faith, ought at the evening incense of the Sabbaths to offer a fast pleasing to God with praises in place of the victims of cattle, by whose fervor the works of transgressions being burned may fail. 'And in the morning,' he says, 'may our hearing hear us from ourselves, and there shall be to us houses for eating and drinking, not in ebriety, but in pleasantness, the Lord's celebration being perfected.' Then therefore eulogia, not as he said above, alogia is celebrated. But why the Sabbath day offends him, which the Lord sanctified, I know not, so that in it he does not think one can eat and drink with such pleasantness which

may lack ebriety; since we could so fast before the Sabbath, just as he says one must fast on the Sabbath before the Lord's day: or does he judge it to be nefarious that one dines for two continuous days? Let him see therefore with how much contumely he affects the Roman Church itself also, where even in these weeks in which it is fasted on the fourth and sixth days and on the Sabbath, nevertheless on three continuous days, namely the Lord's day and then the second and third days (Monday and Tuesday), one dines.

'The life of the sheep is certain,' he says, 'to depend on the judgment of the shepherds: but "Woe to those who say that good is evil, and darkness light, and light darkness, and bitter sweet, and sweet bitter"' (Isai. V, 20). What these words of his mean, I do not sufficiently understand. For if he says these things thus, as you write, Urbicus; in the City the populace depending on the judgment of the shepherd fasts on the Sabbath with its bishop. But if he wrote those things to you thus, because in your letter you yourself also wrote something of such a kind; let him not persuade you so to praise the Christian city fasting on the Sabbath, that you are compelled to condemn the Christian world dining. For when he says: 'Woe to those who say that good is evil, and darkness light, and light darkness, and bitter sweet, and sweet bitter,' wishing the Sabbath fast to be understood as good and light and sweet, but the luncheon as evil and darkness and bitter; who doubts that he condemns the whole world of lands in all Christians dining on the Sabbath? Nor

does he respect himself, nor attend to what he says, so that he may be restrained from this headlong audacity by his own writings. For he immediately subjoined: 'Let no one therefore judge you in food or in drink' (Coloss. II, 16): which he himself surely does, who thus argues against those taking food and drink on the Sabbath. How much it was, that from here it should come into his mind also that which the same apostle says elsewhere: 'He that eateth, let him not despise him that eateth not; and he that eateth not, let him not judge him that eateth'? This measure, this temperament, by which he might avoid scandals, he should hold between those fasting on the Sabbath and those eating, so that anyone eating should not despise him not eating, and he not eating should not judge the one eating.

CHAPTER IX.

21. Peter also, he says, the head of the Apostles, the gatekeeper of heaven, and the foundation of the Church, after Simon had been extinguished —who had been a figure of the devil to be conquered only by fasting—taught this very thing to the Romans, whose faith is announced to the whole world of lands. Did the other Apostles then teach Christians throughout the whole world to dine against Peter? Just as Peter and his fellow disciples lived harmoniously among themselves, so let those whom Peter planted live harmoniously among themselves fasting on the Sabbath, and those whom his fellow disciples planted live harmoniously among themselves

dining on the Sabbath. There is indeed also this opinion of many, although most Romans claim it to be false, that the apostle Peter, when about to contend with Simon Magus on the Lord's day, because of the danger of that great temptation, fasted on the day before with the Church of the same city, and having followed such a prosperous and glorious success, held the same custom, and some Churches of the West imitated it. But if, as that man says, Simon Magus was a figure of the devil, that tempter is clearly not a 'Sabbath-keeper' or a 'Lord's-day-keeper,' but a daily one; yet it is not fasted against him daily, when one dines on all Lord's days, on the fifty days after Easter, and in various places on the solemn days of the martyrs and on every feast: and yet the devil is conquered, if our eyes are always toward the Lord, that he himself may pluck our feet out of the snare (Psal. XXIV, 15); and whether we eat or whether we drink, or whatever we do, let us do all for the glory of God; and as much as is in us, let us be without offense to the Jews and to the Greeks and to the Church of God (I Cor. X, 31, 32). Which they think little of, who eat with offense, or fast with offense, and through either intemperance stir up scandals, by which the devil is not overcome, but rejoices.

22. But if it is answered that James taught this in Jerusalem, John in Ephesus, and the others in other places, which Peter taught in Rome, that is, that it should be fasted on the Sabbath, but that the other lands deviated from this doctrine, and Rome stood in it: and on the contrary it is

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

CHAPTER X.

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

the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath' (Luc. VI, 5). But in that he wants us to be so foreign to the Sabbath, just as the Jews are foreign to the Lord's Day, does he not err so much that he could even say that we ought not to receive the Law nor the Prophets, just as the Jews do not receive the Gospel nor the Apostles? You certainly understand what evil he who savors this may savor. But 'all old things,' he says, 'have passed away, and in Christ they have been made new' (II Cor. V, 17): this is true. For on that account we do not vacate for Sabbaths like the Jews, even if for the sake of signifying the rest which was signified on that day, Christian sobriety and frugality being preserved, we relax the bond of the fast. And if some of our brothers do not think that the rest of the Sabbath ought to be signified by the relaxation of the fast, we by no means litigate concerning the variety of the royal garment, lest we vex the interior members of the queen herself, where we hold one faith even concerning that rest. For even if, because old things have passed away, the carnal vacation of the Sabbath has also passed away with them; yet because we dine on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day without superstitious vacation, we do not therefore serve two masters, because there is one master of both the Sabbath and the Lord's Day.

But this man who says that old things have passed away in such a way that in Christ the altar should give way to the altar (ara altari), the sword to fasting, fire to prayers, the beast to bread, and blood to the cup, knows not that the name of

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

true rest is desired, while in the former temporal vacation is now contemned as superstitious.

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

26. Nevertheless, in the fasting or luncheon of this Sabbath, nothing seems to me more safely and peacefully preserved than that he who eats should not despise him that eats not, and he that eats not should not judge him that eats; because neither if we eat shall we abound, nor if we eat not shall we lack (Rom. XIV, 3): the inoffensive

society of those among whom we live, and with whom we live for God, being surely guarded in these matters. For just as that which the Apostle says is true, that it is evil for the man who eats through offense (Ibid., 20, and I Cor. VIII, 8); so it is evil for the man who fasts through offense. Therefore, let us not be like those who, seeing John not eating nor drinking, said: 'He has a demon.' But nor again like those who, seeing Christ eating and drinking, said: 'Behold a man gluttonous and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners' (Matth. XI, 19). For the Lord himself subjoined a very necessary thing to these words and said: 'And wisdom has been justified in her children' (Ibid.). But if you ask who these are, read what is written: 'The children of wisdom are the Church of the just' (Eccli. III, 1): these are they who, when they eat, do not despise those not eating; when they do not eat, they do not judge those eating; but they clearly either despise or judge those who through offense either do not eat or eat.

CHAPTER XII.

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

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

CHAPTER XIII.

30. But as to why the Church fasts especially on the fourth and sixth days, that reason seems to be rendered, that considering the Gospel, on that very fourth day of the week, which they commonly call the fourth feria, the Jews are found to have made a counsel for killing the Lord. But one day having been interposed, on whose evening the Lord ate the Passover with the disciples, which was the end of that day which we call

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

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

done, had to be signified by a more prolonged fast.

CHAPTER XIV.

32. But since we do not find, as I have already commemorated above, in the evangelical and apostolic Letters, which properly belong to the revelation of the New Testament, that fasts are evidently commanded to be observed on certain specific days, and therefore this thing also, just as many others which it is difficult to enumerate, finds a place of variety in the garment of that daughter of the king, that is the Church; I will indicate to you what the venerable Ambrose, by whom I was baptized, the bishop of Milan, answered to me when I asked about this. For when my mother was with me in the same city, and while we were still catechumens caring little for these things, she bore the solicitude whether she should fast on the Sabbath according to the custom of our city, or have luncheon according to the custom of the Church of Milan; so that I might free her from this hesitation, I interrogated this above-mentioned man of God. But he said: What can I teach here more than I myself do? Where I had thought that he had commanded nothing by this response, except that we should have luncheon on the Sabbath; for I knew that he himself did this: but he followed and added, When I am here, I do not fast on the Sabbath; when I am in Rome, I fast on the Sabbath: and to whatever Church you come, he said, observe its custom, if you do not want to suffer or cause a

scandal. I reported this response to my mother, and it sufficed for her, nor did she doubt that she should obey: we also have followed this. But since it happens, especially in Africa, that one Church or the Churches of one region have some having luncheon on the Sabbath, others fasting; their custom seems to me to be followed, to whom the congregation of those peoples has been committed to be ruled. Wherefore if you freely acquiesce in my counsel, especially because in this cause I have spoken perhaps more than was enough, at your asking and urging; do not resist your bishop in this matter, and what he himself does, follow without any scruple or disputation.

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

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

to be embraced with most venerable and sincere charity.

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

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

LETTER XXXVIII.

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

To brother PROFUTURUS, AUGUSTINE.

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

2. That the old man Megalius has died, who would doubt that you have already heard? For from the deposition of his body, when I was writing these things, there were almost twenty-four days. Whether you have already seen (for you were disposing so) the successor of his primacy, we want to know if it can be done. Scandals are not lacking, but neither is refuge; sorrows are not

lacking, but neither are consolations. And among these how one must watch, lest the hatred of anyone hold the innermost parts of the heart, nor permit that we pray to God in our chamber with the door closed (Matth. VI, 6), but close the door against God himself, you know, best brother: but it creeps in, while to no one being angry does his anger seem unjust. For thus anger becoming old becomes hatred, while as it were the sweetness of just grief being mixed in, it detains it longer in the vessel, until the whole becomes sour, and corrupts the vessel. Wherefore much better we are angry at no one even justly, than by being angry as if justly we slide into the hatred of someone with a hidden facility of anger. For in receiving unknown guests, we are wont to say, it is much better to endure a bad man, than perhaps through ignorance to exclude a good one, while we take care lest a bad one be received: but in the affections of the soul it is the contrary. For it is incomparably more salubrious not to open the secret place of the heart even to anger justly knocking, than to admit that which will not easily recede, and will arrive from a twig to a beam. For indeed it dares to grow impudently faster than is thought. For it does not blush in the darkness, when the sun has set upon it (Eph. IV, 26). You surely recall with what care and with how much solicitude I wrote these things, if you recall what you recently spoke with me on a certain journey.

3. We salute brother Severus, and those who are with him. Perhaps we would even write to

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

LETTER XXXIX.

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

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

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

these. But why he has sailed to the West, you will be able to know by him narrating it.

CHAPTER II.

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

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

CHAPTER FIRST. 1. I have gratitude that for the subscripted salutation, you rendered a full letter to me, but much shorter than I would wish to take from you, from such a man, by whom no speech is prolix, however much times it may

occupy. Although therefore we are surrounded by great cares of the businesses of others, and those secular; nevertheless I would not easily pardon the brevity of your letter, unless I thought by how much fewer of my words it was rendered. Wherefore, I ask, enter upon this literary conversation with us, lest it be allowed for corporal absence much to disjoin us: although we are conjoined in the Lord by the unity of the Spirit, even if we rest from the style, and are silent. And the books indeed, which you have elaborated from the Lord's granary, exhibit almost the whole of you to us. For if for this reason we do not know you, because we have not seen the face of your body: in this way neither do you know yourself; for you also do not see it. But if you are not known to yourself for anything else, except because you know your mind; we also know it not moderately in your letters, in which we bless the Lord, because he gave you such a one to yourself, and to us, and to all the brothers who read yours.

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

and now up to the present living; we wonder why you either imposed this title on it, or are believed to have imposed it. Surely we sufficiently approve the same book as usefully composed by you.

CHAPTER III.

3. In the exposition also of the Letter of Paul to the Galatians, we found something which moves us much. For if officious lies were to be admitted to the holy Scriptures, what of authority will remain in them? what sentence at length will be brought forward from those Scriptures, by whose weight the impropriety of contentious falsity may be crushed? For immediately as you shall have brought it forward; if he who strives against it tastes otherwise, he will say that that which shall have been brought forward, the writer lied by some honest office. For where will this not be able to be, if it could in that narration, which the Apostle having begun says, *But the things which I write to you, behold before God because I lie not* (Gal. 1, 20), be believed and affirmed that he lied in that place where he said of Peter and Barnabas: *When I saw that they did not walk uprightly to the truth of the Gospel* (Ibidem, II, 14)? For if they were walking uprightly, he lied; but if he lied there, where did he speak the truth? Or will he be seen to have spoken the truth there, where he shall have said this, which the reader tastes; but when something shall have occurred against the sense of the reader, it will be deputed to an officious lie? For causes will not be able to be lacking, why it should be thought not only to

have been able, but even to have been necessary to lie, if a place is granted to this rule. It is not necessary to act this cause with many words, especially with you, to whom it is enough said to the wisely providing one. By no means indeed would I arrogate to myself that I should contend to enrich your genius, golden by a divine gift, with my obols; nor is anyone more suitable than you, who may emend that work.

CHAPTER IV. 4. For you are not to be taught by me how that is understood which the same says, *I became to the Jews as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews* (I Cor. IX, 20); and the other things which are said there by compassion of mercy, not by simulation of fallacy. For he becomes as if sick who ministers to the sick; not when he lies that he has fevers, but when by the mind of the one condoning he thinks in what way he would want to be served to himself, if he himself were sick. For surely he was a Jew; but having been made a Christian, he had not relinquished the Sacraments of the Jews, which conveniently that people and at the legitimate time in which it behooved, had received. Therefore he took them up to be celebrated, when he was already an Apostle of Christ; but that he might teach that they were not pernicious to those who willed them, as they had received from their parents through the Law, to keep, even when they had believed in Christ, nevertheless they should not already constitute the hope of salvation in them; since through the Lord Jesus salvation itself, which was signified by those Sacraments, had arrived. And therefore

he thought that to the Gentiles, because they would recall the unaccustomed from the faith by a heavy and not necessary burden, they were by no means to be imposed (Acts XV, 28).

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

6. This of the Jews Paul had dismissed, what they had of evil; and in the first place that, that *ignoring the justice of God, and willing to establish their own justice, they were not subject to the justice of God* (Rom. X, 3). Then because after the passion and resurrection of Christ, the

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

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

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

CHAPTER V.

8. I had already written a letter to you hence once which was not delivered, because he to whom I had handed it to be delivered did not proceed: from which that occurred to me, when I was dictating this one, which I ought not to have

omitted in this one also, that if your opinion is another, and the same is better, you may freely pardon my fear. For if you feel otherwise, and you feel the truth (for unless it be true, it cannot be better), that I may not say no fault, surely no great fault favors my error to the truth, if rightly in anything the truth can favor a lie.

CHAPTER VI.

9. Concerning Origen however that you deigned to write back, I already knew that not only in ecclesiastical letters, but in all things you approve and praise the right and true which we have found; but you disapprove and reprove the false and depraved. But I was desiring from your prudence and doctrine, and still desire, that you make known to us those very errors of his, by which that so great man is convinced to have receded from the faith of truth. Also in the book in which you commemorated all the ecclesiastical writers whom you were able to remember and their writings, it would be made more conveniently, as I think, if having named those whom you know to be heresiarchs, when you willed not even to omit them, you should also subjoin in what things they were to be avoided: although you also passed over some; which I would desire to know by what counsel it was done. Or if perhaps you did not want to burden that volume, so that having commemorated the heretics, you would not add in what things the catholic authority condemned them; I ask that it may not be heavy to your literary labor, by

which not moderately through the grace of the Lord our God, you have both enkindled and aided the studies of the saints in the Latin tongue, that which fraternal charity indicates to you through my humility, that if your occupations permit, you may publish briefly digested in one booklet the perverse dogmas of all heretics, who have tried to deprave the rectitude of the Christian faith up to this time either by impudence or by unskillfulness or by pervicacity, for the knowledge of those for whom either there is no leisure on account of other businesses, or who on account of a foreign language are not able to read and know so many things. I would ask you for a long time, unless this were wont to be an indication of one presuming less of charity. Meanwhile I commend much to your benignity this brother our Paul in Christ, to whose reputation in our regions we render a good testimony before God.

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

1. *Our mouth was filled with joy, and our tongue with exultation* (Psal. CXXV, 2), your letters announcing that your holy thought, the Lord aiding who inspired it, has been brought to effect, concerning all our ordained brothers,

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

permit that we be tempted above that which we can bear, but *let him make with the temptation also an exit, that we may be able to sustain* (I Cor. X, 13).

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

LETTER XLII. Augustine to Paulinus, demanding that the debt of letters not rendered for more than a whole year be paid, and that he send to him the work against the Pagans, when he shall have finished it. It is now produced for the

first time from a bark codex, which was once of the church of Narbonne, but now is of the illustrious Phimarconian family: To the laudable lords in Christ most holy brothers PAULINUS and THERASIA, AUGUSTINE, greetings in the Lord.

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

LETTER XLIII.

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

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

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. The apostle Paul indeed said: *Avoid a heretical man after one correction, knowing that such a one is subverted, and sins, and is condemned by himself* (Tit. III, 10, 11). But those who defend their opinion, although false and perverse, with no pertinacious animosity, especially which they did not bear from the audacity of their own presumption, but received from parents seduced and lapsed into error, but who seek the truth with cautious solicitude, prepared to be corrected when they shall have found it; are by no means to be deputed among the heretics. Unless I believed you to be such, perhaps I would send no letters to you. Although we admonish that even the heretic himself, however much swollen with odious pride and insane by the pervicacity of evil contention, is to be avoided, lest he deceive the weak and little ones; so we do not refuse that he is to be corrected in whatever ways we can. Whence it came to pass that we even wrote to some of the principals of the Donatists, not communicatory letters, which for a long time already they do not receive on account of their perversity from the catholic unity which is diffused through the whole world; but such private ones, such as it is licit for us to use even to Pagans, which although they sometimes read them, they nevertheless either willed not to respond to them, or, as it is more believed, were not able. Where it seemed enough to us to have fulfilled the office of charity, which the Holy Spirit teaches that we

owe not only to ours, but also to all, who says to us through the Apostle: *But may the Lord multiply you, and make you to abound in charity, toward one another and toward all* (I Thess. III, 12). He also admonishes in another place, that those who feel differently are to be corrected in modesty; *Lest perhaps*, he says, *God give them repentance to acknowledge the truth, and they may recover themselves from the snares of the devil, having been captivated by him into his will* (II Tim. II, 25, 26).

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

CHAPTER II.

3. Therefore, as you may deign to remember, when we were in your city, and were treating some things with you concerning the communion of Christian unity, there were brought forward from your parties certain Acts, in which

it was recited that nearly seventy bishops condemned Caecilian, formerly a bishop of our communion of the Church of Carthage, with his colleagues and ordainers. Where also the cause of Felix of Aptungi was ventilated much more invidiously and criminally than the rest. When all these had been read through, we responded that it was not to be wondered at, if the men who then made that schism, not without the making of Acts, thought that those against whom they had been incited by rivals and lost men, being absent and the cause unknown, were rashly to be condemned. But that we have other ecclesiastical Acts, in which Secundus of Tigisis, who then acted as primate in Numidia, left present and confessed traditors to be judged by God, and permitted them to remain in their episcopal sees, just as they were, whose names are numbered among the condemners of Caecilian; since even Secundus himself held the primacy of that same council, where he condemned the absent as if traditors by their sentences, to whom present and confessed he gave indulgence.

4. Then we said that, some time after the ordination of Majorinus, whom they raised against Caecilian with nefarious crime, erecting altar against altar, and dissipating the unity of Christ by furious discords, they petitioned from Constantine then emperor bishop-judges, who might judge as a middle arbiter concerning their questions which, having arisen in Africa, were breaking the bond of peace. After this was done, with Caecilian present and those who had

sailed against him, with Melchiades then bishop of the Roman city judging, with his colleagues whom the Emperor had sent at the prayers of the Donatists, nothing could be proved against Caecilian, and by this, he being confirmed in the episcopate, Donatus who was then present against him was disapproved. After these things were performed, since all those remained in the pertinacity of a most wicked schism, afterwards at Arles the mentioned emperor took care that the same cause be more diligently examined and terminated. But they appealed from the ecclesiastical judgment, that Constantine might hear the cause. After it was come to that point, with each party standing by, Caecilian was judged to have been innocent, and those departed overcome, and yet remained in the same perversity. Nor did negligence follow concerning the cause of Felix of Aptungi, but by the command of the same prince even he was purged by proconsular Acts.

5. But because we were only saying all these things, and not also reading them, we seemed to act less for you, than you expected from our instance. When we sensed this, we did not delay to send for those things which we had promised to be read. All which, while we ran out to the Church of Gelizita, to return thence to your town, came with an intermission of not full two days, and as you know, as much as the time admitted, were recited to you in one day. First where Secundus of Tigisis dared not remove confessed traditors from his college, with whom afterwards

he dared to condemn the unconfessed and absent Caecilian and others his colleagues: then the proconsular Acts, where Felix was proved innocent by a most diligent examination. You remember these things were read to you before noon. But after noon we recited their prayers to Constantine, and the bishop-judges having been given by him, the ecclesiastical Acts held in the Roman city, by which they were disapproved, but Caecilian confirmed in episcopal honor. Lastly, the letters of the emperor Constantine, by which all things shone forth most especially witnessed.

6. What more do you wish, men; what more do you wish? It is not concerning your gold and silver that it is acted; not land, not estates, not finally the health of your body is called into risk: concerning the attaining of eternal life and the fleeing of eternal death we compel your souls. Awake at last: we are not turned in some obscure question, we do not search out recondite secrets, for the penetrating of which either no or rare human hearts may suffice; the matter is in the open. What stands out more clearly? what is discerned more quickly? We say that in a rash council, however numerous, the innocent and absent were condemned. We prove this by proconsular Acts, by which he was judged alien from every crime of tradition, whom the Acts of the council brought forward by yours sounded as most especially criminal. We say that by confessed traditors, against those who were said to be traditors, sentences were spoken. We prove this by ecclesiastical Acts, where they are declared by name,

in which Secundus of Tigisis gave indulgence to those things which he knew, as if with a view of peace, and with whom afterwards he did not know, peace being torn asunder he condemned. Whence it appeared that he even at first had not consulted for peace, but had feared for himself. For Purpurius of Limata had objected to him that even he himself, when he had been detained by the curator and order that he might deliver the Scriptures, was dismissed, certainly not in vain, unless because he delivered them, or ordered something to be delivered. He fearing this sufficiently probable suspicion, a counsel having been accepted from the younger Secundus his kinsman, and the other bishops who were with him being consulted, he dismissed the most manifest crimes to be judged by God, and thus he seemed to have looked forward to peace; which was false, since he looked forward to himself.

7. For if the thought of peace dwelt in his heart, he would not afterwards at Carthage with traditors, whom present and confessed he had dismissed to God, condemn by the crime of tradition those whom absent at his place no one had convicted. For by so much more he ought to have feared lest the peace of unity be violated, by how much Carthage was a city large and illustrious, whence the evil which had arisen there might pour itself through the whole body of Africa, as if from the head. It was also near to transmarine regions and noble with most celebrated fame: whence it certainly had a bishop of no mediocre authority, who could not care for the conspiring

multitude of enemies, when he saw himself to be joined by communicatory letters both to the Roman Church, in which the primacy of the apostolic chair has always flourished, and to the other lands, whence the Gospel came to Africa itself, where he would be prepared to plead his cause, if his adversaries should try to alienate those Churches from him. Because therefore he willed not to come to the hospitality of colleagues, whom he sensed or suspected to have been perverted against the truth of his cause by his enemies, or, as they themselves assert, he feigned, by so much more Secundus, if he had willed to be a guardian of true peace, ought to have taken care lest the absent be condemned, who by no means willed to be present at their judgment. For it was not acted concerning presbyters or deacons or clerics of an inferior order, but concerning colleagues, who could reserve their cause entire for the judgment of other colleagues, especially of the apostolic Churches; where sentences spoken against them in their absence would in no way avail anything, when they did not first desert their judgment having approached it, but having always held it suspect they never willed to approach it.

8. This matter most especially ought to have solicited Secundus, who then was primate, if for this reason he ruled the council, that he might consult for peace; for he might easily perhaps have compressed the rabid mouths against the absent, pacified or bridled, if he should say: You see, brothers, after so great a slaughter of

persecution, that peace has been granted by the princes of the world by the mercy of God; we Christians and bishops ought not to disrupt the Christian unity, which now a pagan enemy does not follow. Therefore let us either dismiss all those causes, which the slaughter of a most turbulent time inflicted on the Church, to God the judge: or if there are some among you who so know certain crimes of those men, that they can easily be strong to teach them, and to convict those denying, and they fear to communicate with such, let them go to our brothers and colleagues the bishops of the transmarine Churches, and there first let them complain concerning the deeds and contumacy of those men, because they willed not to come to the judgment of African colleagues, being badly conscious to themselves, that thence it may be denounced to them that they come, and there respond to the things objected. Which if they shall not have done, there also their depravity and perversity will become known, and a tractatory letter having been sent concerning their name through the whole circle of the lands, wherever now the Church of Christ is dilated, their communion will be cut off by all the Churches, lest any error arise in the Chair of the Church of Carthage. Then finally secure we shall ordain another bishop for the people of Carthage, when those shall have been separated from the whole Church: lest perhaps when another shall now have been ordained, he may not be communicated with by the transmarine Church, because he will not seem to be

deposed from honor, whom fame has already celebrated as ordained, and has made communicatory letters to resort to him; and thus a great scandal of schism may arise in the unity of Christ in now pacified times, while we wish to precipitate our sentences prematurely, and dare to erect another altar, not against Caecilian, but against the whole circle of lands, which communicates to him through ignorance.

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

with most diligent discussion among the transmarine ecclesiastical judges.

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

did, so that these apostolic words may agree entirely and aptly against them.

11. Secundus therefore did not then consult for peace and unity when he dismissed their crimes to God: otherwise he would rather provide for this at Carthage, lest a schism be made, where no one was present to whom he was compelled to give a confessed crime; but what was most easy, the whole conservation of peace would be not to wish to condemn the absent. And so they would do injury to the innocent, even if they had willed to give indulgence to them not convicted, nor confessed, nor altogether present. For he receives pardon, whose fault is most certain. By how much more therefore were they more immoderate and blinder, who thought themselves able to condemn those things which being unknown they could not even have given? But there things known were dismissed to God, lest others be sought: here things unknown were condemned, that those might be covered. But someone will say: They knew. Which even if I should concede, even thus the absent altogether ought to have been spared. For they had not deserted the judgment, where they had never altogether stood; nor was the Church in those African bishops alone, so that they who had willed not to present themselves to their judgment should seem to have avoided every ecclesiastical judgment. For thousands of transmarine colleagues remained, where it appeared that they could be judged, who seemed to have African or Numidian colleagues suspect. For where is it that the Scripture cries

out: *Before you question, do not blame anyone; and when you shall have questioned, reprove justly* (Eccli. XI, 7). If therefore the Holy Spirit willed one neither to be blamed nor reproved unless questioned; by how much more wickedly were they not blamed or reproved, but altogether condemned, who being absent could in no way be questioned concerning their crimes?

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

CHAPTER IV.

13. Or perhaps as a certain one said, which indeed when it was said to you displeased, but nevertheless is not to be passed over; for a cer-

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

pay just and due penalties by those very secular laws.

CHAPTER V.

14. But if the proconsular Acts displease, yield to the ecclesiastical. All have been recited to you in order. Or perhaps bishop Melchiades ought not to have usurped for himself that judgment with his colleagues the transmarine bishops, which had been terminated by seventy Africans, where the primate of Tigisis presided? What of the fact that he did not even usurp it? For the emperor, having been asked, sent bishop-judges who might sit with him, and establish concerning that whole cause what should seem just. This we prove both by the prayers of the Donatists, and by the words of the emperor himself: for you remember each was read to you, and you now have the license of inspecting and describing. Read and consider all things. See with how great care of preserving or restoring peace and unity all things were discussed; in what manner the person of the accusers was treated, and by what stains it was disapproved in some of them, and it clearly appeared by the voices of those present, that they had nothing which they might say against Caecilian, but willed to transfer the whole cause onto the people of the party of Majorinus, that is, a seditious multitude and one alien from the peace of the Church, that Caecilian might be accused forsooth by that crowd, which they thought could by tumultuous clamors alone, with no attestation of documents,

with no examination of truth, detort the minds of the judges toward their own will; unless perhaps a furious multitude and one drunk with the cup of error and corruption should say true crimes against Caecilian, where seventy bishops, as it was established concerning Felix of Aptungi, condemned absent and innocent colleagues with such insane rashness. For to what kind of crowd had they consented, that they should bring forth sentences against the innocent who were not questioned; by such a crowd also they willed Caecilian to be accused again. But plainly they had not found such judges, to whom they might persuade that madness.

15. For you can, according to your prudence, both attend there to their perversity, and to the gravity of the judges, in what manner to the end they could not be persuaded, that Caecilian should be argued by the people of the party of Majorinus, which did not have a certain person; and there had been required from them either accusers or witnesses or those in whatever way necessary for the cause, who had come together with them from Africa, and it was said that they had been present and subtracted by Donatus. The same Donatus promised that he was about to exhibit them: which when he had promised not once, but quite often, he willed not to approach that judgment further, where he had already confessed so great things, that by not approaching thereafter he seemed to have willed nothing else than not to be condemned being present; when nevertheless those things which were to

be condemned, were manifested with him being present and questioned. There was added also another thing, that by certain ones a book of denunciation was given against Caecilian: after which fact in what manner the cognition was again agitated, and what persons gave that book, and in what way nothing could be proved against Caecilian, what shall I say, since you both heard all things, and as often as you shall have willed, you can read?

16. But concerning the number of seventy bishops, when as if a most grave authority was opposed, you remember what things were said; and nevertheless the most grave men willed rather to temper their judgment from infinite questions binding themselves in a certain inexplicable chain, in no way caring how many those bishops were, or whence collected, whom they saw blinded by such great rashness, that they should dare to bring forth such headlong sentences against absent and non-questioned colleagues. And nevertheless what kind of final sentence of the blessed Melchiades himself was brought forth, how innocent, how entire, how provident and pacific, by which he dared not remove from his college colleagues in whom nothing had been established, and Donatus alone being most especially blamed, whom he had found the prince of the whole evil, he made a free option of recovering health for the rest, prepared to send communicatory letters even to those whom it might be established were ordained by Majorinus: so that in whatever places

there were two bishops, whom dissension had doubled, he willed him to be confirmed who had been ordained first, but for the other of them another people be provided to be ruled. O most excellent man! O son of Christian peace, and father of the Christian people! Compare now that small number with that multitude of bishops, not number compared with number, but weight with weight: here modesty, there rashness; here vigilance, there blindness. Here neither did mildness corrupt integrity, nor did integrity repugn mildness; but there both fear was covered by fury, and fury was incited by fear. For these had come together to reject false things by the cognition of true crimes; those to cover true things by the condemnation of false.

CHAPTER VI.

17. Would Caecilian at length commit himself to be heard and judged by those, when he had such ones among whom, if a cause were moved for him, he would most easily show his innocence? He would not altogether commit himself to them, not even if he were suddenly ordained bishop of the Church of Carthage as a stranger, and should be ignorant what a certain most wealthy woman Lucilla could then do to corrupt the minds either of the wicked or of the unskillful, whom by reproving for ecclesiastical discipline the same when he was a deacon had wounded: for even this evil had been added for the perfecting of that iniquity. For in that council, where the absent and innocent were condemned

by confessed traditors, there were a certain few, who desired to cover their own crimes by infaming others, that men might be turned away from the inquisition of truth, called away by false rumors. There were therefore a few, who most especially took care of this business, although there was greater authority in them on account of the society of Secundus himself, who had spared them being terrified. But the rest are reported to have been most especially bought and instigated by the money of Lucilla against Caecilian. There exist Acts before Zenophilus the consular, where a certain deacon Nundinarius, degraded by Sylvanus bishop of Cirta, as far as is understood by those same Acts, when he had tried in vain to satisfy them by the letters of other bishops, being angry opened many things, and brought them into public judgment: among which that also is read commemorated, that by the money of Lucilla bishops having been corrupted, in the Church of Carthage, in the head of Africa, altar was raised against altar. I know that we did not read these Acts to you, but you remember that there was no time. There was also in some a certain grief of mind coming from the typhoon of pride, because they themselves had not ordained the bishop at Carthage.

18. By all which things, when Caecilian knew that they had convened not as true judges, but as enemies and corrupted; when could it be that either he should will, or the people over whom he presided should permit, that the church being left he should go into a private house, to be

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

CHAPTER VII.

But after they experienced by the things themselves that the communion of the circle of lands remained with Caecilian, and that communicatory letters were sent to him from the

transmarine Churches, not to him whom they had wickedly ordained; it shamed them always to be silent, because it could be objected to them, why they suffered the ignorant Church through so many nations to communicate with the condemned, and why they themselves cut themselves off from the communion of the innocent circle of lands, when by being silent they permitted the bishop, whom they had ordained for the Carthaginians, not to be communicated with by the whole world. They chose, as it is said, to act the cause with Caecilian at the transmarine Churches in two ways, prepared for either: that if they could overcome him by whatever craft of false crime, they might most fully satisfy their desire; but if they could not, they should indeed endure in the same perversity, but yet as if they should have what they might say, that they had suffered bad judges; which is the voice of all bad litigants, when they have been overcome even by most manifest truth: as if it could not be said to them for this and most justly said, Behold let us think those bishops, who judged at Rome, not to have been good judges; there yet remained a plenary council of the universal Church, where the cause could be agitated even with the judges themselves, so that if they had been convicted of having judged badly, their sentences might be dissolved. Whether they did this, let them prove: for we easily prove it not to have been done, from that fact that the whole world does not communicate with them: or if it was done, even there

they were conquered; which their very separation manifests.

20. But nevertheless what they did afterwards is most sufficiently shown by the letters of the Emperor. For they dared to accuse the ecclesiastical judges, bishops of so great authority, by whose judgment both the innocence of Caecilian and their own impropriety was declared, not before other colleagues, but before the Emperor, that they judged badly. He gave another judgment at Arles, of other bishops forsooth: not because it was now necessary, but yielding to their perversities, and in every way desiring to restrain such great impudence. For a Christian Emperor did not dare so to receive their tumultuous and deceitful complaints, that he himself should judge concerning the judgment of the bishops who had sat at Rome; but he gave other bishops, as I said: from whom nevertheless they chose rather to appeal again to the Emperor himself; in which matter in what manner he detests them, you have heard. And would that at least by his judgment they had put an end to their most insane animosities, and as he himself yielded to them, that he might judge concerning that cause after the bishops, being about to ask pardon afterwards from the holy prelates, provided that those should not have what they might further say, if they should not obey his sentence, to whom they themselves appealed, so also they at some time should yield to the truth. For he ordered that the parties should meet him at Rome to plead the cause. Whither when Caecilian for

I know not what cause had not met, being interpelled by them, he commanded that they should follow to Milan. Then some of them began to subtract themselves, perhaps being indignant because Constantine did not imitate them, so that he should already immediately and swiftly condemn the absent Caecilian. Which when the provident Emperor knew, he made the rest, guarded by officials, arrive at Milan. Whither when Caecilian also had come, he exhibited him also, as he wrote, and the cause having been known, with what diligence, with what caution, with what provision, as his letters indicate, he judged Caecilian most innocent, those most improper.

CHAPTER VIII.

21. And still they baptize outside the church, and if they could they rebaptize the Church; they sacrifice in dissension and schism, and in the name of peace they salute the peoples, whom they exterminate from the peace of salvation. The unity of Christ is cut asunder, the inheritance of Christ is blasphemed, the Baptism of Christ is exsufflated; and they nill that those things be emended in themselves by temporal scourges through ordinary human powers, lest they be destined into eternal penalties for such great sacrileges. We object to them the fury of schism, the madness of rebaptization, the nefarious separation from the inheritance of Christ which is diffused through all nations. From the books not only ours, but also theirs, we recite the churches

whose names they read today, and with whom they do not communicate today: which when they are recited in their conventicles, they say to their readers, Peace be with you; and they have not peace with those very peoples, to whom those letters were written. And they object to us either the false crimes of the dead, or even if true, nevertheless alien; not understanding that in those things which we object to them, all those are held; but in those which they object to us, the chaff or the cockle of the Lord's harvest is reproved, but the crime does not pertain to the wheat: nor considering that those to whom the evil are pleasing in unity, themselves communicate with the evil; but those to whom they displease, and cannot emend them, nor before the time of the harvest dare to eradicate the cockle, lest they eradicate the wheat also (Matth. XIII, 29), communicate not with their deeds, but with the altar of Christ: so that not only they are not stained by them, but even deserve to be praised and preached by divine words; since lest the name of Christ be blasphemed through horrible schisms, for the good of unity they tolerate what for the good of equity they hate.

22. If they have ears, let them hear what the Spirit says to the Churches. For thus it is read in the Apocalypse of John: *To the angel*, he says, *of the Church of Ephesus write, These things says he who holds the seven stars in his right hand, who walks in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks: I know your works and your labor and your patience, and because you cannot bear

the evil, and you have tried those who say they are apostles, and are not, and you have found them liars, and you have patience, and have sustained them for my name's sake, and have not failed* (Apoc. II, 1-3). Which if he willed to be understood concerning the angel of the superior heavens, and not concerning the prelates of the Church, he would not consequently say: *But I have against you, that you have left your first charity.* *Be mindful therefore whence you have fallen, and act repentance, and do the first works: but if not, I come to you, and I will move your candlestick out of its place, unless you shall have acted repentance* (Ibid., 4, 5). This cannot be said to the superior Angels, who retain perpetual charity, whence those who failed and lapsed are the devil and his angels. Therefore he says first charity, because it sustained the pseudo-apostles for the name of Christ, which he commands that it repeat, and do its prior works. And the crimes of evil men are objected to us, not ours, but alien; and those partly unknown: which if we even saw true and present, and sparing the cockle on account of the wheat, we tolerated for unity, not only with no reprehension, but even with no small praise would anyone say us worthy, whoever should hear the holy Scriptures not deaf in heart.

23. Aaron tolerates the multitude demanding and fashioning and adoring an idol. Moses tolerates so many thousands murmuring against God, and so often offending His holy name. David tolerates Saul his persecutor, deserting celestial

things with wicked morals, seeking infernal things with magic arts; he avenges him when slain, and even calls him the anointed (*christum*) of the Lord on account of the sacrament of venerable unction. Samuel tolerates the nefarious sons of Eli, and his own perverse sons, whom because the people willed not to tolerate, accused by divine truth, they were corrected by divine severity. Finally, he tolerates the proud people itself, the contemner of God. Isaiah tolerates those against whom he hurls so many true crimes. Jeremiah tolerates those from whom he suffers so much. Zechariah tolerates the Pharisees and Scribes, such as the Scripture testifies to have been at that time. I know that I have passed over many: let those who will read, let those who can read the celestial eloquences, they will find that all the holy servants and friends of God always had those whom they tolerated among their own people; with whom nevertheless communicating the sacraments of that time, not only were they not defiled, but they even laudably sustained them, *studying*, as the Apostle says, *to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace* (Eph. IV, 3). Let them attend also after the coming of the Lord, where we should find much more numerous examples of this tolerance throughout the whole world, if all could have been written and reduced into authority; nevertheless advert to these very things which we have. The Lord Himself tolerates Judas, a devil, a thief, and His seller: He permits him to receive among the innocent disciples what the faithful know as our price. The

Apostles tolerate pseudo-apostles; and among those seeking their own things, not those which are of Jesus Christ, Paul, seeking not his own but the things of Jesus Christ, converses with most glorious tolerance. Lastly, what I commemorated a little before, the prelate of the Church is praised by the divine voice under the name of an angel, because although he hated the evil, he nevertheless tolerated them, tried and found, for the name of the Lord.

24. In sum, let them interrogate themselves: Are not the slaughters and burnings of the Circumcellions tolerated by them, who are worshippers of corpses precipitated of their own accord, and the groans of all Africa for so many years under the incredible evils of one Optatus? I spare now to speak of the tyrannical powers and public robberies of individual regions and cities and estates through Africa. For you yourselves say these things better to yourselves, whether in the ear, or openly, as it shall have been pleasing. For wherever you shall have turned your eyes, what I say, or rather what I keep silent, will occur. Nor do we here accuse those whom you love there. For they do not displease us because they tolerate the evil; but because they are intolerably evil on account of the schism, on account of the altar against altar, on account of the separation from the inheritance of Christ diffused through the whole world, as it was promised so long before. We bewail and mourn the violated peace, the cut unity, the repeated baptisms, the exsufflated Sacraments, which are holy also in wicked men.

Which if they weigh as small, let them look at the examples by which it is demonstrated how much God weighed these. Those who made the idol were destroyed by the accustomed death of the sword (Exod. XXXII, 27, 28): but those who willed to make a schism, the leaders were devoured by the opening of the earth, and the consenting crowd was consumed by fire (Num. XVI, 31-35). By the diversity of punishments, the diversity of merits is recognized.

CHAPTER IX.

25. The holy Books (*Codices*) are delivered in persecution, the deliverers confess, and are dismissed to God. The innocent are not interrogated, and are condemned by rash men. He is proved whole by certain judgments, who among the absent condemned was much more vehemently accused than the rest. The judgment of the bishops is appealed to the Emperor; the Emperor is chosen as judge; the Emperor judging is contemned. You have read what things were then done, you see what things are now being done: if you doubt concerning those in anything, discern these already. Certainly let us not act by old papers, nor by public archives, nor by forensic or ecclesiastical Acts (*Gestis*). Our larger book is the whole world (*orbis terrarum*); in it I read completed what I read promised in the Book of God: *The Lord*, he says, *said to me, You are my Son, today I have begotten you: ask of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance, and the corners of the earth as your possession* (Psal.

II, 7, 8). He who does not communicate with this inheritance, whatever books he may hold, let him know himself to be disinherited. Whoever expels this inheritance, sufficiently indicates himself to be alien from the family of God. Certainly the question turns concerning the tradition of the divine Books, where this promised inheritance is. Let him therefore be believed to have delivered the testament to the flames, who litigates against the will of the testator. What did the Church of the Corinthians do to you, O party of Donatus? But what I say concerning that one, I willed to be understood concerning all such and so far placed. What did they do to you, who could neither altogether know what you did, nor whom you defamed? Or because Caecilian injured Lucilla in Africa, did the world lose the light of Christ?

26. At last let them feel what they have done: deservedly in a certain interval of years their own work has been revolved before their eyes. Seek through what woman Maximianus, who is said to be a relative of Donatus, cut himself off from the communion of Primianus, and in what manner, a faction of bishops being gathered, he condemned Primianus absent, and was ordained bishop against him; in what manner Majorinus, through Lucilla, a faction of bishops being gathered, condemned Caecilian absent, and was ordained bishop against him. Or perhaps do you will that what Primianus was purged of by the rest of the African bishops of his communion against the faction of Maximianus should be valid; and what Caecilian was purged of by the

transmarine bishops of unity against the faction of Majorinus you do not will to be valid? I ask, my brothers, what great thing do I seek? What difficult thing do I desire to be understood by you? Much indeed it interests, and incomparably the African Church distances either in authority or in number, if it be conferred with the rest of the parts of the world: and it is far smaller, even if unity were here, it is far altogether smaller compared to all other Christian nations, than the party of Maximianus compared to the party of Primianus; yet I ask, and I judge it to be just, that the council of Secundus of Tigisitum, which Lucilla inflated against the absent Caecilian and the apostolic see, and the whole world communicating with Caecilian, should be worth as much as the council of the Maximianists, which similarly I know not what woman inflated against the absent Primianus, and the rest of the multitude through Africa communicating with Primianus. What is discerned more clearly? What is asked more equitably?

27. You see all these things, and you know them, and you groan; and yet God also sees that no thing forces you to remain in so pestiferous and sacrilegious a precision, if for the sake of obtaining the spiritual kingdom you overcome carnal affection, and fear not to offend the friendships of men which will profit nothing in the judgment of God, for the sake of avoiding everlasting punishments. Behold go, consult; know what they can respond against these our things: if they proffer papers, we proffer papers; if they

say ours are false, let them not be indignant that we say this of theirs. No one deletes from heaven the constitution of God, no one deletes from earth the Church of God: He promised the whole world, she filled the whole world; and she has both evil and good, but neither on earth does she lose except the evil, nor into heaven does she admit except the good. Moreover this speech will be to you, which He Himself knows from the gift of God, with how much love both of peace and of you we have brought forth, a correction if you will, but a witness even if you nill.

LETTER XLIV. Augustine reports what things have begun to be acted concerning concord with Fortunius the bishop of the Donatists, desiring that what was placidly begun be perfected without tumult by a more frequent assembly.

To the most beloved lords and commendable brothers ELEUSIUS, GLORIUS, and the FELICES, AUGUSTINE.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. We found Fortunius, whom you have as bishop at Tubursicum, through that same city, although very hastily, when we were proceeding to the Church of Cirta, altogether as you are accustomed to promise most benignly concerning him. Indeed, when we reported to him that very discourse of yours concerning him to us, wishing to see him, he did not refuse. And so we came to him; because it seemed that this should be deferred by us to his age, rather than exacting that he should come to us first. We proceeded, there-

fore, with not a few accompanying us, whom that time had by chance gathered to us. But when we had sat down with him, the rumor having been dispersed, no small crowd besides flowed together; but in all that multitude very few appeared to us who desired that cause to be acted usefully and healthfully, and so great a question of so great a matter to be discussed prudently and piously. But the rest had convened rather for the spectacle, as it were, of our altercation by almost theatrical custom, than for the instruction of salvation by Christian devotion. Wherefore they could neither afford us silence, nor converse with us intently and modestly at least and in an orderly manner, except, as I said, the few whose religious and simple intention appeared. And so everything was disturbed by the noise of those speaking immoderately according to each one's own movement of mind, nor could we, or he himself by asking, sometimes even by rebuking, prevail so that modest silence might be afforded to us.

2. Nevertheless the matter began to be acted somehow, and we protracted several hours in alternate discourse, as much as we were permitted by the intermitting voices of those variously rioting. But in the very beginning of the disputation, when we saw those things which were said subindly to slip from the memory either of ourselves or of those whose salvation we most cared for; and so that there might be to us a more cautious and modest treatment, as well as so that you and other brothers who were absent might

know by reading what had been acted between us, we demanded that our words be taken down by notaries. For a long time it was resisted by him or those consenting with him; afterwards, however, he himself conceded. But the notaries who were present, and could do that strenuously, I know not for what cause willed not to take them down. We acted at least so that the brothers who were with us, although they might be slower in this matter, should take them down, promising that we would leave the same tablets there. It was consented. Our words began to be taken down, and some things were spoken to the tablets from each other. Afterwards the notaries, not being able to sustain the inordinate interpellations of those making a noise, and for that reason our also more turbulent disputation, yielded; we indeed not desisting, and saying many things as the faculty was given to each. From all which words of ours, as much as I could record, I willed not to defraud your Love of the action of the whole cause. For you can read my letters to him, so that either he may approve that I have written true things; or he himself may unhesitatingly insinuate to you if he recollects anything better.

CHAPTER II.

3. For first he deigned to praise our life, which he said he had discovered from you telling it perhaps more benevolently than truly: adding that he had said to you, that we could have done all things well, which you had insinuated concerning us, if we did them in the Church. Then

we began to seek what that Church might be, where it should be necessary so to live; whether that which, as the holy Scripture had predicted so long before, should diffuse itself through the whole world, or that which a small part either of Africans or of Africa should contain. Here at first he attempted to assert, that his communion was everywhere in the lands. I sought whether he could give the communicatory letters, which we call *formatas*, whither I willed, and I affirmed, what was manifest to all, that in this manner that question could most easily be terminated. But I was preparing, so that if he consented, such letters should be sent by us to those churches, which we equally read in the apostolic authorities were already founded at that time.

4. But because the thing was openly false, with mixed words it was quickly departed thence; among which words he commemorated that evangelical admonition of the Lord, by which He said: *Beware of false prophets; many will come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inside they are ravenous wolves: from their fruits you shall know them* (Matth. VII, 15, 16). Which words of the Lord when we said the same could be recited by us concerning them, it came thence to the exaggeration of the persecution, which he said his part had often endured; wishing hence to show that his people were the Christians, because they suffered persecution. Among which words when I was preparing to respond from the Gospel, he commemorated the chapter first, where the Lord says: *Blessed are they who suffer persecution

for justice's sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven* (Id. V, 10). In which place I, having congratulated, immediately added that this therefore was to be sought, whether those had suffered persecution for justice's sake. In which question I desired it to be discussed, which indeed was clear to all, whether the Macarian times found them constituted in the unity of the Church, or already divided by schism; so that those who willed to see whether they suffered persecution for justice's sake, should rather attend to this, whether they rightly cut themselves off from the unity of the whole world. Which if they were found to have done unjustly, it would be manifest that they suffered persecution rather for injustice than for justice; and therefore could not be added to the number of the blessed, concerning whom it was said: *Blessed are they who suffer persecution for justice's sake.* There that tradition of the Books, more famous than certain, was commemorated. But it was responded by our parts, that their leaders were rather the traditors: which if they willed not to believe our letters concerning this matter, neither ought we to be forced to believe their letters.

CHAPTER III.

5. But nevertheless, having sequestered that doubtful question, I sought how those had justly separated themselves from the innocence of the rest of the Christians, who, keeping the order of succession throughout the world, constituted in the most ancient Churches, were utterly ignorant

of who were the traditors in Africa; who certainly could not communicate, except with those whom they heard to sit in the episcopal seats. He responded, that the Churches of the transmarine parts remained innocent for so long, until they had consented into the blood of those whom he said had endured the Macarian persecution. Where I could indeed say, that neither by the envy of the Macarian time could the innocence of the transmarine Churches be contaminated; since in no way was it proved that they had done even what he had done with those authors. But I preferred to seek from a compendium, if by the cruelty of Macarius, from which the transmarine Churches were said to have consented into it, they lost their innocence, whether at least it was proved that up to those times the Donatists remained in unity with the Oriental Churches and the rest of the parts of the world.

Then he brought forth a certain volume, where he willed to show that the Council of Sardica had given letters to the African bishops who were of the communion of Donatus. Which when it was read, we heard the name of Donatus among the rest of the bishops to whom those had written. And so we began to flagitate that it be said, whether he himself was the Donatus from whose part those are named: for it could have happened, that they wrote to some Donatus, a bishop of another heresy, especially since in those names no mention of Africa was made. How therefore could he prove that Donatus a bishop of the party of Donatus was to be taken

by that name, when he could not even prove that, whether those letters were sent specially to the bishops of the African Churches. For although the name of Donatus is accustomed to be African, nevertheless it would not be repugnant from the truth, that either someone of those parts was called by an African name, or some African was constituted a bishop in those parts. For neither in them did we find either a day or a consul, so that at least the times having been considered something certain might shine forth. Surely since I know not when we had heard that the Arians, when they had disagreed from the catholic communion, had attempted to associate the Donatists in Africa to themselves: brother Alypius suggested this very thing to my ear. Then the volume itself having been accepted, considering the statutes of the same council, I read that Athanasius the catholic bishop of Alexandria, whose conflict of most sharp disputations especially against the Arians was eminent, and Julius the bishop of the Roman Church, no less catholic, were disapproved by that Council of Sardica. Whence it stood among us that it had been a council of Arians, whom those catholic bishops most vehemently resisted. And so for a more diligent discussion even of the times we willed to accept the volume itself and take it away with us. Who willed not to give it, saying, that we had it there, when we willed to consider anything in it. I asked also that it be permitted to be noted by my hand, I confess, fearing lest by chance the cause exacting, when it was to be asked, another for

that one should be brought forth for me; nor did he will this.

CHAPTER IV.

7. Then he began to press me, so that I should respond briefly to his interrogation, seeking from me whom I should judge just, him who persecuted, or him who suffered persecution. To whom I responded, that it was not rightly thus interrogated: for it could happen that both are unjust, it could even happen that the more just persecutes the more unjust. Therefore it is not consequent, that anyone is more just because he suffers persecution, although that for the most part happens. Then when I saw him to stay much in this, so that he willed the justice of his part to be understood as certain from this, because it had suffered persecution; I sought from him, whether he judged the bishop of the Milanese Church, Ambrose, just and Christian. He was forced at any rate to deny that that man was Christian and just; because if he confessed it, we would immediately object that he thought he ought to be rebaptized. When therefore he was forced to speak those things, by which he should not be held Christian and just, I commemorated how great a persecution he endured, the church even being surrounded by armed soldiers. I sought also whether he judged Maximianus, who had made a schism from them at Carthage, both just and Christian. He could not but deny it. I commemorated therefore also that he had endured such a persecution, that his church was demol-

ished even to the foundations. By these examples therefore I attempted to persuade him, if I could, that he should already desist from saying that the suffering of persecution is a most certain document of Christian justice.

8. He narrated also that in the very novelty of the schism his ancestors, when they thought of the fault of Caecilian, lest a schism should happen, willed by whatever way to lull it, gave a certain mediator (*interventorem*) to the people of their communion constituted at Carthage, before Majorinus was ordained against Caecilian. This mediator therefore he said was killed in his conventicle by our people. Which I confess, I had never before heard at all, although so many crimes objected by them were refuted and redargued by our people, and more and greater were thrown against them. But nevertheless after he narrated this, again he began to seek pressingly from me whom I should judge just, him who killed, or him who had been killed; as if he had already proved to me, as he had narrated, that it was committed. I said therefore, first it was to be sought whether it were true; for those things which are said ought not to be rashly believed: and yet it could have happened, that either both were equally evil, or even some evil man killed one more evil. For in truth it can happen, that the rebaptizer of the whole man is more wicked, than the slayer of the body alone.

9. Whence also that which he afterwards sought from me, was already not to be sought. For he said also that an evil man ought not to

have been killed by Christians and the just; as if we should call those who do these things in the Catholic Church, just: which things however are accustomed to be said by those to us more easily than proved, when so many most violent slaughters and massacres many of them, both bishops and presbyters and whatever clerics, with gathered crowds of most furious men, cease not to bring in, not only to catholics, but sometimes even to their own, where they can. Since these things are so, nevertheless dissimulating from the most wicked deeds of his people, which he himself knows more, he urged so that I should say, who of the just killed even any evil man. Which although it did not already pertain to the cause; for we confessed that these things wherever they were done under the Christian name, were not done by the good; but nevertheless so that he might be admonished what should be sought we responded, seeking whether Elias seemed to him to have been just: which he could not deny. Then we added how many pseudoprophets he slew with his own hand (III Reg. XVIII, 40). Here in truth he saw what was to be seen, that such things then were permitted to the just. For they do these things by a prophetic spirit with the authority of God, who without doubt knows for whom it is even profitable to be killed. He demanded therefore that I should teach already in the times of the New Testament, who of the just killed anyone, even a wicked and impious man.

CHAPTER V.

10. Then it was returned to the superior treatise, by which we willed to show that neither ought we to object the crimes of their people to them, nor they to us if any such deeds of our people should be found. For from the New Testament it can indeed not be shown, that any just man killed anyone; but nevertheless that can be proved by the very example of the Lord, that the wicked were tolerated by the innocent. For He sustained His own traditor, who had already received His price, with Him among the innocent even to the last kiss of peace: to whom He was not silent that there was a man of so great a crime among them; and nevertheless He gave the first Sacrament of His body and blood commonly to all, he being not yet excluded (Matth. XVI, 20-28). By which example when almost all were moved, he attempted to say, that before the passion of the Lord that communion with the wicked man did not hinder the Apostles, because they did not yet have the baptism of Christ, but the baptism of John. Which after he said, I began to seek from him in what manner therefore it was written that Jesus baptized more than John, although He Himself did not baptize, but His disciples, that is, He baptized through His disciples (Joan. IV, 1, 2). How therefore were they giving what they had not received? which they themselves are most accustomed to say. Or perhaps did Christ baptize with the baptism of John? Then in this sentence I was going to seek many

things, in what manner it was then sought from John himself concerning the baptism of the Lord, and he responded that he had the bride, and he was the bridegroom (Id. III, 29). Was it therefore lawful that the bridegroom should baptize with the baptism of John, that is, with the baptism of a friend or servant? Then how could they receive the Eucharist not yet baptized? or in what manner to Peter, wishing that he should wash himself whole, did He respond: *He who has been washed once, it is not necessary for him to be washed again, but he is clean whole?* (Id. XIII, 10.) For perfect cleansing is not in the baptism of John, but in the baptism of the Lord, if he who receives it shows himself worthy of it; but if unworthy, the Sacraments will nevertheless remain in him not unto salvation, but unto destruction. When therefore I was about to seek these things, even he himself saw that it was not to be sought by him concerning the baptism of the disciples of the Lord.

11. Thence it went into another thing, many discoursing on both sides as they could: among which it was said that our people were still about to persecute them; and he said to us that he willed to see what kind we should show ourselves in that persecution, whether we were about to consent to such cruelty, or about to afford no consent. We said that God sees our hearts, which they themselves could not: and that they rashly feared these things for themselves still, which if they happened, they happened from the evil, than whom they have worse; yet nevertheless we

ought not for that reason to segregate ourselves from the catholic communion, if anything should by chance have been done with us unwilling, or even, if we were able, contradicting, since we have learned a peaceful tolerance, the Apostle saying: *Sufferring one another in love, studying to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace* (Eph. IV, 2, 3). Which peace and tolerance we said those had not held, who made the schism, so that now among their own, who are milder of them, they tolerate more heavy things, lest what is cut be cut asunder; while they willed not to tolerate lighter things for the sake of unity itself. We said also that in the times of the ancients there had not yet been the peace of unity, and tolerance preached with so great commendation, as by the example of the Lord and the charity of the New Testament; and yet those Prophets and holy men were accustomed to speak the crimes of them against the people, while nevertheless they had not attempted to pluck themselves away from the unity of that people and from the communion of the Sacraments which then were to be received together.

12. Thence I know not in what manner it came to the commemoration of Genethlius of blessed memory, bishop of Carthage before Aurelius, because he suppressed I know not what constitution given against them, and did not permit it to have effect. All praised him, and preferred him most benignly. Among which praises it was added by us, that nevertheless Genethlius himself, if he had fallen into their hands, would

be judged to be rebaptized. And we were already speaking these things standing, because the time of departing was pressing. There clearly that old man said, that the rule (*formam*) was already made, that whoever of the faithful from us should come to them, is baptized; which he appeared to say unwillingly and with grief of mind, as much as he could. Surely since even he himself most openly groaned at many evils of his people, and showed, what was proved by the testimony of his whole city, how remote he was from such deeds, and brought forth what things he was accustomed to say to those very people of his with modest complaint, and we commemorated that of the prophet Ezekiel, where it is openly written, that neither the fault of the son is to be imputed to the father, nor the fault of the father to his son, where it was said: *For as the soul of the father is mine, so also the soul of the son is mine; for whatever soul shall have sinned, it alone shall die* (Ezech. XVIII, 20, 4), it pleased all that in such disputations the violent deeds of evil men ought not to be objected by us to each other. Therefore the question of the schism remained. And so we exhorted him that again and again with a placid and pacified mind he should strive with us, so that by a diligent examination so great an inquisition should take a termination. Where he benignly saying that we alone sought those things, but our people willed not these things to be sought; that promise having been made we departed, that we should exhibit to him more colleagues of ours, certainly even ten, who with so

much benevolence and lenity and with so pious a zeal should will that to be sought, as much as we felt him to have already adverted and approved in us. He also promised this concerning the number of his own.

CHAPTER VI.

13. Whence I exhort and obtest you by the blood of the Lord, that you commonish him of his promise, and strenuously press, so that the matter begun may be completed, which you already discern to have arrived almost to the end. For as much as I judge, you can most difficultly find in your bishops such a useful mind and will, as we perceived in that old man. For on the next day he himself came to us, and we had begun to seek these things again. But because the necessity of ordaining a bishop was already snatched us away thence, we could not be with him longer. For we had already sent to the Elder (*Majorem*) of the Coelicolae whom we had heard had existed as the institutor of a new baptism among them, and had seduced many by that sacrilege, so that we might speak something with him, as much as the narrows of that time permitted. Whom after he discovered was about to come, seeing us to have undertaken another business, when also I know not what necessity of setting out pressed him, he benignly and placidly departed from us.

14. Moreover it seems to me, so that we may altogether avoid the turbulent crowds and those bringing in impediment rather than adjument, and truly from a friendly and tranquil mind per-

form so great a business undertaken with the Lord helping, that we ought to convene at some villa not large, where there is a church of neither of us: which villa nevertheless men of both our communion and his own commonly possess, as is the villa Titiana. Whether therefore in the Tubursicensian, or in the Thagastensian, such a place, either that which I commemorated, or some other, should have been found, let us make the canonical Books (*Codices*) to be at hand. And if any documents can be brought forth from each part: so that other things being postponed, with no molestation interpellating, if it shall have pleased the Lord, however many days we can vacating to this, and each one of us deprecating the Lord at his host, with Him helping to whom Christian peace is most grateful, let us lead so great a matter and begun with good mind to the termination of the inquisition. Rescribe indeed what seems concerning this matter either to you or to him.

LETTER XLV.

Augustine to Paulinus, asking that he finally rescribe after a silence of two years, and send him the work against the Pagans, which he heard was being elaborated by him long ago.

To the most near lords, most beloved and in Christ commendable PAULINUS and THERASIA, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE [send] greeting in the Lord.

1. In no way did I know not what cessation of yours, by which behold through a whole biennium, from which the most sweet brothers Romanus and Agilis returned to you from us, we have taken no letters from you, make us slow to writing. For since in other things by how much anyone is more amply loved, by so much he seems more worthy of imitation, in this matter it is the contrary. For by how much we love you more ardently, by so much the less we bear that you do not write to us; nor do we will to imitate you in that. Behold therefore we salute you, if not responding to your letters, which none come to us, at least expostulating, and not with mediocre grief, although perhaps your Charity also similarly complains, if indeed you know letters sent by you which have not arrived to us, and in turn from us those which had been emitted were not given to you. Which if it is so, let us convert our complaints into prayers to the Lord, lest He deny us such great solaces.

2. We had heard that you were writing against the Pagans; which if it is completed, we ask that you not differ to send it by the bearer of this letter. He is dear to us, to whose estimation in our regions we can not rashly furnish a good testimony. He asks through us your Holiness, that you deign to commend him to those with whom his business is, and among whom lest his good cause be oppressed, he fears. What is acted in the matter he himself will narrate more commodiously: what also to each thing, which by chance shall have moved the mind among ... we have most

grateful, and at the Lord our God we give thanks to your most sincere benignity, if through your work we should rejoice concerning the security of a Christian brother.

LETTER XLVI.

Publicola proposes many questions to Augustine.

To the beloved and venerable father AUGUSTINE the bishop, PUBLICOLA.

It is written: "Ask thy father, and he will show thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee" (Deut. 32:7). Whence also I judged that the law ought to be sought by me from the mouth of the priest in such a cause: which of what sort it may be, I expose by letters; at the same time also so that I also may be instructed in diverse causes. Moreover, I have caused individual and diverse questions to be designated by chapters, to which deign to respond individually.

In the Arzuges, as I have heard, the barbarians are accustomed to swear to the decurion who presides over the frontier or to the tribune, swearing by their demons, who shall have been pacted for leading the *bastagae* (transports), or some for guarding the fruits themselves, individual possessors or conductors are accustomed to receive them for guarding the fruits, as if already faithful, the decurion sending a letter, or individual passers-by for whom it is necessary to pass through them. Moreover, a disceptation has been born in my heart, if that possessor who shall have received the barbarian, whose faith seemed firm

through the swearing of demons, is not polluted either himself, or those things which he guards, or he who is led by the barbarian deductor. But you ought to know this because the barbarian who swears receives gold from the possessor for guarding the fruits, or from the traveler as a deductor; but nevertheless with this as it were reward which is accustomed to be given by the possessor, or by the traveler, that mortal oath is also in the midst given to the decurion or tribune: which perturbs me lest it pollute him who receives the barbarian's oath, or those things which the barbarian guards. For by whatever condition, even with gold given and hostages given, as I have heard, nevertheless an iniquitous oath intervened in the midst. Moreover, deign to rescribe to me definitively, and not suspensefully. Because if you yourself write doubtingly, I can fall into greater doubts than before I had interrogated.

This also I have heard, because those men conductors who preside over my property, receive an oath through their demons from swearing barbarians for guarding the fruits. If therefore when they swear by their demons so that they may guard the fruits, they do not pollute the fruits themselves, so that if a Christian should eat thence knowingly or it should have been from the price of those same things, he would be polluted, deign to signify.

Likewise from another I heard that it is not sworn to the conductor by the barbarian, and another said that it is sworn to the conductor.

If even he told me a falsehood, who said it was sworn to the conductor, if already for this which alone I heard, I ought not to use of the fruits themselves, or of the price of them on account of the hearing alone, because it is said: "But if anyone shall have said: This is immolated to idols, do not eat, on account of him who indicated?" (1 Cor. 10:28.) If nevertheless also this cause is similar to the cause concerning what is immolated. Because if it is so, what ought I to do concerning the fruits themselves, or the price of them?

If I ought to require concerning both, him who told me that it is not sworn to the conductor, or him who said that it is sworn to the conductor; and to prove the saying of each through witnesses, who told the truth of those two, and for so long not to touch of the fruits themselves, or of the price, until it shall have been proved to me if he who said that it is not sworn to the conductor told the truth?

If the barbarian who through his oath swears evil, shall have made that Christian conductor, or the tribune who presides over the frontier, to swear to him for the faith to be served to him for guarding the fruits, through that same mortal oath by which he himself swears, if only that Christian be polluted? If not also those things for whose cause he swears? Or if a pagan who presides over the frontier, shall have sworn to the barbarian for the faith to be served to him through a mortal oath, if he does not pollute [those] for whom he swears? If [someone] whom I shall have sent to the Arzuges, if it is licit for him

to receive that mortal oath from the barbarian; and if he is not polluted, if a Christian shall have received such an oath?

If from the threshing floor (*area*) of wheat or of any legume, or the wine-press (*torculari*), from which [something] has been offered to a demon, if it is licit for a Christian to eat thence knowingly?

Concerning a grove (*luco*) if it is licit for any use of his for a Christian knowing to take wood?

If anyone going to the market (*macellum*) should buy meat which is not immolated, and shall have had two thoughts in his heart, that it was immolated, and was not immolated, and shall have held that thought by which he will think it not immolated, if he eats does he sin?

If anyone [does] a good thing, concerning which he doubts whether it be good or evil, if he does it thinking it good, when nevertheless he had thought it also evil, if sin be ascribed to him?

If anyone shall have had said that it is immolated lying, and afterwards shall have said again that he lied, and to the faith he truly lied, if it is licit for a Christian to eat thence, or to sell, and to use of the price from that which he heard?

If any Christian walking, having suffered necessity, overcome by the hunger of one day, or of two days, or of many days, so that he can no longer endure, should so occur, that in that very necessity of hunger, in which he already sees death to approach him, he should find food placed in an idol-shrine (*idolio*), where there is

no man, and he cannot find other food, ought he to die or to be fed from thence?

If a Christian sees himself to be willed to be killed by a barbarian or a Roman, ought that Christian himself to kill them, lest he be killed by them: or if it is licit without killing to repel or impugn them, because it is said: "Do not resist evil?" (Matt. 5:39.)

If a Christian ought to make a wall for a property on account of the enemy, and if that Christian who shall have made the wall, is not the cause of homicide, when some shall have begun to fight from thence, and to kill enemies?

If it is licit to drink from a fountain, or from a well where something from a sacrifice has been sent? If from a well which is in a temple, and a desert has been made, ought a Christian to drink? If in a temple in which an idol is worshipped, a well be there or a fountain, and nothing has been done there in the same well or fountain, if a Christian ought to draw water thence, and to drink?

If a Christian ought to wash in baths, or in thermae, in which it is sacrificed to images? If a Christian ought to wash in baths, in which on their feast day the Pagans have washed, whether with them, or without them?

If in a basin (*solio*) where Pagans coming from idols have descended on their feast day, and shall have done anything of their sacrilege there in the basin, and a Christian shall have known, if he ought to descend into the same basin?

If a Christian invited by someone shall have had meat placed for food, concerning which it shall have been said to him that it is immolated, and he shall not have eaten it; but afterwards having been translated by someone he shall by some chance have found the same meat for sale, and shall have bought it, or shall have had it placed by some other invited, and shall not have known it, and shall have eaten, does he sin?

If from a garden or from a possession of idols or of their priests a Christian knowing ought to buy vegetables (*olus*), or any fruit, and to eat thence? Certainly concerning the oath, or concerning idols, so that you may not suffer labor in requiring those things which we have found with the Lord giving, I willed to propose [them] before your eyes: if moreover you shall have found anything else more open or better in the Scriptures, deign to signify to me. Whence those things which we have found, these are where Laban said to Jacob, "The God of Abraham and the God of Nahor" (Gen. 31:53); which God moreover, the Scripture did not signify. And again, "Abimelech when he came to Isaac where he swore, or those who were with him" (Gen. 26:31); but what sort of oath, the Scripture did not signify. Again concerning idols, where it was said to Gideon by the Lord in the book of Judges, that from the calf which he had killed he should make a holocaust (Judg. 6:26). And in Joshua concerning Jericho, that all gold, silver, and brass should be brought into the treasures of the Lord, and it was called holy from the city, which is

anathema (Josh. 6:19). And what is that which is placed in Deuteronomy: "Thou shalt not bring an abomination into thy house, and thou shalt be anathema, as this itself is?" (Deut. 7:26). The Lord keep thee: I salute thee; pray for me.

LETTER XLVII.

Augustine resolves for Publicola some of the questions he had proposed.

To his honorable and most beloved son PUBLICOLA, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. After I learned from your letter of the agitations of your mind, they at once became mine as well—not that I was moved by all the same things by which you indicated you were moved, but as to how these agitations might be removed from you, I confess, I was in agitation; especially because you ask that I write back to you definitively, lest you fall into greater doubts than before you had asked. For I see that this is not in my power. For however I may write those things which seem to me most certain, if I do not persuade you, you will doubtless be more uncertain. But it does not lie within anyone's reach to persuade in the same way that it lies within mine to advise. Nevertheless, lest I should deny your charity my small service, after some deliberation I thought I ought to write back.

2. It certainly troubles you whether one ought to make use of the good faith of him who has sworn by demons in order to keep it. Here I want you first to consider whether, if someone should swear by false gods that he will keep faith, and

does not keep it, it does not seem to you that he has sinned twice. For if by such an oath he kept the faith he had promised, he would be judged to have sinned only for this reason, that he swore by such gods; but no one would rightly reprove him for this, that he kept faith. But now, since he both swore by those by whom he ought not to have sworn, and acted against the faith he had promised, doing what he ought not, he has indeed sinned twice; and therefore he who makes use of the good faith of one who is known to have sworn by false gods, and uses it not for evil, but for what is licit and good, does not associate himself with that sin of his by which he swore by demons, but with the good pact of his by which he kept faith. Nor do I here speak of that faith being kept, by which those who are baptized in Christ are called faithful. For that is far different and far distinct from the faith of human agreements and pacts. Nevertheless, without any doubt, it is a lesser evil to swear truly by a false god than falsely by the true God. For the more holy that is by which one swears, the more punishable is perjury. There is, then, another question: whether he does not sin who caused someone to swear to him by false gods, because the one who swears to him worships false gods. To this question those testimonies which you yourself mentioned concerning Laban and Abimelech can lend support, if indeed Abimelech swore by his own gods, as Laban did by the God of Nahor. This, as I said, is another question, which might perhaps rightly move me, were it not that

those examples of Isaac and Jacob occur to me, together with whatever others can be found. If indeed that does not still move you which is said in the New Testament, that we should not swear at all (Matt. 5:34, 36). This indeed seems to me to have been said for this reason: not because to swear truly is a sin, but because to perjure oneself is an immense sin; from which he wished us to be far removed, he who admonished that we should in every way not swear. But I know that it seems otherwise to you; hence this is not to be disputed now, so that we may rather deal with that matter on account of which you thought I should be consulted. Accordingly, just as you do not swear, so likewise, if it so pleases you, do not compel another to swear either: although it has been said that we should not swear; but nowhere in the sacred Scriptures do I recall having read that we should not accept an oath from another. But another question is whether we ought to make use of that peace which was made among others swearing to one another. But if we are unwilling to do this, I do not know whether we could find a place to live on earth. For peace is secured not only for the frontier, but for all the provinces, by barbarian oath-swearing. Whence it will also follow that not only the crops which are guarded by those who have sworn by false gods, but everywhere all things which are protected by that very peace which such oath-swearing confirms, are defiled. But if it is most absurd to say this, then let not those things which used to trouble you trouble you now either.

3. Likewise, if something is taken from the threshing floor or the winepress for the sacrifices of demons while a Christian knows of it, he sins if he permits it to happen, where he has the power to prohibit it. But if he learns of it after it has been done, or did not have the power to prohibit it, he may use the remaining clean fruits from which those were taken; just as we use fountains, from which we know most certainly that water is drawn for use in sacrifices. The same reasoning also applies to baths. For we do not hesitate to draw breath from the air, into which we know smoke goes from all the altars and incense-offerings of demons. Whence it appears that what is prohibited is this: that we should not use anything in honor of foreign gods, or be thought to use it, by accepting it in such a way that, although we despise them in our mind, we nevertheless build up those who are ignorant of our mind toward honoring these things. And when temples, idols, sacred groves, and anything of this kind are overthrown by a power granted for it, although it is manifest that when we do this we do not honor them but rather detest them, nevertheless for that very reason we ought not to appropriate anything from them for our own private and particular uses, so that it may appear that we destroy these things out of piety, not out of avarice. But when they are converted to common uses, not to particular and private ones, or to the honor of the true God, the same thing happens with them as happens with men themselves, when from being sacrilegious and impious they are changed to the

true religion. God is understood to have taught this by those testimonies which you yourself adduced, when he commanded that wood from the grove of foreign gods be used for the holocaust; and concerning Jericho, that all the gold, silver, and bronze be brought into the treasuries of the Lord. Wherefore also that which is written in Deuteronomy: "You shall not covet their silver or gold, nor shall you take any of it for yourself, lest you go astray on account of it, because it is an abomination to the Lord your God; and you shall not bring the execrable thing into your house, and you shall be an anathema, just as it also is; and with offense you shall be offended, and with defilement you shall be defiled by that abomination, because it is an anathema" (Deut. VII, 25, 26); it sufficiently appears either that private uses of such things are themselves prohibited, or that nothing should thus be brought into the house from them in order to be honored — for then it is an abomination and an execration; not when the sacrilegious honor of such things is overthrown by a most manifest destruction.

4. Be assured that we ought to observe nothing more concerning food sacrificed to idols than what the Apostle has commanded. And therefore recall his words on this matter, which, if they were obscure, we would expound according to our small ability. Now he does not sin who afterward unknowingly eats food which he had before rejected as having been sacrificed to idols. A vegetable or any fruit born in any field belongs to him who created it; for the earth is the Lord's, and the

fullness thereof; and every creature of God is good (Ps. XXIII, 1; 1 Cor. X, 25, 26, and 1 Tim. IV, 4). But if that which grows in the fields is consecrated to an idol, or sacrificed, then it must be reckoned among things sacrificed to idols. For we must be careful lest, if we think that we ought not to eat a vegetable growing in the garden of an idol's temple, it should follow that we suppose the Apostle ought not to have taken food at Athens, because that city was consecrated to Minerva and to her divinity. I would give the same answer concerning a well or a spring that is within a temple. But it truly raises a greater difficulty if something from the sacrifices is thrown into the spring or well. But the same reasoning applies to the air, which receives all that smoke of which we spoke above: or if this is thought to differ in that the sacrifice whose smoke mingles with the air is not offered to the air itself, but to some idol or demon, whereas sacrifices are sometimes cast into the waters in such a way that sacrifice is offered to the waters themselves — nevertheless we do not for that reason refrain from using the light of this sun, because sacrilegious men do not cease to sacrifice to it wherever they can. Sacrifice is also offered to the winds, which nevertheless we use for so many of our conveniences, although they seem in a certain way themselves to draw in and devour the smoke of those same sacrifices. If someone doubts concerning some meat whether it was sacrificed, and it was not sacrificed, if he holds the knowledge that it was not sacrificed and eats it, he certainly does not sin; for it neither

is, nor is it now thought to be, sacrificial meat, even though it was thought so before. For it is not unlawful to correct one's thoughts, moving from falsehood to truth. But if someone thinks that something is good which is evil, and does it, he certainly sins by so thinking. And all these are sins of ignorance, when someone thinks that what is done wickedly is done well.

5. As for killing men so that one may not be killed by them, this counsel does not please me; unless perhaps he is a soldier, or is bound by public office, so that he does this not for himself, but for others, or for the state in which he himself also lives, having received legitimate authority, if this befits his person. But to those who are restrained by some fear from doing evil, something is perhaps granted even to them. But hence it was said, let us not resist evil (Matt. V, 39), that revenge, which feeds the soul on another's harm, might not delight us; not that we should neglect the correction of men. Hence he is not guilty of another's death who has built a wall around his own property, if someone, struck by its ruins, should perish. For neither is a Christian guilty if his ox, by striking someone, or his horse, by kicking, kills someone; nor should Christians for that reason not have oxen with horns, or a horse with hooves, or a dog with teeth; nor indeed, since the apostle Paul took care that it be brought to the tribune's notice that an ambush was being prepared against him by certain wicked men, and for this reason received armed escorts (Acts XXIII, 17-24), would Paul, if wicked men had fallen

upon those weapons, acknowledge his own guilt in the shedding of their blood. Far be it that, if through those things which we do or have for a good and lawful purpose, some evil should befall anyone apart from our will, it should be imputed to us. Otherwise, neither should household and farming iron tools be kept, lest someone kill with them either himself or another; nor a tree or a rope, lest someone hang himself from it; nor should a window be made, lest someone throw himself down through it. Why should I recount more, since I could not finish recounting them? For what is there in the good and lawful use of men from which ruin could not also be inflicted?

6. It remains, unless I am deceived, that we say something concerning that Christian traveler, whom you commemorated overcome by the necessity of hunger, if he shall have found nothing anywhere except food placed in an idol-shrine (*idolio*), where there is no other of men, whether it be better for him to die of hunger, than to take that into aliment: in which question, since it is not consequent, that that food be idolothytum; for it could either by those who turning aside from a journey there had refreshed the body, be dismissed by oblivion or will, or be placed there for any other cause whatever; I respond briefly. Either it is certain to be idolothytum, or it is certain not to be, or it is ignored: if therefore it is certain to be, it is better rejected by Christian virtue; if moreover it is either known not to be, or is ignored, it is assumed into the use of necessity without any scruple of conscience.

EPISTOLA XLVIII. Augustine to Eudoxius abbot of the monks of the island of Capraria, exhorting that they use leisure for piety, not for sloth, and if anywhere the Church should require their labor, they should not detract.

To the beloved lord and most desired brother and fellow-presbyter EUDOXIUS and the brothers who are with you, AUGUSTINE, and the brothers who are with me, [send] greeting in the Lord.

1. When we think upon your quiet, which you have in Christ, we also, although we are versed in various and sharp labors, rest in your Charity. For we are one body under one head, so that both you may be busy in us, and we may be at leisure in you, because "if one member suffers, all members suffer with it; and if one member is glorified, all members rejoice together" (1 Cor. 12:26). We admonish therefore and ask and obsecrate by the most high humility and most merciful celsitude of Christ, that you be mindful of us in your holy prayers, which we believe you to have more vigilant and more sober: for our [prayers] the darkness and tumult of secular actions often wound and debilitate; which although we do not have as ours, nevertheless of those who angariate us a thousand paces, and we are commanded to go with them another two (Matt. 5:41), such great [things] are ingested to us that we can scarcely breathe: believing nevertheless that He in whose sight the groaning of the fettered enters (Ps. 78:11), with us persevering in that ministry, in which He deigned to collocate with a promised

reward, will liberate from all anguish, with your prayers helping.

You moreover, brothers, we exhort in the Lord that you guard your purpose, and persevere even unto the end: and if Mother Church should have desired any labor of yours, neither should you suspect it with avid elation, nor should you refuse it with blandishing desidia; but with mild heart obey God, carrying with mansuetude Him who rules you, who directs the mild in judgment, who teaches the mansuete His ways (Ps. 24:9). Nor should you prepose your leisure to the necessities of the Church, to whom if none good willed to minister when she was in labor, you would not find how you might be born. Moreover just as between fire and water the way is to be held, so that neither a man be burned nor be drowned; so between the apex of pride and the vortex of desidia we ought to temper our journey, just as it is written: "Not declining, neither to the right, nor to the left" (Deut. 17:11). For there are some who while they fear too much lest they be extolled as if snatched into the right, being slipped into the left they are drowned. And there are again those who while they too much withdraw themselves from the left, lest they be absorbed by the torpid softness of vacation, being corrupted and consumed on the other part by the pomp of boasting, vanish into embers and smoke. So therefore, most beloved, love leisure, so that you may refrain yourselves from all earthly delectation, and you may remember that there is no place, where he cannot stretch snares who fears lest we should

fly back to God; and let us judge the enemy of all good things, whose captives we were, and let us think no perfect rest to be for us, until iniquity should pass away (Ps. 56:2), and justice be converted into judgment (Ps. 93:15).

3. Likewise, when you do something strenuously and eagerly and labor diligently, whether in prayers, or in fastings, or in almsgiving; either giving something to the needy, or forgiving injuries, just as God also forgave us in Christ (Eph. 4:32); or taming pernicious habits, and chastising the body, and subjecting it to servitude (1 Cor. 9:27); or bearing with tribulation, and above all bearing with one another in love — for what would he bear who does not bear with his brother? — or watching for the cunning and snares of the tempter, and repelling and quenching his fiery darts with the shield of faith (Eph. 6:16); or singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord (Eph. 5:19), or with voices not discordant from the heart, do all things to the glory of God (1 Cor. 10:31), who works all in all (id. 12:6); and thus be fervent in spirit (Rom. 12:11), so that your soul may be praised in the Lord (Ps. 33:3). For this is the very action of the right way, which always has its eyes turned to the Lord, since he himself will pluck my feet out of the snare (Ps. 24:15). Such an action is neither broken by business, nor cold in leisure, neither turbulent nor languid; neither rash nor evasive; neither headlong nor prostrate. Do these things, and the God of peace will be with you (2 Cor. 13:11).

4. Let not your Charity think me importunate, because I have wished to speak to you at least by letter. For I have not admonished you of this because I think you do not do it; but I believed that I would be commended not a little to God by you, if you should do the things which you do by his gift, along with remembrance of our address. For already before by report, and now the brothers who came from you, Eustasius and Andreas, have brought to us the good odor of Christ from your holy manner of life. Of whom Eustasius has gone before into that rest which, like an island, is beaten by no waves, and does not long for Capraria, because he no longer seeks to be clothed with a hairshirt.

LETTER XLIX.

Augustine to Honoratus of the Donatist party, that he peacefully give an account by letter of how the name of the Church, which was indeed foretold in the Scriptures as destined for the whole world, has fallen back to them alone.

To HONORATUS, bishop of the party of Donatus, AUGUSTINE, bishop of the Catholic Church.

1. Your counsel pleased us greatly, which you deigned to convey through brother Herotes, most dear to us, and a man praiseworthy in Christ, that we should deal with one another by letters, where no tumult of crowds could disturb our disputation, which must be undertaken and carried on with entire gentleness and peace of mind, as the Apostle says: But the servant of the Lord must not wrangle, but be mild toward all, apt to teach,

patient, correcting with modesty those who think differently (2 Tim. 2:24, 25). Therefore we briefly intimate what we desire to be answered by you.

2. Since we see the Church of God, which is called Catholic, just as it was prophesied concerning her, diffused through the whole world, we judge that we ought not to doubt concerning such most evident completion of holy prophecy, which the Lord also confirmed in the Gospel and the Apostles, through whom the same Church was dilated, just as it had been predicted concerning her. For both in the head of the sacrosanct Psalter it is written concerning the Son of God: "The Lord said to me: Thou art my Son, I today have begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give to thee the nations [as] thy inheritance, and thy possession the ends of the earth" (Ps. 2:7, 8). And the Lord Jesus Christ Himself says His Gospel would be future in all nations (Matt. 24:14). And the apostle Paul, before the word of God had arrived into Africa, in the very head of the Epistle which he wrote to the Romans: "Through whom we have received," he says, "grace and apostleship, to the obedience of faith, in all nations for His name" (Rom. 1:5). Then he himself from Jerusalem in circuit through all Asia even into Illyricum preached the Gospel, constituted and founded Churches; not he himself, but the grace of God with him (1 Cor. 15:10), just as he himself testifies. Moreover what can appear more evidently, than when in his Epistles we find even the names of regions or cities?

To the Romans, to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Thessalonians, to the Colossians he writes. John also writes to the seven Churches, which he commemorates constituted in those parts, in which also we understand the universal Church to be commended by the septenary number, Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, Pergamum, Thyatira (Rev. 1:11). With all which Churches it is manifest us today to communicate, just as it is manifest you not to communicate with those Churches.

The most famous crime of your monstrosity and unexpected cruelty shakes the earth and strikes the heaven, so that in your streets and shrines blood shines and homicide resounds. Among you the Roman laws are buried, the terror of upright judgments is trampled. Certainly there is no veneration nor fear of the Emperors. Among you the innocent blood of sixty brothers in number was poured out, and if anyone killed more, he was discharged with praises and held the principate in your curia. Come now, let us come to the principal cause. If you mention your Hercules, we shall return him henceforth: metals are present, nor are stones lacking; kinds of marbles are added, a plenty of craftsmen is supplied. Moreover your god is sculpted, turned, and adorned with diligence. We add also the red ochre (rubrica) which paints the redness, by which your sacred vows might be able to sound. For if you mention your Hercules, by each coin having been collected from your craftsman, we

buy a god for you. Restore therefore the souls which your hand twisted, and just as your Hercules is returned by us, so also let the souls of so many be restored by you.

LETTER LI.

Augustine urges Crispinus of Calama, bishop of the Donatist party, with some arguments briefly proposed, that he respond to them by letter if he can.

1. Because your people find fault with our humility, I have thus pre-notated the letter; because I would seem to have done it for your insult, if I do not expect it to be rewritten to me by you in such a way. Concerning your promise at Carthage or our insistence, why should I commemorate many things? In whatever way we carried those out, let them have passed away, lest they impede what remains. Now there is no excuse, unless I am deceived, the Lord helping; we are both in Numidia, and we approach each other in the position of lands. Rumor has brought to me that you still wish to try with me by disputing concerning the question which divides our communion. See how briefly all ambiguities are removed: respond to this letter, if it pleases, and perhaps it will suffice, not only for us, but also for those who desire to hear us; or if it will not suffice, let writings and rewritings be repeated until they suffice. For what more commodious thing will the so great vicinity of the cities which we inhabit be able to exhibit to us? For I have determined to do nothing concerning this matter with you, except by letters, either

lest [anything] of what is said should slip from the memory of any of us, or lest the studious of such things, who perhaps are not able to be present, be defrauded. You are accustomed to boast false things concerning past deeds which you wish, perhaps not by the study of lying, but by error. Accordingly, if it pleases, let us measure those from present things. Without doubt it does not escape you that in the times of the prior people both the sacrilege of idolatry was committed, and the prophetic book was burned by a contemptuous king (Jer. 36:23); by both which crimes the evil of schism would not be punished more atrociously, unless it were weighed more heavily. For surely you remember how the earth opening up swallowed the authors of schism alive, and fire rushing from heaven consumed those who had consented (Num. 16:31-35). Thus neither the fabricated and adored idol, nor the sacred Book burned deserved to be avenged [so severely].

2. Why therefore do you, who are accustomed to object against us, not only crimes not proved in ours, but rather proved in yours, of those who, impelled by the dread of persecution, delivered the Lord's books to be consumed by fires—[why do] you [receive back] those whom for the crime of schism, you condemned by the truthful mouth of your plenary council, as it is written there, in that very same episcopate in which you condemned them? I mean Felicianus of Musti, and Praetextatus of Assuras. For neither, as you say to the ignorant, were those from that number for whom your council had prorogued and

prefixed a day, within which unless they had returned to your communion, they would be held by the same sentence; but from that number were those whom you condemned on that day without delay, on which [day] you gave delay to those [others]. I will prove it, if you deny: your council speaks; we have the proconsular Acts (Gesta) in hands, in which you have alleged it not once. Prepare therefore another defense, if you can, lest while you deny what I shall convict, we make delays. If therefore Felicianus and Praetextatus were innocent, why were they thus condemned? If wicked, why were they thus received? If you shall prove them innocent, why should we not believe that by much fewer of your ancestors, the innocent could have been condemned on a false crime of delivery (traditio), if by three hundred and ten of their successors, where even it is written as a great thing, "by the truthful mouth of the plenary council," the innocent could be condemned on a false crime of schism? If however you shall prove that they were rightly condemned, what defense remains why they were received in the same episcopate, unless that, exaggerating the utility and healthfulness of peace, you show even those things are to be tolerated for the bond of unity? Which would that you did not with the strengths of the mouth, but of the heart! surely you would perceive how the peace of Christ ought to be violated by no calumnies through the whole world, if it is allowed in Africa even for those condemned in a sacrilegious

schism, to be received in that very same episcopate for the peace of Donatus.

3. Likewise you are accustomed to object against us that we persecute you through earthly powers. In which matter I do not dispute, either what you might deserve for the monstrosity of so great a sacrilege, or how much Christian mildness might temper us; I say that: if this is a crime, why did you heavily pursue the same Maximianists through judges sent by those Emperors whom our communion begot through the Gospel, [and] from the basilicas which they were holding, in which the division itself found them, disturb them both by the noise of controversies and the power of commands and the force of aids? In which conflict what things they suffered through individual places, recent vestiges of things bear witness; what things were ordered the papers indicate, what things were done the lands cry out, in which even the holy memory of that Optatus your tribune is preached.

4. Likewise you are accustomed to say that we do not have the baptism of Christ, and that outside of your communion it is nowhere. I could discourse on this somewhat more copiously. But against you there is now no need, you who with Felicianus and Praetextatus received even the baptism of the Maximianists. For as many as they baptized when they were communicating with Maximianus, when you were trying even to expel them by name, that is Felicianus and Praetextatus, from their basilicas, as the acts witness, by a long-lasting conflict of judgments; as many

therefore as baptized at that time, they now have with themselves and with you, not only through the perils of sicknesses, but also through the Paschal solemnities in so many churches pertaining to their cities, and in those so great cities, [those] baptized outside in the crime of schism, for none of whom was Baptism repeated. And would that you could prove, that those whom outside in the crime of schism Felicianus and Praetextatus had baptized as if in vain, were again baptized by them received inside as if usefully. For if these were to be baptized again, those were to be ordained again. For they had lost the episcopate by receding from you, if they were not able to baptize outside of your communion. For if by departing they had not lost the episcopate, they were certainly able to baptize. If however they had lost it, therefore that what they had lost might be restored to them, they ought to have been ordained on returning. But do not fear: just as it is certain that those returned with the same episcopate with which they had gone out, so it is certain that all whom they baptized in the schism of Maximianus, they reconciled with themselves to your communion without any repetition of Baptism.

5. With what tears therefore are we sufficient to bewail that the baptism of the Maximianists is received, and the Baptism of the whole world is exsufflated? Whether heard or unheard, whether justly or unjustly, you condemned Felicianus, you condemned Praetextatus; tell me: what bishop of the Corinthians did any of you hear, or con-

demn? what [bishop] of the Galatians, what of the Ephesians, what of the Colossians, of the Philippians, of the Thessalonians, and of all the other cities, concerning which it is said: "All the countries of the nations shall adore in His sight"? (Ps. 22:28.) Therefore the baptism of these is accepted, and that of those is exsufflated; which is neither of these nor of those, but of Him concerning whom it is said: "This is He who baptizes" (John 1:33). But I do not act from this; to those things which are at hand, attend, behold those things which strike even blind eyes: the condemned have baptism; and the unheard have not! [Those] expressly by name in the crime of schism and ejected have [it]; and the unknown, far-off strangers, never accused, never judged have [it] not! Those who were again cut off from a cut-off part of Africa have [it]; and [those] from where the Gospel itself came into Africa have [it] not! Why do I burden [you] with more things? respond to these. Attend to the sacrilege of schism exaggerated against the Maximianists by your council; attend to the persecutions through judicial powers, which you inflicted on them; attend to their baptism, which you received with those whom you condemned; and respond, if you can, whether you have anything by which you may cast mists on the unskilful, why you are separated from the whole world by a far greater crime of schism, than what you glory to have condemned in the Maximianists. May the peace of Christ conquer in your heart. FAREWELL (EUTYCHOS).

LETTER LII.

Augustine to Severinus his kinsman, a Donatist, that he desert the wicked and impudent schism.

To the much desirable Lord and very dear brother SEVERINUS, AUGUSTINE [sends greeting].

1. I have received the letters of your Brotherhood, although very late, [and] although beyond what I had hoped, yet joyful, and especially was I poured over with a more ample joy, when I had known your man had come to Hippo for this very cause alone, that he might bring the letters of your Brotherhood to me. For I thought not without cause this had arisen in your mind that you should recall our consanguinity; unless because perhaps you perceive, as I know the not light weight of your prudence, how much it is to be lamented, that we who are brothers according to the flesh, do not live in one society in the body of Christ, especially because it is easy for you to attend to and see the city constituted upon a mountain, concerning which the Lord says in the Gospel that it cannot be hidden (Matt. 5:14). For it is the Catholic Church: whence it is called katholike in Greek, because it is diffused through the whole world. It is allowed to no one to be ignorant of this; therefore according to the word of our Lord Jesus Christ, it cannot be hidden.

But the party of Donatus among Africans alone calumniates the whole world, and does not consider by that sterility, by which it was unwilling to bring the fruit of peace and charity, [that]

it has been cut off from that root of the Oriental Churches, whence the Gospel came into Africa: whence if earth is brought to them, they adore [it]; but if a faithful man comes from there, they even exsufflate and rebaptize [him]. For this also the Son of God predicted, who is the truth, [that] He is the vine, but His children are the branches, and His Father the husbandman: "The branch," He says, "which in me does not give fruit, my Father will take it away; but the branch which in me gives fruit, He purges it, that it may bring greater fruit" (John 15:1, 2). Therefore it is no wonder, if from that vine which grew and filled all lands, those have been cut off who were unwilling to bring the fruit of charity.

3. If they had objected true crimes against their colleagues, their ancestors when they made the schism, they themselves would have obtained their cause before the transmarine Church, whence the authority of the Christian faith flowed into these parts, so that those were outside against whom they were objecting those same crimes. But now since those are found inside to communicate with the apostolic Churches, whose names they have and recite in the holy Books, but these are placed outside and separated from that communion, who may not understand that those had a good cause, who were able to obtain it before impartial judges? Or if they had a good cause, and were not able to prove it to the transmarine Churches, what did the whole world harm them, where bishops could not rashly condemn their colleagues, who

were not convicted of the objected crimes before them? Thus the innocent are rebaptized, and Christ is exsufflated in the innocent. If however the same Donatists knew true crimes of their African colleagues, and neglected to demonstrate and prove them to the transmarine Churches, they themselves cut themselves off from the unity of Christ by a most wicked schism, they have nothing which they may excuse, and you know [it]; especially because so many wicked men emerged among them, and they tolerated those through so many years, lest they should rend the party of Donatus, and they did not hesitate at that time, objecting their false suspicions, to disrupt the peace and unity of Christ, and you see [it].

4. But I know not what carnal custom, brother Severinus, holds you there; and long have I grieved, long have I groaned, especially thinking of your prudence, and long have I desired to see you, that I might speak with you concerning this matter. For what does either health or temporal consanguinity profit, if we despise the eternal inheritance and perpetual salvation of Christ in our relationship? It shall have sufficed me to have written these things in the meantime, which to hard hearts are very few and almost nothing; but to your mind which I know well, they are very many and very great. For they are not mine, who am nothing, except what I expect from the mercy of God; but of the same almighty God, whom whosoever in this world shall have despised [as] a father, will find in the future [as] a judge.

LETTER LIII. The letter of a certain Donatist presbyter is confuted, who was striving to seduce Generosus, a Catholic of Constantine, pretending that he was admonished by an angel to bring him to the party of the Donatists.

To the most beloved and honorable brother GENEROSUS, FORTUNATUS, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE [send] greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. Since you wished the letter which the Donatist presbyter gave to you to be known to us, although you also laughed at it with a Catholic mind: yet that you may rather consult for him if he is not desperately foolish, we ask that you deliver these re-writings to him. For he wrote that an angel had ordered him to insinuate to you the order of Christianity of your city, whereas you hold Christianity, not of your city only, nor only of Africa or of Africans, but of the whole world, which has been announced and is announced to all nations. Whence it is little for them, that they are not ashamed to be cut off, nor do they help themselves, that when they can, they may return to the root, unless they also try to cut off others with themselves, and just as dry wood destine [them] for the fire. Wherefore if an angel had stood by you yourself, whom he feigns with astute vanity to have stood by him for your sake, as we judge, and had said to you these very same things, which he says he is insinuating to you by his command, it would behoove you to be mindful of the apostolic sentence, who says: "Even if

we, or an angel from heaven should evangelize to you, beyond that which we have evangelized to you, let him be anathema" (Gal. 1:8). For it has been evangelized to you through the voice of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, that His Gospel shall be announced to all nations, and then the end shall be (Matt. 24:14). It has been evangelized to you through the prophetic and apostolic Letters, that the promises were said to Abraham and to his seed which is Christ (Gal. 3:16), when God said to him: "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed" (Gen. 12:3). Therefore to [one] holding these promises, if an angel from heaven should say to you, "Leave the Christianity of the whole world, and hold the party of Donatus, whose order is set forth to you in the letter of the bishop of your city," he ought to be anathema; because he would be trying to cut you off from the whole, and thrust you into a part, and alienate [you] from the promises of God.

2. For if the order of bishops succeeding one another is to be considered, how much more certainly and truly healthfully do we number from Peter himself, to whom bearing the figure of the whole Church the Lord says: "Upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not conquer it" (Matt. 16:18). For Linus succeeded Peter; Clement succeeded Linus; Anacletus succeeded Clement; Evaristus succeeded Anacletus; Alexander succeeded Evaristus; Sixtus succeeded Alexander; Telesphorus succeeded Sixtus; Hyginus succeeded Telesphorus; Anicetus succeeded Hyginus; Pius succeeded Anicetus; Soter suc-

ceeded Pius; Eleutherius succeeded Soter; Victor succeeded Eleutherius; Zephyrinus succeeded Victor; Callistus succeeded Zephyrinus; Urban succeeded Callistus; Pontian succeeded Urban; Anterus succeeded Pontian; Fabian succeeded Anterus; Cornelius succeeded Fabian; Lucius succeeded Cornelius; Stephen succeeded Lucius; Sixtus succeeded Stephen; Dionysius succeeded Sixtus; Felix succeeded Dionysius; Eutychian succeeded Felix; Gaius succeeded Eutychian; Marcellinus succeeded Gaius; Marcellus succeeded Marcellinus; Eusebius succeeded Marcellus; Miltiades succeeded Eusebius; Sylvester succeeded Miltiades; Marcus succeeded Sylvester; Julius succeeded Marcus; Liberius succeeded Julius; Damasus succeeded Liberius; Siricius succeeded Damasus; Anastasius succeeded Siricius. In this order of succession no Donatist bishop is found. But from the side they sent [one] ordained from Africa, who presiding over a few Africans in the city of Rome propagated the name of Montenses or Cutzupitae.

3. But in that order of bishops which is led from Peter himself even to Anastasius, who now sits on the same chair, even if any traditor had crept in through those times, it would prejudice nothing to the Church and to innocent Christians, for whom the Lord providing, says of evil superiors: "What they say, do; but what they do, do not do: for they say, and do not do" (Matt. 23:3). That the hope of the faithful might be certain, which, placed not in man but in the Lord, may never be dissipated by the tempest of

sacrilegious schism; just as those have been dissipated, who read in the holy books the Churches to which the Apostles wrote, and have no bishop in them. But what is more perverse and insane, than to say to the readers reading those same Epistles, "Peace be with thee," and to be separated from the peace of those Churches to which those same Epistles were written?

CHAPTER II.

4. Yet lest they also flatter themselves concerning the Constantinensian [order], that is, the order of bishops of your city, recite to him the Acts (Gesta) before Munatius Felix, perpetual flamen, curator then of that same city of yours, in the eighth consulship of Diocletian and the seventh of Maximian, on the eleventh day before the Calends of June, by which it clearly appeared that Paul the bishop so delivered [the books], that Silvanus was then his subdeacon, and delivered [them] with him, bringing forth the Lord's instruments, even those which had been diligently hidden, a silver chalice (capitulata), and a silver lamp, so that a certain Victor said to him: "You would have been dead, if you had not found those." This Silvanus, a most manifest traditor, that man commemorates as a great thing in the letter which he writes to you, as having been then ordained bishop by Secundus of Tigisis, bishop of the first see. Let their proud tongue be quiet therefore, and let it know its own crimes, lest raving it speak those of others. Recite to him also, if he will, the ecclesiastical

Acts of that same Secundus of Tigisis held in the house of Urbanus Donatus, where he dismissed confessed traditors to God the judge, Donatus of Masculua, Marinus from Aquae Tibilitanae, Donatus of Calama, with which confessed traditors he ordained the mentioned traditor Silvanus as bishop for them. Recite to him the Acts before the consular Zenophilus, where a certain Nundinarius, a deacon angry with Silvanus because he had been excommunicated by him, betrayed all these things to the judgments, which by certain documents and responses of witnesses, and by the recitation of the Acts and of many letters, stood out clearer than light.

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4. Yet lest they also flatter themselves concerning the Constantinensian [order], that is, the order of bishops of your city, recite to him the Acts (Gesta) before Munatius Felix, perpetual flamen, curator then of that same city of yours, in the eighth consulship of Diocletian and the seventh of Maximian, on the eleventh day before the Calends of June, by which it clearly appeared that Paul the bishop so delivered [the books], that Silvanus was then his subdeacon, and delivered [them] with him, bringing forth the Lord's instruments, even those which had been diligently hidden, a silver chalice (capitulata), and a silver lamp, so that a certain Victor said to him: "You would have been dead, if you had not found those." This Silvanus, a most manifest traditor, that man commemorates as a great

thing in the letter which he writes to you, as having been then ordained bishop by Secundus of Tigisis, bishop of the first see. Let their proud tongue be quiet therefore, and let it know its own crimes, lest raving it speak those of others. Recite to him also, if he will, the ecclesiastical Acts of that same Secundus of Tigisis held in the house of Urbanus Donatus, where he dismissed confessed traditors to God the judge, Donatus of Masculua, Marinus from Aquae Tibilitanae, Donatus of Calama, with which confessed traditors he ordained the mentioned traditor Silvanus as bishop for them. Recite to him the Acts before the consular Zenophilus, where a certain Nundinarius, a deacon angry with Silvanus because he had been excommunicated by him, betrayed all these things to the judgments, which by certain documents and responses of witnesses, and by the recitation of the Acts and of many letters, stood out clearer than light.

5. There are many other things which you may recite to him, if he will wish not to act contentiously, but to hear prudently: the prayers of the Donatists to Constantine, that on account of that same cause between the African bishops to be decided, he should send judges, bishops from Gaul. Also the letters of the same emperor, where he sent bishops to the city of Rome. Also the Acts in the city of Rome, where by the bishops whom he had sent, the cause was known and discussed. And likewise other letters, where the mentioned emperor declares those to have complained before him concerning the judgment of

their colleagues, that is, of the bishops whom he had sent to the city of Rome; where also he wished other bishops to judge at Arles; where those even appealed from the judgment of those themselves to the same Emperor; where finally he himself knew the cause between the parties; where he most vehemently detests them to have been overcome by the innocence of Caecilianus. Which things if he will wish, he will hear, and will be silent, and will cease to lay snares for the truth.

CHAPTER III.

Although we do not presume so much from those documents as from the holy Scriptures, where the inheritance of Christ even to the ends of the earth is promised in all nations: whence these separated by a nefarious schism, boast crimes against the chaff of the Lord's harvest; which must of necessity be tolerated mixed together even to the end, until in the last judgment the whole threshing-floor be winnowed. Whence it is manifest that those crimes, whether true or false, do not pertain to the Lord's wheat, which through the whole field, that is this world, must needs grow even into the end of the age, as not a false angel in the error of this man, but the Lord in the Gospel speaks (Matt. 13:30). And therefore upon innocent Christians, who through the whole world are mixed with evil Christians as if with their own chaff or cockle (zizania), while these wretched Donatists boast many false and vain crimes, God has deservedly rendered, that they should condemn by their universal council

the Maximianists at Carthage, their own schismatics, the condemners of Primian, the baptizers outside of Primian, the rebaptizers after Primian: so that from their number after no small time they should receive some in the honors of their own episcopate, Felicianus of Musti and Praetextatus of Assuras, Optatus the Gildonian compelling [them], with all those whom [the same] condemned had baptized outside.

Which if they are not maculated by those whom they condemned by their own mouth as wicked and sacrilegious, and whom they compared to those first schismatics whom the earth swallowed alive (Num. 16:31-33), when they communicate with those received back in their own honor; let them wake up sometimes, [and] think with how great blindness and how great insanity they say the whole world to be maculated by unknown crimes of Africans, and [that] this inheritance of Christ, which promised has been exhibited in all nations, has been deleted by the sins of Africans through the contagion of communication, when they do not wish themselves to be seen deleted and maculated, while they communicate with those whose known crimes they judged.

7. Wherefore since Paul the apostle again says that Satan himself transfigures himself into an angel of light, whence it is not to be wondered if his ministers transfigure themselves as ministers of justice (2 Cor. 11:13-15); if truly that man saw some angel [as] a messenger of error, and desiring to separate Christians from Catholic unity,

he himself has suffered an angel of Satan transfiguring himself as if an angel of light. If however he lies, and saw no such thing, he himself is a minister of Satan, transfiguring himself as if a minister of justice. And yet considering all these things, if he will wish not to be too perverse and pertinacious, he will be able to be liberated from all either alien or his own seduction. For we have come together on your occasion without any hatred, observing this concerning him which the Apostle says: "But the servant of the Lord ought not to litigate, but to be mild toward all, teachable, patient, in modesty correcting those sensing differently; lest perhaps God give to them repentance to the knowledge of the truth, and they may recover themselves from the snares of the devil, held captive by him unto his own will" (2 Tim. 2:24-26). If therefore we have said anything harshly, let him know it to avail not to the bitterness of dissension, but to the correction of love. May you live safe in Christ, most beloved and honorable brother.

CONCERNING THE TWO LETTERS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING. (BOOK II OF THE RETRACTATIONS, CHAPTER XX.)

CHAPTER III.

4. Someone might say that the Eucharist should not be received daily: you would ask why. Because, he says, those days are to be chosen in which a man lives more purely and continently, so that he may approach so great

a Sacrament worthily: "For he who shall have eaten unworthily, eats and drinks judgment to himself" (1 Cor. 11:29). Another, on the contrary, says: Nay, rather, if so great is the plague of sin and the onset of disease that such medicines are to be deferred, each one ought by the authority of the bishop (antistitis) to be removed from the altar to perform penance, and by the same authority to be reconciled. For this is to receive unworthily, if he receives at that time when he ought to be performing penance; not so that by his own judgment, when he pleases, he either withdraws himself from communion or restores himself. Otherwise, if the sins are not so great that each one is judged to be excommunicated, he ought not to separate himself from the daily medicine of the Lord's body. Perhaps someone more rightly settles the strife between them who advises that they should especially remain in the peace of Christ: let each one do what according to his faith he piously believes ought to be done. For neither of them dishonors the body and blood of the Lord, but they contend to honor the most salutary Sacrament in emulation of each other. For Zacchaeus and that Centurion did not litigate between themselves, nor did anyone of them prefer himself to the other, when one of them rejoicing received the Lord into his house (Luke 19:6), [and] the other said, "I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof" (Matt. 8:8): both honoring the Savior in a different and as if contrary manner; both wretched in their sins, both having obtained mercy. It also avails to this

similitude that in the first people the manna tasted in the mouth of each one according to his own will, so [it is with] that Sacrament in the heart of each Christian, by which the world has been subjugated. For both that one by honoring does not dare to take [it] daily, and that one by honoring does not dare to omit [it] on any day. This food only does not want contempt, just as the manna [does not want] fastidiousness (fastidium). For hence also the Apostle says it was received unworthily by those who did not discern this from other foods with the veneration singularly due [to it]: for immediately when he had said, "He eats and drinks judgment to himself," he added so as to say, "not discerning the body of the Lord" (1 Cor. 11:29); which appears sufficiently in that whole place in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, if it be diligently attended to.

CHAPTER IV.

5. Suppose someone is a stranger in that place, perhaps, where those persevering in the observation of Lent do not wash on the fifth day of the week (Thursday), nor relax their fast: "I will not fast today," he says. The cause is sought: "Because it is not so done," he says, "in my own country." What else does he [do], except attempt to prefer his own custom to the custom of another? For he is not about to recite this to me from the Book of God, nor will he contend with full voice for the whole Church wherever it is dilated, nor will he show that that man acts against the faith, [while] he himself [acts] according to the

faith; and he will [not] convince [anyone] either that that man violates the best morals from this, or that he himself preserves them. They surely violate their own quiet and peace by brawling about a superfluous question. I would prefer, however, in things of this sort, that both that man in this one's [country], and this one in that one's country, should not abhor from that which the others do. But if indeed also in a foreign country when he was traveling, where the people of God is greater and more frequent and more fervent, he saw, for example, [the Eucharist] offered twice on the fifth day of the last week of Lent, both in the morning and at evening, and coming into his own country, where the custom is to offer at the end of the day, he should contend that it is done badly and illicitly, because he himself saw otherwise elsewhere, that sense of his is childish, to be avoided in us, to be tolerated in others, to be corrected in our own [people].

CHAPTER V.

6. Therefore, your first inquiry, which you put in [your] memorandum, observe of which of those three kinds it is. For you ask in these words: "What ought to be done through the fifth feria (Thursday) of the last week of Lent? whether it is to be offered in the morning, and again after supper, on account of that which was said, 'Likewise after he had supped?' (Luke 22:20), or is it to be fasted, and offered only after supper? or also is it to be fasted, and after the oblation, as we are accustomed to do, is it to be supped?"

To these things, therefore, I so respond, that whatever of these is to be done, if the authority of divine Scripture prescribes [it], it is not to be doubted but that we ought so to do as we read, so that we may now dispute not how it is to be done, but how the Sacrament is to be understood. Likewise also if the whole Church throughout the world frequents any of these; and hence to dispute whether it is so to be done, is [a mark] of most insolent insanity. But neither this, nor that, is present in that which you ask. It remains, therefore, that it be of that third kind, which varies through places and regions. Let each one do, therefore, what he shall find in that Church into which he comes. For not anything of them is done against the faith, or against better morals, here or there. For for these causes, that is, either on account of the faith, or on account of morals, either that which was done wrongly ought to be amended, or that which was not done ought to be instituted. For the very change of custom, even that which helps by utility, perturbs by novelty. Wherefore, that which is not useful, is consequently noxious by unfruitful perturbation.

7. Nor for that reason ought it to be thought to have been instituted in many places, that on that day it is offered after refreshment, because it is written: "Likewise also the chalice after supper saying," etc. For he was able to call the supper itself [that] by which they had already received the body, so that thereafter they might receive the chalice. For the Apostle elsewhere says, "When you come together therefore into one, it is not to

eat the Lord's supper" (1 Cor. 11:20), calling this very reception of the Eucharist the Lord's supper.

CHAPTER VI.

That which could rather move men [is] whether they should already refreshed either offer or take the Eucharist on that day, because it is said in the Gospel, "And while they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed [it];" since also he had said above: "And when evening was come, he reclined with the twelve, and as they were eating he said, 'For one of you shall betray me'" (Matt. 26:26, 20, 21). For afterward he delivered the Sacrament. And it clearly appears, when first the disciples received the body and blood of the Lord, [that] they did not receive [them] fasting.

8. Is it however on that account to be calumniated against the whole Church that it is always received by [those who are] fasting? For from this it pleased the Holy Spirit, that in honor of so great a Sacrament the Lord's body should enter into the mouth of a Christian before other foods: for therefore through the whole world this custom is observed. For not because the Lord gave [it] after foods, ought the brothers on that account convened for receiving that Sacrament to be [already] dined or supped, or as they were doing whom the Apostle reproves and amends, to mix those things with their tables. For the Savior, by which he might more vehemently commend the altitude of that mystery, wished to fix this last thing more deeply in the hearts and memory of the disciples, from whom he was about to

depart to [his] passion. And therefore he did not prescribe in what order it should be taken thereafter, so that he might reserve this place for the Apostles, through whom he was about to dispose the Churches. For if he had advised this, that it should always be taken after other foods, I believe that no one would have varied that custom. But when the Apostle says speaking of this Sacrament, "Wherefore, brothers, when you convene for eating, wait for one another. If anyone is hungry, let him eat at home, so that you may not convene unto judgment;" he immediately subjoined: "But the rest, when I shall have come, I will ordain" (1 Cor. 11:33, 34). Whence it is given to be understood (because it was much, that in an Epistle he should insinuate that whole order of acting which the whole Church through the world observes) that that was ordained by him which is varied by no diversity of morals.

CHAPTER VII.

9. But a certain probable reason has delighted some, that on one certain day in the year, on which the Lord gave that very supper, as if for a more signal commemoration, it may be allowed that the body and blood of the Lord be offered and received after foods. But I think it to be done more honestly at that hour, so that he who shall also have fasted, may be able to occur for the oblation after the refreshment which is made at the ninth hour. Wherefore we compel no one to dine before that Lord's supper, but we also dare to contradict no one. I do not think this, however,

to have been instituted, except because many and nearly all in most places have been accustomed to wash on that day. And because some also keep the fast, it is offered in the morning on account of those dining, because they cannot tolerate the fasts and the washings at the same time; but in the evening on account of those fasting.

10. If however you ask why the custom of washing also arose: nothing occurs to me thinking about this thing more probable, except because the bodies of those to be baptized, soiled through the observation of Lent, would be treated with offense to the sense at the font, unless they were washed on some day. But that this day was chosen rather for this, on which the Lord's supper is anniversarily celebrated. And because this was granted to those about to receive Baptism, many wished to wash with them, and to relax the fast. These things having been disputed as I was able, I advise that you serve those things which I have foretold as much as you can, as becomes a prudent and peaceful son of the Church. Other things which you asked, if the Lord shall wish, I will expedite at another time.

THE SECOND BOOK TO THE INQUIRIES OF JANUARIUS, OR EPISTLE LV. Concerning the rites of the Church, either those which it is a nefas (wickedness) to neglect, or those which are to be taken away, if it be allowed without greater incommodity. The mystery of the Sabbath, etc. The fast of Lent. The washing of the feet. Concerning various customs. The chant of the Church, etc.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. Having read your letters, where you reminded me that I should render the debt concerning the remaining questions to be unenotted, which you had already asked long before, I could not tolerate [that] the most grateful and most dear desire of your study be deferred further; and although in the midst of heaps of my occupations, I made this principal, that I should respond to you to those things which you asked. Moreover, I do not wish to dispute longer concerning your epistle, lest this very thing should impede me from finally rendering what I owe.

2. You ask what the cause is, why the anniversary day of celebrating the Lord's passion does not return to the same day of the year, just as the day on which he is delivered [as] born: and thereafter you subjoin, if this is done on account of the Sabbath and the moon, what the observation of the Sabbath and the moon wills for itself in this matter. Here first it behooves [that] you know the Birthday of the Lord (Natalem Domini) not to be celebrated in a sacrament, but only to be recalled into memory that he was born, and through this there was no need, except [that] the revolved day of the year, on which the thing itself was done, be marked with festive devotion. But it is a Sacrament in some celebration, when the commemoration of a deed done is so made, that something also is understood to be signified, which is to be received holily. In that way therefore we act the Pascha, so that we may not only

recall into memory what was done, that is, that Christ died and rose again, but also we may not omit the other things which are attested around those things, unto the signification of the sacrament. For because, as the Apostle says, "He died on account of our delicts, and rose again on account of our justification" (Rom. 4:25); a certain transition (transitus) from death to life was consecrated in that passion of the Lord and resurrection. For also the very vocabulary which is called Pascha, they who know both languages say to be not Greek, as it is accustomed commonly to be seen, but Hebrew. For not from passion, since in Greek πάσχειν is said [to be] to suffer, but from that which is transitioned, as I said, from death to life, the thing was called by a Hebrew word: in which eloquence Pascha is called a transition (transitus), as they assert who know this. Which the Lord himself also wished to touch when he says: "He who believes in me, shall transition (transiet) from death to life" (John 5:24). And especially the same evangelist is understood to have wished to express this, when concerning the Lord about to celebrate the Pascha with his disciples, where he gave the mystic supper to them, "When Jesus had seen," he says, "that his hour came that he should transition (transiret) from the world to the Father" (John 13:1). The transition (transitus) therefore from this mortal life into another immortal life, for this is from death to life, is commended in the passion and in the resurrection of the Lord.

CHAPTER II.

3. This transition is now acted by us through faith, which is to us unto the remission of sins, unto the hope of eternal life, [by us] loving God and neighbor; because "faith works through love" (Gal. 5:6), and "the just lives from faith" (Habak. 2:4). "But hope which is seen, is not hope: for what anyone sees, why does he hope [for it]? But if we hope for that which we do not see, we expect [it] through patience" (Rom. 8:24). According to this faith, and hope, and love, by which we have begun to be under grace, we are already dead together with Christ, and buried together with him through baptism into death (Col. 3), just as the Apostle says: "Because also our old man was crucified together with him; and we have risen together with him" (Rom. 6:6): "because he simultaneously excited us, and made [us] sit together in the celestials." Whence is also that exhortation: "If however you have risen together with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God; savor those things which are above, not those which are upon the earth." But that which follows and says, "For you are dead, and your life is hidden with Christ in God. When Christ shall have appeared, [who is] your life, then you also shall appear with him in glory" (Col. 3:1-4); indicates sufficiently what he wills to be understood, because now our transition from death to life, which is made through faith, is performed by hope of the future resurrection and glory in

the end, when this corruptible [thing], that is this flesh in which we groan now, shall put on incorruption, and this mortal [thing] shall put on immortality (1 Cor. 15:53). For now indeed we already have the firstfruits of the spirit through faith, but still we groan in ourselves, expecting the adoption, the redemption of our body: for by hope we have been made safe. When we are in this hope, the body indeed is dead on account of sin, but the spirit is life on account of justice. But see what follows: "If however," he says, "his Spirit, who raised Jesus from the dead, dwells in you; he who raised Christ from the dead, will also vivify your mortal bodies through his Spirit inhabiting in you" (Rom. 8:23, 24, 10, 11). This therefore the whole Church, which has been found in the pilgrimage of mortality, expects in the end of the world, which has been pre-demonstrated in the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the firstborn from the dead, because also his body, of which he himself is the head, is none but the Church (Col. 1:18).

CHAPTER III.

4. For some, attending to the words which the Apostle says assidiously, because we are both dead with Christ and have risen with him, and not understanding how they are said, have thought the resurrection to have been made already, nor that any further [one] is to be hoped for in the end of times: "Of whom is," he says, "Hymenaeus and Philetus, who have erred around the truth, saying the resurrection to have been

made already, and have subverted the faith of some" (2 Tim. 2:17, 18). The same Apostle detests [and] reproves them, who nevertheless says us to have risen with Christ. Whence [is this], unless because he says this to have been made in us through faith, and hope, and love, according to the firstfruits of the Spirit? But because hope which is seen is not hope, and therefore if we hope for that which we do not see, we expect [it] through patience; there remains surely the redemption of our body, which expecting we groan in ourselves. Whence is also that: "Rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation" (Rom. 12:12).

5. This innovation therefore of our life is a certain transition from death to life, which first is made through faith, so that we may rejoice in hope, and be patient in tribulation, while still our exterior man is corrupted, but the interior is renewed from day to day (2 Cor. 4:16). On account of the beginning itself of the new life, on account of the new man whom we are commanded to put on, and to put off the old (Col. 3:9, 10); purging out the old leaven, that we may be a new paste, since our Pascha, Christ, has been immolated (1 Cor. 5:7): on account of this novelty of life, therefore, the first month in the months of the year has been attributed to this celebration. For it is also called the "month of new things" (mensis novorum) (Exod. 23:15). But because in the whole time of the world a third time has now appeared, therefore the resurrection of the Lord is of three days (triduana). For the first time is before the Law, the second under the Law, the

third under Grace, where there is now the manifestation of the sacrament previously hidden in prophetic enigma. This therefore is signified also in the lunar number; because since the septenary number is accustomed to appear in the Scriptures as mystic unto a certain perfection, the Pascha is celebrated in the third week of the moon, which day occurs from the fourteenth unto the twenty-first.

CHAPTER IV.

6. There is there also another Sacrament, which if it shall have been obscure to you, because in such inquiries you are less erudite, be not contristated; nor on that account think me better, because I learned these in childish studies: "For he who glories, let him glory in this," he says, "to know and understand that I am the Lord" (Jer. 9:24). Some studious [men] therefore of such things have sought many things concerning the numbers and motions of the stars. And they who have scrutinized those things more subtly, have conjectured the lunar increases and decreases from the conversion of its globe, not that anything of substance either approaches it when it is increased, or departs when it is diminished, which the Manichaeans, opining [with] delirious unskillfulness, said it to be replenished, just as a ship is replenished, from the fugitive part of God, which [having been] commingled with the princes of darkness and defiled with their sordes, they do not doubt both to believe and to speak with sacrilegious heart and mouth. Hence

therefore they say the moon to be filled, when the same part of God purged from defilement with great labors, fleeing from the whole world and all sewers, is rendered to God mourning until it should return; [and] to be replenished indeed through half a month, and in the other half to be refunded into the sun, as if into another ship. Nor yet among those anathematizable blasphemies were they ever able to feign anything, why either beginning to shine or ceasing, it should shine with horned light, or why from the middle of the month it should begin to be diminished, and should not arrive full for refunding.

7. But those who have investigated these things with certain numbers, so that they not only foretold long before why the eclipses of the sun and moon occurred, but also when they would be future, and prefixed them by canonical supputation at determined intervals of times, and committed [them] to letters, which now they who read and understand, none the less foretell them, nor do they happen otherwise or at other times than they foretell. Such therefore (to whom it is not to be forgiven, as the holy Scripture says; because "when they were so far able that they could estimate the world, they did not more easily find the Lord of it," whom they could [have found] with suppliant piety [Wisd. 13:9]), from the horns themselves of the moon which are turned away from the sun, whether increasing or decreasing, have conjectured it either to be illustrated by the sun, and by how much more it should recede from it, by so much more to receive

its rays from that part which appears to the lands; by how much however it should approach more to it after half a month from another semicircle, by so much more illustrated from the superior part, not to be able to receive the rays from that part which it should turn toward the lands, and on that account to be seen to decrease: or if it should have its own light, to have that from one part in a hemisphere, which part when receding from the sun it showed by degrees to the lands, until it showed the whole, [it seemed] as if to show increases, while that which was lacking was not added, but that which was in [it] was produced; and again by degrees to hide what was patent, and therefore to be seen to decrease. But whichever of these two it be, that certainly is manifest, and easily known to anyone attending, that the moon is not increased to our eyes, except by receding from the sun, nor diminished, except by approaching to the sun from the other part.

CHAPTER V.

8. Attend now to what is read in Proverbs: "A wise man remains as the sun; but a fool is changed as the moon" (Ecclus. 27:12). And who is the wise man who remains, except that sun of justice of whom it is said, "The sun of justice has arisen to me," and whom the impious, mourning on the last day, are about to say not to have arisen to them: "And the light of justice did not shine to us, and the sun did not arise to us"? (Wisd. 5:6.) For God makes this sun visible to the eyes of the flesh to arise over the good and the bad, who

also rains upon the just and the unjust (Matt. 5:45). Moreover, congruent similitudes are often led from visible things to invisible [ones]. Who is therefore that fool, who is changed as the moon, except Adam in whom all have sinned? For the human soul receding from the sun of justice, that is, from that internal contemplation of incommutable truth, converts all its strengths into external [things], and is obscured by that more and more in its interiors and superiors: but when it shall have begun to return to that incommutable wisdom, by how much more it approaches it by the affection of piety, by so much more the exterior man is corrupted, but the interior is renewed from day to day, and all that light of genius, which was verging toward inferior [things], is converted toward superior [ones], and is in a certain manner taken away from earthly [things], so that more and more it may die to this world, and its life may be hidden with Christ in God.

It is changed therefore into the worse, progressing toward exterior [things], and projecting its intimates in its life; and this seems better to the earth, that is, to those who savor earthly things, when a singer is praised in the desires of his soul, and he who carries out iniquitous [deeds] is blessed (Psalm 9:3). It is changed however into the better, when it averts its intention and glory by degrees from earthly [things], which appear in this world, and converts [them] toward superior and interior [ones]; and this seems worse to the earth, that is, to those who savor earthly things. Whence those impious [ones] fi-

nally doing unfruitful penance, are about to say also this among many things: "These are they whom we sometimes had in derision and into a similitude of reproach: we insensate [ones] estimated their life [as] insanity" (Wisd. 5:3, 4). And through this the Holy Spirit leading a similitude from visible [things] to invisible [ones], and from corporal [things] to spiritual sacraments, willed that transition from another life into another life, which is named Pascha, to be observed from the fourteenth moon, so that not only on account of the third time, which I commemorated above, because thence the third week begins; but also on account of that very conversion from exterior [things] to interior [ones], a similitude might be assumed from the moon: but unto the twenty-first indeed, on account of the septenary number itself, by which a signification of the universe is often figured, which also is attributed to the Church itself, on account of the likeness of the universe.

CHAPTER VI.

10. Therefore John the apostle in the Apocalypse writes to the seven Churches. For the Church, being still constituted in this mortality of the flesh, on account of that very mutability, is signified in the Scriptures by the name of the moon. Whence is that [saying]: "They have prepared their arrows in the quiver, that they may shoot in the dark moon the upright in heart" (Psalm 10:3, according to the LXX). For before that happens which the Apostle says, "When

Christ shall have appeared, [who is] your life, then you also shall appear with Him in glory" (Col. 3:4), the Church seems dark in the time of its pilgrimage, groaning among many iniquities; and then the snares of fallacious seducers are to be feared, which he willed to be understood by the name of arrows. Whence in another place, on account of the most faithful messengers of truth, whom the Church brings forth everywhere, it is said: "A faithful witness in the sky is the moon" (Psalm 88:38). And when the Psalmist sang of the kingdom of the Lord, he said: "In his days justice shall arise, and abundance of peace, until the moon be taken away" (Psalm 71:7): that is, the abundance of peace shall increase to such an extent, until it consumes all the mutability of mortality. Then the last enemy, death, shall be destroyed, and whatever resists us from the infirmity of the flesh, whence perfect peace is not yet ours, shall be consumed entirely, when this corruptible [thing] shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal [thing] shall have put on immortality (1 Cor. 15:26, 53, 54). Whence also the walls of that city, which is called Jericho, which in the Hebrew eloquence is said to be interpreted [as] Moon, fell down, the ark of the Testament having been carried around in the seventh circuit (Josh. 6:20). For what else does the announcement of the kingdom of heaven do now, which the carrying around of the ark signified, except that all the fortifications of mortal life, that is, all the hope of this world, which resists the hope of the future world, may be destroyed in the septenary gift of

the Holy Spirit through free will? For on this account, the ark going around, those walls did not fall by a violent impulse, but of their own accord. There are also other testimonies of the Scriptures, which bring to us through the commemoration of the moon the signification of the Church, which in this mortality pilgrimages in distresses and labors from that Jerusalem, whose citizens are the holy Angels.

11. Yet fools, who do not want to be changed for the better, ought not therefore to think that those luminaries are to be adored, because a similitude is sometimes led from them to figure divine mysteries; for it is led from every creature. Nor ought we therefore to rush into the sentence of damnation, which is brought forth by the apostolic mouth concerning certain [ones], who worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever (Rom. 1:25). For just as we do not adore cattle, although Christ was called both a lamb (John 1:29) and a calf (Ezek. 43:19); nor a wild beast, because He was called the lion of the tribe of Judah (Rev. 5:5); nor a stone, because the rock was Christ (1 Cor. 10:4); nor Mount Sion, because the Church is figured in it (1 Pet. 2:4): so neither [do we adore] the sun nor the moon, although from that celestial creature, as from many terrestrial [ones], the figures of sacraments are assumed for mystical informations.

CHAPTER VII.

12. Wherefore the ravings of mathematicians [astrologers] are to be mocked with detestation; to whom when we shall have objected [their] vain comments, whence they precipitate men into error, into which they were first precipitated, they seem talkative to themselves, when they say to us: Why do you also celebrate Pascha according to the computation of the sun and the moon? as if we were accusing the orders of the stars, or the vicissitudes of times established by the highest and best God, and not their perversity, which abuses things most wisely established for the most foolish opinions. For if the mathematician is about to contradict us concerning the stars and the luminaries of heaven for leading similitudes to figure mysteries mystically, let the augurs also contradict [us] lest it be said to us, "Be simple as doves": let the Marsi [charmers] also contradict [us], lest it be said to us, "Astute as serpents" (Matt. 10:16): let the actors contradict [us], lest we name the cithara in the Psalms. Or because signs of similitudes are taken from these things for the mysteries of the word of God, let them say, if it pleases, either that we catch auspices, or compose poisons, or affect theatrical luxuries, which is most insane to say.

13. Therefore we do not conjecture the events of our actions from the sun and the moon, [or] the annual or monthly times, lest being dashed against the rocks of miserable servitude in the most perilous tempests of human life, we suffer shipwreck from free will: but we receive apt similitudes for signifying a thing sacredly with

most religious devotion, as from the rest of the creature, from the winds, from the sea, from the earth, from the flying [things], from the fishes, from the cattle, from the trees, from men, for discourse indeed manifoldly, but for the celebration of the Sacraments now with Christian liberty most sparingly; as from water, from wheat, from wine, from oil. Moreover, in the servitude of the ancient people also many things were commanded to be celebrated, which are delivered to us only to be understood. Thus we do not observe days and years and months and times, lest we hear from the Apostle: "I fear you lest perhaps I have labored in you without cause" (Gal. 4:11). For he blames those who say: I will not set out today, because it is a posterior day, or because the moon is thus borne; or, I will set out that things may yield prosperous [results], because the position of the stars has itself so: I will not carry on commerce this month, because that star carries on the month for me; or, I will carry [it] on, because it has received the month: I will not plant a vineyard this year, because it is bissextile [leap year]. But let not any wise man think that observers of times are to be reprehended, who say, I will not set out today, because a tempest has arisen; or, I will not sail, because there are still winter remains; or, It is the time for sowing, because the earth has been satiated by the autumnal rains; or if any other natural effects perhaps have been noted about the movement of the air and humors for varying the qualities of times in the most ordered conversion of the stars,

concerning which it was said when they were established: "And let them be for signs and times and for days and for years" (Gen. 1:14). But if any figures of similitudes are led not only from the sky and from the stars, but also from the inferior creature for the dispensation of sacraments, it is a certain eloquence of salutary doctrine, accommodated for moving the affection of the learners, from visible [things] to invisible [ones], from corporal [things] to spiritual [ones], from temporal [things] to eternal [ones].

CHAPTER VIII.

14. Nor does any of us attend to [the fact] that at that time, in which we celebrate Pascha, the sun is in Aries, as they call a certain place of the stars, where indeed in the month of new [things] the sun is found: but whether they have willed to call that same part of the sky Aries, or something else, we have learned this from the holy Scriptures, that God established all the stars, and ordered [them] in the celestial places which He willed; which distinct and ordered stars they may divide into any parts, and note with any names, wherever the sun should be in the month of new [fruits], there this celebration would find it, on account of the similitude of the sacrament of renewing life, concerning which we have sufficiently discussed above. Because if also that place of the stars could be called Aries, on account of some congruence of figure, neither would the divine discourse fear to lead some similitude of a sacrament from this kind, as from other creatures

not only celestial, but also terrestrial; as from Orion and the Pleiades, as from Mount Sina and from Mount Sion, as from the rivers which are called, Geon, Phison, Tigris, Euphrates, as from the river Jordan itself so often named in the holy mysteries, it has led mystical similitudes of things to be insinuated figuratively.

15. But how much difference there is between the observations of the stars accommodated to the qualities of the air, as farmers or sailors observe; or for noting the parts of the world and directing a course somewhere and from somewhere, which the governors of ships do, and those who walk through sandy solitudes into the interiors of the South with no certain or straight path; or when for signifying something figuratively in useful doctrine, some commemoration of certain stars is made; how much difference therefore there is between these utilities, and the vanities of men observing the stars for this purpose, that they may seek out neither the qualities of the air, nor the ways of regions, nor the numbers of times alone, nor the similitudes of spiritual things, but as it were fatal events of things already [happened], who would not understand?

CHAPTER IX.

16. But now next let us see why it is also observed, when Pascha is celebrated, that the Sabbath should occur: for this is proper to the Christian religion. For the Jews observe only the month of new [fruits] and the moon from the fourteenth unto the twenty-first. But because

that Pascha of theirs in which the Lord suffered, so occurred that between His death and resurrection the middle day was of the Sabbath, our fathers thought [it] to be added, that also our festivity might be distinguished from the festivity of the Jews; and because it is not to be believed to have been done in vain by Him who is before times, and through whom times were made, and who came in the fullness of times, and who had power of laying down His soul and receiving it again; and therefore he was expecting not a fatal [hour], but an opportune hour for the sacrament which He had instituted to commend, when He said, "My hour has not yet come" (John 2:4), it should be kept by posterity in the anniversary celebration of His passion.

17. For that which now, as I said above, we carry on by faith and hope, and that we may arrive at it we are busy with love, is a certain holy and perpetual rest from all labor of all molestations: into it a transition is made for us from this life, which our Lord Jesus Christ deigned to preshow and consecrate by His passion. Moreover, there is in that rest not an idle sloth, but a certain ineffable tranquility of leisurely action. For thus one rests from the works of this life in the end, that one may rejoice in the action of another life. But because such action is carried on in the praise of God, without labor of members, without anguish of cares; one does not thus pass through quiet into it, that labor itself succeeds it, that is, action does not thus begin to be, that quiet ceases to be: for indeed one does not return to labors and

cares; but that which pertains to quiet remains in action, neither to labor in work, nor to fluctuate in thought. Because therefore through rest one returns to the first life, whence the soul fell into sin, therefore rest is signified by the Sabbath. Moreover, that first life, which is restored to those returning from pilgrimage, and receiving the first robe, is figured through the first [day] of the Sabbath [week], which day we call the Lord's [day]. Seek the seven days reading Genesis, you will find the seventh without evening, because it signifies rest without end. Therefore the first life was not sempiternal to the [one] sinning: but the last rest is sempiternal, and through this also the eighth [day] will have sempiternal beatitude, because that rest, which is sempiternal, is received by the eighth, not extinguished; for otherwise it would not be sempiternal. Thus therefore the eighth will be [that] which [was] the first, so that the first life may not be taken away, but be restored eternal.

CHAPTER X.

18. Nevertheless, the Sabbath was commended to the former people to be celebrated corporally in leisure, that it might be a figure of sanctification in the rest of the Holy Spirit. For nowhere in Genesis do we read of sanctification through all the prior days; but concerning the Sabbath alone it was said: "And God sanctified the seventh day" (Gen. 2:3). For they love rest, whether pious souls or iniquitous [ones]; but by what [way] they may arrive at that which

they love, very many do not know: nor do even the bodies themselves appetite anything by their weights, except what the soul [appetites] by its loves. For just as a body strives so long by weight, whether toward downward or toward upward, until coming to the place where it strives it rests; for the weight of oil, if it be let go in the air, [strives] downward; but if under the waters, it strives upward: so souls strive toward those [things] which they love on this account, that by arriving they may rest. And many things indeed delight through the body, but in them there is not eternal rest, nor even a long-lasting [one]; and on that account they rather defile the soul, and aggravate [it] rather, so that they may impede its sincere weight, by which it is borne into the superiors. When therefore the soul is delighted by itself, it is not yet delighted by an incommutable thing; and therefore it is still proud, because it has itself for the highest, when God is superior. Nor in such sin is it left unpunished, because "God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble" (James 4:6). But when it is delighted by God, there it finds true, certain, eternal rest, which it was seeking in others and did not find. Therefore it is admonished in the Psalm: "Delight in the Lord, and He will give to thee the petitions of thy heart" (Psalm 36:4).

19. Because therefore "the charity of God is poured forth in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us" (Rom. 5:5), therefore sanctification was commemorated on the seventh day, where rest is commended. But

because we can neither work well, unless aided by His gift, as the Apostle says, "For it is God who works in you both to will and to work, for [His] good will" (Phil. 2:13), nor shall we be able to rest after all our good works which we carry on in this life, unless sanctified and perfected by His gift for eternity; on that account it is said concerning God Himself that when He had made all works very good, "on the seventh day He rested from all His works which He made" (Gen. 1:31, and 2:2). For He was signifying the future rest, which after good works He was about to give to us men. For just as when we work well, He Himself is said to work in us, by whose gift we work well: so when we rest, He Himself is said to rest, by whose grant we rest.

CHAPTER XI.

20. Hence it is that also in the first three precepts of the Decalogue which pertain to God (for the other seven pertain to the neighbor, that is to man, because on two precepts the whole law depends [Matt. 22:40]), the third is placed there concerning the observation of the Sabbath: so that in the first precept we may understand the Father, where it is forbidden that any similitude of God be worshipped in the figments of men; not because God has no image, but because no image of Him ought to be worshipped, except that which is this which He Himself is; nor itself for Him, but with Him. And because the creature is mutable, and on that account every creature is said [to be] "subject to vanity" (Rom. 8:20),

since the nature of the universe is shown even in part; lest anyone should think the Son of God, the Word through whom all things were made, to be a creature, another precept follows: "Thou shalt not take in vain the name of the Lord thy God" (Exod. 20:7; Deut. 5:11). Moreover, the Holy Spirit, in whom that rest is attributed to us, which we love everywhere, but do not find except by loving God, when His charity is poured forth in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us (Rom. 5:5), because God sanctified the seventh day in which He rested, is insinuated by the third precept of the law, which is written concerning the observation of the Sabbath; not that we should think ourselves to rest already in this life, but that all [things] which we work well should have no intention except in the future sempiternal rest. For remember especially, what I have already commemorated above, because "by hope we were made safe; but hope which is seen, is not hope" (Rom. 8:24).

Moreover, to the nourishing and blowing, in a certain manner, of the fire of love itself, by which as by a weight we may be referred upward or inward to rest, all these things pertain which are insinuated to us figuratively; for they move and enkindle love more than if they were placed nakedly without any similitudes of sacraments. The cause of which thing is difficult to say. But yet it has itself so, that something intimated through an allegorical signification moves more, delights more, is more honored, than if it were said most openly by proper words. I believe that

the very movement of the soul, so long as it is still implicated in earthly things, is more sluggishly inflamed: but if it be borne to corporal similitudes, and thence be referred to spiritual [things], which are figured by those similitudes, it is vegetated by the very transition as it were, and as in a torch a fire having been agitated is enkindled, and is snatched with more ardent affection to quiet.

CHAPTER XII.

22. And therefore among all those ten precepts, only that which is placed there concerning the Sabbath is commanded to be observed figuratively; which figure we have received to be understood, not also to be celebrated through corporal leisure. For since spiritual rest is signified by the Sabbath, concerning which it was said in the Psalm, "Be vacant and see, that I am God" (Psalm 45:11), and to which men are called by the Lord Himself saying, "Come to me all you who labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you: take my yoke upon you, and learn from me that I am meek and humble in heart, and you will find rest for your souls" (Matt. 11:28, 29); nevertheless we observe the other precepts there properly as they are commanded, without any figurative signification. For also we have learned manifestly not to worship idols; and not to take in vain the name of the Lord our God, and to honor father and mother, and not to commit adultery, not to kill, not to steal, not to speak false testimony, not to covet the wife of the neighbor, not to covet any thing of the neighbor (Exod. 20:1-17, and Deut.

5:6-21), do not figuratively pretend one thing, and mystically signify another; but are so observed as they sound. Nevertheless we are not commanded to observe the day of the Sabbath according to the letter, according to leisure from corporal work, as the Jews observe [it]: and their very observation which was so commanded, unless it signifies some other spiritual rest, is judged to be mocked. Whence not inconveniently we understand that all [things] which are said figuratively in the Scriptures avail for exciting love, by which we tend toward rest; since that alone is commanded figuratively in the Decalogue where rest is commended, which is loved everywhere, but is found certain and holy in God alone.

CHAPTER XIII.

23. Nevertheless the Lord's day was declared not to the Jews, but to Christians by the resurrection of the Lord, and from that [time] it began to have its festivity. For the souls of all the saints before the resurrection of the body are indeed in rest, but they are not in that action by which the received bodies are vegetated. For the eighth day signifies such action, which is also the first, because it does not take away that rest, but glorifies [it]. For difficulty from the body does not return with the body, because neither [does] corruption: "For it is necessary [for] this corruptible to put on incorruption, and [for] this mortal to put on immortality" (1 Cor. 15:53). Wherefore before the resurrection of the Lord, although the sacrament of the eighth [day], by which the resurrection is

signified, was by no means hidden from the holy fathers full of the prophetic spirit (for the Psalm is inscribed for the eighth [Psalm 6 and 11], and on the eighth day infants were circumcised, and in Ecclesiastes it is said for the signification of the two Testaments, "Give to them seven, and to them eight" [Eccl. 11:2]); nevertheless it was reserved and hidden, and only the Sabbath to be celebrated was delivered: because there was previously rest of the dead; but the resurrection of no one was [such], who rising from the dead, should no longer die, and death should no longer dominate him; so that after such resurrection was made in the body of the Lord (that it might go before in the head of the Church, what the body of the Church should hope for in the end), now also the Lord's day, that is the eighth, which is also the first, might begin to be celebrated. The very cause is also understood, why the Pascha to be observed, where they are commanded to kill and eat a sheep, which most manifestly prefigures the passion of the Lord, was not so commanded to them, that they should attend that the Sabbath should occur, and should concur with the month of new [fruits] at the third week of the moon, so that the Lord should rather sign the same day by His passion, who also had arrived to declare the Lord's [day], that is, the eighth, which is also the first.

CHAPTER XIV.

24. Attend therefore to the most sacred triduum of the crucified, buried, [and] raised

[Lord]. Of these three, what the cross signifies, we do in the present life: but what the burial and resurrection signify, we carry on by faith and hope. For now it is said to man: "Take up thy cross and follow me" (Matt. 16:24). Moreover, the flesh is crucified, when our members are mortified, which are upon the earth, fornication, uncleanness, luxury, avarice, and other [things] of this kind, concerning which the same [Apostle] says: "If you shall have lived according to the flesh, you shall die; but if by the spirit you shall have mortified the deeds of the flesh, you shall live" (Rom. 8:13). Hence also concerning himself he says: "The world is crucified to me, and I to the world" (Gal. 6:14). And in another place: "Knowing," he says, "that our old man was crucified together with Him, that the body of sin may be evacuated, that we may no longer serve sin" (Rom. 6:6). So long therefore as our works do this, that the body of sin may be evacuated, so long as the exterior man is corrupted, that the interior may be renewed from day to day, it is the time of the cross.

25. These are indeed also good works, yet still laborious, whose reward is rest: but therefore it is said, "Rejoicing in hope," so that thinking [of] the future rest, we may work in labors with hilarity. This hilarity the breadth of the cross signifies in the transverse wood, where the hands are fixed. For through the hands we understand works; through breadth, the hilarity of the worker, because sadness makes straits; but through height, to which the head is joined, the expectation of

retribution from the sublime justice of God, "who will render to each one according to his works, to those indeed who according to the tolerance of a good work seeking glory, and honor, and incorruption, eternal life" (Rom. 2:6, 7). Therefore the length, by which the whole body is extended, signifies tolerance itself, whence they are called long-suffering who tolerate. Moreover, the depth which is fixed in the earth, prefigures the secret of the sacrament. For you remember, unless I am deceived, what words of the Apostle I shall expedite in this designation of the cross, where he says: "Rooted and founded in charity, that you may be able to comprehend with all the saints what is the length, breadth, height and depth" (Eph. 3:17, 18). Moreover, those things which we do not yet see, and do not yet hold, but carry on by faith and hope, are figured in the other two days [of the triduum]. For these things which we do now, fixed as if by the nails of the precepts in the fear of God, as it is written, "Fix my flesh with nails by Thy fear" (Psalm 118:120), are deputed among necessary [things], not in those which are to be appetited and concupiscined for themselves. Whence he says that he concupiscines that best [thing], "to be dissolved, and to be with Christ: but to remain in the flesh [is] necessary," he says, "on account of you" (Phil. 1:23, 24). That therefore [which] he said, "to be dissolved, and to be with Christ," thence begins the rest, which is not interrupted by resurrection, but clarified; which nevertheless is now retained by faith, "because the just lives by faith" (Hab. 2:4).

"Are you ignorant," he says, "that as many of us as have been baptized in Christ Jesus, have been baptized in His death? Therefore we have been buried together with Him through baptism into death" (Rom. 6:3, 4). Whence, unless by faith? For indeed it is not yet perfected in us, still groaning in ourselves, and expecting the adoption, the redemption of our body: "For by hope we were made safe; but hope which is seen, is not hope: for what a man sees, why does he hope? but if we hope [for] what we do not see, through patience we expect [it]" (Rom. 8:24, 25).

26. Which remember how often I commemorate, lest now already in this life we think ourselves to ought to become blessed, and free from all difficulties; and thus in the straits of temporal things we should murmur with a sacrilegious mouth against God, as if He were not exhibiting what He promised. He promised indeed also the necessary [things] for this life; but some are the solaces of the miserable, others the joys of the blessed. "Lord," he says, "according to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart, Thy exhortations have made my soul joyful" (Psalm 93:19). Therefore let us not murmur in difficulties, lest we lose the breadth of hilarity, concerning which it is said, "Rejoicing in hope"; because it follows, "patient in tribulation" (Rom. 12:12). Therefore the new life is begun now in faith, and carried on in hope: for then it will be perfect, when the mortal shall be absorbed by life, when death shall be absorbed into victory, when that last enemy, death, shall be destroyed, when we shall have

been changed, and made equal to the Angels: "For all," he says, "we shall rise; but not all shall we be changed" (1 Cor. 15:54, 26, 51). And the Lord [says]: "They shall be," He says, "equal to the Angels of God" (Luke 20:36). For we have been apprehended now in fear through faith, but then we shall apprehend in charity through sight (*species*). "For as long as we are in the body, we pilgrimage from the Lord: for through faith we walk, not through sight" (2 Cor. 5:6). Thus the Apostle himself who says, "that I may apprehend, as I have been apprehended," openly confesses himself not to have apprehended: "Brethren," he says, "I do not judge myself to have apprehended" (Phil. 3:12, 13). But yet because hope itself from the promise of truth is certain to us, when he said, "Therefore we have been buried together with Him through baptism into death," he subjoined and said, "that as Christ rose from the dead through the glory of the Father, so also we may walk in novelty of life" (Rom. 6:4). We walk therefore in the matter of labor, but in the hope of quiet; in the flesh of oldness, but in the faith of novelty. For he says, "The body indeed is dead on account of sin; but the spirit is life on account of justice. But if the Spirit of Him who raised Jesus Christ from the dead dwells in you; He who raised Jesus Christ from the dead, will also vivify your mortal bodies through His Spirit dwelling in you" (Rom. 8:10, 11).

27. These [things] are celebrated through the anniversary Pascha, both from the authority of the divine Scriptures and by the consent of the

universal Church, which is diffused in the whole world.

CHAPTER XV.

In a great sacrament, certainly, as you now understand. And in the ancient Scriptures indeed, a time is not prescribed for acting the Pascha, except from the month of new [fruits], from the fourteenth moon until the twenty-first: yet from the Gospel, because it is manifest on which day also the Lord was crucified, and was in burial, and rose again, the observation of those same days was added also through the councils of the fathers, and it was persuaded to the whole Christian world that the Pascha ought to be celebrated in that manner.

28. The Lent (*Quadragesima*) of fasts surely has authority, both in the ancient Books from the fasting of Moses (Exod. 34:28) and of Elijah (1 Kings 19:8); and from the Gospel, because for just as many days the Lord fasted (Matth. 4:2), demonstrating that the Gospel does not dissent from the Law and the Prophets. For in the person of Moses, the Law [is received]; in the person of Elijah, the Prophets are received, between whom He also appeared glorious on the mountain; so that it might emerge more evidently what the Apostle says of Him: "Having testimony from the Law and the Prophets" (Rom. 3:21). In what part of the year, therefore, would the observation of Lent be more congruously constituted, unless bordering and contiguous to the Lord's passion? Because in it is signified this laborious life, for

which there is need of continence, so that one may fast from the friendship of this very world; which certainly does not cease to flatter fallaciously, and to scatter and throw around the dyes of allurements. Moreover, I judge this life to be figured by the number forty for this reason, because the number ten (*denarius*), in which is the perfection of our beatitude, just as in the number eight (*octonarius*), because it returns to the first, so in this it seems to me to be expressed: because the creature (*creatura*), which is figured by the number seven (*septenario*), adheres to the Creator, in whom is declared the unity of the Trinity to be announced temporally through the whole world; which world is both delimited by the four winds, and raised by the four elements, and varied by the four turns of the seasons of the year. Moreover, four times ten are consummated in forty, but the number forty (*quadragenarius*), computed by its parts, adds that very number ten and they become fifty, as if the reward of labor and continence. For not in vain did the Lord Himself both converse for forty days after the resurrection on this earth and in this life with the Disciples, and after He ascended into heaven, with ten days interposed, sent the promised Holy Spirit, the day of Pentecost being completed: which fiftieth day has another sacrament, because seven times seven become forty-nine; and when it is returned to the beginning, which is the eighth [day], which is also the first day, fifty are completed; which are celebrated after the Lord's resurrection, now in the figure not

of labor, but of quiet and gladness (*laetitia*). On account of this also fasts are relaxed, and we pray standing, which is a sign of resurrection. Whence also on all Lord's days this is observed at the altar, and the Alleluia is sung, which signifies that our future action is to be nothing else than to praise God, as it is written: "Blessed are they who dwell in Thy house, Lord; for ages of ages they shall praise Thee" (Psalm 84:5).

CAPUT XVI.

29. But the fiftieth day is also commended in the Scriptures; and not only in the Gospel, because the Holy Spirit then arrived, but also in the ancient Books. For there also, after they celebrated the Pascha with the slain lamb, fifty days are numbered until the day on which the Law was given on Mount Sinai to the servant of God, Moses, written with the finger of God (Exod. 12, 19, 20, 31): moreover, in the books of the Gospel it is declared most openly that the finger of God signifies the Holy Spirit. For when one evangelist had said, "In the finger of God I cast out demons" (Luke 11:20); another said this same thing thus, "In the spirit of God I cast out demons" (Matth. 12:28). Who would not prefer this gladness of divine sacraments, when they shine with the light of sound doctrine, to all the empires of this world, pacified even with unusual happiness? Do not the two Testaments, faithfully concordant, sing together the sacred truth, just as two Seraphim cry to one another, singing together the praises of the Most High: "Holy,

holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth" (Isaiah 6:3)? The sheep is slain, the Pascha is celebrated, and with fifty days interposed, the Law written with the finger of God is given for fear. Christ is slain, who like a sheep was led to be sacrificed, as Isaiah testifies (Isaiah 53:7), the true Pascha is celebrated, and with fifty days interposed, the Holy Spirit, who is the finger of God, is given for charity, being contrary to men seeking their own things, and therefore carrying a harsh yoke and a heavy burden, nor finding rest for their souls; because "charity seeketh not the things that are its own" (1 Cor. 13:5). Therefore the animosity of heretics is always restless, whom the Apostle declares to have the attempt of the magicians of Pharaoh, saying: "For as Jannes and Mambres resisted Moses, so also these resist the truth, men corrupt in mind, reprobate concerning the faith: but they shall not proceed further; for their dementia shall be manifest to all, as theirs also was" (2 Tim. 3:8). For because they were most restless through that very corruption of mind, they failed in the third sign, confessing that the Holy Spirit who was in Moses was adverse to them. For failing they said: "The finger of God is here" (Exod. 8:19). Moreover, just as the Holy Spirit, reconciled and pacified, provides rest to the meek and humble in heart, so, being contrary and adverse to the harsh and proud, He agitates them with restlessness. Which restlessness those very small flies signified, under which the magicians of Pharaoh failed, saying: "The finger of God is here."

30. Read Exodus, and see where they celebrated the Pascha, after how many days the Law was given. God speaks to Moses in the desert of Sinai on the first day of the third month. Note therefore one day from the entrance of that third month, and see what He says among other things: "Go down," He says, "testify to the people, and purify them today and tomorrow, and let them wash their garments, and be ready for the third day. For on the third day the Lord will descend onto Mount Sinai in the sight of all the people" (Id. 19:10, 11): then the Law was given, namely on the third day of the third month. Number therefore from the fourteenth day of the first month, on which the Pascha was made, until the third day of the third month, and you will find seventeen days of the first month, thirty of the second, [and] three of the third, which make fifty. The Law in the ark is the sanctification in the body of the Lord, through whose resurrection future rest is promised to us, for the receiving of which charity is inspired by the Holy Spirit. Moreover, the Spirit had not yet been given, because Jesus was not yet clarified (John 7:39). Whence that prophecy was sung: "Arise, Lord, into Thy rest, Thou and the ark of Thy sanctification" (Psalm 132:8). Where rest is, there is sanctification. Whence now that we may love and desire, we have received a pledge. Moreover, all are called in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit to the rest of the other life, to which transition is made from this life, which the Pascha signifies.

CAP. XVII.

CAP. XVII.

31. On that account the number fifty, multiplied three times, that very number three being added for the eminence of the sacrament, is found also in those great fishes, which the Lord, now demonstrating the new life after the resurrection, commanded to be lifted from the right side; nor were the nets broken (John 21:6, 11), because then there will not be the restlessness of heretics. Then the man, perfect and quiet, purged in mind and in body through the chaste eloquences of the Lord, as silver examined by the fire of the earth, purged sevenfold (Psalm 12:7), will receive the reward of the denarius, so that they are seventeen. For also in this number, as in others exhibiting multiple figures, a wonderful sacrament is found. Nor undeservedly is also the seventeenth Psalm read alone whole in the books of the Kingdoms (2 Sam. 22:2-51); because it signifies that kingdom where we shall not have an adversary. For its title is: "In the day in which the Lord rescued him from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul." For who is figured in David, unless He who came according to the flesh from the seed of David (Rom. 1:3)? Who certainly in His body, which is the Church, still suffers enemies. Whence to that persecutor whom He slew with His voice, and in a certain manner ate by transferring [him] into His own body, there sounded from heaven: "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?" (Acts 9:4). Moreover,

when shall this body of His be rescued from the hand of all His enemies, unless when that last enemy, death, shall also be destroyed? To this time pertained that number of a hundred and fifty-three fishes. For that seventeenth number itself, rising into a triangle, completes the sum of a hundred and fifty-three. Rising indeed from one up to seventeen, add all the middle [numbers], and you will find [it]: to one certainly add two, they become three; add three, they become six; add four, they become ten; add five, they become fifteen; add six, they become twenty-one; add thus the others, and the seventeenth itself, they become a hundred and fifty-three.

32. These [things] are most firmly held from the Scriptures, that is, Pascha and Pentecost. For that those forty days before Pascha are observed, the custom of the Church has strengthened; so also that the eight days of the Neophytes be distinguished from the others, that is, that the eighth concord with the first. Moreover, that the Alleluia be sung in the Church through those fifty days alone is not observed everywhere: for also on other days it is sung variously here and there; moreover, on those very days everywhere. Moreover, that we pray standing on those days and on all Lord's days, I do not know whether it be observed everywhere: yet what the Church follows in it, I have said as I was able, and I judge it to be manifest.

CAP. XVIII.

33. Concerning the washing of feet, indeed, since the Lord commended this on account of the form of humility, for the teaching of which He had come, as He Himself consequently explained, it was asked at what time especially such a great matter should also be taught by deed, and that time occurred in which the commendation itself might more religiously inhere. But lest it should seem to pertain to the sacrament of Baptism itself, many were unwilling to receive this into custom. Some also did not hesitate to remove [it] from custom. Moreover, others, so that they might both commend this at a more sacred time and distinguish it from the sacrament of Baptism, chose either the third day of the octaves, because the number three also excels greatly in many sacraments, or even the eighth day itself to do this.

34. I truly wonder why you wished that I should write to you something concerning those [matters] which are observed variously through diverse places, since it is not necessary, and one most salutary rule is to be retained in these: that those things which are not against the faith, nor against good morals, and have something for the exhortation of a better life, wherever we see [them] justifiably, or know [them] to be instituted, we should not only not disapprove, but even follow [them] by praising and imitating, if the infirmity of some does not so impede that there be more detriment. For if it should impede in such a way that greater gains of the studious are to be hoped for, than detriments of

the calumniators to be feared, it is to be done without doubt, especially that which can even be defended from the Scriptures; as concerning the singing of hymns and psalms, since we have the documents and examples and precepts both of the Lord Himself and of the Apostles. Concerning this matter so useful for piously moving the mind and for kindling the affection of divine love, there is varied custom, and many members of the Church in Africa are more sluggish: so that the Donatists reproach us because we soberly sing in the church the divine songs of the Prophets, while they inflame their own ebrieties to the song of psalms composed by human genius, as if to the trumpets of exhortation. Moreover, when is there not time for singing holy [songs] when the brethren are gathered in the church, unless when [something] is read or discussed, or the bishop (*antistes*) prays with a clear voice, or common prayer is announced by the voice of the deacon?

CAPUT XIX.

35. But for other small portions of the times, I do not see at all what better [thing] should be done by gathered Christians, what more useful, what more holy. Moreover, as to what is instituted beyond custom, so that it be as if an observation of a sacrament, I cannot approve [it], even if I do not dare to disapprove [it] more freely for the sake of avoiding the scandals of some persons, either holy or turbulent. But I grieve too much for this, that many [things] which are most salutarily prescribed in the divine books

are less cared for; and all [things] are so full of many presumptions, that he who touched the earth with a bare foot through his octaves is more severely corrected, than he who buried his mind with wine-bibbing (*vinolentia*). Therefore all such [things], which are neither contained by the authorities of the holy Scriptures, nor are found enacted in the councils of bishops, nor have been strengthened by the custom of the universal Church, but are varied innumerably for the diverse customs of diverse places, so that the causes which men followed in instituting them can scarcely or at all never be found—where the faculty is granted, I judge that [they] are to be cut off without any doubt. For although this also cannot be found, how they are against the faith; yet they press with servile burdens the very religion which the mercy of God willed to be free with very few and most manifest celebrations of sacraments, so that the condition of the Jews is more tolerable, who even if they did not acknowledge the time of liberty, are nevertheless subjected to legal burdens, not to human presumptions. But the Church of God, constituted among much chaff and many cockles (*zizania*), tolerates many [things], and yet does not approve, nor is silent, nor does those [things] which are against the faith or a good life.

CAPUT XX.

36. Therefore that which you wrote, that certain brethren so temper themselves from eating flesh that they judge [it] unclean, is most openly

against the faith and sound doctrine. From this therefore, if I shall wish to dispute longer, it can be thought by some that the Apostle has prescribed this obscurely; who also among many [things] which he said concerning this matter, so detested the impious opinion of heretics that he said: "But the Spirit says manifestly that in the last times some shall recede from the faith, attending to spirits of seduction and doctrines of demons, in the hypocrisy of speakers of lies, having their own conscience cauterized, forbidding to marry, [and] to abstain from foods which God created for receiving with thanksgiving by the faithful, and by those who have known the truth: because every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be rejected which is received with thanksgiving; for it is sanctified through the word of God and prayer" (1 Tim. 4:1-5). And in another place he speaks concerning these things: "All [things are] clean to the clean; but to the unclean and infidels nothing is clean; but both their mind and conscience are polluted" (Titus 1:15). You yourself, read the rest, and recite [them] to those whom you can, so that they may not make the grace of God void in themselves, because they are called into liberty; only let them not assume liberty as an occasion of the flesh, and therefore now be unwilling to temper from any foods for the sake of refraining the concupiscence of the flesh, because it is not permitted to them to do so superstitiously and infidely.

37. Moreover, these who read lots from the evangelical pages, even if it is to be hoped

that they do this rather than concur to consult demons; yet this custom also displeases me: to wish to turn divine oracles, speaking on account of another life, to secular businesses and to the vanity of this life.

CAPUT XXI.

38. If you shall not judge these [things] to be enough for you for those [questions] which you required, you are too ignorant of both my strengths and my occupations. For I am so far from that which you thought, that nothing lies hidden from me, that I have read nothing more sadly in your letter, because it is most openly false; and I wonder that this lies hidden from you, that not only in other innumerable things many [things] lie hidden from me, but also in those same holy Scriptures I do not know many more [things] than I know. But therefore I carry a not unfruitful hope in the name of Christ, because not only have I believed my God, that in those two precepts the whole Law and the Prophets hang (Matth. 22:40), but also I have experienced, and I experience daily; since no sacrament, or any somewhat obscure discourse from the sacred Letters is opened to me, where I do not find those same precepts: "For the end of the precept is charity from a pure heart, and a good conscience and a faith not feigned" (1 Tim. 1:5); and "the fullness of the law is charity" (Rom. 13:10).

39. Therefore you also, most dear [one], whether read these or other [things], so learn that you remember [it] to have been most truly

said: "Knowledge puffs up, charity builds up" (1 Cor. 8:1). Moreover, "charity envieth not, is not puffed up." Thus therefore let knowledge be applied as a certain machine, through which the structure of charity may arise, which may remain for eternity, even when knowledge shall be destroyed (Id. 13:4, 8); which, applied to the end of charity, is very useful; moreover, itself by itself without such an end, it has been proved not only superfluous, but even pernicious. Moreover, I know how holy thought guards you under the shadow of the wings of the Lord our God. But therefore I have advised these [things], even if briefly, because I know that same charity of yours, which does not envy, will give this letter to many and to be read.

EPISTOLA LVI. Augustine to Celer, ordering him to apply himself to the study of the sacred Letters, so that he may learn that this life is smoke in comparison of the eternal; and that he should abdicate the sect of the Donatists. To the eminent and deservedly honorable and most beloved son CELER, AUGUSTINE.

1. I am not unmindful of my promise and of your will. But since I have set out by the necessity of the care of visiting the churches pertaining to me, nor could I by myself immediately render the debt: yet I was unwilling to owe [it] to you longer, which could be returned even while I have it. Accordingly, I have delegated to the most dear son Optatus, the presbyter, that he read with you in those hours which you judge more opportune those [things] which I promised: when he shall

have perceived the whole to be able to be done, your Eminence also will persuade [him] to do [it] as unweariedly and as keenly as you have gratefully received [it]. Moreover, how much I love you, and wish you to be delighted and exercised by salutary studies in the cognition of divine and human things, I believe that you most excellently understand.

2. If you do not spurn the charity of my office, I hope that in the Christian faith itself, and in the morals now congruent to your so constituted person, you will have such progresses, that you may expect the last day of this temporal smoke or vapor, which is called human life—which to none of mortals is granted to avoid—either greedy or secure or certainly not desperately solicitous, not in the vanity of error, but in the solidity of truth. For as certain as it is to you that you live, so certain let it be by salutary doctrine that this life which is carried on in temporal delights, in comparison of the eternal life which is promised to us through Christ and in Christ, is to be deputed not life but death. Moreover, I would in no way doubt concerning your natural disposition, that you will most easily extract yourself from this custom of the Donatists, if you shall not have valued lightly the very Christian purity most religiously. For by how unshaken firmaments of documents that error may be convinced, it is not great even for those slow in genius to perceive, if only they shall have heard patiently and intently. But to follow unusual rectitude, to break off the bond of usual and as it were familiar perversity,

is of greater strengths. And by no means is it to be despaired, with the Lord our God Himself helping and exhorting you, concerning your generous liberty and plainly manly breast. May the mercy of our Lord God keep you unharmed, eminent and deservedly honorable and most beloved son.

EPISTOLA LVII. Augustine, by a certain book of his written for that purpose, had instructed Celer that the Donatists, out of mere levity, had segregated themselves from the Catholic Church: to whom, if satisfaction be not given by that volume, he promises yet further writings. In the end, he desires to confer with a certain Donatist friend, subject to Celer. To the most beloved and deservedly honorable and to-be-esteemed son CELER, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. That there was no just cause why the party of Donatus should sever itself from the whole world, through which the Catholic Church is diffused according to the prophetic and evangelical promises, I believe that your prudence, also considering [it] more [deeply], most easily understands. Concerning which matter, if a more diligent disputation is necessary, I remember that I gave to your benevolence a book for reading, when your son, most dear to me, my Caecilius, had intimated that you had requested it; which book was with you for not a few days. Which if you either wished or were able to read, out of the study of knowing this matter, even among your occupations, I do not doubt that your prudence has discovered that they have nothing which they may probably contradict. And if anything

perhaps still moves you, as much as God grants and permits, we shall perhaps be able to respond to [you] questioning, or likewise give something for reading, most beloved and deservedly honorable and to-be-esteemed son.

2. Wherefore I ask that you more diligently commend the Catholic unity to the region of Hippo, to your men, especially to Paternus and Maurusius. I know the vigilance of your heart, nor is there need, I judge, to write more; since if you wish, you can most easily learn both what others care for and beware of in your possessions, and what is being done in your estate. It has been strongly affirmed to me that a friend is in your estate with whom I desire to agree; I ask that you favor this matter, so that you may have both great praise among men, and a great reward with God: for already he had sent word to me through a certain Carus, a mediator of both of us, that he feared I know not what violent [men] of his, lest he should do [it], whom in your estate and with you favoring he will not be able to fear; nor should you in him love not constancy, but plainly pertinacity. For it is base to change a sentiment, but a true and right one; for [to change] a foolish and noxious one, it is both laudable and salutary. Moreover, just as constancy does not permit a man to be depraved, so pertinacity does not permit [him] to be corrected: accordingly, just as that is to be praised, so this is to be emended. The presbyter whom I have sent will intimate the rest more plainly to your prudence. May the mercy of God keep you unharmed and happy,

most beloved and deservedly honorable and to-be-esteemed son.

EPISTOLA LVIII. Augustine congratulates Pammachius, a senatorial man, because he had brought his Donatist colonists in Numidia by his exhortations to the Catholic Church. To the eminent and deservedly to-be-esteemed, and in the bowels of Christ most beloved son PAMMACHIUS, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. Your good works germinating by the grace of Christ, have made you to us to-be-honored in His members, and plainly most known and most beloved. For nor if I saw your face daily would you be more known to me, than when I beheld your interior, beautiful with the decorum of peace and radiating with the light of truth, in the candor of your one deed, beheld and recognized, recognized and loved. To this [man] I now speak, to this [man] I write, to my beloved friend, who became known to me absent in body while absent. Nevertheless we were already together, and we were living joined under one head, in whose charity unless you were rooted, the Catholic unity would not be so beloved to you, nor would you admonish with such discourse your African colonists, constituted in that [part] of the lands whence the fury of the Donatists arose, that is in the middle of consular Numidia, [and] animate [them] with so much fervor of spirit, that with most prompt devotion they should choose to follow [that] which they thought that you, such and so great a man, would not follow unless the truth

had been recognized, and removed from you by so great intervals of places, they should go under the same head, and should be deputed with you for eternity in His members, by whose precept they serve you temporally.

2. Embracing you, therefore, recognized in this your deed, I have exulted that I might congratulate you in Christ Jesus our Lord, and send to you these congratulatory letters as some specimen of my heart and love towards you; for I was not able for more. But I ask that you do not hitherto measure whatever I love you: having read through, pass over this letter by an invisible transition which is made within, and proceed by thinking into my breast, and discern what is being done there concerning you. For to the eye of charity the chamber of charity will lie open, which we close against the tumultuous trifles of the age, when we adore God there; and you will see there the delights of my gladness concerning so good a work of yours, which I am strong enough neither to speak out with tongue, nor to express with pen, warm and flaming in the sacrifice of His praise, with Him inspiring that you willed this, and with Him helping that you were able. "Thanks be to God upon His inenarrable gift" (2 Cor. 9:15).

3. O of how many senators equally with you, and equally of sons of the holy Church, do we desire such a work in Africa, of such as yours we rejoice in! But those it is perilous to exhort, you it is secure to congratulate. For those perhaps will not do [it], and as if the enemies of the Church have conquered in their mind, they will lie in wait

for deceiving the infirm. You truly have already done [it], whence the enemies of the Church, with the infirm liberated, may be confounded. Accordingly, it seemed sufficient that you yourself, by what Christian right you shall be able, read that letter with friendly confidence. For thus from your deed they will believe [it] to be able to be done in Africa, which perhaps while they think [it] not to be able to be done, they are sluggish. Moreover, the snares which those heretics with distorted heart devise, since I laughed that they arbitrated [that they] were worth something in the possession of Christ, I willed neither to write to your mind. You shall hear these [things] however from my brethren, whom I very much commend to your Eminence, lest in so great and so unexpected a salvation of men, concerning whom through you the Catholic mother exults, you should spurn even those fearing superfluous [things].

EPISTOLA LIX. Augustine to Victorinus, [who was] convoking a council, an excusatory [letter], why he is not about to come to the council: asking that first he peacefully compose with Xantippus concerning the right of primacy and of convoking a council. To the most blessed and venerable father and fellow-priest VICTORINUS, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. The tractoria came to me on the fifth of the ides of November, the day already finished, and found me very indisposed, so that I was not able to run to [it] at all. Nevertheless, whether my lack of experience moved [me], or I was moved justly,

it is for your Holiness and Gravity to judge. I read in the same tractoria that it was written also to the Mauritanias, which provinces we know to have their own primates. Because if also from them a council was to be convoked to Numidia, it behoved certainly that the names of some Moorish bishops, who are priors there, should be placed in the tractoria; which not finding in that tractoria, I much wondered. Then to those same Numidians [it was] so written with perturbed and neglected order, that I found my name in the third place, who know how after many bishops I was made. Which matter both is injurious enough to others, and invidious to me. Besides, our venerable brother and colleague, Xantippus of Tagaste, says that the primacy itself touches him, and towards very many it is so held, and he sends such letters. Which error even if it can be easily recognized and corrected among your Holiness, yet his name ought not to have been passed over in the tractoria which your Venerability sent. Which if it were written in the middle places, and not placed in the first, I would much wonder; how much more is it to be wondered at that no mention of him was made there, who especially ought to have come to the council, so that concerning that order of primacy, it should be acted primarily before all the bishops of the Numidian Churches?

2. For these reasons also I would doubt to come, lest perhaps the tractoria were false, by which so great perversity would appear; although both the straitness of time and other

grave necessities would impede me multiply. Whence I ask your Blessedness that you forgive me, and first deign to insist that between your Sanctity and the aged Xantippus it may concordantly stand, which of you ought to convoke the council: or certainly, which I judge more salutary, without prejudice of anyone, both convoke our colleagues, those especially who are near to you in age of episcopate, who may easily recognize which of you says the truth, so that among you few that same question may be severed before the others, and the error having been removed the minors may be convoked by the others, who neither can nor ought, unless to believe you in this matter as priors, and now are ignorant to which of you especially they should believe. I have sent this sealed letter with a ring which expresses the face of a man looking to the side.

EPISTOLA LX. Augustine signifies to Aurelius that Donatus and his brother had receded from the monastery with him resisting: furthermore both that a easy lapse [happens] to monks, and an injury is done to the order of clerics, while such are assumed into the clergy. To the most blessed and by due observance venerable, and sincerely most dear brother and fellow-priest pope AURELIUS, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. I have received no letters of your Venerability since we bodily departed from one another. But now I have read the letter of your Benignity concerning Donatus and his brother, and I have fluctuated long what I should respond. But yet to [one] thinking again and again what may be

useful for their salvation, for the nourishing of whom in Christ we serve, nothing else was able to occur to me, unless that that way is not to be given to the servants of God, so that they may more easily think themselves to be elected to something better, if they shall have been made worse. For both to them [there is] an easy lapse, and a most unworthy injury is done to the order of clerics, if deserters of monasteries be elected to the warfare of the clericature, since from these who remain in the monastery, we are nevertheless not accustomed to assume into the clergy unless the more proved and better [ones]: unless perhaps, as the vulgar say, "A bad chorus-player is a good symphonist"; so those same vulgar will joke concerning us saying, "A bad monk is a good cleric." Too much to be grieved, if we should raise monks to such ruinous pride, and should judge clerics worthy of so grave a contumely, in whose number we are; since sometimes even a good monk scarcely makes a good cleric, if sufficient continent be present to him, and yet necessary instruction, or integrity of regular person be lacking.

2. But concerning these I believe your Blessedness may have arbitrated that by our will, so that they might rather be useful to their own coregionals, they had receded from the monastery: but it is false; they went away of their own accord, they deserted of their own accord, with us resisting as much as we were able, for their salvation. And concerning Donatus indeed, because it has already been done, so that before we should enact

anything concerning this matter in a council, he was ordained, if perhaps he has been corrected from the perversity of pride, let your prudence do what it wills. Moreover, concerning his brother, for whose cause especially Donatus himself also departed from the monastery, since you understand what I feel, I know not what I should respond. Nevertheless I do not dare to contradict your prudence, honor, and charity; and surely I hope that you will do that which you shall have perceived salutary for the members of the Church.

EPISTOLA LXI. Augustine to Theodorus, so that this letter having been brought forth he may make faith that clerics coming from the party of Donatus to the Catholic Church, are to be received in their own order. To the most beloved and to-be-honored brother THEODORUS, AUGUSTINE the Bishop [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. When your Benevolence was speaking with me about how we should receive clerics from the party of Donatus, if they should wish to be Catholics, it pleased me to express that which I responded to you also in this letter given to you, so that if anyone shall have interrogated you concerning this matter, you may show, with even my hand brought forth, what we feel or do concerning this matter. You should know, therefore, that we detest nothing in them except their dissension, through which they have been made schismatics or heretics, because they do not hold the unity and truth of the Catholic Church, in that they do not have peace with the

people of God, which is diffused through the whole world, and in that they do not recognize the Baptism of Christ in men. We disapprove, therefore, their bad error, which they have; but the good name of God which they have, and His sacrament we recognize in them, and we venerate, and we embrace. But for this reason we grieve for them erring, and we desire to gain them for God through the charity of Christ, so that the holy sacrament which they have outside from the Church unto perdition, they may have in the peace of the Church unto salvation. If, therefore, the evils of men be removed from the midst, and the good things of God be honored in men; there will be fraternal concord, and amiable peace, so that the charity of Christ may conquer the persuasion of the devil in the hearts of men.

2. And so when they come to us from the party of Donatus, we do not receive their evils, that is, dissension and error, but those same are removed from the midst as impediments to concord, and we embrace our brothers standing with them, as the Apostle says, *in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace* (Ephes. IV, 3), and recognizing in them the good things of God, whether holy Baptism, or the blessing of Ordination, or the profession of continence, or the sealing of virginity, or the faith of the Trinity, and if there are any other [things]: all of which even if they were, nevertheless they were profiting nothing, when charity was not. For who truly says that he has the charity of Christ, when he does not embrace His unity? When, therefore, they come to the Catholic [Church],

they do not receive here what they had; but so that what they had may begin to profit them, they receive here what they did not have. For here they receive the root of charity in the bond of peace, and in the society of unity; so that not unto damnation, but unto liberation all things which they have, the sacraments of truth, may avail for them. For the branches ought not to glory, because they are not the wood of thorns, but of the vine. For if they shall not have lived in the root, they shall be sent with all their appearance into the fire. Moreover, concerning certain broken branches the Apostle said that *God is powerful to graft them in again* (Rom. XI, 23). And therefore, most beloved brother, whomever of them you shall have seen perhaps doubting in what order they are received by us, show to them that same hand of mine which you know well, and if they shall have wished to have it with themselves, let them have [it]; because I make God witness upon my soul, that I will so receive them, that not only the baptism of Christ which they received, they may have it itself, but even the honor of sanctity and of continence.

EPISTOLA LXII.

Alypius, Augustine, and Samsucius to Severus, excusing those things which were done in the business of Timothy.

To the most blessed and by due observance most dear and most sincere brother and fellow-priest SEVERUS, and to the brothers who are with you, ALYPIUS, AUGUSTINE, and SAMSUCIUS,

and the brothers who are with us, [send] greeting in the Lord.

1. When we had come to Subsana, and were inquiring into those things which had been done there in our absence against our will; we corrected some things as we had heard, but some things truly otherwise done, all things nevertheless to be grieved for and to be tolerated, as much as the Lord helped, partly by reproving, partly by admonishing, partly by praying. That indeed which after the departure of your Sanctity most saddened us, that from there the brothers were dismissed without a guide for the journey, we ask that you forgive, and know it to have been done more timidly than maliciously. For since they thought them to be sent by our son Timothy for this reason, so that they might provoke your Charity especially against us to anger, and they themselves wished to reserve all things integral for our advent, which they were hoping would be with you, they thought they would not set out if they did not receive a guide for the journey. But nevertheless who would doubt that it was a sin? Hence it also happened that it was said to the Grave-digger, that Timothy had already set out with those same brothers; which certainly was false: nevertheless not said by the presbyter; and it was most manifestly declared to us that brother Carcedonius was completely ignorant of all these things, as much as those things are accustomed to be manifested.

2. But why should we delay on more things? Our aforementioned son Timothy, most vehe-

mently perturbed because he most unwillingly sensed so unexpected a doubt, indicated to us that when you were acting with him so that he might serve God at Subsana, he erupted and swore that he would by no means depart from you. And when we were seeking his will, he responded that he was impeded by this swearing from being there where we were wishing him to be even before; since especially he is already secure concerning the manifestation of his liberty. And when we had opened to him that he would not be guilty of perjury, if it were made not through himself, but through you, that on account of avoiding scandal he could not be with you; since indeed he was able to swear not concerning your will, but concerning his own, nor did he confess that you had sworn anything to him in turn; at the last he said, what it behooved a servant of God, a son of the Church, to say, that whatever should have pleased us with your Sanctity to be done concerning him, he would follow that without doubt. Accordingly we ask, and through the charity of Christ we beseech your prudence, that you may be mindful of all things which we have spoken, and you may gladden us by your rescripts. For we who are stronger ought (if nevertheless this is to be dared to be said among so great dangers of temptations), as the Apostle says, *to sustain the burdens of the weak* (Rom. XV, 1). Brother Timothy therefore did not write to your Sanctity, because your holy brother signified all things which were done. Mindful of us, may you glory in the Lord, most

blessed and by due observance most dear and most sincere brother.

EPISTOLA LXIII. Again concerning Timothy who after he had sworn that he would not depart from Severus, had been ordained subdeacon at Subsana in the diocese of Hippo: Augustine witnesses that this was done beside his will; nevertheless he declares that Timothy, whom he wished to return to Severus, had already fulfilled by the office of reader an oath previously offered to him in the churches of the diocese of Hippo, and so he should be released to him. To the most blessed, and venerable, and by most sincere charity to be embraced brother and fellow-priest SEVERUS, and to the brothers who are with you, AUGUSTINE, and the brothers who are with me, [send] greeting in the Lord.

1. If I should say those things which the cause itself compels me to say, where will be the solicitude of charity? But if I should not say [them], where will be the liberty of friendship? Nevertheless fluctuating in the meantime, I have chosen to purge myself rather than to reprove you. You wrote that you wondered that we wished to tolerate with our grief what could have been emended by correction: as if those things are not to be grieved for which were badly done, even if as much as they are able, they are afterwards corrected; or as if that is not especially to be tolerated, which since it is manifest to have been done perversely, cannot be made undone. Cease therefore to wonder, most sincere brother. For Timothy was ordained subdeacon at Subsana,

besides my counsel and will; since what was to be done concerning him, a deliberation was yet nodding between our alternate opinions. Behold I yet grieve, although he has already returned to you; in which it does not repent us to have obeyed your will.

2. Hear also what we corrected by reproving, what by admonishing, what by praying, and before he had set out from here; lest for this reason it yet seem to you that nothing was corrected by us then, because he himself had not yet returned to you. We corrected by reproving, first him himself who did not obey you, so that he set out to your Sanctity before [consulting] with brother Carcedonius unconsulted, whence the origin of this our tribulation arose; then the presbyter and Verinus, through whom we found it to have been done that he was ordained. For when all, with us reproving, confessed that all these things were not rightly done, and asked that it be forgiven them; we would act too proudly, if we did not believe them to have been corrected. For they were not able to act so that they were not done; but neither were we acting anything else by reproving, unless that they might recognize and grieve that they had acted badly. Moreover we corrected by admonishing, first all, that henceforth they should not dare such things, lest they should experience the wrath of God: then especially Timothy, who said that he was compelled by a swearing alone to proceed to your Charity; so that if your Sanctity, which we were hoping would be, considering those things which we

spoke together, on account of the scandal of the weak, for whom Christ died, and on account of the discipline of the Church, which they dangerously neglect, since he had already begun here to be a reader, you should be unwilling for him to be with you; already free from the bond of swearing, he might serve God with a most equal mind, to whom we are to render an account of our acts. We had also led brother Carcedonius himself, as much as we were able, by admonishing to this, that he himself also might most patiently receive whatever the provision and necessity of preserving ecclesiastical discipline should compel to be done concerning him. Moreover we had corrected by praying ourselves, so that we might commend both the governances and the exits of our counsels to the mercy of God, and if any of indignation had bitten us, we might be healed by fleeing under His medicinal right hand. Behold how many things, partly by reproving, partly by admonishing, partly by praying, we had corrected.

3. And now considering the bond of charity, so that we may not be possessed by Satan, for we are not ignorant of his minds, what else ought we to have done unless to obey your will, who did not think that what was done was able to be corrected, unless he himself, in whom you complain that an injury was done to you, were restored to your right? This also the brother Carcedonius himself, although not after a slight perturbation of mind, concerning which I ask that you pray for him, yet thinking Christ in you, did with an equal

mind. And when I yet was thinking that it should be deliberated, whether with Timothy remarrying among us, I should send other letters to your Brotherhood; he himself feared your paternal commotion; and he cut off my deliberation, not only permitting, but also insisting that Timothy should be restored to you.

4. But I, brother Severus, dismiss my cause to your judgment. For I am certain that Christ dwells in your heart; through whom I beseech you that you may consult Him, presiding over your mind subjected to Himself, whether a man, who in the church credited to my dispensation had already begun to read, and not once, but again and a third time, at Subsana and accompanied by the presbyter of the Subsanensian Church, and at Turres, and at Cizan, and at Verbalis had acted, is not able or ought not to be judged to be a reader. And as we corrected that which afterwards was done against our will, God commanding; so also you similarly correct that which before was done with you ignorant, the same [God] commanding. For I do not fear lest you understand too little how great an approach is opened to dissolving the order of Ecclesiastical discipline, if the cleric of another Church shall have sworn to whomever that he is not to depart from him, [and] he permits him to be with himself, affirming that he does so for this reason, lest he be the author of his perjury; when surely he who shall not permit this, nor permit him to remain with himself, because he was able to swear concerning himself, not concerning another, may

himself keep the peaceful rule without any reprehension.

EPISTOLA LXIV. Augustine to Quintianus, exhorting him to patience and desiring him to be reconciled to Bishop Aurelius, and acting concerning Privatio whom he was complaining to have been received into the monastery of Augustine as a cleric of his Church. To the most beloved brother and fellow-presbyter QUINTIANO, AUGUSTINE, [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. We do not disdain to look upon bodies less beautiful, especially since our souls themselves are not yet beautiful, as we hope them to be in the future, when He ineffably beautiful shall have appeared to us, in whom now not seeing we believe: for then we shall be like Him, when we shall see Him as He is (1 John III, 2). Which also concerning your soul, if you receive me willingly and fraternally, we admonish that you feel, nor that you presume it to be beautiful, but just as the Apostle prescribes, you may rejoice in hope, and may do that which follows; for thus he says, *Rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation* (Rom. XII, 12); *for in hope we have been made safe*; as again he himself says, *But hope which is seen, is not hope: for what a man sees, why does he hope [for]? But if we hope for what we do not see, through patience we expect [it]* (Rom. VIII, 24, 25). Let this patience not fail in you, and in good conscience sustain the Lord, and act manfully, and let your heart be comforted, and sustain the Lord (Psal. XXVI, 14).

2. It is manifest indeed that if you should come to us, not communicating with the venerable bishop Aurelius, neither would you be able to communicate with us; but we would do [so] with that charity, with which we do not doubt him also to act. Nor nevertheless would your advent be onerous to us; because it behooves you also to act with an equal mind for the discipline of the Church, especially with a safe conscience, which you know and God [knows]. For neither did he, if he deferred your cause to be discussed, do [so] from hatred of you, and not from his own necessities; which if you כך knew them as you know your own, you would neither wonder nor be grieved. Which also we ask that you believe concerning ours, because similarly you cannot know them. But there are bishops greater than us, and more worthy in authority, and nearer in place, through whom you may more easily execute the causes of the Church pertaining to your care. Nor nevertheless have I been silent before the venerable and with due honorificence to be received by me for his merits brother and colleague my aged Aurelius, [concerning] your tribulation and the complaint of your letters; but through the example of your letter, I have cared to carry your innocence to him. Moreover I received your letters either the day before, or before the second day of the Birthday of the Lord, when you insinuated that he was about to come to the Church of Badesilita, from which you fear the people of God to be perturbed and corrupted. Wherefore I do not dare indeed to address your people through letters; moreover

to write back to those who should write to me, I would be able: but of my own accord to write to the people, which has not been committed to my dispensation, whence would I be able?

For he does not wish to serve Christ willingly, but to dominate Christians unwillingly.

3. Nevertheless that which I say to you alone, who wrote to me, through yourself let it reach to those to whom it is necessary to be said. You yourselves first do not cast the Church into scandal, by reading among the people scriptures which the ecclesiastical canon has not received; for by these heretics, and especially Manichaeans, are accustomed to overturn ignorant minds, whom I hear freely to lurk in your field. I wonder therefore at your prudence, that you should have admonished me that I should command those who come to us from you to the monastery not to be received, so that what has been enacted by us in a council might remain; and you should not remember [that it was] instituted in a council, which are the canonical Scriptures which ought to be read among the people of God. Review therefore the council, and commend to memory all things which you shall have read there; and there also you will find, that it was enacted concerning clerics alone, not also concerning laics, that coming from anywhere they be not received into a monastery. Not because mention of a monastery was made; but because it was so instituted, that no one should receive another's cleric. Moreover by a recent council it was enacted, that those who shall have

receded from any monastery, or shall have been cast out, should not elsewhere become clerics or provosts of monasteries. If therefore anything concerning Privatio moved you, know him not yet to have been received by us into a monastery; but I have sent his cause to the aged Aurelius, so that what he shall have enacted concerning him, I may do this. For I wonder whether he can already be deputed a reader, who read not except once scriptures even not canonical. For if for this reason he [is] already an ecclesiastical reader, surely that scripture also is ecclesiastical. But if that scripture is not ecclesiastical, whoever shall have read it, although in a church, is not an ecclesiastical reader. Nevertheless concerning this youth, that which shall have seemed [fit] to the aforementioned bishop, this it behooves me to observe.

4. Moreover the people of Vigesila, most dear to us in the bowels of the charity of Christ together with you, if it should be unwilling to receive a bishop degraded in a plenary council of Africa, it will act with a sane head, and neither can it be compelled, nor ought it. And whoever shall have violently compelled it, will show of what sort he is; and of what sort he was before, when he was wishing nothing of evil to be believed concerning himself, he will make to be understood. For no one is so betrayed [concerning] what sort of cause he had, than he who through secular powers, or any violences, with perturbation and complaint endeavors to receive the honor which he lost. Brothers, be cautious:

much astute is the devil; but Christ is the Wisdom of God.

EPISTOLA LXV. Augustine to Xantippus, the primate of Numidia, rendering an account why he should be unwilling to commit a Church to Abundantius, an infamous presbyter. To the most blessed and with venerable [regard] to be received father and fellow-priest the aged XANTIPPUS, AUGUSTINE, [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. With the duty due to your merits, greeting your Worthiness, and strongly commending myself to your prayers, I insinuate to your prudence, that a certain Abundantius was ordained a presbyter in the Strabonian farm pertaining to our care. Who since he was not walking the ways of the servants of God, had begun to have a not good fame; by which I [being] terrified, nevertheless not rashly believing anything, but clearly made more solicitous, gave work, if by any way I were able to arrive at some certain indications of his bad conversation. And first I found, that he had embezzled the money of a certain rustic committed to him in trust; so that he was able to render no probable account from there. Then he was convicted and confessed, [that] on the day of the fast of the Birthday of the Lord, on which also the Gippitan Church just as the others was fasting, when as if about to proceed to his own Church he had said farewell to his colleague the Gippitan presbyter, at almost the fifth hour, and when he had no cleric with him, he remained in the same farm, and both dined and supped

at [the house of] a certain woman of bad fame, and remained in one house. Moreover in the lodging of this [woman] a certain cleric of ours of Hippo had already been removed; and because he knew this best, he was not able to deny it. For those things which he denied, I dismissed to God, judging those things which he was not permitted to hide. I feared to commit a Church to him, especially [one] constituted among the rage of heretics barking around. And when he asked me that I should give letters with his cause insinuated to the presbyter of the Armemanensian farm in the Bullensian field, whence he had come to us, lest he should suspect anything more atrocious concerning him, so that he may live there, if it can be done, more corrected without the office of the presbyterate, moved by mercy I did [so]. Moreover it behooved me especially to intimate these things to your prudence, lest any fallacy should creep upon you.

2. Moreover I heard his cause, when there were a hundred days to the Lord's Pascha, which is to be on the eighth [day before] the ides of April. I have cared to insinuate this to your Venerability on account of the council, which also I did not conceal from him himself, but I faithfully opened to him what was instituted: that if within a year he shall have neglected to act his cause, if perhaps he thinks anything is to be acted by him, henceforth no one may hear his voice. Moreover we, most blessed lord and with venerable [regard] to be received father, if we shall not have thought these indications of the

bad conversation of clerics, especially when not good fame has begun to accompany them, to be vindicated in that way, in which it was instituted in a council; we begin to be compelled to wish to discuss those things which cannot be known, and either to damn uncertain [things], or to pass over truly unknown [things]. I surely have judged that a presbyter, who even on a day of fast, on which also the Church of the same place was fasting, saying farewell to his colleague the presbyter of the same place, at the house of a famous woman, having no cleric with him, dared to remain and dine and sup, and to sleep in one house, [is] to be removed from the office of the presbyterate, fearing to commit the Church of God to him henceforth. Which if perhaps to the ecclesiastical judges it seems otherwise, because it was instituted in a council that the cause of a presbyter be terminated by six bishops, let him who wills, commit to him the Church committed to his care: I confess, I fear to commit any people to such [men], especially whom no good fame defends, so that this can be forgiven them; lest if anything more pernicious should erupt, languishing I may impute it to myself.

EPISTOLA LXVI.

He expostulates with Crispinus of Calama, who had rebaptized the Mappalians subacted by fear.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. I have heard that my letters have come into your hands; but, because I have not yet merited

a reply, I would by no means impute [this] to your affection: without doubt there was some impediment. Whence I recognize that the Lord is rather to be deprecated by me, that He may give to your will the faculty of sending what you have written back: for He has already given the [faculty] of writing back because, when you shall have willed, you will be able [to do so] most easily.

CAP. II. 2. Also this, indeed reported to me, I doubted whether I should believe; but from here also whether I should write anything to you, I ought not to have doubted: moreover it was told to me, that it was suggested briefly to your Charity by I know not what brothers, that I had written a book against you, and sent [it] to Rome. Know that this is false; I call our God to witness, that I have not done this. But if perhaps some [things] are found in some of my writings, in which I am found to have felt something otherwise than you, I think you ought to know that [it was] not said against you, but written by me what seemed to me; or if it cannot be known, to believe [it]. Indeed I would say this thus, that I may be not only most prepared, if anything in my writings shall have moved you, to receive fraternally what you feel to the contrary, about to rejoice either in my correction, or in your benevolence itself; but even I request this from you, and demand [it].

3. O if it had been permitted, even if not cohabiting, at least as a neighbor to enjoy you in the Lord for frequent and sweet colloquy!

But because that was not given, I ask that you study that this itself, which we are together in the Lord as much as we are able, be preserved, and increased and perfected, and not to despise replies although rare. Greet with my service the holy brother Paulinianus, and all the brothers who rejoice in the Lord with you and concerning you. Mindful of us may you be heard by the Lord in every holy desire of yours, most dear and most longed-for lord, and brother to be honored in Christ.

EPISTOLA LXVIII. Jerome to Augustine, having already received the letter which contains the question about the officious lie, but doubting even now whether it be Augustine's, he denies that he will answer unless he be certain about the author. He mentions also Ruffinus by a feigned name. To the truly holy lord, and most blessed pope AUGUSTINE, JEROME [sends] greeting in Christ. 1. In the very article of the departure of our holy son Asterius the subdeacon, my necessary [friend], the letters of your Beatitude came over, by which you satisfy [me] that you did not send a book to Rome against my smallness. Neither had I heard this done; but copies of a certain letter, as if written to me, came here through our brother Sysinniuis the deacon. In which you exhort me, that I should sing a palinode (παλινῳδίαν) over a certain chapter of the Apostle, and imitate Stesichorus, fluctuating between the vituperations and praises of Helen; that he who by detracting had lost his eyes, by praising received [them back]. I simply confess to your

Worthiness, although your style and arguments (ἐπιχειρήματα) seemed [so] to me, nevertheless I thought that the copies of letters were not to be trusted rashly; lest perhaps, I responding [and you] being hurt, you should justly expostulate, that I ought to have proved before that the speech was yours, and thus to write back. A long infirmity of the holy and venerable Paula was added to the delay. For while we sit by [her] languishing for much time, we almost forgot your letter, or [that] of him who had written under your name, mindful of that little verse: "Music in mourning, an unseasonable narration" (Eccli. XXII, 6). Therefore, if the letter is yours, write openly, or send truer copies; that we may be occupied in the disputation of the Scriptures without any rancor of the stomach, and either we may emend our error, or we may teach that [we] have reprehended another in vain.

2. Moreover far be it from me, that I should dare to touch anything from the books of your Beatitude. For it suffices for me to prove my own [things], and not to carp at another's. For the rest, your prudence knows best, [that] each one abounds in his own sense, and [that] it is of childish boasting, which formerly young men were accustomed to do, [that] by accusing illustrious men, they should seek fame for their own name. Nor am I so foolish, that by the diversity of your explanations I should think myself hurt; because neither are you hurt, if we shall have felt contrary [things]. But that is true reprehension among friends, if not seeing our own wallet, we consider

the knapsack of others according to Persius. It remains that you love [him] loving you, and in the field of the Scriptures, [being] a young man, you do not provoke an old man. We have had our times, and we ran as much as we were able. Now, [while] you [are] running, and passing through long spaces, leisure is due to us: and at the same time (that I may say it with your leave and honor) lest you alone should seem to me to have proposed something from the poets, remember Dares and Entellus, and the common proverb, that a weary ox fixes his foot more strongly. Sad [at heart] we have dictated these [things]. Would that we might merit your embraces, and by mutual collation either we might teach some things, or we might learn!

3. Calphurnius surnamed Lanarius, with his usual temerity, sent me his maledictions, which I have learned have come also to Africa by his study. To which I responded briefly in part; and I sent to you copies of his little book, about to send a broader work at the first time, when it shall have been opportune. In which I was careful of that, lest I should hurt the Christian estimation in anyone, but only that I might confute the lie and madness of a raving and unskilled [man]. Remember me, holy and venerable pope. See, how much I love you, that even [when] provoked I have not willed to respond, nor do I believe [that] to be yours which I would perhaps reprehend in another. Our common brother greets you suppliantly.

EPISTOLA LXIX. Alypius and Augustine to Castorius, exhorting him himself that he should succeed in the bishopric of the Vaginensian Church to his brother Maximianus gloriously ceding. To the deservedly most beloved lord, and worthily honorable and to be received son CASTORIUS, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE [send] greeting in the Lord.

1. Indeed the adversary of Christians, through our most dear and sweetest son your brother, has endeavored to move a most dangerous scandal against the Catholic mother, who received you into the inheritance of Christ, fleeing from the disinherited excision, with a pious bosom; desiring namely to cloud the serenity of our joy, which has arisen to us from the good of your conversion, with foul sadness. But the Lord our God, merciful and commiserating, consoling the afflicted, nourishing the little ones, curing the infirm, permitted him to be able [to do] something for this [end], that we might rejoice much more in the matter corrected, than we were grieving [in it] afflicted. For it is by far more glorious to have laid down the burden of the bishopric on account of the dangers of the Church to be avoided, than to have received [it] on account of the rudders to be ruled. For he demonstrates that he could have worthily received the honor, if the reason of peace should permit, who does not unworthily defend [it] received. Therefore God willed, even through your brother, our son Maximianus, to show to the enemies of His Church, [that] there are in her bowels [those] who seek not their

own, but the things which are of Jesus Christ. For neither did he desert that ministry of the dispensation of the mysteries of God, conquered by any worldly cupidity, but he laid [it] down moved by peaceful piety, lest on account of his honor a foul and dangerous, or perhaps even pernicious dissension should be born in the members of Christ. For what would be blinder and more worthy of every execration, than on account of the peace of the Catholic Church to desert schism, and to disturb the Catholic peace itself by the question of his own honor? For what [is] more laudable, and more commodious to Christian charity, than the insane pride of the Donatists having been derelict, thus to cohere to the inheritance of Christ, that the testimony of humility might be proved by the love of unity? Therefore as much as pertains to him himself, as we rejoice [that] he was found such, that what the divine word built in his heart, by no means the tempest of this temptation should overturn: so we wish and deprecate from the Lord, that by his consequent life and conduct he may declare more and more, how well he would have managed [it], which surely he would manage if this were necessary. May the eternal peace which was promised to the Church be retributed to him, who understood [that] it was not expedient for himself what was not expedient for the peace of the Church.

2. You truly, most dear son, our no mediocre joy, who are hindered by no such necessity from receiving the bishopric, it becomes your disposition to dedicate to Christ in you what He gave.

For your talent, prudence, eloquence, gravity, sobriety, and the others by which your conduct is adorned, are gifts of God. Whom do they better serve, than Him by whom they were attributed, so that they may both be guarded, and increased, and perfected, and remunerated? Let them not serve this age, lest they vanish with it and perish. We know [that] it is not to be long acted with you in this, with how great facility you consider the hopes of vain men, and insatiable cupidities, and uncertain life. Cast away therefore from your mind whatever it had conceived by the expectation of earthly and false felicity: work in the field of God, where the fruit is certain, where so many promises have been completed so much before, that those which remain are most insanely despaired of. We obsecrate you by the divinity and humanity of Christ, by the peace of that heavenly city, whence [we] peregrinating by temporal labor compare eternal rest, that in the bishopric of the Vaginensian Church you should succeed to your brother, not ignominiously falling, but gloriously ceding. Let that people for whom we hope for most abundant increases through your mind and tongue fecundated and adorned by the gifts of God, understand in you [that] your brother did what he did not for his own sloth, but for its peace. We have commanded that this letter should not be read to you, unless when those [men] to whom you are necessary should already hold you. For we hold you by the bond of spiritual love, because even to our college you are much

necessary. Moreover why we have not exhibited even bodily presence, you shall know afterwards.

EPISTOLA LXX. The temerity of the Donatists insimulating the Catholics of tradition betrays itself in the cause of Felicianus by themselves first solemnly damned, and afterwards received in his own honor. To the most beloved lord and honorable brother NAUCELION, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE [send greeting].

1. When you had related to us what was responded by our father Clarentius, that is, concerning Felicianus of Musti, [that] he did not deny him, both damned by themselves, and afterwards received in his own honor, but [that] he being innocent had been damned, because he had been absent, and he proved [that] he had been absent: we say this, that he may respond to this, because it was not licit for [one] unheard to be damned, whom they themselves now say to have been innocent, who damned him. Therefore either [being] innocent he ought not to have been damned, or [being] guilty he ought not to have been received [after being] damned. If [being] innocent he was received, [being] innocent he was damned; if [being] guilty he was damned, [being] guilty he was received. If they were ignorant, who damned him, whether he were innocent, they are to be argued of temerity, because they dared to damn [one] unheard, innocent, concerning whom they were ignorant; and from the present fact we understand [that] by the same temerity they damned even the superiors whom they infamed with the crime of tradition. For if [one]

innocent was able to be damned by them, traditors were also able to be called by them who were not traditors.

2. Then the same Felicianus damned by them for much time communicated with Maximianus: if he was innocent when he was damned, why in a later time communicating with the wicked Maximianus did he baptize many outside their communion? They themselves are witnesses, who acted before the proconsul, that the same Felicianus just as with Maximianus should be excluded from the Basilica. It was therefore [too] little to have damned [him] absent, to have damned [him] unheard, to have damned, as they say, [one] innocent; moreover also the proconsul was approached against him, that he might be expelled from the church. Even then when they were expelling him from the church, they confess because they deputed him among the damned and wicked and Maximianists. Therefore when he was baptizing men, communicating with Maximianus, was he giving true baptism or false? If he who was communicating with Maximianus was giving true baptism, why is the baptism of the whole world accused? If moreover he was giving false baptism, when he was communicating with Maximianus, why are they thus received with him whom he baptized in the schism of Maximianus, and no one rebaptized them in your part?

EPISTOLA LXXI. Augustine to Jerome, dehorting from the books of the Old Testament to be translated from the Hebrew, and exhorting that

he should render the version of the Seventy, wonderfully depraved and varying, to its own truth. He approves the New Testament chastened by him. To the venerable lord, and longed-for holy brother, and fellow-presbyter JEROME, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER FIRST. 1. Since I began to write to you and to long for your writings, never has a better occasion occurred to me, than that my letter should be brought to you through a servant of God and most faithful minister, and most dear to me, such as is our son Cyprian the deacon. Through him surely I so hope for your letters, that I cannot hope for anything more certainly in this kind of things. For neither study in seeking replies will be lacking to our mentioned son, nor grace in merited [them], nor diligence in guarding [them], nor alacrity in bringing [them] through, nor faith in rendering [them]: only if in some way I may merit [it], may the Lord help, and be present to your heart and to my desire, so that no greater will may impede the fraternal will. 2. Therefore because I have already sent two letters, but I have received none of yours afterwards, I have willed to send the same ones themselves again, believing [that] they have not arrived. Which even if they arrived, and perhaps yours rather were least able to arrive to me, send again those same writings which you have already sent, if perhaps they have been reserved; but if less, say again what I may read, provided nevertheless you do not be heavy to respond to these [things], which it is for a long time that I expect. Also the

first letters which I being yet a presbyter had prepared to be sent to you through a certain brother of ours Profuturus, who afterwards having been made a colleague to us, has already migrated from this life, nor was he able then to bring them through himself, because continuously while he disposes to set out, [he was] detained by the burden of the bishopric, and then in a short [time] he died, even now I have willed to send; so that you may know how long ago I burn for your colloquies, and what force I suffer, because the senses of your body are so far absent from me, through which my mind may be able to approach to your mind, my sweetest brother, and to be honored in the members of the Lord.

CHAPTER II.

3. Moreover in this letter I add this, which we afterwards learned, [that] Job was interpreted by you from the Hebrew, when we already had a certain interpretation of yours of the same prophet turned from the Greek speech into Latin: where nevertheless you noted with asterisks what [things] are in the Hebrew, and are lacking in the Greek; moreover with obelisks what [things] are found in the Greek, and are not in the Hebrew, with such wonderful diligence, that in some places at single words, we see single stars, signifying [that] the same words are in the Hebrew, but are not in the Greek. Furthermore in this later interpretation, which was turned from the Hebrew, the same faith of words does not occur, nor does it little disturb [one] thinking,

either why in that first [one] asterisks are fixed with so great diligence, that they indicate even the smallest particles of speech to be lacking to the Greek codices, which are in the Hebrews; or why in this other which is from the Hebrews, this was more negligently cared for, that these same particles should be found in their places. I willed to put something from there, for the sake of example; but for the hour the codex was lacking to me, which is from the Hebrew. Nevertheless because you fly before in genius, you understand sufficiently, as I opine, not only what I have said, but even what I have willed to say, so that, the cause having been rendered, you may edissertate what moves [me].

Indeed I would rather [that] you should interpret for us rather the Greek canonical Scriptures, which are perhibited [to be] of the Seventy interpreters. For it will be very hard, if your interpretation shall have begun to be read more frequently through many churches, that the Latin churches will dissonate from the Greek churches, especially because a contradictor is easily convinced [by] a Greek book brought forth, that is of a most known language. Moreover whoever shall have been moved by anything unusual in that which was translated from the Hebrew, and shall have intended a crime of falsehood, scarcely or never will he arrive at the Hebrew testimonies, by which the object [of objection] may be defended. Which if even it shall have been arrived at, who would bear [that] so many Latin and Greek authorities be damned? Hither it is added because

even consulted Hebrews can respond otherwise: so that you alone may seem necessary, who are able to convince even them themselves; but nevertheless by what judge [it is] a wonder if you were able to find.

CHAPTER III.

5. For a certain brother of ours a bishop, when he had instituted [that] your interpretation be read in the church over which he presides, moved something far otherwise placed by you in the prophet Jonah (Jonah IV, 6), than it was inveterate in the senses and memory of all, and chanted through the successions of so many ages. So great a tumult was made in the people, especially the Greeks arguing and crying out the calumny of falsehood, that the bishop (for the city was Oea) was compelled to demand the testimony of the Jews. Moreover whether they [did so] from unskillfulness or malice, they responded [that] this was in the Hebrew codices, which both the Greeks and Latins had and were saying. Why more? The man was compelled to correct [it] as if a faultiness, willing, after great danger, not to remain without a people. Whence also it seems to us, [that] sometimes you also were able to be deceived in some [things]. And see what kind of thing this is, in those letters which cannot be emended by the collated testimonies of used languages.

CHAPTER IV.

6. Accordingly we act no small thanks to God concerning your work, by which you have interpreted the Gospel from the Greek, because in almost all [things] there is no offense, when we shall have collated the Greek Scripture. Whence, if anyone contentiously shall have favored the old falsehood, the codices having been brought forth and collated, either he is taught most easily, or he is refelled. And if some very rare [things] deservedly move [me], who is so hard, who would not easily pardon so useful a labor, to which it does not suffice to return the turn of praise? Moreover what may seem [good] to you, why in many [things] the authority of the Hebrew codices should have itself otherwise, [and] otherwise the Greek which is called the Seventy, I would that you should deign to open. For neither does that [version] have small weight which thus merited to be spread abroad, and which the Apostles used, not only the thing itself indicates, but even I remember [that] you have attested. And through this you will have profited very much, if you shall have rendered that Greek Scripture, which the Seventy operated, to the Latin truth: which in diverse codices is so varying, that it can scarcely be tolerated; and so suspected, lest in the Greek another thing be found, that from there anything to be brought forth or to be proved is doubted. I was thinking this letter would be brief; but I know not how it was made so sweet to me to proceed in it, as if I were speaking with you. But I obsecrate you by the Lord, let it not irk you to respond to all [things], and to

exhibit to me, as much as you shall be able, your presence.

EPISTOLA LXXII. Jerome to Augustine expostulating concerning a letter of his spread through Italy, by which a place not rightly exposed in the Epistle to the Galatians was taxed. To the truly holy and most blessed pope AUGUSTINE, JEROME [sends] greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER FIRST. 1. You direct frequent letters to me, and often you compel [me] that I should respond to a certain letter of yours, of which to me, as I have already written before, through brother Sysinniuis the deacon copies had arrived, without your subscription, and which first through brother Profuturus, secondly through I know not what other you signify [that] you sent; and in the meantime Profuturus [was] retracted from the journey, and [being] constituted a bishop, [was] subtracted by a swift death; [and] him whose name you keep silent, feared the discriminations of the sea, and changed the counsel of navigation. Which things since they are so, I am not able to wonder enough how the letter itself is said to be had by very many both in Rome and in Italy, and has not arrived to me alone, to whom alone it was sent; especially when the same brother Sysinniuis among your other treatises said [that] he found it not in Africa, not at your [place], but in an island of the Adriatic, almost five years before this.

CHAPTER II.

3. To the last [end] lest you should justly expostulate and say, What for? you had seen my letter, and you had detected the signs of a known hand in the subscription, so that you might so easily hurt a friend, and turn the malice of another into my contumely? Therefore as I have already written before, either send the same letter subscribed by your hand; or cease to provoke an old man hiding in a little cell. But if you wish either to exercise or to show off your doctrine, seek young men, and eloquent, and noble, of whom there are said to be very many in Rome, who can and dare to engage with you, and in the disputation of the holy Scriptures, to draw the yoke with a bishop. I, formerly a soldier, now a veteran, ought to praise both your victories and those of others, [and] not myself again to fight with an exhausted body; lest, if you shall have frequently impelled me to write back, I should remember that history, that Q. Maximus by his patience broke Hannibal exulting youthfully. Age brings all things, the mind also. Often I remember [that] I as a boy hid long suns [days] by singing: now so many songs [are] forgotten by me; the voice also now flees Moeris herself. (Virg. Eccl. 9.) And, that I may speak more from the holy Scriptures, that Barzillai the Gileadite, delegating the benefits and all the delights of king David to his young son, showed [that] old age ought not to appetize these things, nor to receive [them] offered.

Moreover because you swear that you have not written a book against me, nor sent to Rome

[a book] which you have not written, but if perhaps some [things] are found in your writings, which discrepan from my sense, [that] I was not hurt by you, but [that it was] written by you what seemed right to you: I ask that you hear me patiently. You did not write a book; and how were the writings of your reprehension of me brought to me through others? why does Italy have what you have not written? by what reason do you demand that I should write back to those [things] which you deny [that] you have written? Nor am I so dull that, if you shall have felt diverse [things], I should think myself hurt by you. But if you reprehend my words hand to hand, and expect the reason of my writings, and compel [me] to emend those [things] which I have written, and provoke [me] to a palinode (παλινῳδίαν), and render my eyes to me; in this friendship is hurt, in this the laws of necessity are violated. Lest we should seem to strive childishly and to attribute to our favorers or detractors in turn material for contending; I write these [things], because I desire to love you purely and Christianly, nor to retain anything in my mind which is distant from my lips. For it is not convenient that from adolescence even to this age, desudating in labor in a little monastery with holy brothers, I should dare to write anything against a bishop of my communion, and that bishop whom I began to love before I knew [him], who first provoked me to friendship, [and] whom I rejoiced [to see] rising after me in the erudition of the Scriptures. Therefore either deny your book, if perhaps it is

not yours, and cease to demand a reply to those [things] which you have not written; or if it is yours, ingenuously confess [it], so that if I shall have written some things in defense of myself, the fault may be in you who provoked, not in me who was compelled to respond.

CHAPTER III.

5. You add furthermore [that] you are prepared so that, if anything in your writings shall have moved me, or I shall have willed to correct [it], you would receive [it] fraternally, and [that you would] not only be about to rejoice in my benevolence toward you, but you deprecate that I should do this itself. Again I say what I feel: you provoke an old man, you stimulate [him] keeping silence, you seem to boast of [your] doctrine. Moreover it is not of my age, to be thought malevolent toward him to whom I rather owe favor. And if in the Gospels and Prophets perverse men find what they may strive to reprehend, do you wonder if in your books, and especially in the exposition of the Scriptures, which are even most obscure, some things seem to discrepate from the line of the right? And I say this, not because I already judge some things to be reprehended in your works. For neither have I ever given work to the reading of them: nor is there a copy of these exemplars among us, except the books of your Soliloquies, and certain Commentaries on the Psalms; which if I willed to discuss, I would not say from me, who am nothing, but I would teach [that they] discrepate from the interpretations

of the ancient Greeks. Farewell, my friend, most dear, by age a son, by dignity a parent: and having been asked by me observe this, that whatever you shall have written to me, you make [it] arrive first to me.

EPISTOLA LXXIII.

Augustine studies to soothe Jerome somewhat offended by his letters.

He attests that he received his apology against Ruffinus, deploring [that] so bitter a discord had fallen between so great men formerly most friendly. To the lord to be venerated and most longed-for brother, fellow-presbyter JEROME, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER FIRST. 1. Although I think [that], before you took these, my letters came into your hand, which I sent through the servant of God, our son, Cyprian the deacon; by which you would most certainly recognize [that] the letter is mine, whose copies you commemorated to have arrived thither; whence already I judge myself to have begun to be struck and turned by your replies, just as by Entelline acorns and sharp caestuses, as an audacious Dares: now nevertheless I respond to those letters of yours themselves, which you deigned to send to me through our holy son Asterius; in which I found many [things] of your most benevolent charity toward me, and again certain indications of some offense of yours from me. Therefore, where I was being soothed reading, there continuously I was being struck;

indeed especially admiring this, that when you say [that] you thought the copies of my letters therefore not to be trusted rashly, lest perhaps I being hurt [by you] responding should justly expostulate, because you ought to have proved before [that] the speech was mine and thus to write back, afterwards you command, if the letter is mine, [that] I should write openly, or send truer copies, so that we may be occupied in the disputation of the Scriptures without any rancor of the stomach. For in what way are we able to be occupied in this disputation without rancor, if you prepare to hurt me? or if you do not prepare, how would I, you not hurting [me], justly expostulate [being] hurt by you, because you ought to have proved before, [that] the speech was mine, and thus to write back, that is and thus to hurt? For unless you had hurt [me] by writing back, I would not be able justly to expostulate. Accordingly when you so write back, that you hurt, what place is left to us for being occupied in the disputation of the Scriptures without any rancor? Far be it from me indeed that I should be hurt, if you shall have willed and been able to demonstrate to me by a certain reason that you have understood that [place] from the Epistle of the Apostle, or anything else of the holy Scriptures more truly than I: nay truly far be it, that I should not with action of thanks depute [it] to my gains, if I shall have been instructed [by you] teaching, or corrected [by you] emending.

CHAPTER II.

3. It remains therefore that you were disposing to hurt me by writing back, if you knew by certain document that those letters were mine. And thus, because I do not believe that you would think [that] I ought to be hurt unjustly, it remains that I should acknowledge my sin, that I first hurt you by those letters, which I am not able to deny to be mine. Why therefore do I strive against the tract of the river, and not rather seek pardon? I beseech you therefore through the mildness of Christ, that, if I have hurt you, you dismiss [it] to me, nor by hurting me in turn render evil for evil. Moreover you will hurt me, if you shall have kept silence to me [concerning] my error, which perhaps you shall have found in my deeds or words. For if you shall have reprehended those [things] in me which are not to be reprehended, you hurt yourself more than me; which far be it from your morals and holy purpose, that you should do this with the will of hurting, blaming in me something with a maledicent tooth, which you know with a veridical mind is not to be blamed. And through this either with a benevolent heart you may argue [against], even if [he] lacks a fault, him whom you think is to be argued [against]; or with paternal affection you may soothe him whom you are not able to adjudge. For it is able to be done that to you another thing may seem than the truth has, while nevertheless by you another thing may not be done than charity has: for I also will most gratefully receive a most friendly reprehension, even if that did not deserve to be reprehended which is able to be rightly defended;

or I may acknowledge at once both your benevolence, and my fault, and, as much as the Lord grants, in one [thing] I may be found grateful, in another emended.

4. Why therefore, perhaps hard, but certainly salubrious, should I greatly fear your words, just as the cestuses of Entellus? That [man] was being beaten, not being cured; and therefore he was being conquered, not being healed. Moreover I, if I shall have received your medicinal correction tranquil, will not grieve: if truly infirmity, either human, or mine, even when I am argued [against] veraciously, is not able but to be saddened somewhat, the tumor of the head better grieves while it is being cured, than while it is being spared, it is not healed. For this is what he acutely saw who said, that scolding enemies are for the most part more useful than friends fearing to rebuke. For those while they quarrel, say sometimes true [things] which we may correct; but these exhibit a lesser liberty than is behooving for justice, while they fear to exasperate the sweetness of friendship. Wherefore although a bull, as you seem to yourself, perhaps weary with the old age of the body, yet not with the vigor of the mind, sweating in the Lord's threshing-floor (area dominica) with fruitful labor; behold I am, if I have said anything perversely, fix [your] foot more strongly. The weight of your age ought not to be troublesome to me, provided that the chaff of my fault be threshed.

5. Accordingly that which you placed in the extreme [part] of your letter, I either read, or

recall with the sigh of great desire. "Would that," you say, "we might merit your embraces, and by mutual collation either we might teach some [things], or we might learn!" Moreover I say: Would that at least we dwelt in neighboring places of the lands; so that, if our colloquies were not able to be mixed, letters might be more frequent! Now truly we are absent from our senses by so great an interval of places, that concerning those words of the Apostle to the Galatians, I remember [that] I wrote [as] a youth to your Holiness, and behold now [as] an old man, I have not yet merited replies, and more easily truer copies of my letter arrived to you, I know not by what occasion preventing, than the letter itself by my care. For the man who had then received it, neither carried it to you, nor brought it back to me. Moreover so great things appear to me in your letters, which were able to come into our hands, that I would prefer nothing of my studies, if I were able, than to cling to your side. Which because I am not able, I think to send some one of our sons in the Lord to you to be instructed by us, if I shall have merited your replies also concerning this matter. For neither is there so much of the science of the divine Scriptures in me, or will now be able to be, as much as I see to be in you. And if I have anything of faculty in this matter, I expend [it] in any way [I can] on the people of God. Moreover I am altogether not able to be vacant for studies more diligently than those which the people hear to be instructed, on account of ecclesiastical occupations.

CHAPTER III.

6. I know not what maledicent writings under your name arrived at Africa. We received however what you deigned to send, responding to those maledictions. Which having been read through, I confess, I much grieved that among so dear and familiar persons, joined to almost all the Churches by a most well-known bond of friendship, so great an evil of discord should have stood forth. And indeed how much you moderate yourself, and how much you hold the stings of your indignation, lest you should render malediction for malediction, is sufficiently eminent in your letters. Nevertheless when I had read those very [letters], I wasted away with grief, and grew stiff with fear; what would those [writings] do to me which that [man] wrote against you, if by chance they had come into my hands? "Woe to the world from scandals" (Matth. XVIII, 7). Behold it is done, behold that which Truth says is thoroughly fulfilled: "Since iniquity will abound, the charity of many will grow cold" (Id. XXIV, 12). For into what breasts already faithful may [thoughts] safely be poured back? into whose bosom may secure dilection cast itself whole? who finally may not be dreaded [as] a friend just as a future enemy, if this which we bewail was able to arise between Jerome and Ruffinus? O miserable and to-be-miserated condition! O unfaithful science of the present in the wills of friends, where there is no prescience of the future! But why should I think this is to be groaned [over] by one concern-

ing another, when not even to himself indeed is man known for the future? For he knows in any way, hardly perhaps, now of what sort he is; but of what sort he is about to be afterwards, he is ignorant.

7. Furthermore this science, not only of what sort each one is, but truly also the prescience, of what sort he is about to be, if it is in the holy and blessed Angels; and how the devil was once blessed, when as yet he was a good angel, knowing his future iniquity, and sempiternal punishment, I altogether do not see. Concerning which matter, if nevertheless it is needful to know it, I would will to hear from you what you think. See what the lands and seas do which part us corporally. If this my letter which you read were I, you would already say to me what I sought: now truly when will you write back? when will you send? when will it arrive? when will I receive? And yet would that it may at some time be done, which we sustain with what tolerance we are able, [that it] is not able to be done as quickly as we will! Whence I recur to those most sweet words of your letter, and most full of your holy desire, and I in turn make them mine: "Would that we might merit your embraces; and by mutual collation either we might teach some [things], or we might learn!" if nevertheless there could be in any way [that] which I might teach you.

Moreover in these words not now yours only, but also mine, where I am delighted and refreshed, and even though the desire of each of us is pending and not attaining [its end], I am in

no small part consoled: there again I am pierced by the most sharp stings of griefs, while I think among you, to whom God had granted this very [thing] which each of us has opted [for], large and prolix, so that most conjoined and most familiar you might lick together the honeys of the holy Scriptures, that the perdition of so great bitterness should have crept in, when not, where not, to what man not to be dreaded; since it was able to happen to you, men mature in age, and dwelling in the eloquence of the Lord, at that time in which, the secular burdens already cast away, now expedited you were following the Lord, and were living together in that land, in which the Lord walking with human feet, said, "My peace I give to you, my peace I leave to you" (John XIV, 27)? Truly "human life upon the earth is a temptation" (Job VII, 1). Woe to me, who am not able to find you anywhere together! perhaps, as I am moved, as I grieve, as I fear, I would fall down at your feet, I would weep as much as I were able, I would ask as much as I loved, now each one of you for himself, now both for each other, and for others, and especially the infirm, for whom Christ died (I Cor. VIII, 11), who behold you just as in the theater of this life with great danger to themselves, lest by writing you should scatter those things concerning you, which concordant you will not be able at some time to delete, who now will not to concord; or which concordant you may fear to read, lest you should litigate again.

9. Truly I say to your charity, that I trembled at nothing more than this example, when I read

in your letter certain indications of your indignation; not so much those concerning Entellus and the weary bull, where you seemed to me rather to joke hilariously than to threaten irascibly, as that which it appears sufficiently that you wrote seriously, whence I spoke above, perhaps more than I ought, but not more than I feared, where you said: "Lest perhaps having been hurt you should justly expostulate." I ask you, if it is able to be done, that we may seek and discuss something between us, by which our hearts may be fed without the bitterness of discord, let it be done. If however I am not able to say what seems to me to be emended in your writings, nor you in mine, except with the suspicion of envy, or the lesion of friendship, let us rest from these [things], and spare our life and safety. Certainly let that [knowledge] which puffs up attain less, provided that [charity] which edifies be not offended (I Cor. VIII, 2). I feel myself to be far from that perfection, concerning which it is written: "If anyone does not offend in word, this is a perfect man" (James III, 2). But plainly in the mercy of God I think [that] I am able easily to seek pardon from you, if I have offended in anything; which you ought to open to me, so that, when I shall have heard you, you may gain your brother (Matth. XVIII, 15). Nor indeed, because on account of the distance of the lands you are not able to do this between me and you, ought you therefore to allow me to err. Altogether as much as pertains to those very things which we will to know, if I either know, or believe, or think [that] I hold anything of truth, in which you feel other-

wise, as much as the Lord gives I will endeavor to assert [it] without your injury. Moreover as much as pertains to your offense, when I shall have sensed you [to be] indignant, I will deprecate nothing else than pardon.

10. Nor do I altogether judge that you could have been incensed, unless I either said this which I ought not, or did not say [it] thus as I ought; because I do not wonder less [that] we know each other, than [that] we are known by our most conjoined and most familiar [friends]. Into whose charity, I confess, I easily cast myself whole, especially fatigued by the scandals of the age; and in it without any solicitude I rest: for there I feel God to be, into whom I secure cast myself, and in whom I secure rest. Nor in this my security do I altogether dread that future uncertainty of human fragility, concerning which I groaned above. For when I feel a man to be burning with Christian charity, and [that] he has become a faithful friend to me by it; whatever of my counsels and thoughts I commit to him, I do not commit to a man, but to Him in whom he remains, that he may be such. For "God is charity; and he who remains in charity, remains in God, and God in him" (I John IV, 16): which if he shall have deserted, it is necessary [that] he should cause so much grief, as much as remaining he had caused joy. Nevertheless having become an enemy from an intimate friend, let him rather seek what the astute [man] may feign; let him not find what the angry [man] may betray. Moreover this each one easily attains, not by hiding what

he has done, but by not doing what he would will to be hidden. Which the mercy of God grants to the good and pious, that among any friends future [enemies], they may be conversant free and secure, [and] not betray the sins of others committed to them; which [sins] they may fear to be betrayed, they themselves commit none. For when a maledicent [man] feigns anything false; either it is altogether not believed; or certainly with integrity of safety, the reputation alone is vexed. Moreover when an evil is perpetrated, the enemy is intimate, even if it be not divulged by the talkativeness or litigation of any intimate. Wherefore who of the prudent may not see, even how tolerably you bear the now incredible enmities of a once most friendly and most familiar [man], with conscience consoling [you]; and in what manner either what he boasts, or what is perhaps believed by some, you depute to the left-hand arms, with which no less than with the right-hand [arms] it is fought against the devil? Nevertheless I would have preferred him in some way milder, than you in that way more armed. This is a great and sad miracle, to have arrived from such friendships to these enmities; it will be joyful, and much greater, to have returned from such enmities to the pristine concord.

EPISTLE LXXIV.

Augustine asks Praesidium to take care that the superior letter be rendered to Jerome, and that he may also please him by his own letters.

To the most blessed Lord, and meritously to-be-venerated brother, and fellow-priest (consacerdoti) PRAESIDIUM, AUGUSTINE, [sends] health in the Lord.

1. Just as I present asked your Sincerity, now also I commonish [you], that you do not be burdened to send my letters to our holy brother and fellow-presbyter (compresbytero) Jerome. Moreover that your Charity may know in what manner you also ought to write to him for my cause, I sent copies of the letters, both of mine to him, and of his to me, which having been read according to your holy prudence you may easily see both my mode, which I thought was to be served, and his motion, which I not in vain feared. Or if I wrote anything which I ought not, or in a manner [in which] I ought not; send [your] speech by fraternal dilection not to him concerning me, but rather to me myself, by which [having been] corrected I may seek that he ignore [it], if I myself shall have known my fault.

EPISTLE LXXV.

Jerome finally responds to the questions of Augustine proposed in Epistles 28, 40 and 71, namely concerning the title of the book representing ecclesiastical writers, concerning Peter reprehended by Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians, concerning the translation of the Old Testament, and concerning the word for ivy in Jonah: defending sharply his writings and interpretations against Augustine.

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

CHAPTER I.

1. I received through the deacon Cyprian three epistles at once, nay rather brief booklets, of your Dignation, containing diverse questions, as you name [them], [but] as I sense, reprehensions of my small works: to which if I shall have willed to respond, there will be need of the magnitude of a book. Nevertheless I will endeavor, as much as I am able to do, not to egress the mode of a longer epistle, and not to make a delay for the hastening brother, who three days (*triduum*) before he was about to set out, demanded the epistles from me; so that almost in readiness for battle I was compelled to blurt out these of whatever sort they are, and to respond with a tumultuous speech, not with the maturity of one writing, but with the temerity of one dictating: which for the most part is turned not into doctrine, but into chance; just as sudden wars disturb even the strongest soldiers, and they are compelled to flee before they are able to seize [their] arms.

2. But our armor is Christ, and the institution of the apostle Paul, who writes to the Ephesians: "Take up the arms of God, so that you may be able to resist in the evil day." And again: "Stand girt [about] your loins in truth, and put on the breastplate of justice, and [having your] feet shod in the preparation of the Gospel of peace: above all taking up the shield of faith, in which you may be able to extinguish all the ignited darts

of the malignant [one]; and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God" (Ephes. VI, 13–17). Armed with these darts king David once proceeded to battle; and taking five smooth stones from the torrent, he showed that there was nothing of asperity and filth in his senses among the whirlwinds of this age, drinking from the torrent in the way; and therefore exalted he truncated the most proud head of Goliath with his own very blade, striking the blasphemer in the forehead (I Reg. XVII, 40–51), and wounding [him] in that part of the body in which also Ozias, the presumer of the priesthood, is struck by leprosy (II Par. XXVI, 19); and the saint glories in the Lord saying: "The light of your countenance is signed upon us, Lord" (Psal. IV, 7). Let us say therefore we also, "Prepared [is] my heart, God, prepared [is] my heart; I will sing and play a psalm in my glory. Arise psaltery and cithara; I will arise at dawn" (Psal. LVI, 8, 9): so that in us it may be able to be fulfilled, "Open your mouth, and I will fill it" (Psal. LXXX, 11); and, "The Lord will give the word to those evangelizing with much virtue" (Psal. LXVII, 12). I do not doubt [that] you yourself also pray, that among us contending truth may surpass. For you do not seek your glory, but [that] of Christ; and when you shall have conquered, I also will conquer if I shall have understood my error; and on the contrary me conquering, you surpass, because not children for parents, but parents for children treasure up (II Cor. XII, 14). And in the book of the Paralipomenon we read that the children of

Israel proceeded to battle "with a peaceful mind" (I Paral. XII, 17, 18), among the swords themselves also and effusions of blood, and the cadavers of those prostrated, thinking not of their own victory but of the victory of peace. Let us respond therefore to everything, and solve the multiple questions, if Christ shall have commanded, with a brief speech. I pass over the duties of salutation, with which you stroke my head; I am silent concerning the blandishments, with which you endeavor to console the reprehension of me: I will come to the causes themselves.

CHAPTER II.

3. You say that you received my book from a certain brother, which did not have a title, in which I enumerated ecclesiastical writers both Greek and Latin; and when you sought from him, so that I may use your words, why the liminary page was not inscribed, or by what name it was assessed, he responded, that it was called an Epitaph: and you argue that it would be correctly so called, if you had read there only the lives or writings of those who were already deceased; but since the small works of many, both at that time when it was being written, and even now living, are commemorated, you wonder why I imposed this title upon it. I think your Prudence understands that you were able to understand the title from the work itself. For you have read both Greeks and Latins who described the lives of illustrious men, that they never wrote "Epitaph" for this work, but "Concerning Illustrious Men,"

for example, leaders, philosophers, orators, historians, poets, epic, tragic, comic. An Epitaph however is properly written of the dead: which indeed I know that I once did in the falling asleep of the presbyter Nepotian of holy memory. Therefore this book is to be called either "Concerning Illustrious Men," or properly "Concerning Ecclesiastical Writers"; although by most unskillful emenders it is said to be inscribed "Concerning Authors."

CHAPTER III.

4. In the second place you ask, why I said in the commentaries on the Epistle to the Galatians, that Paul was not able to reprehend that in Peter which he himself had done (Gal. II, 11), nor to argue simulation in another of which he himself was held guilty; and you assert, that the apostolic reprehension was not dispensatory (dispensatoriam), but true, and that I ought not to teach a lie, but all things which are written, to sound just as they are written. To which first I respond, that your Prudence ought to have remembered the little preface of my commentaries, saying in my own person: "What therefore? am I foolish and temerarious, who should promise that which he was not able? By no means: but rather in this, as I seem to myself, more cautious and timid, because sensing the imbecility of my strengths, I followed the commentaries of Origen. For that man wrote specifically five volumes on the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, and he completed the tenth book of his Stromata

with a commatic speech upon the explanation of its discourse; he also composed various treatises, and excerpts, which alone could suffice. I pass over Didymus my seer (videntem), and the Laodicean, lately gone out from the Church, and Alexander the ancient heretic, Eusebius of Emesa also, and Theodore of Heraclea, who also themselves left some small commentaries upon this matter. From which even if I should cull few things, something would be made which would not be completely despised. Therefore that I may confess simply, I read all these, and coacervating very many things in my mind, having summoned a notary, I dictated either my own things, or those of others, mindful sometimes neither of order, nor of words, nor of senses. Now it is of the mercy of the Lord, lest through our unskillfulness things well said by others should perish, and should not please among strangers, which please among their own." If therefore you had thought anything worthy of reprehension in our explanation, it had been of your erudition to seek whether those things which we wrote were held in the Greek [works], so that, if they had not said [them], then you might properly condemn my opinion; especially since I freely confessed in the preface, that I followed the commentaries of Origen, and dictated either my own or others' things, and at the end of the same chapter which you reprehend, I wrote: "If to anyone that sense does not please, by which neither Peter is shown to have sinned, nor Paul procaciously to have argued [against] a greater; he ought to

expound, by what consequence Paul should reprehend in another what he himself committed." From which I showed, that I did not defend that from a definition which I had read in the Greek [works], but I expressed those things which I had read, so that I might leave it to the judgment of the reader, whether they were to be approved or disapproved.

5. You therefore, lest you should do what I had sought, found a new argument, so that you might assert, that the Gentiles who had believed in Christ [were] free from the burden of the Law; but those who believed from the Jews [were] subject to the Law: so that through the person of both, Paul might correctly reprehend those who served the Law, as the teacher of the Gentiles; and Peter might justly be reprehended who, being the leader of the circumcision (Gal. II, 8), commanded that to the Gentiles, which only those who were from the Jews ought to have observed. If this pleases, nay rather because it pleases, that whoever believe from the Jews are debtors of performing the law; you as a bishop most known in the whole world, ought to promulgate this opinion, and draw all [your] fellow-bishops into your assent. I in a small little hut, with monks, that is with my fellow-sinners, do not dare to decree concerning great things, unless to confess this ingenuously, that I read the writings of the elders (majorum), and in the commentaries, according to the custom of all, I place various explanations, so that from many each one may follow what he wills. Which indeed I think you have read, and

approved, both in secular literature, and in the divine Books.

6. Moreover this explanation, which Origen first in the tenth book of the Stromata, where he interprets the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, and the rest from then on interpreters have followed, they sub-introduce for this cause especially, so that they may respond to the blaspheming Porphyry, who reprehends the procacity of Paul, because he dared to reprehend Peter, the leader of the Apostles, and to argue to [his] face, and to constrain [him] by reason, because he did badly, that is, he was in that error in which he himself was who argued [against] the other delinquent. What shall I say of John, who for some time in the pontifical grade ruled the Church of Constantinople, and specifically upon this chapter plowed out a very broad book, in which he followed the opinion of Origen and of the elders? If therefore you reprehend me erring, suffer me, I seek, to err with such [men]; and when you shall have perceived me to have many companions of my error, you ought to proffer at least one stipulator of your truth. These [things] concerning the explanation of one chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians.

7. But lest I seem to strive against your reason by the number of witnesses, and by the occasion of illustrious men to subterfuge the truth, nor dare to join hand [in battle], I will propose briefly examples from the Scriptures. In the Acts of the Apostles, a voice was made to Peter saying, "Rise, Peter, kill and eat," that is,

all animals of quadrupeds, and of serpents of the earth, and of volatiles of heaven. By which said [thing], it is shown [that] no man according to nature is polluted, but all are equally provoked to the Gospel of Christ. To which Peter responded: "Far be it, because I have never eaten [anything] common and unclean. And a voice was made to him from heaven a second time, saying: Those things which God has cleansed, you shall not call common." He went therefore to Caesarea, and having entered to Cornelius, "opening his mouth, he said: In truth I have found, that God is not an acceptor of persons; but in every nation, he who fears him and works justice, is accepted to him." Finally "the Holy Spirit fell upon them, and the faithful from the circumcision, who had come with Peter, were stupefied, because also into the Nations the grace of the Holy Spirit had been poured out. Then Peter responded: Can anyone prohibit water, so that these who have received the Holy Spirit just as we [have] should not be baptized? And he ordered them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ (Acts X, 13–48). Moreover the Apostles and the brothers who were in Judea heard, that also the nations received the word of God. But when Peter had ascended to Jerusalem, those who were from the circumcision discepted against him, saying: Why did you enter to men having a prepuce, and eat with them?" To whom having been expounded by every reason, most recently he concluded his speech with this discourse: "If therefore God gave the same grace to them, just as to us who have

believed in the Lord Jesus Christ; who was I, who could prohibit God? These [things] having been heard, they were silent; and they glorified God saying: Therefore also to the Nations God has given repentance unto life" (Ibid. XI, 1–18). Again, when after much time Paul and Barnabas had come to Antioch, and, the Church having been congregated, they had related "how great things God had done with them, and that God had opened to the Nations the door of faith (Ibid. XIV, 26); certain [men], descending from Judea, were teaching the brothers and saying: Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you are not able to be saved. A sedition not minimal having been moved therefore against Paul and Barnabas, they determined to ascend" both they themselves who were accused, and these who were accusing, "to the Apostles and presbyters at Jerusalem upon this question. And when they had proceeded to Jerusalem, certain from the heresy of the Pharisees, who had believed in Christ, rose up, saying: It behooves them to be circumcised, and to command them that they serve the Law of Moses. And when a great question arose upon this word, Peter" with [his] accustomed liberty: "Men," he said, "brothers, you know that from ancient days among us God chose by my mouth that the Nations should hear the word of the Gospel and believe; and God who knows the hearts, rendered testimony, giving to them the Holy Spirit, just as to us, and distinguished nothing between us and them, by faith purifying their hearts. Now therefore why do you

tempt God to impose a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers, nor we were able to carry? But by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we believe to be saved, in the same manner as also they. Moreover the whole multitude was silent" (Acts XV, 1–12), and the apostle James, and all the presbyters together passed over into his opinion.

8. These things ought not to be molesting to the reader, but useful both to him and to me, so that we may prove, that before the apostle Paul, Peter was not ignorant, nay rather was the leader of this decree, that the Law is not to be served after the Gospel. Finally Peter was of such great authority, that Paul wrote in his Epistle: "Then after three years I came to Jerusalem to see Peter, and I remained with him fifteen days" (Gal. I, 18). And again in the following [things]: "After fourteen years I ascended again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, having taken up also Titus. Moreover I ascended according to revelation, and I expounded to them the Gospel which I preach among the Nations:" showing that he had not had the security of preaching the Gospel, unless it had been corroborated by the opinion of Peter, and of those who were with him. And immediately it follows: "Moreover separately to those who seemed to be something, lest perhaps I should run or had run in vain." Why separately, and not in public? Lest perhaps a scandal of faith should be born to the faithful from the number of the Jews, who were thinking that the Law was to be served, and thus [that they ought] to believe

in the Lord Savior. Therefore also at that time when Peter had come to Antioch (although the Acts of the Apostles do not write this, but it is to be believed by the affirming Paul), Paul writes that he resisted him to [his] face, because he was reprehensible. For before certain [men] came from James, he was eating with the Nations; but when they had come, he was withdrawing himself, and segregating [himself], fearing those who were from the circumcision. And the rest of the Jews consented with him, so that also Barnabas was led away by these into that simulation. "But when I had seen," he said, "that they do not correctly walk to the truth of the Gospel, I said to Peter before everyone: If you, since you are a Jew, live in a gentile manner and not in a judicial [manner]; in what way do you compel the Nations to judaize?" (Gal. II, 1, 2, 14.) and the rest. To no one therefore is it a doubt that the apostle Peter was the first author of this opinion, of which he is now argued a prevaricator. Moreover the cause of prevarication is the fear of the Jews. For the Scripture says that at first he was eating with the Nations; but when certain [men] had come from James, he was withdrawing himself and segregating [himself], fearing those who were from the circumcision. Moreover he was fearing the Jews of whom he was the apostle, lest by the occasion of the Gentiles they should recede from the faith of Christ, and he, an imitator of the good shepherd, should lose the flock credited to him.

9. Just as therefore we have shown, that Peter indeed thought well concerning the abolition of the Mosaic Law, but was compelled by fear to the simulation of observing it; let us see whether Paul himself who reprehends the other, did any such thing. We read in the same book: "Moreover Paul was perambulating Syria, and Cilicia, confirming the Churches: and he arrived in Derbe, and Lystra; and behold a certain disciple was there, by name Timothy, the son of a faithful widow woman, but [with] a gentile father. To this [man] the brothers who were at Lystra and Iconium rendered testimony. Paul willed this [man] to set out with him; and taking [him] he circumcised him because of the Jews who were in those places: for they all knew that his father was a gentile" (Acts XV, 41, and XVI, 1–3). O blessed apostle Paul, who had reprehended in Peter the simulation by which he withdrew himself from the Gentiles because of the fear of the Jews who had come from James; why are you compelled to circumcise Timothy, the son of a gentile man, certainly a gentile himself (for he was not a Jew, who had not been circumcised), against your opinion? You will respond to me: Because of the Jews who were in those places. Therefore you who ignore [it] in yourself in the circumcision of a disciple coming from the Gentiles, ignore it also in Peter, your predecessor, that he did some things by fear of the faithful Jews. Again it is written: "Moreover Paul when he had yet sustained many days, saying farewell to the brothers, sailed to Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila: and he shaved his head

in Cenchreae; for he had had a vow" (Ibid. XVIII, 18). Be it, that there he was compelled by fear of the Jews to do what he was unwilling; why did he nourish [his] hair from a vow, and afterwards shave it in Cenchreae from the Law, which the Nazirites (Nazaraei) who have vowed themselves to God, were accustomed to do according to the precept of Moses? (Num. VI, 18.)

10. But these [things] are small in comparison to that matter which follows. Luke, the writer of the sacred history, relates: "When we had come to Jerusalem, the brothers received us gladly;" and on the following day James and all the elders who were with him, "his Gospel having been approved, said to him, You see, brother, how many thousands there are in Judea, who have believed in Christ, and all these are emulators of the Law. Moreover they have heard concerning you that you teach a secession from Moses of those Jews who are through the Nations, saying they ought not to circumcise their sons, nor to enter according to custom. What is it therefore? Certainly it behooves the multitude to convene; for they have heard that you have arrived. Therefore do this which we say to you. There are to us four men having a vow upon themselves; these having been taken up, sanctify yourself with them, and expend upon them so that they may shave [their] heads; and all will know that those things which they heard concerning you are false, but you yourself walk keeping the Law. Then Paul, the men having been taken up, on the following day having been purified, entered with them into

the temple, announcing the completion of the days of purification, until an oblation should be offered for each one of them" (Acts XXI, 17–26). O Paul, and in this I interrogate you again; why would you shave [your] head, why would you exercise the barefooted-processions (nudipedalia) from the ceremonies of the Jews, why would you offer sacrifices, and according to the Law victims were immolated for you? Certainly you will respond: Lest those who had believed from the Jews should be scandalized. Therefore you simulated a Jew so that you might gain the Jews; and this simulation James and the rest of the presbyters taught you: but nevertheless you were not able to evade. For a sedition having arisen when you were to be killed, you were snatched by the tribune, and by him sent to Caesarea, under the diligent custody of soldiers, lest the Jews should kill you as if a simulator and destructor of the Law; and whence arriving at Rome, in the lodging which you had hired for yourself, you preached Christ both to Jews and to Gentiles: and your sentence was confirmed by the sword of Nero (Acts XXIII, 23, and XXVIII, 14, 30).

11. We have learned that because of the fear of the Jews, both Peter and Paul equally feigned that they served the precepts of the Law. Therefore by what forehead, by what audacity should Paul reprehend in another what he himself committed? I, nay rather others before me have expounded the cause which they had thought, not defending an officious lie, as you write, but teaching an honest dispensation; so that they

might both demonstrate the prudence of the Apostles, and coerce the impudence of the blaspheming Porphyry, who says [that] Peter and Paul fought among themselves in a childish contest; nay rather [that] Paul flared up into the envy of the virtues of Peter, and wrote boastfully those things which either he did not do, or if he did, he did procaciously, reprehending that in another which he himself committed. They interpreted as they were able; how do you edissertate that place? Certainly [you are] about to say better things, who have reprobated the opinion of the elders.

CHAPTER IV.

12. You write to me in your epistle: "For neither are you to be taught by me, in what manner that is understood which the same Apostle says, I have been made to the Jews as if a Jew, so that I might gain the Jews (I Cor. IX, 20), and the rest, which are said there by the compassion of mercy, not by the simulation of fallacy. For he is made as if sick, who ministers to the sick; not when he lies that he has fevers, but when with the mind of one condoling he thinks in what manner he would will to be served to himself, if he himself were sick. For certainly he was a Jew; but having been made a Christian, he had not left the sacraments of the Jews, which that people appropriately, and in the legitimate time in which it behooved, had received: and therefore he took them up to be celebrated when he was already an apostle of Christ, so that he might teach [that] they are not perni-

cious to those who should will to keep them, just as they had received through the Law from [their] parents, even when they had believed in Christ; nevertheless they should not yet constitute in them the hope of salvation, since through the Lord Jesus the salvation itself which was signified by those sacraments, had arrived." Of your whole speech, which you protracted by a very long disputation, this is the sense: that Peter did not err in that, that he thought the Law was to be served for those who had believed from the Jews; but in that he deviated from the line of the right, that he compelled the Nations to judaize. Moreover he compelled not by the empire of one teaching, but by the example of conversation. And Paul should not have spoken things contrary to those which he himself had done; but why Peter should compel those who were from the Nations, to judaize.

13. This therefore is the sum of the question, nay rather of your opinion, that after the Gospel of Christ, the believing Jews do well if they keep the mandates of the Law; that is, if they offer sacrifices which Paul offered, if they circumcise [their] sons, if they keep the Sabbath, as Paul [did] in Timothy, and all the Jews observed. If this is true, we fall into the heresy of Cerinthus and Ebion, who believing in Christ, were anathematized by the fathers for this alone, because they mixed the ceremonies of the Law with the Gospel of Christ, and thus they confessed the new things, so that they should not omit the old. What shall I say of the Ebionites, who simulate themselves to be Christians? Even until

today through all the synagogues of the Orient among the Jews there is a heresy, which is called of the Mineans (Mineorum), and is damned by the Pharisees even until now, whom they commonly name Nazirites (Nazaraeos), who believe in Christ the Son of God, born of the virgin Mary; and they say he is the one, who suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose again, in whom we also believe: but while they will to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither Jews nor Christians. I pray you therefore that you, who think our small wound is to be healed, which [was] perforated by a needle, nay rather a puncture, as it is said, should heal the wound of this opinion, which was struck by a lance, and, so that I may say so, by the mass of a phalarica. For it is not of the same crime to place in the explanation of the Scriptures various opinions of the elders, and to introduce again a most wicked heresy into the Church. But if this necessity is incumbent upon us, that we should receive the Jews with their legitimate [observances], and it will be permitted to them to observe in the churches of Christ what they exercised in the synagogues of Satan, I will say what I sense: they will not become Christians, but they will make us Jews.

14. For who of the Christians would patiently hear this, which is contained in your epistle: "Paul was a Jew; but having been made a Christian, he had not left the sacraments of the Jews, which that people appropriately, and in the legitimate time in which it behooved, had received: and therefore he took up those things to be cele-

brated when he was already an apostle of Christ, so that he might teach [that] they are not pernicious to those who should will to keep them, just as they had received through the Law from [their] parents." Again I beseech you, that by your leave you may hear my grief. Paul observed the ceremonies of the Jews, when he was already an apostle of Christ, and you say "that it is not pernicious to those who should will to keep them, just as they had received from [their] parents." I on the contrary shall speak, and with the world crying out against [me], I shall pronounce with a free voice, that the ceremonies of the Jews are both pernicious and deadly to Christians; and whoever shall have observed them, whether from the Jews, or from the Nations, he is rolled down into the abyss of the devil. "For the end of the Law is Christ, unto justice to every one believing, to the Jew namely and to the Gentile" (Rom. X, 4): for the end will not be unto justice to every one believing, if the Jew is excepted. And in the Gospel we read: "The Law and the Prophets [were] until John the Baptist" (Matth. XI, 13, and Luke XVI, 16). And in another place: "Therefore therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only did loose the sabbath, but also said [that] God was his Father, making himself equal to God" (John V, 18). And again: "Of his fullness we all have received, and grace for grace, because the Law was given through Moses; but grace and truth was made through Jesus Christ" (Ibid. I, 16, 17). For the grace of the Law which passed away, we have received the permanent grace of the

Gospel; and for the shadows and images of the old Instrument, truth was made through Jesus Christ. Jeremiah also prophesies from the person of God: "Behold the days come, says the Lord, and I will consummate for the house of Israel and for the house of Judah a new testament; not according to the testament which I disposed for their fathers, in the day when I apprehended their hand, so that I might lead them out of the land of Egypt" (Jer. XXXI, 31, 32). Observe what he says, that not to the people of the Nations, to him who before had not received the Testament, but to the people of the Jews, to whom he had given the Law through Moses, he promises again the new Testament of the Gospel; so that they may by no means live in the oldness of the letter, but in the newness of the spirit. Moreover Paul, upon whose name the question is now being ventilated, places frequent opinions of this kind; from which, by the study of brevity, I shall subjoin a few. "Behold I Paul say to you that if you be circumcised, Christ profits you nothing." And again: "You are evacuated from Christ, you who are justified in the Law; you have fallen from grace." And below: "If you are led by the spirit, you are no longer under the Law" (Gal. V, 2, 4, 18). From which it appears, [that] he who is under the Law, not dispensatively, as our elders have willed, but truly, as you understand, does not have the Holy Spirit. Moreover of what sort the legal precepts are, let us learn, God teaching. "I, he said, gave to them precepts not good, and justifications in which they should not live in them" (Ezek. XX,

25). We say these things, not that we should destroy the Law according to Manichaeus and Marcion, which we know [is] both holy and spiritual according to the Apostle; but because after faith came and the fullness of times, God sent his Son made from a woman, made under the Law, so that he might redeem those who were under the Law, so that we might receive the adoption of sons (Gal. IV, 4); and by no means should we live under a pedagogue, but under an adult and the Lord heir.

"Observations," you will say, "of the Law, which they celebrate in the paternal manner, just as they were celebrated by Paul himself, without any necessity of salvation."

15. It follows in your epistle: "He did not therefore emend Peter, because he observed the paternal traditions; which if he should will to do, he should do neither mendaciously, nor incongruously." Again I say: when you are a bishop, a teacher of the churches of Christ, so that you may prove [that] what you assert is true, receive some one of the Jews, who having been made a Christian, should circumcise a son born to him, who should observe the sabbath, who should abstain from foods which God created to be used with the action of thanks, who on the fourteenth day of the first month should slaughter a lamb at evening; and when you shall have done this, nay rather shall not have done [it] (for I know you [are] a Christian, and will not do a sacrilegious thing), will you, nil you, you will reprobate your opinion; and then you will know [that] it is more

difficult in work to confirm one's own things than to reprehend another's. And lest by chance we should not believe you, nay rather should not understand what you should say (for frequently a speech protracted into length lacks intelligence; and while it is not sensed, it is less reprehended by the unskilful), you inculcate and replicate: "This therefore of the Jews Paul had dismissed, what they had [of] evil. What is the evil of the Jews, which Paul had dismissed? Certainly that which follows: that being ignorant, he says, of the justice of God, and willing to constitute their own, they are not subject to the justice of God (Rom. X, 3); then that after the passion and resurrection of Christ, the Sacrament of grace having been given and manifested, according to the order of Melchizedek, they yet thought the old sacraments were to be celebrated not from the custom of solemnity, but from the necessity of salvation; which nevertheless if they had never been necessary, the Maccabees would become martyrs for them fruitlessly and in vain: lastly that, the Jews should persecute the preachers of grace as if enemies of the Law. These and errors and vices of this kind, he says [that] he arbitrated [as] losses and as dung, so that he might gain Christ (Philip. III, 8)."

16. We have learned through you, what evils of the Jews the apostle Paul left; again you teaching let us learn what good things of theirs he held. That [which] you will to say, "without any necessity of salvation," I do not sufficiently understand. For if they do not bring salvation, why

are they observed? Moreover if they are to be observed, certainly they bring salvation; especially [those] which observed make martyrs. For they would not be observed, unless they brought salvation. For neither are they indifferent between good and evil, just as the philosophers dispute. Good is continence, evil is luxury; indifferent between both, to walk, to digest the dregs of the belly, to project the purgaments of the head through the nostrils, to throw rheums by spits: this is neither good, nor evil; for whether you shall have done [it], or shall not have done [it], you will have neither justice, nor injustice. Moreover to observe the ceremonies of the Law, cannot be indifferent; but it is either evil, or it is good. You say good; I assert evil; and evil not only to those from the Nations, but also to those who from the Jewish people have believed. In this, unless I am deceived, place, while you avoid one thing, you are rolled into another. For while you fear Porphyry blaspheming, you incur the snares of Ebion: decreeing to those who believe from the Jews, [that] the Law is to be observed. And you who understand it is perilous what you say, again you attempt to temper that with superfluous words: "Without any necessity of salvation, just as the Jews thought [them] to be celebrated, or by fallacious simulation, which Paul had reprehended in Peter."

17. Peter therefore simulated the keeping of the Law; but that reprehender of Peter, boldly observed the legitimate [things]. For it follows in your epistle: "For if for that reason he celebrated

those sacraments, because he simulated himself a Jew, so that he might gain those, why did he not also sacrifice with the Nations, because also to those who were without the Law, he was made as if without the Law, so that he might also gain them (I Cor. IX, 21); unless because he also did that, as a Jew by nature, and he said this whole thing, not so that Paul should feign himself to be what he was not, but so that he might sense [that it was] thus to be subvened mercifully, as if he himself labored in that error; not certainly by the cunning of one lying, but by the affection of one compatient." You well defend Paul, that he did not simulate the error of the Jews, but truly was in error; nor did he will to imitate Peter lying, so that he should dissimulate what he was, by fear of the Jews; but with all liberty he should say himself to be a Jew. O new clemency of the Apostle! while he wills to make the Jews Christians, he himself was made a Jew. For he could not reduce the luxurious to frugality, unless he had proved himself luxurious, and mercifully, as you say, subvene the miserable, unless he himself felt himself miserable. For truly [they are] wretched, and mercifully to be deplored, who by their contention and love of the abolished Law, made the apostle of Christ a Jew. Nor does it interest much between my opinion and yours, because I say both Peter and Paul, by fear of the faithful Jews, exercised, nay rather simulated the mandates of the Law; you moreover assert they did this clemently, "not by the cunning of one lying, but by the affection of one compatient:" provided that that be constant,

[that] either by fear, or by mercy they simulated themselves to be, what they were not. Moreover that argument, by which you use against us, that he should have been made a gentile also to the Gentles, if he was made a Jew to the Jews, makes the more for us: for just as he was not truly a Jew, so neither was he truly a gentile; and just as he was not truly a gentile, so neither was he truly a Jew. Moreover in that he is an imitator of the Gentiles, because he receives the prepuce in the faith of Christ, and indifferently permits [to] be fed on foods which the Jews damn; not by the worship, as you think, of idols. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision is anything, nor prepuce, but the observation of the mandates of God (Gal. V, 6, and VI, 15).

18. I ask you therefore, and again and again I deprecate, that you may forgive my small disputation; and that I have egressed my mode, impute [it] to yourself who compelled so that I should rescribe, and with Stesichorus you have taken away my eyes. Nor should you think me to be a master of lie, who follow Christ saying: "I am the way, the truth and the life" (John XIV, 6). Nor can it be made that [as] a cultor of truth, I should submit my necks to lie. Nor should you excite against me the common people of the unskilful, who venerate you as a bishop, and declaiming in the church, look up [at you] by the honor of the priesthood; me moreover, of the last age, and almost decrepit, and following the secrets of the monastery and of the countryside, they value little; and you should seek for yourself, whom you may teach or repre-

hend. For to us, divided by such great spaces of sea and lands from you, the sound of your voice scarcely arrives. And if by chance you shall have written letters, Italy and Rome will receive them before, than they should be deferred to me, to whom they are to be sent.

CHAPTER V.

19. Moreover as to what you ask in other epistles, why my prior interpretation in the canonical Books has asterisks, and virgules pre-noted, and afterwards I should have edited another translation without these signs; by your leave I may say, you seem to me not to understand what you have asked. For that interpretation is of the Seventy interpreters; and wherever [there are] virgules, that is obeli, it is signified what the Seventy said more than is held in the Hebrew: moreover where [there are] asterisks, that is pre-shining stars, it was added by Origen from the edition of Theodotion; and there we translated the Greek things, here from the Hebrew itself, what we understood we expressed, conserving sometimes the truth of the senses rather than the order of the words. And I wonder in what manner you read the books of the Seventy interpreters not pure, as they were edited by them, but emended by Origen, or corrupted through obeli and asterisks, and you should not follow the small interpretation of a Christian man; especially since he [Origen] translated those things which were added, from the edition of a Jewish and blasphemous man, after the passion of Christ. Do you wish to

be a true lover of the Seventy interpreters? Do not read those things which are under the asterisks: nay rather scrape [them] from the volumes, so that you may prove yourself a favorer of the ancients. Which if you shall have done, you will be compelled to condemn all the libraries of the Churches. For scarcely one or another book will be found, which does not have those things.

CHAPTER VI.

20. Furthermore as to what you say [that] I ought not to have interpreted after the ancients, and you use a new syllogism: "Either obscure were the things which the Seventy interpreted, or manifest. If obscure, it is to be believed [that] you also could be deceived in them: if manifest, it is perspicuous [that] they could not be deceived in them:" I respond to you by your own speech. All the ancient tractators who preceded us in the Lord, and who interpreted the holy Scriptures, either interpreted obscure things, or manifest. If obscure, in what manner did you dare to disserate after them, what they could not explain? if manifest, it is superfluous [that] you have willed to disserate what could not be hidden to them, especially in the explanation of the Psalms which among the Greeks they have interpreted in many volumes, first Origen, second Eusebius of Caesarea, third Theodore of Heraclea, fourth Asterius of Scythopolis, fifth Apollinaris of Laodicea, sixth Didymus of Alexandria. There are also carried small works of various [authors] on a few psalms; but now we speak of the whole body of the

Psalms. Moreover among the Latins Hilary of Poitiers and Eusebius of Vercelli, bishops, translated Origen and Eusebius: whose prior [Hilary] our Ambrose also followed in certain things. Let your prudence respond to me, why you after so many and such great interpreters have sensed diverse things in the explanation of the Psalms? For if the Psalms are obscure, it is to be believed [that] you also could be deceived in them. If manifest, it is not believed [that] they could be deceived in them: and by this in both ways your interpretation will be superfluous; and by this law, after the prior [interpreters] no one will dare to speak, and whatever another shall have occupied, another will not have the license of writing about it. Nay rather it is of your humanity, in which you attribute pardon to yourself, to indulge also to the rest. For I have not so much attempted to abolish the ancient things, which emended from Greek into Latin I translated for the men of my tongue, as to bring into the medium those testimonies which were omitted or corrupted by the Jews, so that our [people] might know what the Hebrew truth contained. If it does not please any one to read, no one compels the unwilling. Let him drink the old wine with sweetness, and contemn our musts, which were edited in the explanation of the prior things, so that if anywhere those are not understood, they may be made more manifest from ours. Moreover what genus of interpretation is to be followed in the holy Scriptures, the book which I wrote about the Best genus of interpreting, and all the small prefaces of the divine

volumes, which we have preposed to our edition, explain; and to those I think the prudent reader is to be remitted. And if you receive me, as you say in the emendation of the New Testament, and you expose the cause why you receive [me]; because very many having the science of the Greek tongue, can judge of my work: you ought to have believed the same integrity also in the Old Testament, because we have not feigned our own things, but as we found among the Hebrews, we translated the divine things. If anywhere you doubt, interrogate the Hebrews.

21. But perhaps you will say: What if the Hebrews either have not willed to respond, or have willed to lie? All the frequency of the Jews will be silent in my interpretation, and no one will be able to find [one], who has the notion of the Hebrew tongue; or all will imitate those Jews, whom you say in a small town of Africa were found to have conspired into a calumny against me? For you weave a fable of this kind in your epistle: "A certain brother of ours, a bishop, when he had instituted that your interpretation be read in the Church which he is over, [there] moved a certain thing placed by you in Jonah the prophet far otherwise than was inveterate in the senses and memory of all, and chanted through the successions of so many ages. So great a tumult was made in the common people, especially with the Greeks arguing, and crying out [at] the calumny of falsity, that the bishop was compelled (for the city was Oea), to flagitate the testimony of the Jews. Moreover whether they [responded] by

unskilfulness or malice, they responded [that] this was in the Hebrew codices, which both the Greeks and the Latins had and said. Why more? The man was compelled to correct [it] as if a faultiness, willing after great peril not to remain without the common people. Whence also it seems to us [that] sometimes you also could have been deceived in some things."

CHAPTER VII.

22. You say [that] I interpreted something badly in Jonah the prophet, and with the sedition of the people crying out, on account of the dissonance of one word, the bishop almost lost [his] priesthood. And what that is which I interpreted badly, you subtract, taking away from me the occasion of my defense; lest whatever you shall have said, be loosed [by] me responding: unless perhaps, as many years before, the gourd (*cucurbita*) came into the medium, with Cornelius and Asinius Pollio of that time asserting [it], [that] I translated ivy (*hederam*) for the gourd. Upon which matter we have responded more fully in the commentary on Jonah the prophet. Content now to have said this much, that in that place, where the Seventy interpreters translated gourd, and Aquila with the rest translated ivy, that is κισσὸν, in the Hebrew volume *ciceion* is found written, which the Syrians commonly call *ciceia*. It is moreover a genus of shrub having broad leaves, in the manner of a vine-shoot: and when it shall have been planted, it quickly rises

into a small tree, without any supports of reeds and poles, which both gourds and ivies need, sustaining itself by its own trunk.

Therefore disserating this word for word, if I had willed to transfer *ciceion*, no one would understand; if gourd, I would say that which is not held in the Hebrew: I placed ivy, so that I might consent with the rest of the interpreters. But if your Jews, as you yourself assert, by malice, or unskilfulness have said this to be in the volumes of the Hebrews, which is contained in the Greek and Latin codices; it is manifest [that] they either ignore the Hebrew letters, or have willed to lie for the purpose of mocking the gourd-lovers (*cucurbitarios*). I ask in the end of the epistle, that you may not compel a resting old man, and long ago a veteran, to militate, and again to be in peril concerning life. You who are young, and constituted in the pontifical height, teach the peoples; and enrich the Roman roofs with the new fruits of Africa. To me it suffices, to whisper with a poor little hearer and reader in a corner of the monastery.

EPISTLE LXXVI.

Under the person of the Catholic Church he exhorts all the Donatists, that resipiscing they may return to the Catholic communion.

1. To you, Donatists, the Catholic Church says: *Sons of men, how long are you heavy of heart? Why do you love vanity and seek a lie?* (Psal. IV, 3.) Why have you divided yourselves from

the unity of the whole world by the nefarious sacrilege of schism? You attend to the false things which are said to you by men, either lying, or erring, concerning the tradition of the divine Codices, so that you may die in heretical separation; and you do not attend to what the Codices themselves say to you, so that you may live in Catholic peace. Why do you open [your] ears to the speech of men saying what they could never prove, and you are deaf to the speech of God saying: *The Lord said to me, You are my Son, I today have begotten you: ask of me and I will give to you the nations [for] your inheritance, and [for] your possession the terms of the earth?* (Psal. II, 7.) To Abraham the promises were said and to his seed. He does not say, And to seeds, as if in many, but as if in one; And to your seed, which is Christ (Gal. III, 16). In your seed, he said, all nations shall be blessed (Gen. XXII, 18). Erect the eyes of [your] heart, and consider the whole orb of the lands, in what manner in the seed of Abraham all nations are blessed. Then it was believed by one what was not yet seen; now you see, and still you envy. The passion of the Lord is the price of the orb of the lands; he redeemed the whole orb: and you do not concord with the whole orb for your gain, but rather you litigate in part for your loss, so that you may lose the whole. Hear in the Psalm, at what price we have been redeemed: *They have dug,* he says, *my hands and feet, they have numbered all my bones.* They moreover considered and looked upon me; they divided to themselves my garments, and upon my garment they cast a lot

(Psal. XXI, 18, 19). Why do you will to be dividers of the garments of the Lord, and that tunic of charity woven from above, which nor his persecutors divided, do you not will to hold with the whole orb? In the Psalm itself it is read that the whole orb holds it: *All the ends of the earth shall be commemorated,* he says, *and shall be converted to the Lord; and all the paternal lands of the nations shall adore in his sight, since the kingdom is his, and he himself shall dominate the nations* (Ib., 28, 29). Open the ears of [your] heart and hear that *the God of gods the Lord has spoken, and has called the earth from the rising of the sun even to the setting; from Sion is the species of his beauty* (Psal. XLIX, 1, 2). If you do not will to understand this, hear the Gospel, now through [his] own mouth the Lord himself speaking and saying: *That it behooved that all things be fulfilled concerning Christ which were written concerning him in the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms, and I have preached in his name penance and the remission of sins, through all nations beginning from Jerusalem* (Luke XXIV, 44, 47). What he said in the Psalm, *he called the earth from the rising of the sun even to the setting;* this in the Gospel, *through all nations:* and what he said in the Psalm, *from Sion is the species of his beauty;* this in the Gospel he said, *beginning from Jerusalem.*

2. You feign [that] you flee the mixed cockle (*zizania*) before the time of the harvest, because you are the cockle alone. For if you were wheat (*frumenta*), you would tolerate

the mixed cockle, and from the crop of Christ you would not divide yourselves. Concerning the cockle indeed it was said, *Since iniquity shall abound, the charity of many shall grow cold:* but also concerning the wheat it was said, *He who shall have persevered even unto the end, he shall be saved* (Matth. XXIV, 12, 13). Why do you believe the cockle to have grown and to have replenished the world, moreover the wheat to have decreased and to have remained in Africa alone? Christians you call yourselves, and you contradict Christ. He himself said, *Suffer both to grow even until the harvest;* he did not say, Let the cockle grow, let the wheat decrease. He himself said, *The field is this world;* he did not say, The field is Africa. He himself said, *The harvest is the end of the age;* he did not say, the harvest is the time of Donatus. He himself said, *The reapers are the Angels* (Matth. XIII, 30, 38, 39); he did not say, The reapers are the princes of the Circumcellions. But because for the cockle you have accused the wheat, you have demonstrated yourselves to be cockle, and what is more grave, before the time you have separated yourselves from the wheat. For your elders in whose sacrilegious precision you persevere, certain ones by the municipal Acts (*Gestis*) delivered the holy Codices and the instruments of the Church to the persecutors, certain ones dismissed them confessing [this] and communicated with them, and both convened to Carthage by a furious faction, concerning the crime of tradition [delivery] concerning which they themselves among them-

selves had already consented, they condemned the unheard [ones], they ordained a bishop against a bishop, they erected an altar against an altar. Afterwards they sent letters to the emperor Constantine, so that among the Africans transmarine bishops might judge; the judges having been given whom they had postulated and judging at Rome, they did not obey, they argued the bishops before the Emperor as if they had judged badly. From other bishops again sent to Arles they appealed to the Emperor himself; heard by him and found [to be] calumniators, they remained in the same crime. Vigilate unto salvation, love peace, return to unity. These things, in what manner they were done, when you will, we recite all.

3. He communicates with the evil, who consents to the deeds of the evil, not who tolerates in the field of the Lord the cockle even until the harvest, or the chaff even until the last ventilation. If you have hated the evil, you yourselves be changed from the crime of schism. If you should fear the mixture of the evil, you would not have held Optatus living among you in the most open iniquity through so many years. Whom since now you call a martyr, it remains that him, on account of whom he died, you call Christ. Lastly what has the Christian orb offended you, from which you have cut yourselves off by nefarious fury? and what have the Maximianists deserved of you, whom condemned by you and proturbated from the basilicas through public judgments, you received again into their honor?

What has the peace of Christ offended you, against which you divide yourselves from those whom you infame? and what has the peace of Donatus deserved of you, for which you receive those whom you condemn? Felicianus of Musti is now with you. We have read him before condemned in your council, and by you afterwards accused in the judgment of the proconsul, and in the Mustitan city oppugned by municipal Acts.

4. If the tradition [delivery] of the Codices is wicked, which God vindicated in the king who burned the book of Jeremiah, by a bellicose death (Jer. XXXVI, 23, 30), how much more wicked is the sacrilege of schism, whose authors, to whom you have compared the Maximianists, the open earth absorbed alive (Num. XVI, 31-33)! In what manner therefore do you object the crime of tradition to us, which you do not prove, and you both condemn and accept your schismatics? If for that reason you are just, because you have suffered persecution through the Emperors, more just than you are the Maximianists themselves, whom through judges sent by Catholic Emperors you yourselves have persecuted. If you alone have Baptism, what does the baptism of the Maximianists do among you in those whom the condemned Felicianus baptized, with whom he was afterwards recalled to you? Or let your bishops respond to these things to you laics, if they are unwilling to speak with us; and think for your salvation, of what sort this very thing is, that they are unwilling to speak with us. If the wolves have made a council, so that they should not re-

spond to the shepherds, why have the sheep lost the council, so that they approach the dens of the wolves?

EPISTLE LXXVII.

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

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

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

1. I do not wonder [at] Satan perturbing the minds of the faithful: whom resist, permanent in the hope of the promises of God who cannot deceive; who not only to us believing in him, and hoping, and persevering in his charity even unto the end has deigned to promise eternal rewards, but even has predicted [that] temporal scandals would not be lacking, by which it should behoove our faith to be exercised and proved: for he says, *Since iniquity shall abound, the charity of many shall grow cold;* but he immediately subjoined, *But he who shall have persevered even unto the end, he shall be saved* (Matth. XXIV, 12, 13). What wonder therefore, if men detract from the servants of God, and because they cannot pervert their life, they attempt to discolor [their] reputation, when they do not cease to blaspheme

God himself and their Lord daily, when to them whatever he does by a just and hidden judgment against their will displeases? Whence I exhort your prudence, most beloved and by merit to be honored brothers, that you may think with a most Christian heart upon the Scripture of God, which pre-announced all these things future to us, and pre-monished [that] we ought to be firm against them, against the maledicent vain speeches and temerarious suspicions of men.

2. Briefly therefore I say to your Charity, [that] Boniface the presbyter was detected in no crime among me, [and] that I by no means have believed or believe any such thing concerning him. In what manner therefore should I command his name to be taken away from the number of the presbyters, the Gospel vehemently terrifying where the Lord says: *In what judgment you shall have judged, you shall be judged* (Id. VII, 2)? For since the cause which has arisen between him and Spes, should hang under the divine examination according to their agreement, which if you shall have willed can be recited to you; who am I, that I should dare to pre-prevent the sentence of God in deleting or suppressing his name, concerning whom nor as a bishop ought I temeariously suspect anything of evil, nor as a man could I dilucidly judge concerning the hidden things of men, when in those secular causes themselves, when the arbitrament of judging is referred to a greater power, with all things remaining just as they were, that sentence is expected, from which now it may not be licit to be appealed, lest an

injury be made to the superior cognitor, if while his judgment is pending something should have been commuted? And certainly much interests between the divine and the human however most excelsior power. May the mercy of the Lord our God never desert you, most beloved and honored brothers.

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

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

1. Would that attending with a solicitous mind to the Scriptures of God, you should not need the adjutory of our speech in whatever scandals, and he should rather console you, who consoles also us: who not only the good things, which he

is to render to his saints and faithful, but even the evil things, with which this world was to abound, predicted before, took care to be written before, so that we might expect more certain the good things following after the end of the age, than we should feel the evil things similarly pre-announced preceding before the end of the age. Whence also the Apostle says: *For whatever things were written before, were written so that we might be taught, so that through patience and the consolation of the Scriptures we might have hope to God* (Rom. XV, 4). Moreover what was the need that the Lord Jesus himself should not only say, *Then the just shall shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father* (Matth. XIII, 43), which is future after the end of the age; but even should exclaim, *Woe to the world from scandals* (Id. XVIII, 7): unless so that we should not flatter ourselves [that] we can come to the seats of eternal felicity, unless exercised by temporal evils we shall not have failed? What was the need that he should say, *Since iniquity shall abound, the charity of many shall grow cold;* unless so that those concerning whom he immediately spoke and added, *He who shall have persevered even unto the end, he shall be saved* (Id. XXIV, 12, 13), when they should see charity growing cold with this abundance of iniquity, should not be perturbed, should not be expave-fied, not as if contristated by unhoped and unexpected things should fail; but rather seeing to happen, what things were predicted future before the end, should patiently persevere even unto the end, so

that secure they might merit to reign after the end in that life which does not have an end.

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

be propaled concerning whichever of them by the divine judgment.

3. For when this cause had long tormented me, nor did I find how one of the two should be convinced, although I had more believed the presbyter; I had first thought thus to leave both to God, until in one of them who was suspect to me, something should exist, whence not without just and manifest cause he should be projected from our habitation. But when he was striving most vehemently to be promoted into the clericate either there through me, or elsewhere through my letters, moreover I was in no way induced to impose the hands of ordination upon that man, concerning whom I should think so much of evil, or to sub-introduce him to any brother of mine through my commendation, he began to act more turbulently, so that if he himself were not promoted into the clericate, neither should the presbyter Boniface be permitted to be in his own grade. In whose provocation when I saw that Boniface willed not that a scandal be made for whichever weak ones and those prone to suspicion concerning the doubt of his own life, and that he was ready to suffer the loss of his own honor among men, rather than in that contention, in which he could not demonstrate his own conscience to those ignorant and doubting or more proclivous to suspecting evil, to proceed vainly even to the perturbation of the Church; I chose something middle, so that by a certain agreement they both should constrain themselves that they would go to a holy place,

where the more terrible works of God should much more easily open the not sound conscience of whomsoever, and should compel to confession either by punishment or by fear. Indeed God is everywhere, and is contained or included in no place, He who founded all things, and it behooves Him to be adored in spirit and in truth by true adorers (John 4:24), so that hearing in secret, He may also in secret justify and crown. Nevertheless to those things which are visibly known to men, who can search out His counsel, why in some places these miracles are done, in others they are not done? For to many the holiness of the place is most known, where the body of blessed Felix of Nola is laid, whither I willed that they should go; because thence it can more easily and more faithfully be written to us whatever should have been divinely propaled in any one of them. For we also knew at Milan at the memory of the saints, where demons confess miraculously and terribly, that a certain thief, who had come to that place so that he might deceive by swearing falsely, was compelled to confess the theft, and to restore what he had taken away: is not Africa also full of the bodies of holy martyrs? and yet nowhere here do we know such things to be done. For just as, what the Apostle says, not all the saints have the gifts of healing, nor all have the discernment of spirits (1 Cor. 12:30); so neither in all memories of the saints did He will those things to be done, who divides proper things to each one just as He wills.

4. Wherefore since I had been unwilling that this most heavy grief of my heart should be brought to your notice, lest I should turbulate you atrociously and in vain by saddening; perhaps therefore God willed it not to be hidden from you, so that you may lie upon us with prayers, that what He himself knows in this cause, moreover we cannot know, He may deign also to manifest to us. Moreover for this reason I have not dared either to suppress or to delete the name of the presbyter from the number of his colleagues, lest I should seem to do injury to the divine power, under whose examination the cause still hangs, if I should will to prevent His judgment by my prejudice: which not even judges in secular business do, when a doubt of a cause is referred to a greater power, so that while the report is pending they should dare to commute anything. And in the council of bishops it has been constituted, that no cleric who has not yet been convicted, ought to be suspended from communion, unless he shall not have presented himself to have his cause examined. Boniface nevertheless took up this humility, that he would not even receive letters, by which in his pilgrimage he might seek his own honor, so that in that place where both are unknown, equality should be served concerning both. And now if it pleases you that his name be not recited, lest to those who will not approach to the Church, just as the Apostle says, we give an occasion to those seeking an occasion (2 Cor. 11:12); this deed will not be ours, but theirs for whose cause it shall have

been done. For what does it obstruct a man, that by human ignorance it is not willed that he be recited from that table, if an iniquitous conscience does not delete him from the book of the living?

5. Hence, my brothers, you who fear God, remember what the Apostle Peter says: For your adversary the devil as a roaring lion goes about seeking whom he may devour (2 Pet. 5:8). Whom he cannot devour seduced to wickedness, he endeavors to pollute his reputation, so that if it can be done he may fail by the opprobria of men and the detraction of evil tongues, and thus may rush into his jaws. Moreover if he could not maculate the reputation of the innocent, he attempts to persuade him of this, that he should judge concerning his brother through malevolent suspicions, and thus implicated should be absorbed by him. And who should suffice either to comprehend or to enumerate all his captivities and circumventions? Nevertheless against these three things which pertain more closely to the present cause, lest by imitating evil examples you be seduced to wickedness, thus God addresses you through the Apostle: Be not leading a yoke with the infidels; for what participation of justice with iniquity, or what society of light to darkness (2 Cor. 6:14)? Likewise in another place: Will not, he says, to be seduced: Evil colloquies corrupt good manners. Be sober, just ones, and will not to sin (1 Cor. 15:33, 34). Moreover that you may not fail by the tongues of detractors, thus He says through the Prophet: Hear me you who know judgment, my people, in whose heart is my law:

will not to fear the opprobrium of men, and by their detraction be not overcome, nor should you hold it of great weight that they despise you. For just as a garment, so by time they shall be consumed, and just as wool by a moth they shall be eaten; moreover my justice remains in eternity (Isai. 51:7, 8). Now indeed lest by suspecting false things concerning the servants of God with a malevolent mind you should perish, record that Apostolic word, where he says: Will not to judge anything before the time, until the Lord comes, and shall enlighten the hidden things of darkness, and shall manifest the thoughts of the heart, and then there shall be praise to each one from God (1 Cor. 4:5). And likewise that which is written: What things are manifest, [pertain] to you; moreover what things are hidden, to the Lord your God (Deut. 29:29).

6. It is manifest indeed, because these things do not happen in the Church without the grave grief of the saints and of the faithful; nevertheless let Him console us who foretold all things, and admonished that we should not grow cold by the abundance of iniquity, but should persevere even to the end, that we may be able to be saved. For as much as pertains to me, if there is in me however little a charity of Christ, who of you is weak, and I am not weak? who is scandalized, and I burn not (2 Cor. 11:29)? Do not therefore increase my torments, by failing either in false suspicions, or in the sins of others. Will not, I beseech you, lest I say concerning you: And they have added upon the grief of my wounds. For those who

rejoice concerning these our griefs, concerning which in the person of the body of Christ it was foretold so long before: They who sat in the gate insulted against me, and they who drank wine sang against me (Ps. 68:13, 14), are sustained much more tolerably; for whom nevertheless we have learned even to pray for those themselves, and to will good for them. For to what else do those sit, and what else do they catch at, except that whichever bishop, or cleric, or monk, or nun shall have fallen, they should believe, boast, and contend that all are such, but that not all can be manifested? And yet even they themselves when some married woman is found an adulteress, neither do they project their own wives, nor do they accuse their own mothers. Moreover when concerning some who profess a holy name, anything of a crime either has sounded false, or has been opened true, they insist, they bustle, they go about, so that this may be believed concerning all. These therefore catching at the sweetness of their own evil tongue from our griefs, it is easy that we compare to those dogs, if perhaps they are to be understood in evil, who were licking the wounds of that poor man, who was lying before the gate of the rich man, and until he should come to the rest of the bosom of Abraham, was tolerating all things laborious and unworthy (Luke 16:21-23).

7. Will not to torment me further, you who have some hope toward God: will not to multiply those very wounds which they lick; you for whom we are in peril every hour, having fights without,

fears within (2 Cor. 7:5), peril in the city, peril in the desert, peril from the gentiles, peril from false brothers (2 Cor. 11:26). I know that you grieve; but [is it] any more sharply than I? I know that you are turbulated, and I fear lest among the tongues of maledictors the weak one should fail and perish, for whom Christ died. Let not our grief increase from you, because it was not by our fault that yours was made. For this is what I have endeavored to take precaution against, so that if it could be done, this evil should neither be neglected to be avoided, nor be brought to your notice, where the firm should be fruitlessly tormented, and the weak should be perilously turbulated. But He who, this being known, permitted you to be tempted, may give you the strengths of sustaining, and may erudite you from His law; may He teach you and mitigate [you] from the evil days, until a pit be dug for the sinner (Ps. 93:12, 13).

8. I hear some of you to be more saddened hence, than concerning the fall of those two deacons who had come from the part of Donatus, as if they should have insulted the discipline of Proculeianus, as if glorying concerning us, because from our discipline nothing such had existed in the clerics: whichever of you have done this, I confess to you, you have not done well. Behold God has taught you, that he who glories, let him glory in the Lord (1 Cor. 1:31): nor should you object to the heretics, except because they are not Catholics; lest you be similar to them, who not having what they may defend in the cause of their division, affect nothing except to

collect the crimes of men, and boast those same things more falsely: so that because they cannot criminate and obscure the very truth of divine Scripture, by which the Church of Christ diffused everywhere is commended, they may lead into hatred the men through whom it is preached; concerning whom they can also feign whatever shall have come into the mind. Moreover you have not so learned Christ; if nevertheless you have heard Him, and have been taught in Him (Eph. 4:20, 21). For He Himself made His faithful secure even concerning evil dispensators, doing their own evil things, and speaking His good things, where He says: What things they say, do; moreover what things they do, will not to do: for they say, and do not (Matt. 23:3). Pray indeed for me, lest perhaps preaching to others I myself be found a reprobate (1 Cor. 9:27); nevertheless when you glory, glory not in me, but in the Lord. For however much the discipline of my house may watch, I am a man, and I live among men, nor do I dare to arrogate to myself that my house be better than Noah's ark, where nevertheless among eight men one reprobate was found (Gen. 9:27): or it be better than the house of Abraham, where it was said, Cast out the handmaid and her son (Gen. 21:10): or it be better than the house of Isaac, of whose two twins it was said, Jacob I have loved, but Esau I have had in hatred (Mal. 1:2): or it be better than the house of Jacob himself, where the son incested the father's bed (Gen. 49:4): or it be better than the house of David, whose son lay with his sister (2 Sam.

13:14); whose other son rebelled against the so holy mansuetude of the father (2 Sam. 15:12): or better than the cohabitation of Paul the apostle, who nevertheless if he were dwelling among all good men, would not say what I have commemorated above, fights without, fears within (2 Cor. 7:5); nor would he say when he should speak concerning the holiness and faith of Timothy, I have no one who should be germanely solicitous concerning you. For all seek their own things, not what things are of Jesus Christ (Phil. 2:20, 21): or better than the cohabitation of the Lord Christ himself, in which eleven good ones tolerated the perfidious and thief Judas: or it be better finally than heaven, whence the Angels fell.

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

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

Without cause you prevaricate, when it appears from afar of what kind you are. What the brothers have spoken with you, they have indicated to me. Well, because you do not fear death; but you ought to fear that death, which you yourself make for yourself by blaspheming such things concerning God. And that you understand that visible death, which all men know, to be the separation of the mind from the body, is not great to understand. But what you join from your own, that it is the separation of the good from the evil: if the mind is a good and the body an evil, He who mixed them is not good; moreover you say that the good God mixed those things: therefore either He is evil, or He was fearing evil. And do you glory, because you do not fear man, when you feign such a God for yourself, who feared the darkness, so that He mixed the good and the evil? Moreover will not to be extolled in mind, just as you have written, because we make you great, in that we will to impede your poisons, lest the pestilence creep to men: for the Apostle does not make great those whom he calls dogs, when he says, Beware of dogs (Phil. 3:2); or was he making those great, whose speech he was saying to creep as a canker (2 Tim. 2:17). Therefore I denounce to you in the name of Christ, that if you are ready, solve the question in which your predecessor

Fortunatus failed. And thus he had gone hence, so that he should not return, unless, having compared the disputation with his own, he should find what he might respond against, disputing with the brothers. Moreover if you are not ready for this; depart hence, and will not to pervert the ways of the Lord, and to ensnare so as to infect weak souls with poisons, lest by the helping right hand of our Lord, in the way you had not thought you should be ashamed.

EPISTLE LXXX.

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

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

1. The most dear brother Celsus when he was seeking again the replies, I hastened to render the debt; but truly I hastened. For when I was thinking that he would stay with us yet for some days, suddenly the occasion of a voyage being comperted, he suggested to me already at night his departure for the following day. What should I do since I could not hold him, and because he was hastening to you, with whom it would be better for him, nor if I could, ought I. Hence I seized these few things there to be dictated and sent, confessing myself a debtor of a more prolix epistle, when after the return of our venerable

brothers my colleagues Theasius and Evodius, I shall first have been satiated from your part. For we hope that you are to come to us right now more abundantly in their breasts and mouths, in the name and help of Christ. When I was writing these things, also through our unanimous son the presbyter of the Church of Tagaste, Fortunatianus, who is about to sail to Rome, I had already given another letter a few days before. Now therefore I ask what I am accustomed, that you do what you are accustomed. May you pray for us, so that God may see our humility and our labor, and may dismiss all our sins.

2. Moreover I desire to speak with you of such things, if you should deign, by letters; such as we could speak, if we were present before your senses. Behold that little question, which I had recently proposed, as if I were offering it present to [you] present among sweet discourses, you have solved plainly with Christian understanding and devotion, but too cursorily and briefly; for the grace of your mouth could dwell there somewhat longer and more abundantly, if when you had said that you had thus decreed to persevere in that place, which you use happily, so that if anything else concerning you should please the Lord, you should prefer His will to yours, you should explain that same thing somewhat more openly. In what way we should know the will of God, which is to be preferred to our will: whether only in that thing, which for that reason we ought to endure willing, because even unwilling we would be compelled. For there indeed that

happens which we do not will: but therefore we correct ourselves so that we may will, because He wills, whose will it is neither right to refuse [its] excellence, nor is it allowed to avoid [its] omnipotence; just as another girded Peter and bore him where he had not willed (John 21:18), yet he went where he would not will, and willing he subdued the sharp death. Or also there where there is power, not to change the sentence, although something else occurs, in which the will of God rather appears calling us to change the sentence, not because ours was evil, but in which one would rightly remain, unless we were called by Him to another. For it was not an evil for Abraham to nourish and educate his son, as far as he could, as much as was in him, even to the end of his life; but suddenly ordered to kill, he changed certainly not a previously evil sentence, but what would be evil, if it had not been changed after the command (Gen. 22:2, 10): hence also I do not doubt that nothing else seems to you.

3. But for the most part not by a voice from heaven, not through a prophet, not through a revelation either of a dream, or of an excess of mind which is called ecstasy, but by the things themselves happening, and calling to another than what we had established, we are compelled to acknowledge that the will of God is other than was ours: as if we should establish to set out, and something should arise which the truth consulted concerning our office should forbid to desert, or to those decreeing to remain there something should be announced, which

the same truth consulted should compel us to set out. Concerning this third kind of causes for changing a sentence, I ask that you speak with me more fully and clearly what seems [best] to you. For often it disturbs us, and it is difficult not to omit something which was rather to be done, while we will not to change that in which we had first established to remain, not indeed a true evil, but already for that reason an evil because that which is rather to be done occurring is deserted; which if it should not occur, not only without blame, but even with praise, one would endure in that prior [one]. Here it is difficult not to be deceived; here entirely the prophetic voice prevails: Who understands sins? (Psalm 18:13). Hence I pray, that you make me a participant of your thoughts, what you either are accustomed to do in such things, or find that it ought to be done.

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

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

When I was solicitously seeking from our holy brother Firmus what you were doing, I heard with joy that you were safe. Again when I was not [only] hoping for your letters, but exacting [them]; he said that he had set out from Africa

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

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

EPISTLE LXXXII. The above Epistles 72, 75 and 81 having been received from Jerome, Augustine writes back more accurately concerning the interpretation of the passage of the Epistle to the Galatians, confirming that Peter was deservedly

and truly reprehended by Paul. For the rest he prays for pardon, if he should have offended the mind of Jerome by certain more incautious sayings, excusing that by no fault of his had the epistle walked about through the hands of many, before it had arrived to him to whom it had been written.

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

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. A long time ago I sent a prolix epistle to your Charity, responding to that of yours which you recollect that you sent through your holy son Asterius, now already not only a brother, but even my colleague. Whether it has merited to come into your hands, I still do not know; except that you write through the most sincere brother Firmus, that if he who first sought you with a sword, has been repulsed with a pen, that it should be of my humanity and justice to reprehend the one accusing, not the one responding. By this only most thin indication, I conjecture somehow that you have read that epistle of mine. For in it I deplored that so great a discord had existed between you, of whose so great friendship, wherever fame had diffused it, fraternal charity was rejoicing. Which I did not do by reprehending your Brotherhood, whose some fault in that matter I would not dare to say that I have known; but by grieving at human misery, whose stay in retaining mutual

charity in friendships, however great that may be, is uncertain. But I had preferred to know from your replies, whether you had given to me the pardon which I had asked: which I desire to be more openly intimated to me; although a certain more cheerful countenance of your letters seems to signify that I have impetrated even this: if however they were sent after that one was read; which appears least in them.

2. You ask, or rather by the confidence of charity you command, that in the field of Scriptures we should play without our mutual pain. Indeed as much as pertains to me, I would prefer that we should do those things seriously, rather than play. But if it pleased you to put this word because of facility; I confess, I expect something greater from the benignity of your strengths, and a prudence so learned, and a leisure, aged, studious, ingenious diligence; the Holy Spirit not only giving but even dictating these things to you, so that in great and laborious questions, you may help [me] not as if playing in the field of Scriptures, but as if panting in the mountains. Moreover if because of the cheerfulness which it is fitting to be between most dear ones discoursing, you thought it was to be said, Let us play: whether that should be open and plain, whence we speak, or arduous and difficult, teach this very thing, I beseech you, in what way we may be able to attain [it]: so that when by chance something moves us, which has not been approved by us, and if not for those attending more cautiously, certainly for those understanding more slowly,

and we endeavor to assert against what seems [best] to us, if we should say this with a somewhat more secure liberty, we should not fall into the suspicion of childish boastfulness, as if we should seek fame for our name by accusing illustrious men: moreover if anything sharp, from the necessity of refuting, should have been brought forth; in order that it may become tolerable, let us surround it with a milder eloquence, lest we be judged to draw a sword smeared with honey. Unless by chance that is the way, by which we may avoid both this vice, and the suspicion of vice, if we should thus dispute with a more learned friend, so that whatever he shall have said, it should be necessary to approve, nor should it be allowed to resist even a little for the sake of seeking.

3. Then truly one plays as if in a field without any fear of offense; but it is a wonder if we are not played with. For I confess to your Charity, that I have learned to defer this fear and honor only to those books of the Scriptures which are already called canonical, so that I should most firmly believe that no author of them erred in writing anything. And if I should stumble upon anything in those Letters, which seems contrary to truth; I shall not doubt that it is nothing else, than either the codex is faulty, or the interpreter has not attained what was said, or I have least understood. Moreover I read others in such a way, that with however great holiness and doctrine they may prevail, I do not for that reason think it true, because they themselves have so sensed [it];

but because they were able to persuade me either through those canonical authors, or by probable reason, which does not abhor from the true. Nor do I think that you, my brother, sense otherwise: I say, I entirely do not think that you will your books to be read in such a way, as those of the Prophets, or the Apostles; concerning whose writings, because they are free from all error, it is nefas to doubt. Let this be absent from pious humility and truthful thinking concerning yourself; with which unless you were endowed, you would not certainly say: Would that we might merit your embraces, and by mutual collation we might either teach some things, or learn.

CHAPTER II.

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

things which I write to you, behold, before God, I lie not (Gal. 1:20): yet he was not writing truthfully, but by I know not what dispensatory simulation he was deceiving, that he had seen Peter and Barnabas not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, and had resisted Peter to his face, for no other reason than that he was compelling the Gentiles to judaize!

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

The Manichaeans contend that very many things of the divine Scriptures, by which their nefarious error is convinced by the clearest perspicuity of sentences, are false, because they cannot distort them into another sense; yet in

such a way, that they do not attribute that same falsity to the Apostles writing, but to I know not what corrupters of the codices. Which however because they were never able to prove either by more or more ancient exemplars, nor by the authority of the preceding language, whence the Latin books were interpreted, being overcome and confused by the truth most known to all, they depart. Does not your holy prudence thus understand, how great an occasion of malice would lie open to them, if we should say that the apostolic Letters were not falsified by others, but that the Apostles themselves wrote false things?

It is not, you say, credible, that Paul should have argued this in Peter, which Paul himself had done. I do not now inquire what he did; I seek what he wrote: this pertains most to the question which I have undertaken; that the truth of the divine Scriptures, commended to memory for the building of our faith, not by any persons whatsoever, but by the Apostles themselves, and through this received into the canonical summit of authority, should persist in every part truthful and indubitable. For if Peter did this which he ought to have done, Paul lied, in that he saw him not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel. For whoever does this which he ought to do, certainly does uprightly. And therefore he speaks false concerning him, who says that he did not uprightly what he knew he ought to have done. Moreover if Paul wrote the truth, it is true that Peter then was not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel. He therefore

doing that which he ought not to have done; and if Paul himself had already done something such, I would rather believe that even he himself, being corrected, could not have neglected the correction of his co-apostle, than that he had placed something mendaciously in his Epistle; and in any Epistle whatever: how much more in that one, in which having spoken before he says: Now the things which I write to you, behold, before God, I lie not (Gal. 1:20)?

8. I indeed believe that Peter acted thus, so that he should compel the Gentiles to judaize. For I read that Paul wrote this, whom I do not believe to have lied. And therefore Peter was not acting this uprightly. For it was against the truth of the Gospel, that they who believed in Christ should think that they could not be safe without those ancient sacraments. For those who had believed from the circumcision were contending this at Antioch: against whom Paul perseveringly and sharply fights. But [I believe] that Paul himself did not act this to this end, in that either he circumcised Timothy (Acts 16:3), or performed a vow at Cenchreae (Id. 18:18), or being admonished by James at Jerusalem, undertook those legitimate [rites] to be celebrated with those who had known [them] (Id. 21:26), so that it should seem to be thought, that through those sacraments even Christian salvation is given; but lest those things which God had ordered to be done in the prior times, as was congruous, in the shadows of future things, should be believed to be damned as the idolatry of the Gentiles. For this

is what James says to him, that it has been heard concerning him that he teaches a dissension from Moses (Ibid., 2). Which certainly is nefas, that those believing in Christ should be severed from the prophet of Christ, as if detesting and damning his doctrine; concerning whom Christ himself says: If you believed Moses, you would believe also me; for he wrote concerning me (John 5:46).

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

that they should know that those things were false which they had heard concerning him, those who, although they had believed in Christ from the Jews, yet were zealots of the Law, lest those things which had been ministered to the fathers through Moses should be thought to be damned through the doctrine of Christ as if sacrilegious, nor written by the command of God. For they had boasted this concerning Paul, not those who were understanding with what mind these things ought then to be observed by the faithful Jews, namely for the sake of commending the divine authority and the prophetic holiness of those sacraments, not for the sake of obtaining salvation, which already was being revealed in Christ, and was being ministered through the sacrament of Baptism; but those had spread this concerning Paul, who thus were willing those things to be observed, as if without these in the Gospel salvation could not be for those believing. For they had sensed him [to be] a most vehement preacher of grace and most adverse to their intention, teaching that a man is not justified through those things, but through the grace of Jesus Christ, for the sake of preannouncing which those shadows were commanded in the Law. And therefore they, striving to excite envy and persecution, were accusing [him] as an enemy of the Law and of the divine commands: the envy of which false accusation he could not more congruously avoid, than that he himself should celebrate those things which he was thought to damn as sacrilegious, and thus should show,

that neither were the Jews then to be prohibited from them as from nefarious things, nor were the Gentiles to be compelled to them as to necessary things.

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

11. Moreover if this, which I rather think, Peter did before that Jerusalem council; neither thus is it a wonder, that Paul was willing that he should not timidly cover, but confidently assert what he already had known that he paritally sensed: whether because he had conferred the Gospel

with him; or because in the vocation of Cornelius the centurion, he had accepted that he was admonished even divinely concerning this matter; or because before those whom he had feared had come to Antioch, he had seen him eating together with the gentiles. For nor do we deny that Peter was already in this sentence, in which also Paul was. Therefore he was not then teaching him what in that matter was true: but he was arguing his simulation, by which the Gentiles were compelled to judaize; for no other reason, except because all those things were being done simulatorily, as if it were true what they were saying, who were thinking that without the circumcision of the foreskin and other observations which were shadows of future things, those believing could not be safe.

12. Therefore he also circumcised Timothy for this reason, lest to the Jews, and especially to his maternal kindred, those who had believed from the Gentiles in Christ should thus seem to detest circumcision, just as idolatry is to be detested; since God commanded that to be done, [but] satan persuaded this. And for this reason he did not circumcise Titus, lest he should give an occasion to those who without that circumcision were saying that those believing could not be safe, and for the deception of the Gentiles should boast that even Paul sensed this. Which he himself sufficiently signifies, where he says: But neither Titus who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised: but because of false brothers unawares brought in, who came in priv-

ily to spy out our liberty, which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage, to whom we yielded not in subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you (Gal. 2:3-5). Here it appears what he understood them to be catching at, so that he should not do what he had done in Timothy, and what by that liberty he was able to do, by which he had shown that those sacraments were neither to be sought as if necessary, nor to be damned as if sacrilegious.

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

because they trust also in very many false things, and where they are found to say true things, they are alien from the grace of Christ, who is truth itself?

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

tians in the canonical Books. How much more do I not dare to say that that is evil, which I cannot deny by the Christian faith itself that God commanded, by which I have learned that I am not justified by it, but by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord?

15. I say therefore that the circumcision of the foreskin and other [things] of this kind, were divinely given to the prior people through the Testament which is called Old, for the signification of future things which it was fitting to be fulfilled through Christ: which [things] arriving, those [rites] remained to be read only by Christians, for the understanding of the premised prophecy; moreover not necessarily to be done, as if it were yet to be expected, that the revelation of faith should come which was signified by these to be about to come. But although they were not to be imposed upon the Gentiles, yet they ought not thus to have been taken away from the custom of the Jews, as if detestable and to be damned. Hence gradually and by degrees, while the sound preaching of the grace of Christ was fervent, by which alone those believing might know themselves to be justified and made safe, not by those shadows of things formerly future, then already coming and present, so that in the vocation of those Jews, whom the presence of the flesh of the Lord and the apostolic times had thus found, all that action of shadows should be consumed: this sufficed for them for commendation, that it should not be avoided as if detestable and similar to idolatry; but beyond that it should

not have progress, lest it should be thought necessary as if either from it there were salvation, or without it it could not be. Which the heretics thought, who while they will to be both Jews and Christians, were able to be neither Jews nor Christians. Concerning whose sentence you have deigned most benevolently to admonish me to be guarded against, although I have never been in it. Into whose simulation, not consent of sentence, Peter had fallen by fear, so that Paul wrote most truly concerning him, that he had seen him not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, and most truly said to him, that he was compelling the Gentiles to judaize. Which Paul certainly did not compel, for this reason observing those ancient [rites] truthfully, where there was need, so that he might show that they were not to be damned; yet preaching instantly that not by them, but by the revealed grace of faith, the faithful are made safe, lest he should compel anyone to undertake them as if necessary. Thus moreover I believe that the apostle Paul truthfully managed all those things, nor yet do I now either compel or permit anyone made a Christian from a Jew truthfully to celebrate such things; just as nor do you, to whom Paul seems to have simulated them, compel that one, or permit [him] to simulate such things.

16. Or do you wish that I also should say that this is the sum of the question, or rather of your opinion; that after the Gospel of Christ, the believing Jews do well if they offer sacrifices which Paul offered; if they circumcise their sons,

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

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

17. I confess indeed, in that which my letter contains, that for this reason Paul had undertaken the celebration of the sacraments of the Jews, when he was already an apostle of Christ, that he might teach that they were not pernicious to those who wished to keep them, as they had received them from their parents through the Law, that I placed too little: *At that time only, when first the grace of faith was revealed:* for then this was not pernicious. Moreover in the progress of time those observations would be deserted by all Christians; lest, if it were done then, that which God commanded to His people through Moses should not be discerned from that which the unclean spirit instituted in the temples of demons. Therefore my negligence is rather to be blamed, because I did not add this, than your objurgation. Nevertheless long before I had received your letters, writing against Faustus the Manichaean how I explained the same place, although briefly, and I did not pass over this there, and your Benignity will be able to read it,

if you do not deign [otherwise], and from our most dear [friends], through whom I have now sent these writings, as you shall wish, faith will be made to you, that I dictated that before: and believe me concerning my mind, which speaking before God, I ask by the right of charity, that it never seemed to me, even now that Christians made from Jews, ought to celebrate those ancient sacraments with any affection, with any mind, or that it is in any way permitted to them; since I have always felt thus concerning Paul, from the time his Letters became known to me: just as it does not seem to you, that in this time these things are to be simulated by anyone, since you believe the Apostles to have done this.

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

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

19. But indeed the same apostle said: *Behold I Paul say to you that if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing* (Gal. 5:2). He deceived Timothy, therefore, and made Christ profit him nothing. Or because this was done fallaciously, therefore it did not hurt? But he himself did not place this, nor did he say, If you be circumcised

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

20. It seems to me a great question, what it is to be under the Law thus, in the way the Apostle

blames. For I do not judge him to say this on account of circumcision, or those sacrifices which then [were] done by the fathers, [and] now are not done by Christians, and other [things] of this kind: but even this itself which the Law says, *You shall not covet* (Exod. 20:17, and Deut. 5:21), which we certainly confess Christians ought to observe, and to be preached especially by evangelical illustration, he says the Law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just and good; then he subjoins: *That which therefore is good, was it made death to me?* Far be it; but sin that it might appear sin, through that which is good worked death to me, that he might become above measure a sinner or sin, through the commandment (Rom. 7:12, 13). Moreover what he says here, that sin becomes above measure through the commandment, this he says elsewhere, *The Law sub-entered that the delict might abound.* Moreover where the delict abounded, grace also super-abounded (Id. 5:20). And elsewhere, when he spoke above concerning the dispensation of grace, that it justifies, as if interrogating he says, *What therefore [is] the Law?* and to this interrogation he immediately answered, *It was placed for the sake of prevarication, until the seed should come to whom it was promised* (Gal. 3:19). Those therefore he says are damnably under the Law, whom the Law makes guilty, not fulfilling the Law, while by not understanding the benefit of grace for doing the precepts of God, they presume as if from their own strengths with proud elation. For *the fullness of the Law

[is] charity* (Rom. 13:10). Moreover *the charity of God is diffused in our hearts,* not through ourselves, but *through the Holy Spirit who was given to us* (Id. 5:5). But for explaining this matter as much as is enough, a more prolix discourse and perhaps of its own proper volume is owed. If therefore that which the Law says, *You shall not covet* (Id. 13:9), if human infirmity shall not have been helped by the grace of God, it holds [one] guilty under itself, and damns the prevaricator rather than liberates the sinner; how much more those [things], which were commanded for the sake of signification, circumcision, and the rest, which it was necessary to be abolished by the revelation of grace becoming more widely known, were able to justify no one? Yet they were not therefore to be fled from as the diabolical sacrileges of the Gentiles, even when grace itself had already begun to be revealed, which had been preannounced by such shadows; but to be permitted for a little while, especially to those who had come from that people to whom they were given. Moreover afterwards they were buried as if with honor, to be irreparably deserted by all Christians.

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

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

22. But this, as I said, both is another and a great question; let him who thinks this choose what he will, where he may lie; provided however that it be unshakenly believed by the writing authors of the holy Scriptures, and especially the canonical [ones], and be defended that a lie is altogether absent; lest the dispensers of Christ, concerning whom it was said, *Here now it is sought among dispensers, that anyone be found faithful* (1 Cor. 4:2), should seem to themselves to have faithfully learned some great thing, to lie for the dispensation of truth, since faith itself (*fides*) in the Latin speech is said to be named from this, because that which is said is done (*fiat quod dicitur*). Moreover where that which is said is done, there is certainly no place for

lying. Therefore the faithful dispenser the apostle Paul without doubt exhibits faith to us in writing; because he was a dispenser of truth, not of falsity. And by this he wrote truly, that he had seen Peter not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel and had resisted him to the face, because he was compelling the Gentiles to judaize. Moreover Peter himself received with the piety of holy and benign humility that which was done usefully by Paul with the liberty of charity: and thus he offered to posterity a rarer and holier example, by which they should not deign [to refuse], if perchance anywhere they should have left the path of right, to be corrected even by juniors; than Paul [did], by which minors might confidently dare to resist seniors for the sake of defending evangelical truth, fraternal charity being safe. For since it is better to decline in nothing than in something from holding the way, yet it is much more admirable and laudable, to receive willingly one correcting, than boldly to correct one deviating. There is therefore the praise of just liberty in Paul, and of holy humility in Peter: which, as much as it seems to me according to my measure, ought rather to have been defended against the calumniating Porphyry, than that a greater occasion of detraction should be given to him; by which he might much more mordaciously accuse Christians of writing their letters fallaciously, or of bearing the sacraments of their God.

CHAPTER III.

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

24. Furthermore, if you should seek or recall what our Ambrose thought hence, what likewise our Cyprian; you will find perhaps that there was not lacking to us also [those] whom we might follow in that which we assert. Although, as I said a little before, I owe this ingenuous servitude only to the canonical Scriptures, by which I so follow them alone, that I do not doubt their writers to

have erred in them in nothing at all, to have placed nothing fallaciously. Therefore, when I seek a third, that I also may oppose three to three, I could indeed, as I judge, easily find [one], if I had read many [books]; nevertheless there occurs to me for all these, or rather above all these, the apostle Paul. To him I fly: to him I provoke from all the treaters of his letters who think otherwise; interrogating him I interpellate and require in that which he wrote to the Galatians, that he had seen Peter not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, and therefore resisted him to the face, because by that simulation he was compelling the Gentiles to judaize, whether he wrote the truth, or perhaps lied by I know not what dispensative falsity. And I hear him a little above in the exordium of the same narration crying out to me with a religious voice: *But the things which I write to you, behold before God, that I lie not* (Gal. 1:20).

25. Let whoever think otherwise give pardon; I rather believe so great an apostle swearing in his own, and for his own Letters, than any most learned [man] disputing concerning the letters of another. Nor do I fear it to be said, that I so defend Paul, that he did not simulate the error of the Jews, but was truly in error. Since neither was he simulating an error, who with apostolic liberty, just as was congruous to that time, commended those ancient sacraments by doing [them] where there was need, [rites] constituted not by the craftiness of Satan for deceiving men, but by the providence of God for preannouncing future

things prophetically: nor had he truly been in the error of the Jews, who not only knew, but even instantly and sharply preached that those erred, who thought they were to be imposed upon the Gentiles, or were necessary for the justification of any of the faithful.

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

was congruous to the custom of the Jews with prudent liberty, not servile necessity, or what is more unworthy, with a fallacious rather than a faithful dispensation.

27. For to the faithful, and to those who have known the truth, as he himself witnesses, unless perhaps here also he deceives, *every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be rejected which is received with thanksgiving* (1 Tim. 4:4). Therefore also to Paul himself not only [as] a man, but even especially [as] a faithful dispenser, not only a knower, but even a teacher of truth, every creature of God in foods was certainly not simulatorily, but truly good. Why therefore undertaking nothing simulatorily of the sacred [rites] and ceremonies of the Gentiles, but sensing and teaching the truth concerning foods and the foreskin, yet was he made as if a Gentile to the Gentiles, and was he not able to be made as if a Jew to the Jews, except by undertaking fallaciously the sacraments of the Jews? Why to the engrafted wild olive did he keep the truthful faith of dispensation; and to the natural branches constituted not outside, but in the tree, did he extend I know not what veil of dispensatory simulation? Why made as if a Gentile to the Gentiles, what he senses he teaches, what he says he senses; moreover made as if a Jew to the Jews, does he close one thing in his breast, [and] bring forth another in words, in deeds, in writings? But far be it to savor this. For to both he owed charity out of a pure heart and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned (Id. 1:5). And by this he was made all things to

all, that he might gain all (1 Cor. 9:19-22), not by the craft of one lying, but by the affection of one suffering with [them]; that is, not by fallaciously doing all the evils of men, but by procuring for all the evils of all others, as if they were his own, the diligence of merciful medicine.

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

29. This affection of one suffering with [another], he prescribes in the same Epistle to the Galatians, saying: *If a man be preoccupied in any delict; you who are spiritual, instruct such a one in the spirit of lenity, considering yourself, lest

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

CHAPTER IV.

30. I beseech you, if it pleases you, look at yourself for a little while; at yourself, I say, towards myself, and recall, or, if you have them written down, reread your words in that Epistle which you sent to me through our brother, now my colleague, Cyprian, [which was] shorter, with what truthful, what brotherly, what full affection of charity, when you had expostulated gravely that I had committed certain [things] against you, you subjoined: *In this friendship is hurt, in this the rights of necessity [closeness] are violated, lest we seem to contend childishly, and to give to our favorers in turn, or to our detractors, matter for contending.* These words from you I not only feel were spoken from the soul, but

even with a benign mind for counseling me. Finally you add, which even if you did not add, it would appear, and you say: *These things I write, because I desire to love you purely and christianly, nor to retain anything in my mind, which differs from my lips.* O holy man, and to my heart, as God sees my soul, loved with a truthful heart, this very [thing] which you placed in your letters, which I do not doubt you to have exhibited to me, this very [thing] altogether I believe the apostle Paul to have exhibited in his Letters, not to any one man, but to the Jews, and Greeks, and all the Gentiles his sons, whom he had begotten in the Gospel, and for whose birth he was in labor; and then to so many thousands of the faithful Christians of posterity, on account of whom that Epistle was committed to memory, that he should retain nothing in his mind which differed from his lips.

31. Certainly you also were made, as if I [am], not by the craft of one lying, but by the affection of one suffering with [me], when you thought that I was no more to be left in that fault into which you judged me to have fallen, than you would wish for yourself, if you had fallen in that way. Whence giving thanks to your benevolent mind towards me, at the same time I ask, that you also be not incensed with me, because when certain [things] in your little works moved me, I intimated my motion to you: wishing this to be kept towards me by all, which I myself kept towards you, that whatever they think is to be disapproved in my writings, they neither

praise with a deceitful breast, nor so reprehend among others, that they are silent before me; judging rather that hence friendship is hurt and the rights of necessity violated. For I know not, whether they are to be thought christian friendships, in which the common proverb prevails more, *Compliance breeds friends, truth breeds hatred* (Terence in Andria, Act 1, Scene 1), than the ecclesiastical [one], *The wounds of a friend are more faithful than the voluntary kisses of an enemy* (Prov. 27:6).

Therefore let us rather teach our most dear [friends], who most sincerely favor our labors, with as much instance as we can, by which they may know it can happen that between most dear [friends] something may be contradicted by the speech of either, nor yet charity itself be diminished, nor truth breed hatred, which is owed to friendship; whether that which is contradicted be true, or however it be it is spoken with a truthful heart, by not retaining in the mind what differs from the lips. Therefore let our brothers, your familiars, to whom you bear witness, that they are vessels of Christ, believe that it was done against my will, nor is there moderate grief in my heart concerning this matter, that my letters came into the hands of many, before they were able to reach you, to whom they were written. Moreover in what way it happened, it is both long to narrate, and, unless I am deceived, superfluous: since it suffices if anything is believed to me in this, that it was not done with that mind with which it is thought; nor was it altogether

of my will or disposition, or consent, or even thought, that it should be. This if they do not believe, which I speak with God as witness, I have nothing further that I may do. Yet far be it from me that I should believe them to suggest these things to your Holiness with a malevolent mind for exciting enmities between us; which the mercy of the Lord our God may avert from us; but, without any mind of hurting, easily to suspect human vices concerning a man. For it is equitable for me to believe this concerning them, if they are vessels of Christ, made not for contumely, but for honor, and disposed in a great house by God, for a good work (2 Tim. 2:20, 21). Which if after this my attestation, if it shall have come into their notice, they shall wish to do; how not uprightly they do [it], you also see.

33. As to that which I had certainly written, that I had sent no book against you to Rome, I had written for this reason, because I both discerned the name of a book from that epistle, whence I had altogether judged you to have heard I know not what else; and neither [did I send] the epistle itself to Rome, but I had sent it to you; and I did not judge it to be against you, which I knew myself to have done by the sincerity of friendship either for admonishing, or for you or me to be corrected by you. Moreover, your familiars being excepted, I beseech you yourself by the grace by which we are redeemed, that whatever your good [things], which have been conceded to you by the goodness of the Lord, I have placed in my letters, you do not judge me

to have placed with insidious blandiloquence. Moreover if I have sinned in anything against you, forgive me. Nor that which was commemorated by me concerning the deed of I know not what poet perhaps more ineptly than literately, should you draw to yourself further than I said: since I immediately subjoined that I did not say this for this reason, that you should receive the eyes of the heart, which far be it that you ever lost; but that you should attend [to those eyes] which you had healthy and vigilant. Only for the sake of the *palinode* therefore, if we should have written anything which we ought to destroy by a later writing, as something to be imitated, not on account of the blindness of Stesichorus, which I neither attributed to your heart, nor feared, did I judge that that was to be touched upon; and likewise I ask, that you confidently correct me, where you shall have perceived this to be needed by me. For although according to the vocabularies of honors which the use of the Church has already obtained, the episcopate is greater than the presbyterate: yet in many things Augustine is less than Jerome; although correction is not to be fled from, or deigned [to be refused], even from any lesser one.

CHAPTER V.

34. Concerning your translation you have already persuaded me, with what utility you wished to transfer the Scriptures from the Hebrew, namely so that you might bring forth into the midst those [things] which were passed over

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

35. Moreover I desire your translation of the Seventy for this reason, so that we may both lack as much as we can the unskilfulness of so many Latin translators, who of whatever kind have dared [to do] this: and that those who think me to envy your useful labors, may at last at some time, if it can be done, understand, that for

this reason I am unwilling for your translation from the Hebrew to be read in the churches, lest against the authority of the Seventy, as if bringing forth something new, we should perturb the peoples of Christ with a great scandal, whose ears and hearts have been accustomed to hear that interpretation, which was also approved by the Apostles. Whence also that shrub in Jonah (Jonah 4:6), if in the Hebrew it is neither ivy, nor a gourd, but I know not what else, which leaning on its own trunk is erected to be sustained by no adminicles; I would already prefer the gourd to be read in all the Latin [versions]. For I do not judge the Seventy to have placed this in vain, unless because they knew [it to be] something similar to this.

36. I judge that I have answered enough, or rather perhaps more than enough, to your three epistles; of which I received two through Cyprian, [and] one through Firmus. Write back what shall have seemed [good] for instructing us or others. Moreover I will give more diligent labor, as much as the Lord helps me, so that the letters which I write to you, may reach you before anyone [else], by whom they may be more widely dispersed. For I confess, that I do not wish this to be done to me concerning your [letters] to me, which you most justly expostulate was done concerning mine to you. Nevertheless let not only charity, but even the liberty of friendship please us in turn, lest you be silent before me, or I before you, [concerning] that which moves us in turn in our letters, namely with that mind which is not displeasing to the

eyes of God in fraternal dilection. Which if you do not think can be done between us without the pernicious offense of dilection itself; let it not be done. For that charity which I would wish to have with you, is certainly greater; but this lesser [charity] is better than none.

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

1. The sadness of the Church of Thiave does not permit my heart to rest, until I hear that they have been restored to their former mind with you; which must be done quickly. For if the Apostle was so busy concerning only one man, saying, Lest such a one be swallowed up by overmuch sorrow; where he also says, That we be not possessed by Satan; for we are not ignorant of his minds (2 Cor. 2:7, 11): how much more does it behoove us to act vigilantly, lest we bewail this in the whole flock, and especially in those who have now come to the Catholic peace, and whom I can by no means leave. But because the narrowness of time did not allow that a sentence diligently

deliberated by us might be strained out together; let your Holiness receive what has pleased me, thinking for a long time after our departure: and if it also pleases you, let the letters which I have written to them in our common name already be sent without delay.

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

sordid avarice, while the evil appearance is not avoided.

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

4. It seems therefore to me that this rule is to be retained in things of this kind, that whatever shall have been his who is ordained a cleric anywhere, by that right by which such things are

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

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

6. Lastly, because I fear all things, and I remember in our departure what you proposed, that the brothers of Thagaste hold me a debtor for

half of that price; if you clearly perceive this to be just, I do not refuse it on that condition at least, that I may restore [it] when I shall have [it], that is, when something so great shall have come to the monastery of Hippo, where this can be done without narrowness: so that so great a sum being subtracted there, a part not less than equal for the number of those cohabiting may reach to our [brothers].

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

1. And I feel how hard I seem, and I scarcely bear myself, that I do not send and permit to your Holiness my son the deacon Lucillus, your brother. But when you also shall have begun to concede some from your nourishment, very dear and sweet [to you], to the necessities of Churches placed far from you; then you will feel by what stings of desires I am pricked, because some joined to me by the greatest and sweetest familiarity, are not also corporally with me. For that I may send your thought far; howsoever much the brotherhood of your blood may avail, it does not overcome the bond of friendship, by which we inhere in each other, I and brother Severus: and yet you know how rarely it happens to me to see

[him]. And this not indeed my will or his has made; but while we postpone the necessities of our time to the necessities of Mother Church, on account of the future world, in which we shall live together inseparably. How much more equitably, therefore, does it behoove you to tolerate, for the utility of the same Mother Church, the absence of your brother, with whom you do not ruminate the dominical food for so long, as I [do] with my sweetest fellow-citizen Severus, who nevertheless now speaks with me scarcely, and sometimes through very small papers, and those indeed full of many other cares and businesses, than carrying anything of our [things] in the sweetness of the meadows of Christ?

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

do. The Lord will give to you, in whom you have placed your heart, that your labors may be such, that you may be remunerated for that benefit; for so you rather conceded the deacon Lucillus to the most ardent thirst of our regions. Nor will you provide little, when you shall burden me no further with any petition concerning this thing; lest I should appear nothing else than harder, to your venerable and holy Benevolence.

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

1. You would not call me so inexorable, unless you also thought [me] mendacious. For what else do you believe concerning my mind, when you write such [things] to me, except that I hold against you a blemish of discord and detestable hatred: as if in a manifest thing I should not beware, lest preaching to others, I myself should be found reprobate (1 Cor. 9:27); or [as if] I should so wish to cast out the mote from your eye, that I should nourish the beam in mine (Matt. 7:4)? It is not as you think. Behold again I say and witness God, that if you wished for yourself those [things] which I wish for you, already for a long time you would live secure in Christ, and in the glory of His name you would gladden His whole Church. Behold already I have written that you are not only my brother, but also my colleague. For it cannot

be, that any bishop of the Catholic Church, of whatever kind he may be, damned by no ecclesiastical judgment, should not be my colleague. But that I do not communicate with you, there is no cause, except because I cannot flatter you. For I owe [it] to you especially, because in Christ Jesus through the Gospel I begot you, by truly rebuking with the salutary mordacity of charity. Nor do I so rejoice that many have been collected into the Catholic Church through you, the Lord helping, that I ought not to bewail that more are dispersed thence. For you have so wounded the Church of Hippo, that unless the Lord shall have recalled you, disentangled from all secular cares and burdens, to a true episcopal life and way of living, such a wound cannot be healed.

2. But since you do not cease more and more to involve yourself, so that even in those things which you renounced, you have inserted yourself after the renunciation, which cannot be defended in any way even among human laws themselves; and you are said to live in that profession, for which the frugalilty of your Church cannot suffice: why do you seek my communion, when you have never wished to hear my admonition? Or [is it] so that men may impute to me whatever you do, whose complaints I cannot sustain? But in vain do you suspect those to be your detractors, who have always opposed you even in your prior life. It is not so; nor is it a wonder that many [things] are hidden from you. But even if this were true, they ought to have found nothing in your morals, which they might rightly repre-

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

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

The brightness of your administration and the fame of your virtues, also the laudable diligence of Christian piety and faithful sincerity, which you rejoice were given as divine gifts to you by His donation, from whom you hope for better [things] by His promising, have excited me, so that I might part the heat of my causes with your Excellency by this epistolary address. For as much as we rejoice that you have consulted for Catholic unity with wonderful efficacy through

other lands of Africa, so much do we grieve that the region of the Hippo-Regians and the parts neighboring it bordering Numidia, have not yet merited to be helped by the presidential vigor of your edict, eminent Lord, and truly and worthily honorable and respected son in the charity of Christ. Lest this should be deputed rather to my negligence, who sustain the episcopal burden at Hippo, I thought it not to be silent to your Magnificence. Also how much heretical audacity presumes in the field of Hippo, if you shall have deigned to hear from my brothers and colleagues, who will be able to narrate these [things] to your Sublimity, or from the priest whom I sent with the letters, without a doubt you will provide, the Lord our God helping, that the tumor of sacrilegious vanity may be healed rather by terrifying than cut away by avenging.

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

1. When I hear anyone endowed with good genius, and erudite in liberal doctrines, although the salvation of the soul is not constituted there, nevertheless in a most easy question, to feel otherwise than truth requires, the more I wonder, the more I burn to know the man, and to talk with him: or if I cannot [do] that, at least to reach his mind by letters which fly very far, and I desire to be reached by him in turn. As I hear you to be such a man, and I grieve that you are torn and

secluded from the Catholic Church, which as it was foretold by the Holy Spirit, is diffused in the whole world; for what cause I know not. For it is certain that to a great part of the Roman world, let me not say also to the barbarian nations, to whom also the Apostle said himself to be a debtor (Rom. 1:14), of whom the communion of our Christian faith is woven, the party of Donatus is unknown; nor do they know altogether either when or for what causes that dissension arose. All which Christians unless you confess to be innocent of those crimes which you object to the Africans, you are forced to say, that being obnoxious to the evil deeds of all, since among you lost [men], that I may say [it] more mildly, lie hid, you are all polluted. For you expel no one from your communion; or then first you expel [him], when first he shall have done that, whence he is to be expelled. Or do you not damn him lying hid for some time, and afterwards produced and convicted? I ask therefore whether he contaminated you in that time in which he lay hid? You will answer: By no means. In no time therefore would he contaminate, even if he always lay hid; for also some deeds of the dead are often produced, nor is it for a fraud to the Christians, who communicated with them living. Why therefore have you cut yourselves off by so rash and sacrilegious a disruption from the communion of innumerable Oriental Churches, from which it has always been hidden, and is yet hidden, what you either teach or feign was done in Africa?

2. For it is another question, whether you say those [things] true, which indeed we convict to be false by much more probable documents, and we declare those very [things] which you object proved then in your own [people]. But these, as I said, is another question, then to be approached and discussed, when there shall be need. Let the vigilance of your mind now attend to that, that no one can be contaminated by the unknown crimes of unknown [men]. Whence it is manifest that from the communion of the world, to which either false or true crimes which you intend for the Africans, are altogether unknown and have always been unknown, you are separated by a sacrilegious schism: although also that is not to be silent [about], that even known evil [men] do not hinder the good in the Church, if the power of prohibiting them from communion be lacking, or some reason of preserving peace should impede. For who are they, who with the prophet Ezekiel, and before the vastation of the lost, merited to be signed, and when those were vastated to escape unhurt (Ezek. 9:4-6), unless, as it is most clearly shown there, they who mourn and groan for the sins and iniquities of the people of God, which are done in the midst of them? but who groans and mourns for that which he knows not? From the same reason also the apostle Paul tolerates false brothers. For he does not say concerning unknown [ones]: For all seek their own, not the things which are of Jesus Christ (Philip. 2:21); whom nevertheless he manifests to have been with him. Moreover from what kind are they,

who preferred either to offer incense to idols, or to deliver the divine Codices, than to die, except from those who seek their own, not of Jesus Christ?

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

4. But also you, unless you should feel this, will all be such, as Optatus was in your communion, you not being ignorant: which may it be absent from the morals of Emeritus, and of other such, whom I do not doubt to be among you far alien from his deeds. For we do not object to you, except the crime of schism, which also you made

a heresy by evilly persevering. Moreover by how much divine judgment this fact is weighed, read what I do not doubt you to have read. You will find Dathan and Abiron devoured by the gap of the earth, and all the others, who had consented to them, consumed by fire existing in the midst of them (Num. 16:31-35). Therefore the Lord God denoted that crime for an example of avoiding by a present punishment, so that he might show, when he spares such [men] most patiently, what he may reserve for the last judgment. For we do not reprehend your reasons, if at that time in which Optatus was boasted to rage with insane power, when his accuser was the groan of the whole of Africa, you groaning with [them], if nevertheless you are such, as fame preaches you to be, which God knows that I both believe and wish: we do not therefore reprehend if at that time, lest being excommunicated he should draw many with him, and cut off your communion by the fury of schism, you were unwilling to excommunicate him. But this itself is what argues against you in the judgment of God, brother Emeritus, that when you saw it to be so great an evil, for the party of Donatus to be divided, so that Optatus was rather thought to be tolerated in communion, than that [division] should be admitted; you remain in that evil, which was perpetrated by your elders in dividing the Church of Christ.

5. Here perhaps in the narrowness of answering you will try to defend Optatus. Do not, brother, do not I beseech [you]; it does not be-

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

built in Christ by the Apostles, either know the African traditors, whoever they were, or merit to be damned by you, because she could not? and yet you do not communicate with them, and you say [they] are not Christians, and you attempt to rebaptize them. What shall I say? what shall I complain? or what shall I exclaim? If I speak with a man of heart, I participate the stings of this indignation with you. For you clearly see what I would say, if I wished to say [it].

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

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

leagues living together, treating the Sacraments together; or even to know, but to tolerate, lest the party of Donatus be divided; moreover to those constituted in the most remote world, is it not allowed not to know what you either know, or believe, or have heard, or feign concerning the Africans? What so great perversity is it to embrace one's own iniquity, and to accuse the severity of the powers?

8. But forsooth also it is not allowed to Christians to persecute the evil. Be it [so], let it not be allowed; but is it right to object this to the powers ordained for this very thing? Or shall we delete the Apostle? or do your codices not have those [things] which I commemorated a little before? But you will say, you ought not to communicate with such [men]. What then? Did you not communicate with Flavianus once a vicar, a man of your party, because serving the laws, he killed the guilty whom he had found? But by you, you will say, the Roman princes are provoked against us. Rather by you against your own selves, who have dared both to tear the Church with cutting-off, of which [Church] they are already members there, as it was foretold so long before (for it was said concerning Christ, And all the kings of the earth shall adore him, (Psal. 71:11), and you dare pertinaciously to rebaptize. Moreover our [people] seek tuition from the ordained powers against the illicit and private violences of your [people], which also you there, who do not do such [things], grieve and groan, not by which they may persecute you, but by which they

may defend themselves; just as the apostle Paul against the Jews conspiring so that they might kill him (Acts 23:21), before the Roman empire was Christian, acted so that tuition even of armed [men] should be given to him. But those princes on whatever occasion knowing the nefas of your schism, constitute against you according to their own solicitude and power what they wish. For not in vain do they bear the sword; for they are ministers of God, avengers into wrath on those who act evilly. Lastly even if some of ours do these [things] not with Christian moderation, it is displeasing to us; but nevertheless we do not on account of them leave the Catholic Church, if we cannot purge it from the chaff before the last time of winnowing, when also you on account of Optatus, when you did not dare to expel him, did not leave the party of Donatus.

4. Aelianus your predecessor, deservedly, while the most perfect man, Verus, vicar of the prefects, was then held by unsettled health through our Africa, having performed his parts, believed that among other [things] also that business or envy, which seems to have been stirred up concerning Caecilianus bishop of the Catholic Church, should be recalled to his examination and command. For indeed when he had already made present Superius the centurion, and Caecilianus magistrate of the Aptungitans, and Saturninus the ex-curator, and Calibius the younger, curator of the same city, and Solon the public slave of the above-written city, he provided a competent audience: so much so that,

when it had been objected to Caecilianus that the episcopate seemed to have been conferred on him by Felix, to whom the betrayal and burning of the divine Scriptures seemed to have been objected, it was established that Felix was innocent concerning him. Finally when Maximus contended that Ingentius, decurion of the city of Ziqua, had falsified a letter of Caecilianus the ex-duumvir, we perceived the same Ingentius suspended in the Acts which were underlying, and for that reason not at all tortured, because he asserted himself [to be] a decurion of the city of Ziqua. Whence we wish that you send the same Ingentius under suitable prosecution to my court of Constantine Augustus, so that to those who act in the present times, and do not cease to interpose on daily days, while they hear and assist in person, it may be possible to appear and be intimated, that they in vain prepared envy for the bishop Caecilianus, and wished to rise up violently against him. For thus it will happen that, those kinds of contentions having been omitted, as is fitting, the people without any dissension may serve their own religion with due veneration.

5. Since you see these [things] to be so, why is it that you stir up envy against us concerning the commands of the emperors, which are constituted against you, when you yourselves rather did all this before? If the emperors ought to command nothing in these causes, if this care ought not to pertain to Christian emperors, who urged your elders to send the cause of

Caecilianus to the Emperor through the proconsul, and to accuse again before the Emperor the bishop against whom you had already in whatever way pronounced sentences while [he was] absent, and when he was pronounced innocent, to devise other slanders against his ordainer Felix before the same emperor? And now what else lives against your party than the judgment of the elder Constantine himself, which your elders chose, which they extorted by assiduous interpositions, which they preferred to episcopal judgment? If imperial judgments are displeasing; who first forced the emperors to be excited to them for you? For thus you now cry out against the Catholic [Church], in those [things] which are decreed against you by the emperors, just as if they wished to cry out against Daniel, who, he having been liberated, were sent to be consumed by the same lions, by whom they themselves first wished him to be consumed: for it is written, There is no difference between the threats of a king and the wrath of a lion (Prov. 19:12). Calumnious enemies forced Daniel to be sent into the den of lions: his innocence conquered their malice; he was raised thence unhurt; they themselves being sent thither perished. Similarly your elders threw Caecilianus and his society to be consumed by the royal wrath, whose innocence having been liberated, you suffer from the same kings the same [things] which your [people] wished those to suffer; since it is written: He who prepares a pit for his neighbor, shall himself fall into it (Sirach 27:29).

6. Therefore you have nothing of which to complain concerning us; and yet the mildness of the Catholic Church had altogether rested even from these commands of the emperors, unless your clerics and Circumcellions, by their most immense wickednesses and furious violences disturbing and wasting our quiet, had forced these [things] to be recalled and renewed against you. For before those more recent laws of which you now complain came into Africa, they stretched snares in journeys for our bishops, they shattered our fellow-clerics with most immense blows, they also inflicted most grave blows on the laity, and brought fires into their buildings. A certain presbyter also, because by his own and free will he chose the unity of our communion, having been snatched from his home, and immensely beaten according to [their] will, even rolled in a muddy whirlpool, clothed with a rush mat (buda), when they had displayed [him] for some to be grieved, for some to be laughed at in the pomp of their crime, having been led away thence where they wished, they scarcely released after twelve days. Whence Proculeianus having been convened by municipal Acts by our bishop, when he had dissimulated from inquiring into the cause, and had been convened again continuously, he expressed in the Acts that he would say nothing further. And today those who did this are your presbyters, still terrifying us moreover, and persecuting as they have been able.

7. Nor yet did our bishop complain to the emperors concerning these injuries and persecu-

tions which the Catholic Church then endured in our region. But a council having been made, it was pleasing that you should be convened peacefully, so that, if it could be done, you might have a collation among yourselves, and the error having been removed, fraternal charity might rejoice in the bond of peace. And in that convention what Proculeianus first responded, that you were going to make a council, and would see there what you ought to respond; then what afterwards, when on account of his promise he had been convened anew, he expressed in the Acts, refusing a peaceful collation, let the Acts themselves instruct your Gravity. Then since the most noted to all immensity of your clerics and circumcellions did not cease, the cause was said, when Crispinus was judged a heretic, nor was he permitted through Catholic mildness to be struck by the penalty of ten pounds of gold which had been constituted against heretics by the emperors, and yet he thought [fit] to appeal to the emperors. To whose appeal because it was so responded, did not the preceding wickedness of your [people], and that same appeal of his extort that it should be done? nor yet even after the rescript itself, our bishops interceding with the Emperor, was he fined with the same condemnation of gold. Moreover from a council our bishops sent legates to the court, who should impetrate that not all bishops and clerics of your party should be held to the same condemnation of ten pounds of gold, which is constituted against all heretics; but these alone in whose places the Catholic Church

might suffer some violences from your [people]. But when the legates came to Rome, already the horrendous and most recent scars of the Catholic bishop of Bagai had moved the Emperor, so that such laws should be sent, such as were indeed sent. To which [laws] coming into Africa, since indeed you had begun to be urged not to evil, but to good, what ought you to have done except also yourselves send to our bishops, so that just as they themselves had convened you, so they might be convened by you, and rather by a collation the truth might appear?

8. Moreover not only did you not do [this], but your [people] now do worse evils to us. They not only shatter us with clubs and cut [us] down with iron; but even for extinguishing eyes they send lime mixed with vinegar by an incredible excogitation of crime. Compiling our houses moreover, they fabricated for themselves huge and terrible arms, with which being armed they run about through diverse [places], threatening and panting slaughters, rapines, fires, blindnesses. By which things we were compelled to complain to you first, so that your Gravity may consider how many of you, rather all of you, who say you suffer persecution, sit secure in your own and others' possessions under those very as-it-were terrible laws of the Catholic emperors, and we suffer such unheard-of evils from your [people]. You say you suffer persecution; and we are cut down by your armed [men] with clubs and iron. You say you suffer persecution; and our houses are wasted by your armed [men] by compiling. You say you

suffer persecution; and our eyes are extinguished by your armed [men] with lime and vinegar. Furthermore even if they bring any deaths upon themselves of their own accord, they wish [them] to be invidious for us, glorious for you. What they do to us, they do not impute to themselves; and what they do to themselves, they impute to us. They live like robbers, they die like circumcellions, they are honored like martyrs; and yet we have never heard of robbers having blinded those whom they have plundered. They take away the slain from the light, they do not take away the light from the living.

9. We meanwhile if ever we hold your [people], preserve [them] unhurt with great love, we speak to them, and read all [things], by which the error itself is convinced, which separates brothers from brothers; we do what the Lord commanded through the prophet Isaiah, saying: Hear you who tremble at the word of the Lord; say, You are our brothers, to those who hate you and who execrate you, so that the name of the Lord may be honored, and he may appear to them in joy; but they shall be confounded (Isa. 66:5). And thus some of them considering the evidence of the truth, and the beauty of peace, we associate to the body of Christ, not with the Baptism which they had already received as a royal character like deserters, but with the faith which was lacking in them, and with the charity of the Holy Spirit. For it is written, Purifying their hearts by faith (Acts 15:9); and likewise it is written, Charity covers a multitude of sins (1 Pet. 4:8). But

if either by excessive hardness, or by shame not bearing the insultation of those with whom they were boasting so many false [things] against us and excogitating so many evil [things], or rather by fear, lest they should now suffer with us such [things] as they were doing to us before, they should be unwilling to consent to the unity of Christ, just as they were retained unhurt, so they are dismissed by us unhurt: as much as we can we admonish also our laity, that they hold them unhurt, and lead them to us to be corrected and instructed. But some hear us, and if they can they do [it]: others act with them just as with robbers, because they truly suffer such from them. Some repel their blows threatening their own bodies by striking, lest they should be struck before by them: some offer [those] apprehended to the judges, nor do they spare them though we intercede, while they greatly fear to suffer immense evils from them. In all which those [people] do not lay aside the deeds of robbers, and they exact for themselves the honor of martyrs.

10. This is therefore our desire, which we allege to your Gravity through these letters, and through the brothers whom we have sent. First if it can be done, that you confer peacefully with our bishops, so that in [those things] in which it shall have been found, not men, but the error itself may be taken away; so that men may not be punished, but corrected; so that you may now be convened, because you before contemned their convention. For how much better do you do this among yourselves, so that what

you shall have done having been written and subscribed you may send to the Emperor, than that this should be done before earthly powers, which cannot but serve the laws already given against you? For your colleagues who had sailed, said before the prefects that they had come to be heard. And they named our holy Catholic father bishop Valentinus, who then was in the court, saying that they wished to be heard with him: which the judge could not grant to them, who already was judging according to the laws which have been constituted against you; nor had that bishop so come, or received any such mandate from his bishops. How much better therefore can the Emperor himself, who is not subject to the same laws, and who has it in his power to bring other laws, when your collation shall have been recited to him, judge concerning that whole cause, although it was already long ago said to be terminated? But for this reason we wish you to confer, not so that the cause may be finished again; but so that it may be shown to those who do not know [it to be] already finished. But if your bishops should be willing to do this, what do you lose thereby, and do you not rather acquire, because your will becomes known, lest diffidence be deservedly rebuked? Or do you perhaps think it not allowed to be done, since it does not escape you that the Lord Christ spoke also with the devil from the Law (Matth. 4:4); that with the apostle Paul not only the Jews, but also philosophers of the Gentiles from the heresy of the Stoics and Epicureans conferred (Acts 17:18)? or

do perhaps those laws of the Emperor not permit you to convene our bishops? Behold meanwhile convene your bishops who are in the region of Hippo, where we suffer such great evils from your [people]. For how much more licitly and freely do your writings come to us through your [people], than their arms?

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

be driven from the basilicas, not through judges, as you yourselves did to your schismatics, but through the kings of the earth themselves, who the prophecy being fulfilled adore Christ, before whom accusing Caecilianus you withdrew conquered.

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

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

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

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

2. Moreover what [is] more unhappy and perverse, as the Donatists do, who glory that they endure persecution, than not only to not know [how] to be confounded concerning the coercion of their iniquity, but even to wish to be praised; being ignorant with wonderful blindness, or dissimulating that they know by damnable animosity, that not the penalty, but the cause makes true martyrs? And this indeed I would say against those, whom the sole darkness of heretical error might involve, for which sacrilege they might pay most worthy penalties, nor yet would they dare to hurt anyone with any violent insanity.

But what shall I say against these, whose so pernicious perversity is either coerced by the terror of losses, or is taught by exile how everywhere the Church is diffused, as it was predicted to be, which they prefer to oppugn rather than to acknowledge? And if those [things] which they suffer through most merciful discipline should be compared to those deeds which they commit with furious temerity, who would not see, who are rather to be called persecutors? Although evil sons in that only in which they live desperately, even if they bring no hands violently, persecute the piety of parents more gravely, than when a father or mother, by how much more they love [them], by so much more they compel [them] without any dissimulation to a good life.

3. Most firm documents of public monuments exist, which you can read if you wish, rather I ask and exhort that you read; by which it is proved that the elders of those who first divided themselves from the peace of the Church, of their own accord dared through Anulinus then proconsul to accuse Caecilianus before the emperor Constantine. In which judgment certainly if they had conquered, what was Caecilianus going to suffer from the Emperor, unless what he pronounced against those after they were conquered? But evidently if by them accusing and overcoming Caecilianus and his colleagues were driven from the seats which they were holding, or even persisting in their conspiracy were more gravely punished (for nor could the royal censure contemn the conquered and resisting);

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

4. But let these be accounted human judgments, and be said to have been able to be circumvented and deceived, or even corrupted. Why therefore is the Christian world still accused, and is infamed by I know not what crimes of traditors, which [world] certainly nei-

ther could nor ought to believe [anyone] except the elected judges rather than the conquered litigants? Those judges have before God their own cause whether good or evil: what did the Church diffused through the whole world do, which is censured by these to be rebaptized for no other [reason], except because in that cause, in which what was true it could not judge, it thought [it] to be believed by those rather who could judge, than by those who neither being overcome yielded? O great crime of all nations, which God promised to be blessed in the seed of Abraham (Gen. 22:18), and as he promised he exhibited! which when they said with one voice, Why do you wish to rebaptize us, it is responded to them, Because you do not know who were the traditors of the holy Books in Africa, and in that which you did not know, you wished to believe judges more than accusers. If another's crime does not burden anyone, what pertains to the world what anyone committed in Africa? If an unknown crime does not burden anyone, whence could the world know either the crime of the judges or of the defendants? Judge, you who have a heart. This is heretical justice, that because the world does not condemn an unknown crime, the party of Donatus condemns the world unheard. But indeed it suffices for the world to hold the promises of God, and to see to be fulfilled in itself what the Prophets so long before sang; to acknowledge the Church in the same Scriptures, where also its king Christ is acknowledged. For where such [things] were predicted concerning Christ, such as we

read completed in the Gospel, there [things] were predicted concerning the Church, such as we now discern to be fulfilled in the whole world.

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

fies, but when a hidden iniquitous man baptizes, then not he himself, but God sanctifies; those who are baptized ought to opt to be baptized by hidden evil men rather than by manifest good ones: for God sanctifies them much better, than any just man. Which if it is absurd, that each one to be baptized should opt to be baptized by a hidden adulterer rather than by a manifest chaste man, it remains certainly that whatever of human ministers shall have approached, for that reason is the Baptism ratified, because he upon whom the dove descended, himself baptizes.

And yet since so perspicuous a truth strikes the ears and hearts of men, so great a whirlpool of evil custom has submerged some, that they prefer to resist all authorities and reasons rather than to consent. Moreover they resist in two ways; either by raging, or by becoming sluggish. What therefore may the medicine of the Church do here, seeking the salvation of all with maternal charity, as if tossing between the phrenetic and the lethargic? should it contemn, should it desist or ought it or can it? It must be troublesome to both, because it is an enemy to neither. For both the phrenetic are unwilling to be bound, and the lethargic are unwilling to be excited: but the diligence of charity perseveres, to castigate the phrenetic, to stimulate the lethargic, to love both. Both are offended, but both are loved; both being molested, as long as they are sick they are indignant, but both being healed they congratulate.

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

8. Since these [things] are so, may your Benignity know that your men who are in the region of Hippo are still Donatists, nor has anything of your letters availed among them. Why moreover they have not availed, it is not necessary to

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

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

selves, on the occasion of their sacred [rites], had affected the Christians.

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

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

you see through to be demanded according to your nature. Concerning the damages a light taxation can be had; only we deprecate punishments. May you live more acceptable to God, distinguished and deservedly to-be-received lord [and] brother.

8. Receive briefly what things were committed, and do you yourself discern the guilty from the innocent. Against the most recent laws, on the calends of June, a sacrilegious solemnity was celebrated on the feast of the Pagans, with no one prohibiting it, with such insolent daring that, which was not even done in the times of Julian, a most petulant crowd of dancers passed in that very street before the doors of the church. While the clerics were attempting to prohibit this most unlawful and unworthy matter, the church was stoned. Then after about eight days, when the bishop had repeated the most well-known laws to the order, and while they were arranging as if to fulfill those things which were commanded, again the church was stoned. On the next day, in order to impose fear upon the lost, those who wished to speak the public laws before the Acts were denied. And on that very day, so that they might be terrified even divinely, hail was rendered for the stonings; which having passed, they immediately brought a third stoning, and finally fires upon the ecclesiastical roofs and men; they killed one of the servants of God, who while wandering was able to meet them, while the others were hiding part where they could, part fleeing where they could, while meanwhile

the bishop, thrust and narrowed in a certain place, was hiding himself, where he was hearing the voices of those seeking him for death and of those upbraiding him, because, since he was not found, they had perpetrated such a crime for nothing. These things were done from about the tenth hour until a not small part of the night. No one attempted to restrain, no one to help of those whose authority could be grave, except one stranger, through whom both many servants of God were liberated from the hands of those attempting to kill, and many things were extorted from the plunderers; through whom it was made clear how easily those things either would not have happened at all, or once begun would have ceased, if the citizens, and especially the primates, had forbidden those things to be done and perfected.

9. Henceforth in that whole city you will perhaps be able to discern not the innocent from the guilty, but the less guilty from the more guilty. For those are in a small sin who, deterred by fear, and especially lest they should offend those whom they knew to be most powerful in that town and enemies of the Church, did not dare to bring help: but all are wicked to whom, even if not doing nor sending, yet these things were committed with them willing; more wicked, those who committed them; most wicked, those who sent. But concerning the sending let us think it is a suspicion not the truth, nor let us discuss those things which cannot be found at all except by the tortures of those through whom they are

inquired. Let us also grant pardon to the fear of those who thought that God was rather to be deprecated for the bishop and his servants than that the powerful enemies of the Church were to be offended. What of those who remain? Do you think that they are to be coerced by no discipline, and do you think that the example of such immense fury is to be proposed unpunished? We do not study to feed our anger by avenging past things; but we are busy by mercifully consulting for the future. Evil men have where they may be punished through Christians not only gently, but also usefully and healthfully. For they have that they live with the body unharmed, they have whence they live, they have whence they live badly. Let the first two be safe, so that there may be those who may repent; this we desire, for this, as much as is in us, we even insist with expended labor. But the third, if God shall will, as if to be cut back as rotten and harmful, He will punish very mercifully. But if He shall will even more, or shall not even permit this, the reason of a deeper and certainly more just counsel is with Him: care and duty ought to be expended by us, as far as it is granted to see, deprecating Him that He may approve our mind, by which we wish all to be consulted, and that He may allow nothing to be done through us which He Himself knows much better than we that it does not expedite both for us and for His Church.

10. Just now when we were at Calama, so that our people, afflicted in such grave grief, might either be consoled or, being incensed, might be

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

EPISTLE XCII.

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

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

1. Not only by your letters, but also by the report of him who brought [them], I have found that you much demand my letters, believing that from them you might be able to have very much consolation. You, therefore, will see what you may take from thence; I, however, ought not to have denied or deferred them. But may your faith and hope console you, and that very charity which is shed abroad in the hearts of the pious through the Holy Spirit (Rom. 5:5), of which we have now received something for a pledge, so that we may know how to desire the fullness itself. For you ought not to think yourself desolate, since you have Christ present in the inner man through faith in your heart; or it is necessary for you to be so saddened, just as the nations who have no hope, since with a most true promise we hope that we shall come to that life—whence being about to migrate we have not lost some of our own migrating, but have sent [them] before—where they will be to us as much better known, so certainly as much dearer, and lovable without fear of any departure.

2. Here, however, even if your husband, by whose departure you are called a widow, was most known to you, yet he was better known to himself than to you. And whence [is] this, since you saw his bodily face, which he certainly did not see, except because the knowledge of

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

3. This, however, the eye of the body neither can see now, nor will it be able then. For everything which can be beheld by the eyes of the body must necessarily be in some place, nor may it be whole everywhere, but in its smaller part it may occupy a smaller place, and in its greater a greater. Not so is God invisible and incorruptible, who alone has immortality, and dwells in light inaccessible; whom no one of men has seen nor can see (1 Tim. 6:16). For through this He cannot be seen by man, through which man bodily sees bodies. For even if He were inaccessible to the minds of the pious, it would not be said, Come

to Him, and be enlightened (Psal. 33:6); and if He were invisible to the minds of the pious, it would not be said, We shall see Him just as He is. For look through that whole sentence in the Epistle of John: Most beloved, he says, we are sons of God, and it has not yet appeared what we shall be. We know that when He shall have appeared we shall be like Him, since we shall see Him just as He is (1 John 3:2). In so much, therefore, we shall see [Him], in as much as we shall be like Him; because even now in so much we do not see [Him], in as much as we are unlike. Thence, therefore, we shall see [Him], whence we shall be like [Him]. But who most insane would say that we either are, or are about to be, like God in body? In the inner man, therefore, is that likeness; who is renewed in the knowledge of God, according to the image of Him who created him (Col. 3:10). And we are made so much more like Him, by as much as we profit more in the knowledge and charity of Him; because even if our outer man is corrupted, yet the inner is renewed from day to day (2 Cor. 4:16): so indeed that in this life, however great the progress may be, it is far off from that perfection of likeness, which will be fit for seeing God, as the Apostle says, face to face (1 Cor. 13:12). In which words certainly if we should wish to take the bodily face, it will be consequent that God also should have such a face, and there should be some interval between ours and His own, when we shall see Him face to face. And if an interval, certainly a limit, and a terminated habit of members, and other things absurd to say and

impious to think, by which the animal man, not perceiving those things which are of the Spirit of God (Id., 2:14), is mocked by most fallacious vanities.

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

the gift of the inner man, whether when in this pilgrimage it is walked as yet by faith, in which it uses a glass and a riddle, or in that fatherland when it will be contemplated by species: for which vision it is placed, face to face.

5. Let the flesh drunk with carnal thoughts hear: God is a Spirit, and therefore those who adore God, it is necessary to adore in spirit and in truth (John 4:24). If to adore, by how much more to see? For who would dare to affirm that the substance of God is seen corporally, when he would not have it corporally adored? But they seem to say shrewdly to themselves, and as if to press by questioning: Was Christ able to grant to His own flesh that it should see the Father with bodily eyes, or was He not able? so that if we should have responded that He was not able, they might proclaim that we have derogated from the omnipotence of God; but if we should have granted that He was able, they might conclude their argumentation from our response. How much already more tolerably are they insane, who assert that the flesh is about to be converted into the substance of God, and that this will be what God is, so that thus they may make it at least fit for seeing God, now unlike by so great a diversity. Which vanity I believe those men drive away from their own faith, perhaps also from [their] ears. And yet if they should be similarly urged by a question concerning this, whether God can [do] this, or can not effect [it]; will they detract from His power, if they shall have responded that He cannot, or will they confess that this will be, if

they shall have granted that He can? How therefore they would go out from this snare of another, so let them go out from their own. Then why do they contend that this gift was attributed to the bodily eyes of Christ alone, not also to the other senses? Therefore God will be a sound, so that He can also be perceived by ears? and He will be a breath, so that He can be felt by smell? and He will be some liquor, so that He can also be drunk? and He will be a mass, so that He can also be touched? No, they say. What therefore? can God [do] that, and can He not [do] this? If they shall have said that He cannot, why do they derogate from the omnipotence of God? if they shall have responded that He can and does not will, why do they favor the eyes alone, but envy the other senses of the body of Christ? Or do they rave as far as they want? How much better [do] we [act], who do not fix the limits of their insipience, but that they should rave altogether, we do not will!

6. Many things can be brought forth for refuting that madness. But if ever they should rush upon your ears, read these things to them meanwhile, and let it not irk you to write back what they respond as you can. For for this our hearts are purified by faith, because the vision of God is promised to us as the reward of faith. Which if it shall be through the eyes of the body, the mind of the saints is exercised in vain for the perceiving of it: indeed rather the mind so perversely feeling is not exercised in itself, but is whole in the flesh. For where will it dwell more tenaciously and fixedly, except whence it presumes that it is

about to see God? Which certainly how great an evil it may be, I leave rather to your intelligence, than I labor to explain with a long speech. May your heart always dwell in the protection of the Lord, distinguished and deservedly most excellent lady, and daughter to be honored in the charity of Christ. Resalute with the duty owed to your merits your honorable sons and most beloved to us in the Lord.

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

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

CHAPTER ONE.

1. I received the letter, which it did not seem to me incredible to be yours: for he brought it who it was established to be a Catholic Christian, who, as I think, would not dare to lie to me. But even if by chance they are not your letters, I have thought that it was to be written back to him who wrote. Now [I am] rather eager for and

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

even not seeing [Him]; yet they were denying His glory over all the earth, even seeing [it], when the Prophet has embraced both in one sentence with such manifestation, saying: Be exalted above the heavens, O God, and your glory over all the earth (Psal. 107:6).

2. These, therefore, formerly our atrocious enemies, heavily infesting our peace and quiet with various kinds of violences and snares, if we should so despise and tolerate that nothing at all which could avail for terrifying and correcting them should be thought out and done by us, we would truly render evil for evil. For if anyone should see his enemy made phrenetic by dangerous fevers, running headlong, would he not then rather render evil for evil if he should allow him so to run, than if he should take care for him to be corrected and bound? And yet he would then seem to him most troublesome and most adverse, when he had stood forth most useful and most merciful: but clearly, with health repaired, he would give thanks to him so much more abundantly, by how much he had felt that he had spared him less. Oh, if I were able to show you, from the Circumcellions themselves, how many already manifest Catholics we have, damning their pristine life, and the miserable error by which they were thinking that they were doing for the Church of God whatever they were doing with restless temerity! who yet would not be led to this health, unless they were bound as if phrenetic with the chains of those laws which displease you. What [of] that other kind

of most grave disease of those who indeed had no turbulent audacity, but were pressed by a certain ancient sluggishness, saying to us: You indeed say the truth, there is not what may be responded; but it is hard for us to relinquish the tradition of [our] parents: were they not healthfully to be shaken out by the rule of temporal troubles, so that they might emerge as if from a lethargic sleep, and wake up into the salvation of unity? How many from them now rejoicing with us, accuse the pristine weight of their pernicious work, and confess that we ought to have been troublesome to them, lest as if by a deadly sleep, so they should perish by the disease of an ancient custom.

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

Christ (John XIII, 2). When, therefore, both the Father delivered up his Son, and Christ himself his body, and Judas his Lord, why in this delivery is God pious, and man guilty, unless because in the one thing which they did, the cause is not one for which they did it? Three crosses were in one place; on one, a thief to be liberated; on another, a thief to be damned; in the middle, Christ about to liberate the one, to damn the other: what more similar than those crosses? what more dissimilar than those hanging? Paul was delivered to be included and bound (Acts XXI, 23, 24), but Satan is certainly worse than any keeper of a prison; to whom, however, Paul himself delivered a man into the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus (I Cor. V, 5). And here what do we say? Behold, the cruel betrayer delivered to the milder, the merciful deliverer delivered to the more cruel. Let us learn, brother, in the similarity of works to discern the minds of the operators, and let us not with closed eyes calumniate, and accuse the benevolent instead of the harmful. Likewise, when the same Apostle says that he had delivered some to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme (I Tim. 1, 20), did he render evil for evil, or rather judge it to be a good work to amend even the evil through evil?

8. If it were always laudable to suffer persecution, it would suffice for the Lord to say, Blessed are they who suffer persecution; nor would he add, for righteousness' sake (Matth. V, 10). Likewise, if it were always culpable to do persecution,

it would not be written in the holy Books: Him that privily slandereth his neighbor, him I persecuted (Psal. C, 5). Sometimes, therefore, both he who suffers it is unjust, and he who does it is just. But clearly always, both the evil have persecuted the good, and the good have persecuted the evil: those by harming through injustice, these by consulting through discipline; those immoderately, these temperately; those serving cupidity, these charity. For he who slaughters does not consider how he may mangle; but he who cures considers how he may cut: for the one persecutes health, the other putrefaction. The impious killed the Prophets, and the Prophets also killed the impious. The Jews scourged Christ, and Christ also scourged the Jews. The Apostles were delivered by men to human power, and the Apostles also delivered men to the power of Satan. In all these, what is attended to, except who of them [acted] for the truth, who for iniquity, who for the sake of harming, who for the sake of amending?

CHAPTER III.

9. An example is not found in the evangelical and apostolic Letters of anything requested from the kings of the earth for the Church against the enemies of the Church. Who denies that it is not found? But that prophecy was not yet fulfilled: And now, O kings, understand; be instructed, you who judge the earth; serve the Lord in fear. For that which is said in the same psalm a little above was still being fulfilled: Why have the nations raged, and the peoples meditated vain things?

The kings of the earth stood up, and the princes convened into one, against the Lord, and against his Christ (Psal. II, 10, 11, 1, 2). Nevertheless, if past deeds in the prophetic books were figures of future ones, in that king who was called Nebuchadnezzar, both times were figured, both that which the Church had under the Apostles, and that which it has now. Therefore, in the times of the Apostles and martyrs, that which was figured was being fulfilled when the mentioned king was compelling the pious and just to adore the image, and was sending those refusing into the flame. But now that which was figured a little later in the same king is being fulfilled, when, converted to honoring the true God, he decreed in his kingdom that whoever should blaspheme the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, should be subjected to the due penalties (Dan. III, 96). Therefore, the first time of that king signified the prior times of the infidel kings, which the Christians suffered for the impious; but the later time of that king signified the times of the later kings now faithful, which the impious suffer for the Christians.

10. But clearly in those who err under the name of Christ, seduced by the perverse, lest perhaps the sheep of Christ be erring and are so to be recalled to the flock, a tempered severity and rather gentleness is preserved, so that by the coercion of exiles and losses, they may be admonished to consider what and why they suffer, and may learn to prefer the Scriptures which they read to the rumors and calumnies of men.

For who of us, who of you does not praise the laws given by the emperors against the sacrifices of the Pagans? And certainly a far more severe penalty has been constituted there; for the capital punishment of that impiety is established. But regarding your correction and coercion, a reason has been held, by which you might rather be admonished to depart from error than be punished for a crime. For perhaps it can even be said of you what the Apostle says of the Jews: I bear them witness that they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. For being ignorant of the justice of God and wishing to constitute their own, they are not subject to the justice of God (Rom. X, 2, 3). For what else do you also wish than to constitute your own justice, when you do not say that any are justified except those who were able to be baptized by you? In this apostolic sentence, therefore, which he brought forth concerning the Jews, you differ from the Jews in this, that you have the Christian Sacraments, which they still lack. For the rest, as to this which he says: Being ignorant of the justice of God, and wishing to constitute their own, and that they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge, you are altogether equal, except only those, whoever are among you knowing what is true, and for the animosity of their own perversity, fighting even against the truth most known to themselves. For the impiety of these perhaps even surpasses idolatry. But because they cannot easily be convinced (for this evil lies hidden in the mind), all, as if less alienated from us, are

coerced with a milder severity. And this indeed I would have said either concerning all heretics who are imbued with the Christian Sacraments and dissent from the truth or unity of Christ, or concerning all Donatists.

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

of others? he would indeed find no example of this deed in the divine Letters; but yet perhaps he would find some true defense, if he held the true Church, and did not impudently possess anything under the name of the true Church.

CHAPTER IV.

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

13. Or is this to be requested, that each one should recover his own, not that he should accuse anyone, by which he may be coerced by the emperor? Meanwhile, even in the repetition of receiving one's own things, there is a departure

from apostolic examples, because no one of them is found to have done this. But yet when your elders accused that same Caecilian, then bishop of the Church of Carthage, with whom they did not wish to communicate as if with a criminal, before the prince Constantine through the proconsul Anulinus; they did not repeat their own lost things, but they calumniously sought an innocent man, as we think and as the very outcome of the judgments taught: than which what more wicked could have been done by them? But if, as you falsely think, they delivered one truly criminal to be judged by earthly powers, why do you object to us what the presumption of your own people did first? whom we would not rebuke because they did it, if they had done it not with an envious and harmful mind, but with a will for amending and correcting. But we rebuke you without doubt, to whom it seems a crime to complain anything to a Christian emperor concerning the enemies of our communion, when the petition given by your elders to the proconsul Anulinus, and to be sent to the emperor Constantine, was so superscribed: The petition of the Catholic Church, of the crimes of Caecilian, delivered by the party of Majorinus. We rebuke those, however, more for this reason, because when they had voluntarily accused Caecilian before the Emperor, whom first they certainly ought to have convinced before their transmarine colleagues, the Emperor himself acting far more orderly, that he might send the cause of the bishops reported to him to the bishops, nor being defeated did

they wish to have peace with the brothers: but again they came to the same emperor; again they accused not only Caecilian, but even the bishops given to them as judges, before an earthly king; again they appealed from another episcopal judgment to the same emperor. Nor, with him himself taking cognizance and judging between the parties, did they think that they ought to yield either to truth or to peace.

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

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

15. It was easy to think those things, so that you might at some time say to yourselves: If Caecilian was either innocent, or if being guilty he could not be convicted, what did the Christian society so far and wide diffused sin in this business? why was it not permitted to the Christian world to be ignorant of that which they who had accused were not able to demonstrate? why are those whom Christ sowed in his field, that is in this world, and commanded to grow among the cockle until the harvest (Matth. XIII, 24-30.); why are so many thousands of the faithful in all nations, whose multitude the Lord compared to the stars of heaven and the sand of the sea, whom he promised and rendered to be blessed in the seed of Abraham (Gen. XXII, 17, 18), denied on that account to be Christians, because in this cause in the discussing of which they were not present, they preferred to believe the judges judging at their own peril, rather than the defeated litigants? Certainly the crime of no one stains one who is ignorant. How could the faithful dif-

fused through the whole world know the crime of the traditors, which the accusers, even if they knew [it], yet were not able to show to them? Therefore, that these are innocent of this crime, ignorance itself indeed most easily shows. Why therefore are the innocent accused with false crimes, because they did not know the crimes of others, whether false or true? What place is reserved for innocence, if it is a crime of one's own to be ignorant of the crime of another? Furthermore, if the ignorance itself of so many nations shows [them] innocent, as was said, how great a crime is it to be separated from the communion of these innocent [people]? For even the deeds of the harmful which cannot be demonstrated to the innocent, or be believed by the innocent, do not stain anyone, if on account of the fellowship of the innocent they are sustained even when known. For the good are not to be deserted on account of the evil, but the evil are to be tolerated on account of the good: just as the Prophets tolerated [those] against whom they said such great things, nor did they relinquish the communion of the sacraments of that people; just as the Lord himself tolerated the harmful Judas even until his condign end, and permitted him to communicate in the sacred supper with the innocent; just as the Apostles tolerated those who through envy, which is the vice of the devil himself, were announcing Christ (Philipp. I, 15-18); just as Cyprian tolerated the avarice of colleagues, which according to the Apostle he calls idolatry (Coloss. III, 5.) Finally, whatever was then done among those

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

CHAPTER V.

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

accused Caecilian, even to the present emperors, who most justly decree that the judgment of him whom your elders chose, whom they preferred to the judges bishops, is to be guarded against you.

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

by words; for even if he shall understand, he will not obey (Id. XXIX, 19)! How many on that account were thinking that the true Church was the party of Donatus, because security was making them torpid, fastidious, and lazy for knowing the Catholic truth! For how many the rumors of the evil-speakers were barring the entrance, who were boasting that we place I know not what other thing upon the altar of God! How many believing that it makes no difference in what party anyone is a Christian, therefore were remaining in the party of Donatus, because they had been born there, and no one was compelling them to depart thence and to cross over to the Catholic!

18. To all these, the terror of these laws, by the promulgating of which kings serve the Lord in fear, was so profitable, that now some say: We already were wishing this; but thanks to God, who provided us the occasion of doing it even now, and cut off the little delays of deferrings. Others say: We already knew this to be true; but we were held by I know not what custom: thanks to the Lord, who burst our bonds, and transferred us to the bond of peace. Others say: We did not know that the truth was here, nor did we wish to learn it; but fear made us intent for knowing it, by which we feared lest perhaps without any gains of eternal things we should be struck by the loss of temporal things: thanks to the Lord, who shook out our negligence with the sting of terror, so that at least being solicitous we might seek what being secure we never cared to know. Others say: We were terrified to enter by

false rumors, which we would not know to be false, if we did not enter; nor would we enter, unless we were compelled: thanks to the Lord, who took away our trepidation with a scourge, taught by experience how vain and empty lying fame boasted concerning his Church; from this we already believe that those things are also false, which the authors of this heresy charged, when their posterity feigned such false and worse things. Others say: We were thinking indeed that it made no difference where we held the faith of Christ; but thanks to the Lord, who gathered us from division, and showed that this is congruent to the one God, that he be worshipped in unity.

For the hindering of these Lordly gains, should I oppose myself to my colleagues, lest in your mountains and hills, that is in the swellings of your pride, the erring sheep of Christ should be gathered into the fold of peace, where there is one flock and one shepherd (John X, 16)? So indeed I ought to have contradicted this provision, lest you should lose the things which you call yours, and being secure you should proscribe Christ: so that by Roman law you might establish testaments, and by divine law you might break the Testament established for the fathers, where it is written, In thy seed shall all nations be blessed (Gen. XXVI, 4), with calumnious charges: so that in buyings and sellings you might have free contracts, and you might dare to divide for yourselves what Christ bought [after being] sold: so that what each of you had given to anyone might be valid, and what the God of gods gave, from the

rising of the sun even to the setting, to the called sons, might not be valid: so that you might not be sent into exile from the earth of your body, and you might try to make Christ an exile from the kingdom of his blood, from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the orb of the earth (Psal. LXXI, 8)? Nay indeed, let the kings of the earth serve Christ, even by carrying laws for Christ. Your elders objected Caecilian and his companions to the kings of the earth to be punished with false crimes; let the lions be converted to crushing the bones of the calumniators, nor let Daniel himself intercede, being proved innocent, and liberated from the lake in which those perish (Dan. XIV, 39-42): for he who prepares a pit for his neighbor, will himself more justly fall into it (Prov. XXVI, 27).

CHAPTER VI.

20. Rescue yourself, brother, while you live in this flesh, from the wrath which is about to come upon the stubborn and the proud. The terror of temporal powers, when it fights against the truth, is a glorious probation for the just and strong, a dangerous temptation for the weak: when, however, it preaches the truth, it is a useful admonition for the erring who are sensible, and for the senseless a useless affliction. For there is no power except from God; but he who resists the power, resists the ordination of God: for princes are not for a fear to a good work, but to an evil. Do you wish, however, not to fear the power? Do good, and you shall have praise from it

(Rom. XIII, 1-3). For whether the power favoring the truth corrects anyone, he has praise from it who shall have been amended; or whether [the power] being an enemy to the truth rages against anyone, he has praise from it who shall have been crowned victor. You, however, do not do good, so that you ought not to fear the power: unless perhaps it is good to sit, and not to speak against a brother (Psal. XLIX, 20), but against all brothers constituted in all nations, to whom the Prophets, Christ, the Apostles bear witness, when it is read, In thy seed shall all nations be blessed (Gen. XXVI, 4); when it is read, From the rising of the sun even to the setting a clean sacrifice is offered to my name; because my name is glorified among the nations, says the Lord (Malach. I, 11); hear, says the Lord; not, says Donatus, or Rogatus, or Vincentius, or Hilary, or Ambrose, or Augustine; but, says the Lord: when it is read, And in him shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed, all nations shall magnify him. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who alone does wonderful things; and blessed be the name of his glory for ever, and for ever and ever: and all the earth shall be filled with his glory; let it be, let it be (Psal. LXXI, 17-19). And you sit at Cartenna, and with ten Rogatists, who have remained, you say: Let it not be, let it not be.

21. You hear the Gospel speak: It behoved that all things should be fulfilled which were written in the Law, and the Prophets, and the Psalms concerning me. Then he opened to them the sense, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said to them: Because so it is written, and so

it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead on the third day, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem (Luke XXIV, 44, 47). You read also the Acts of the Apostles, how this Gospel began from Jerusalem, where first the Holy Spirit filled those hundred and twenty, and thence went out into Judea and Samaria, and into all nations, as he had said to them about to ascend into heaven, You shall be witnesses to me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and even to the ends of the earth (Acts I, 15, 8, and II): because their sound went out into all the earth, and their words into the ends of the orb of the earth (Psal. XVIII, 5). And you contradict the divine testimonies strengthened with such great firmness, manifested with such great light, and you try to lead the inheritance of Christ to that proscription, so that when repentance is preached in his name, as he said, in all nations, whoever shall have been moved by this preaching, in whatever part of the orb of the earths, unless he shall have sought and found Vincentius of Cartenna lurking in Caesarean Mauritania, or someone from his nine or ten companions, his sins cannot be forgiven him. What may the typhoon of a dead skin-membrane not dare? whither may the presumption of flesh and blood not cast itself headlong? Is this your good work, on account of which you should not fear the power? You place such a scandal against the son of your mother (Psal. XLIX, 20), a little one indeed and weak, for whom Christ died (I Cor. VIII, 11),

not yet fit for the paternal food, but still to be nourished by maternal milk (Id. III, 2): and you oppose the books of Hilary to me, so that you may deny the Church growing in all nations even until the end of the age, which God promised with an oath against your incredulity! And when you would be most unhappy, if you were resisting then when it was being promised, now even when it is rendered you contradict.

CHAPTER VII.

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

from his delicts. Thus if you should lack that voice, do you fear that you are laughed at; and when you do not lack it, do you wish that you are not wept for?

You seem, however, to yourself to say something acute, when you interpret the name of Catholic not from the communion of the whole orb, but from the observation of all divine precepts, and of all Sacraments: as if we, even if perhaps from this it may be called Catholic, because it truly holds the whole, of which truth some small particles are found even in various heresies, should lean upon the testimony of this name for demonstrating the Church in all nations, and not upon the promises of God and so many and so manifest oracles of the truth itself. But indeed this is the whole which you try to persuade us, that the Rogatists alone have remained, who are rightly to be called Catholic, from the observation of all divine precepts and of all Sacraments; and that you are the only ones, in whom the Son of man may find faith when he comes (Luke XVIII, 8). Give pardon, we do not believe. For although you also dare to say this perhaps, so that in you faith can be found, which the Lord said he would not find on the earth, that you are not to be deputed on the earth, but in heaven: yet the Apostle rendered us so cautious, that he commanded that even an Angel from heaven evangelizing to us anything else, besides that which we have received, ought to be anathema (Gal. I, 8). How, however, do we trust that we have received from the divine Let-

ters Christ manifest, if we have not received from there also the Church manifest? Whatever handles and hooks anyone may weave against the simplicity of the truth, whatever clouds of crafty falsity he may pour over [it], just as he will be anathema who shall have announced that Christ neither suffered, nor rose again on the third day; since in the evangelical truth we have received, It behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead on the third day (Luke XXIV, 46): so he will be anathema whoever shall have announced the Church besides the communion of all nations; because by the same truth consequently we have received, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem, and we ought to hold unshakenly whoever shall have announced to you besides that which you have received, let him be anathema (Ibid., 47).

CHAPTER VIII.

24. If, however, we do not listen to all the Donatists substituting themselves for the Church of Christ, because they bring forth no testimony for themselves from the divine Books by which they may teach that, how much less, I ask you, ought we to listen to the Rogatists, who will not even try to interpret for themselves that which is written: Where do you feed, where do you lie down at noon (Cant. I, 6)? For if in this place of the Scriptures the noon is to be understood as Africa in the part of Donatus, because it is under a more fervent region of the sky, all the Maximi-

anists will surpass you, whose schism blazed up in Byzantium and in Tripoli. But let the Arzuges conflict with them, and let them contend that this pertains more to themselves: yet Caesarian Mauritania, closer to the western than to the southern part, when it does not even wish to be called Africa, how will it glory concerning the south, I do not say against the orb of the lands, but against that very part of Donatus, from where the part of Rogatus, a very small fragment cut off from a larger fragment, has been excised? But who would not most impudently strive to interpret something placed in allegory for himself, unless he also has manifest testimonies, by whose light the obscure things may be illustrated?

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

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

26. And yet you fear lest, when you are compelled to unity by imperial laws, the name of God may be longer blasphemed by Jews and Pagans: as if the Jews did not know how the first people of Israel wished even by war to destroy those two tribes and a half, which had received lands beyond the Jordan, when they thought that they had separated themselves from the unity of their own people (Joshua XXII, 9-12). But the Pagans can rather blaspheme us concerning the

laws which Christian emperors have carried out against the worshippers of idols; and yet many from them have been corrected, and converted to the living and true God, and are daily converted. But plainly both Jews and Pagans, if they thought that Christians were as few as you are, who alone proclaim yourselves to be Christians, would not even deign to blaspheme us, but would never cease to laugh. Do you not fear lest the Jews say to you: Where is it that your Paul understands your Church, where it was said, Rejoice, O barren woman, who do not bear, break forth and cry out, you who do not travail; for many are the children of the deserted woman, more than of her who has a husband (Gal. IV, 27), preferring the multitude of Christians to the multitude of Jews, if your fewness is the Church of Christ? Are you going to say this to them, Therefore we are more just, because we are few; and do you not attend that they will respond, Let you say that you are however many you like, yet you are not those concerning whom it was said, Many are the children of the deserted woman, if you have remained so scanty in number?

27. Here you are going to oppose the example of that just man in the flood, who with his house alone was found worthy to be liberated. Do you see then how far you are still from justice? Certainly until you remain at seven, of whom you may be the eighth, we do not say that you are just; if however some one did not snatch away that justice, as I was saying, before the part of Donatus, and moved by some just cause with his seven,

separated himself far elsewhere, and liberated himself from the flood of this world. Since you are ignorant whether this has been done, and thus [it is] unheard of by you, just as the name of Donatus is unheard of by many peoples of Christians constituted in distant lands, you are uncertain where the Church may be. For she will be there, where perhaps it was first done what you afterwards did, if there could be any just cause by which you could separate yourselves from the communion of all nations.

CHAPTER IX.

28. We, however, are for this reason certain, that no one could have justly separated himself from the communion of all nations, because each of us seeks the Church not in his own justice, but in the divine Scriptures, and as she was promised, perceives her to be rendered. For she is the one concerning whom it is said, As a lily in the midst of thorns, so is my neighbor in the midst of daughters (Cant. II, 2): who cannot be called thorns, except by the malignity of their morals; nor daughters, except by the communion of the Sacraments. For she is the one who says: From the ends of the earth I have cried out to you, when my heart was anxious (Psal. LX, 3). Who in another psalm says, Weariness has detained me from the sinners forsaking your law; and, I saw the senseless, and I was pining away (Psal. CXVIII, 53, 158). She is the one who says to her spouse: Where do you feed, where do you lie down at noon; lest perhaps I become as one veiled over the flocks of your

companions (Cant. I, 6). That is what is said elsewhere, Make your right hand known to me, and those learned in heart in wisdom (Psal. LXXXIX, 12): in whom, shining with light and fervent with charity, you rest as if at noon; lest perhaps as if veiled, that is hidden and unknown, I may rush not into your flock, but into the flocks of your companions, that is, of the heretics. Whom she calls companions in such a way, just as she calls those thorns daughters, on account of the communion of the Sacraments. Concerning whom it is said elsewhere, But you, my like-minded one, and my leader, and my known one, who together with me did take sweet foods; in the house of the Lord we walked with consent. Let death come upon them, and let them descend into hell living (Psal. LIV, 14-16), like Dathan and Abiron, authors of an impious separation.

29. She is the one to whom it is immediately responded: Unless you know yourself, O beautiful among women, go out in the footsteps of the flocks, and feed your kids in the tabernacles of the shepherds (Cant. I, 7). O response of the sweetest spouse! Unless you know yourself, he says: because surely a city set upon a mountain cannot be hidden (Matth. V, 14); and therefore you are not veiled, that you should rush into the flocks of my companions. For I am the mountain prepared at the summit of the mountains, to which all nations shall come (Isai. II, 2): Unless therefore you know yourself, not in the words of the slandering ones, but in the testimonies of my Books. Unless you know yourself, because concerning

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

30. She is the one concerning whose fewness it is said in comparison of very many evil ones, that narrow and strait is the way which leads to life, and few are they who walk in it (Matth. VII, 14). And again she is the one concerning whose multitude it is said: So shall your seed be, like the stars of heaven, and like the sand of the sea (Gen. XXII, 17). For the same faithful holy and good ones, both are few in comparison of the more evil ones, and by themselves they are many: because many are the children of the deserted woman, more than of her who has a husband; and many shall come from the east and the west, and shall recline with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven (Matth. VIII, 11); and because God exhibits to himself an abundant people, a zealot of good works (Tit. II, 14); and many thousands which no one can number, are seen in the Apocalypse, from every tribe and tongue, in white stoles and with victorious palms (Apoc. VII, 9). She is the one who is sometimes obscured, and as if clouded over by the multitude of scandals, when sinners bend the bow, that they may shoot in the dark moon the upright in heart (Psal. X, 3). But even then she stands out in her firmest ones. And if any distribution is to be made in these divine words, perhaps not in vain was it said of the seed of Abraham, Like the stars of heaven, and like the sand, which is at the shore of the sea: so that in the stars of heaven the fewer, firmer, and clearer ones may be understood; but in the sand of the maritime shore a great multitude of the weak and carnal, which sometimes in the tranquility

of time appears quiet and free, but sometimes is covered over and disturbed by the waves of tribulations and temptations.

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

rest, but yet even they themselves, certain ones for the faith were strongly in exile, certain ones were hiding in the whole orb. And thus the Church which grows through all nations, was preserved in the lordly wheats, and even unto the end, until it altogether holds all nations, even the barbarian ones, it shall be preserved. For she is the Church in the good seed which the Son of man sowed, and he foretold that it would grow among the tares until the harvest. But the field is the world, the harvest is the end of the age (Matth. XIII, 24-39).

32. Hilary therefore was rebuking the tares, not the wheat, of the ten Asian provinces, or he was thinking that even the wheat itself which was endangered by a certain defect, was to be rebuked the more vehemently as it was more useful. For even the canonical Scriptures have this custom of rebuking, as if it were said to all, and the word reaches to certain ones. For what the Apostle says to the Corinthians: How do certain ones among you say, that there is no resurrection of the dead (I Cor. XV, 12)? manifests surely that not all were such, yet nevertheless he testifies that such were not outside, but among them: from whom lest they should be seduced, who did not feel כך, he warned a little after saying, Do not be seduced: evil conversations corrupt good morals. Be sober, O just ones, and do not sin: for some have ignorance of God; I speak to your reverence (Id., 33, 34). But what he says, For since there are among you emulation and contention, are you not carnal, and do you walk according to

man (Id. III, 3)? he says as if to all; and you see how grave is what he says. Hence unless we were reading in the same Epistle, I give thanks to my God always for you, in the grace of God which was given to you in Christ Jesus, because in all things you have been enriched in him, in every word and in every knowledge, just as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in you, so that nothing is lacking to you in any grace (I Cor. I, 4-7), we would think all the Corinthians were carnal and animal, not perceiving the things which are of the spirit of God (Id. II, 14), contentious, emulators, walking according to man. And so the whole world is set in the evil one (I John V, 19), on account of the tares which are through the whole world; and Christ is the propitiator of our sins, not only of ours, but also of the whole world (I John II, 2), on account of the wheat which is through the whole world.

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

XXIV, 31). For their voice is: Save me, O Lord, since the holy one has failed, since truths are diminished from the children of men (Psal. XI, 2): concerning whom also the Lord says, in the midst of the abundance of iniquity, he who shall have persevered even unto the end, this one shall be saved (Matth. XXIV, 12, 13). Finally, the consequences teach that not one man, but more speak in the same psalm, where it is said: You, O Lord, shall preserve us, and you shall guard us from this generation forever (Psal. XI, 2, 8). For on account of this abundance of iniquity, which the Lord foretold was to be, that also was placed: When the Son of man comes, do you think he will find faith on the earth (Luke XVIII, 8)? For the doubt of him who knows all things prefigured our doubt in him, when the Church, often deceived from many concerning whom she hoped much, because they were found otherwise than they were believed, is so perturbed in her own, that she wishes to believe something good of no one easily. Nevertheless, it is not lawful to doubt that those whose faith he is going to find on the earth, grow with the tares through the whole field.

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

cannot correct: yet not on account of the iniquity of those whom she does not correct, does she herself desert the unity of the good.

CHAPTER X.

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

Then if the authority of the holy bishop and glorious martyr Cyprian delights you, which indeed, as I said, we distinguish from the canonical authority; why does it not delight you in that, that he both held the unity of the orb of the earth

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

37. In which matter, as I know your genius, you very easily perceive your whole cause to be deeply overturned and extinguished. For if by communicating Sacraments with sinners, as you think, the Church which had been in the orb of the lands perished (for you for that reason separated), it

had already previously entirely perished, when, as Cyprian says, [those] were admitted into it without Baptism: and thus not even Cyprian himself had a Church in which he might be born; how much more your much later author and father Donatus? But if at that time, when [those] were admitted into it without Baptism, it was nevertheless the Church, which brought forth Cyprian, brought forth also Donatus, it is manifest that the just are not contaminated by the sins of others, when they communicate Sacraments with them. And through this the separation by which you go out from unity, you have no excuse by which you may wash it away, and that oracle of holy Scripture is fulfilled in you: An evil son says himself to be just, but he does not wash away his exit.

But he who does not dare to rebaptize even heretics themselves on account of equal Sacraments, is so not equaled to the merits of Cyprian, just as whoever does not compel the nations to judaize is not equaled to the merits of Peter. But that limping of Peter, but also his correction is contained in the canonical Scriptures: but that Cyprian felt otherwise concerning Baptism, than the form and custom of the Church was having, is found not in the canonicals, but in his own letters and in those of the council; but that he corrected that sentence is not found, yet not incongruously is it to be thought concerning such a man that he corrected it, and perhaps it was suppressed by those who were too much delighted by this error, and did not wish to lack so great a patronage as

it were. Although there are not lacking those who would contend that Cyprian altogether did not feel this, but that it was feigned under his name by presumptuous and lying ones. For neither could the integrity and knowledge of the letters of one however illustrious bishop be so guarded, just as canonical Scripture, by the letters of so many languages, and by the order and succession of ecclesiastical celebration is guarded, against which nevertheless there were not lacking those who would feign many things under the names of the Apostles: in vain indeed, because that [Scripture] is so commended, so celebrated, so known; but what the effort of impious audacity could do against letters, not founded on canonical authority, it demonstrated even from here, that even against those which were confirmed by so great a mass of knowledge, it did not omit to raise itself.

39. We, however, for two reasons, do not deny that Cyprian felt that: because both his style has a certain proper face by which it can be recognized; and because there rather our cause is demonstrated more invincible against you, and the presumption of your separation, namely, lest you should be stained by the sins of others, is overturned with all facility, when it appears in the Letters of Cyprian, that the Sacraments were communicated with sinners, when those were admitted into the Church, who according to your sentence, and as you wish, his, did not have Baptism, and yet that the Church did not perish, but that the lordly wheats remained scattered through the whole orb in the dignity of their

kind. And through this if perturbed you thus flee to the authority of Cyprian as to some port, you see what reef your error strikes there; but if now you do not even dare to flee there, you are shipwrecked without any struggle.

Furthermore, however, Cyprian either did not feel at all what you recite him to have felt; or he afterwards corrected this in the rule of truth; or he covered this as if a blemish of his most white breast with the abundance of charity, while he both most copiously defended the unity of the Church growing in the whole orb, and most perseveringly held the bond of peace: for it is written, Charity covers a multitude of sins (I Pet. IV, 8). There was added here also, that as a most fruitful branch, if anything in him was to be amended, the Father purged it with the sickle of passion: For every branch, says the Lord, which in me gives fruit, my Father purges it, that it may bring greater fruit (John XV, 2). Whence, unless because adhering in the diffusion of the vine, he did not desert the root of unity? For even if he should deliver his body that he might burn, but should not have charity, it would profit him nothing (I Cor. XIII, 3).

41. Attend yet for a little while into the Letters of Cyprian, that you may advert how inexcusable he showed him, who should have wished to separate himself from the unity of the Church (which God promised and rendered in all nations), as if for the cause of his own justice, and rather you may understand how true is the sentence commemorated by me a little before: An evil son

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

Furthermore, however, attend to the thing itself which he commemorated against the impious separators. If they were communicating with adulterers, who were giving peace to repentant adulterers, were not those who were doing this,

stained by the college of those? but if, which truth holds, and which the Church deservedly holds, peace was rightly given to repentant adulterers, those who were closing altogether the place of repentance against adulterers, were surely acting impiously, who were denying health to the members of Christ, and were withdrawing the keys of the Church from those knocking, and were contradicting the most merciful patience of God, which was permitting them for that reason to live, that by repenting they might be healed, the sacrifice of a contrite spirit and of a troubled heart being offered, with hard cruelty. And yet their error and impiety so immense did not stain these merciful and peaceful ones, communicating Christian Sacraments with them, and tolerating them within the nets of unity, until brought through to the shore they should be separated; or if it was staining, already then the Church was deleted by the communion of the evil ones, nor was she [the one] who might bring forth Cyprian himself. But if, which is certain, the Church remained, it is certain also that in the unity of Christ no one can be stained by the sins of others, not consenting to the acts of the evil ones, lest he should be polluted by communicating in the sins themselves, but on account of the society of the good ones, tolerating the evil ones as chaff even unto the last winnowing in the lordly threshing-floor. Which things since they are so, where is the presumption of your separation? Are you not evil sons; you say yourselves to be just, but you do not wash away your exit?

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

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

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

But the baptism which Peter gave was not Peter's, but Christ's; and that which Paul gave was not Paul's, but Christ's; and that which they gave who in the time of the Apostles announced Christ not chastely, but through envy (Phil. I, 15, 17), was not theirs, but Christ's; and that which they gave who in the time of Cyprian seized estates by insidious frauds, and increased their

interest by multiplying usuries, was not theirs, but Christ's. And because it was Christ's, therefore although it was not given through equals to them, yet it profited equally those to whom it was given. For if each one is baptized so much better, as he shall have been baptized by a better person, the Apostle does not rightly give thanks that he baptized no one of the Corinthians, except Crispus and Gaius and the house of Stephanas (I Cor. I, 14): for they would have been baptized so much better as Paul was better, if they were baptized by him. Finally when he says, "I planted, Apollos watered," (Id., III, 6), he seems to signify that he evangelized, that the other baptized. Was Apollos better than John? Why therefore did he not baptize after the former, who had baptized after John, unless because this baptism, given through whomsoever, was Christ's; but that other, given through whomsoever, although it prepared the way for Christ, was nevertheless John's?

48. It seems to be said invidiously, "There was baptism after John, and there is no baptism after heretics": but this also can be said invidiously, "There was baptism after John, and there is no baptism after drunkards." For I mention this vice better, which they in whom it reigns cannot even hide; and how many there are everywhere, who even blind is ignorant? And yet among the works of the flesh, which those who do them shall not possess the kingdom of God, the Apostle also places this, where he also enumerates heresies: "Now the works of the flesh are manifest," he says, "which are fornications,

uncleanness, luxury, service of idols, poisonings, enmities, contentions, emulations, animosities, dissensions, heresies, envies, drunkennness, revelings, and things like to these, which I foretell to you as I have foretold, that they who do such things shall not possess the kingdom of God" (Gal. V, 19-21). By this reason, therefore, although there was baptism after John, there is no baptism after a heretic, by which reason although there was baptism after John, there is no baptism after a drunkard; since both heresies and drunkenness are in those works, which works those who do, shall not possess the kingdom of God. Does it not seem to you as if intolerably unworthy, that when there was baptism after him who, not soberly drinking wine, but not drinking wine at all, prepared the way for the kingdom of God, there should be no baptism after a drunkard, who shall not possess the kingdom of God? What is answered here, unless because that baptism was John's, after which the Apostle baptized with the baptism of Christ; but this baptism is Christ's, with which the drunkard baptized? Between John and the drunkard there is a great difference by way of contrary: between the baptism of Christ and the baptism of John there is not a difference by way of contrary, but yet there is a great difference. Between the Apostle and the drunkard there is a great difference: between the baptism of Christ which the Apostle gave, and the baptism of Christ which the drunkard gave, there is no difference. So between John and the heretic, there is a great difference by way of

contrary; and between the baptism of John, and between the baptism of Christ which the heretic gives, there is not a difference by way of contrary, but there is a great difference. But between the baptism of Christ which the Apostle gave, and the baptism of Christ which the heretic gives, there is no difference. For the species of the Sacraments is recognized as equal, even when there is a great difference in the merits of men.

49. But grant pardon, I erred, when I wished to convince you concerning a drunkard baptizing; it had escaped me that I have to do with a Rogatist, not with any Donatist whatever. For you can perhaps find no drunkard in those so few colleagues of yours, and in all your clerics. For you are they who, not from the communion of the whole world, but from the observation of all the divine precepts and of all the Sacraments, hold the Catholic faith: in whom alone He is to find it, when the Son of Man shall come, when He shall not find faith on the earth; because you are neither earth, nor on the earth, but celestial you inhabit in heaven! Nor do you fear, nor do you attend that "God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble" (James IV, 6). Nor does the very place of the Gospel sting you, where the Lord says: "When the Son of Man shall come, do you think He will find faith on the earth?" (Luke XVIII, 8). For immediately, as if foreseeing that some would proudly arrogate this faith to themselves, He said to certain persons who seemed to themselves to be just and despised others, this similitude: "Two men went up into the temple to pray,

one a Pharisee and the other a publican" (Id., 10), and the rest. Now answer the things which follow yourself. Nevertheless, look more diligently into those few of yours, whether no drunkard baptizes there. For so widely does this pestilence lay waste souls, and with so great liberty does it dominate, that I should much wonder if it has not also penetrated your little flock; although before the very coming of the Son of Man, the one good shepherd, you already boast that you have separated the sheep from the goats.

CHAPTER XII.

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

labors of the impious" (Prov. XIII, 22): nevertheless whoever, on the occasion of this law which the kings of the earth serving Christ promulgated for the mending of your impiety, greedily desires your own things, displeases us. Finally, whoever holds those very things of the poor, or the basilicas of the congregations, which you were holding under the name of the Church, which are not due at all except to that Church which is the true Church of Christ, not through justice but through avarice, displeases us. Whoever so receives one cast out from you for any disgrace or crime, as those are received who, the error by which you are separated from us excepted, have lived without crime among you, displeases us. But neither do you easily show these things; and if you should show them, we tolerate some whom we cannot correct or punish: neither on account of the chaff do we relinquish the threshing-floor of the Lord, nor on account of the bad fish do we break the nets of the Lord, nor on account of the goats to be segregated at the end do we desert the flock of the Lord, nor on account of the vessels made unto dishonor do we migrate from the house of the Lord.

CHAPTER XIII.

51. But you, brother, as it seems to me, if you do not attend to the vain glory of men, and if you despise the reproach of the senseless, who are going to say, "Why do you now destroy what you previously built up?"; without doubt you will pass over to the Church, which I understand you feel to be

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

52. This is that which Scripture has not kept silent: "There is a confusion bringing sin, and there is a confusion bringing grace and glory" (Ecclus. IV, 25). Confusion brings sin, when each one blushes to change a perverse opinion lest he be thought inconstant, or be held by himself

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

53. Nor should you think that anyone can pass from error to truth, or from any sin whether great or small to correction, without repentance. But it is a too impudent error to wish to calumniate the Church from this, which by so many divine testimonies it is clear is the Church of Christ, because she treats otherwise those who desert her, if they correct this very thing by repenting, otherwise those who have not yet been in her, and then first receive her peace; by humbling those more, by receiving these more gently, by loving both, by serving both to be healed with maternal charity. You have a letter longer perhaps than you would

wish. But it would be much shorter, if I were thinking only of you in responding: but now even if it profits you nothing, I do not think it will be of no profit to those who shall have cared to read it with the fear of God, and without respect of persons. Amen.

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

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

1. Your word is always a lamp to my feet, and a light to my paths. Thus as often as I receive the letters of your most blessed Holiness, I feel the shadows of my insipience discussed, and as if a collyrium of declaration were infused into the eyes of my mind, I see more purely, the night of ignorance having been driven away and the fog of doubt wiped away. Which although I have felt donated to me often at other times through the gifts of your letters, yet especially in this little book of recent letters, of which the blessed man of the Lord our brother Quintus the deacon was to me a carrier as grateful as he was worthy: who indeed after a long interval since he had come to the City, when I had come thither according to my solemn custom after the Easter of the Lord, for the veneration of the Apostles and martyrs,

rendered to us the blessing of your mouth; nevertheless, the time which he had consumed in Rome without my knowing it having been obliterated, he seemed most recent to me from your sight, so that I then immediately hardly believed that he had come to me from you, when I first saw him and when he offered to me the full odor of your sweetness in your discourses fragrant with the chastity of celestial ointment. I confess nevertheless to your venerable Unanimity, that I could not read that volume itself immediately as I had received it in Rome. For so great crowds were there, that I could not diligently inspect your gift, and enjoy it as I desired; namely that I might read it through continuously, if I had begun to read it. Therefore as is wont to happen in the secure expectation of a prepared banquet, I restrained the hunger of my mind, albeit greedy, and with the certain hope of taking satiety, when I held in my hand the breads of my desire in the volume to be devoured, which afterwards was most sweet to me devouring it both in the mouth and in the belly, I easily suspended my gullet gaping at the honeycombs of your letters, until I should depart from the City, and should dedicate a whole day to be interposed at a station of the journey, which we had in the town of Formiae, to this work, so that in the spiritual delights of your letter I might feast free from all dregs of care and from the suffocation of crowds.

2. What therefore shall I, humble and earthly, respond to this wisdom which was given to you from above, which this world does not take, and

which no one tastes, except the one wise with the wisdom of God, and eloquent with the word of God? Therefore because I have the experience of Christ speaking in you, I will praise your sermons in God, and I will not fear from the nocturnal fear. Because you taught me in the spirit of truth a salutary temperament of mind to be moderated in western mortals, by which you saw that blessed mother and grandmother Melania to have wept the carnal death of her only son, with a silent grief indeed, but not a sorrow dry from maternal tears. Whose modest and grave tears indeed, as a spirit closer or more equal to her soul you understood more deeply, and you contemplated from the similitude of your own heart the maternal heart of the woman perfected in Christ, the fortitude of a manly mind being saved, so that you might perceive her to have wept first moved by natural affection, then compuncted by a more powerful cause, not so much that human thing, that she had lost her only son defunct by mortal condition in the present age, as because you thought him assumed as if prevented in secular vanity (because the ambition of senatorial dignity had not yet deserted him), not according to the holy avarice of her vows, so that from the glory of conversion he might have passed to the glory of resurrection, about to take common rest and a crown with his mother, if in the life of this age, following the example of his mother, he had preferred the sackcloth to the toga and the monastery to the Senate.

3. Nevertheless the same man, as I think I have previously reported to your Holiness, departed enriched with these works, so that if he did not wear the nobility of maternal humility in his garment, nevertheless he preferred it in his mind. For he was so mild in manners and humble in heart according to the word of the Lord (Matt. XI, 29), that it is not undeservedly believed that he entered into the rest of the Lord. Since there are remains for the peaceful man (Psalm XXXVI, 37), and the meek shall possess the earth (Matt. V, 4), pleasing God in the region of the living (Psalm CXIV, 9). For certainly he religiously fulfilled that also of the Apostle, not only with a silent affection of mind, but also with conspicuous offices, so that when he was a colleague of the high ones of this age in order and honor, nevertheless he did not, as a glorious one of the earth, savor high things, but as a perfect imitator of Christ he consented to the humble (Rom. XII, 16), and persisted even all day in showing mercy and lending. Whence also his seed was made powerful on the earth, among those who as strong gods of the earth were very much elevated; so that even from the most blessed visitation of his family and house the holy merit of the man is revealed. "The generation," he says, "of the upright shall be blessed. Glory," not falling away, "and riches," not slipping, "are in his house" (Psalm CXI, 2, 3): a house which is built in the heavens, not by the labor of hands, but by the sanctity of works. But I cease to narrate more concerning the memory of a man as much beloved by me as devoted

to Christ, since I consider that I have narrated not a few things about him in former letters, and I can preach nothing better or more holy concerning the blessed mother of this son, and of the branches of an equal root of saints, Melania, than your Holiness has deigned to speak and to dispute concerning her; so that because I a sinner having unclean lips, had been able to speak nothing worthy, as being far from the merits of her faith and the virtues of her soul, you that man of Christ, teacher of Israel in the Church of truth, by the grace of God procuring for the better, were prepared a more worthy preacher of so manly a soul in Christ, who might both behold her mind strengthened by divine virtue, as I said, with a closer spirit, and might praise piety mixed with virtue with a more worthy eloquence.

4. But what is to be the action of the blessed in that age after the resurrection of the flesh, you have deigned to ask me. But I consult you about the present state of my life as a master and spiritual physician, that you may teach me to do the wills of God, and to walk in your footsteps after Christ, and to die first with that evangelical death, by which we prevent carnal resolution by a voluntary excess; not by death, but by sentence receding from the life of this age, which is all of temptations, or, as you once spoke to me, is all temptation. Would that therefore my ways were so directed after your footsteps, that by your example loosening the old shoe from my feet, I might break my chains, and free I might exult to run the way, by which I might be able to attain

that death, by which you are dead to this age, so that you may live to God in Christ living in you, whose both death and life is known in your body and heart and mouth! because your heart does not savor earthly things, nor does your mouth speak the works of men; but the word of Christ abounds in your breast, and the spirit of truth is poured out in your tongue with the impetus of a supernal river gladdening the city of God.

5. But what virtue effects this death in us, unless charity, which is strong as death? For thus it obliterates and perishes this age for us, that it may fulfill the effect of death through the affection of Christ, into whom converted we are turned away from this world, and to whom living we die from the elements of this world. Nor as living in their sight and vision do we discern, because our portion is the death of Christ: whose resurrection from the dead we do not apprehend in glory, unless we imitate His death on the cross with mortified members and senses of the flesh; so that we may no longer live by our own will, but by His, whose will is our sanctification, and who therefore died for us and rose again, that we might no longer live to ourselves, but to Him who died for us and rose again, and gave us the pledge of His promise by His spirit, just as He placed the pledge of our life in the heavens in His own body, which is the head of our body. Whence now our expectation is the Lord and the substance, which was made by Him with Himself, and in Him, and through Him, who was conformed to the body of our humility, that He might conform us to the

body of His glory, and place us with Himself in the celestials. Therefore also those who shall have been worthy of eternal life, shall be in the glory of His kingdom, so that they may be with Him (I Thess. IV, 16), as the Apostle says, and remain with Him as also the Lord Himself said to the Father: "I will that where I am, they also may be with me" (John XVII, 24).

6. Without doubt this is that which you have in the Psalms: "Blessed are they who dwell in your house; they shall praise you for ages of ages" (Psalm LXXXIII, 5). But I think that this praise is to be brought forth by the voices of those singing together: although the bodies of the rising saints will be changed, so that they may be as also the body of the Lord appeared after the resurrection; in which certainly a living image of human resurrection shone forth, as the Lord Himself, who in that very body in which He had suffered and had risen again, was as it were a mirror of contemplation to all. Who certainly when He had risen again in the same flesh in which He had died and been buried, exhibited all the offices of all the members expressed to the eyes and ears of men, often brought together. But if even the Angels, whose creature is simply spiritual, are said to have tongues, with which certainly they sing praises to the Lord the creator and do not cease to render thanks, how much more shall the bodies of men, although spiritual already after the resurrection, nevertheless with all the members of the glorified flesh remaining, and through all the members with their forms

and numbers, also have tongues in their mouths, and shall give voices with their speaking tongues, by which they may bring forth divine praises or the affections of their senses and joys through words. Perhaps also the Lord will add this of grace and glory to His saints, in the ages of His kingdom, that they may sing with tongues and voices so much more powerful, as they shall have profited to a more blessed nature of bodies by a blessed mutation, so that constituted already in spiritual bodies, perhaps no longer human, but those angelic and celestial ones, they may speak in such discourses as the Apostle heard in paradise (II Cor. XII, 4). And therefore perhaps he testified those discourses to have been ineffable to man, because for the saints, among other species of rewards, new tongues are now being prepared. Which therefore it is not yet permitted to the men of this age to use. So that already immortals may speak with these things congruent to their glory, concerning whom it is said, "For they shall cry out and say a hymn" (Psalm LXIV, 14); without doubt in the celestials, where they will be with the Lord, and shall be delighted in the abundance of peace, rejoicing in the sight of the throne, sending before the feet of the Lamb bowls and crowns, and singing to Him a new song, aggregated to the choirs of Angels, Virtues, Dominations, Thrones, so that they also with the Cherubim and Seraphim, and those four animals, singing together with perpetual voice may say, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of sabaoth" (Isaiah

VI, 3, and Apoc. IV, 8-10), and the rest which you know.

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

God placed the office of voice in this member, He called also the discourses and voices of the incorporeal creature of Angels "tongue," as Scripture is accustomed to assign the names of members to God also according to the species of operations. Pray for us, and teach us.

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

EPISTLE XCV.

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

To the most dear and most sincere lords, holy and desirable and venerable brothers, fellow-disciples under the master the Lord Jesus, PAULI-

NUS and THERASIA, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

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

2. I asked of you in former letters, what kind of future eternal life of the saints seems to you; but you answered me well, that even concerning the state of the present life consultation must still certainly be made: except that you wished to consult me [about] what either you do not know with me, or you know with me, or you perhaps know more than I; since you indeed most truly said that one must first die with an evangelical death, before we prevent carnal resolution by a voluntary excess, not by death, but by sentence receding from the life of this age. This action is simple, and fluctuates with no tide of doubt, that we think we ought so to live in this mortal life, that we may be in some way coadapted to immortal life. But every question, which disturbs men acting and seeking, such as I am, is that, in what way one must live, either among those, or on account of those who have not yet known how to live by dying, not by resolution of the body, but by turning away from corporal allurements by a certain affection of the mind. For for the most part it seems to us that unless we are somewhat congruent with them in those very things from which we desire them to be extracted, we shall be able to do nothing healthily with them. When we do this, a delight in such things creeps up even on us, so that often even to speak vain things delights, and to lend an ear to those speaking, nor only to smile, but even to be conquered and dissolved by laughter: thus aggravating our souls with certain dusty, or even muddy affections, we raise them more laboriously and more slug-

gishly to God, that we may live an evangelical life, by dying an evangelical death. If this should sometimes succeed, immediately there will be subjoined, "Well done, Well done"; not by men; for neither does any of men feel in another such an acknowledgment of mind; but in a certain silence within, I know not whence it is cried, "Well done, Well done." On account of this kind of temptation so great an Apostle confesses himself to have been buffeted by an angel (II Cor. XII, 7). Behold whence human life upon the earth is all temptation; when even there man is tempted, where as much as he can he is coadapted to the similitude of celestial life.

What shall I say of punishing, or not punishing? since we wish all this to profit to the salvation of those in whom we think punishment or non-punishment ought to be. What also is the mode of punishing, not only for the quality or quantity of the faults, but also for certain strengths of minds, what each one may suffer, what he may refuse, lest he not only not profit, but even fail, how profound and hidden it is! Fearing also impending punishment, which is feared by men, I know not whether more have been corrected, than have gone into the worse. What, when it often happens, that if you punish any one, he himself perishes; if you leave it unpunished, another perishes? I confess myself to sin daily in these things, and to be ignorant when, or in what way I should keep that which is written, "Them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may have fear" (I Tim. V, 20); and that

which is written, "Chastise him between you and him alone" (Matt. XVIII, 15); and that which is written, "Judge not before the time, that you be not judged" (I Cor. IV, 5), nor indeed did he here add "before the time"; and that which is written, "Who are you that judge another's servant? To his own lord he stands or falls: but he shall stand; for God is powerful to establish him" (Rom. XIV, 4); whence he confirms that he says these things of those who are within: and again he orders them to be judged, when he says, "For what is it to me to judge those who are without? Do you not judge those who are within? Take away the evil from yourselves" (I Cor. V, 12, 13). When this also seems to be done, how far it should be done, of how great care and fear is it? lest perhaps that happen which is understood to be cautioned in the second Epistle to the same, "lest such a one be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow." And lest anyone should think this not much to be cared for, he says there, "That we be not possessed by satan: for we are not ignorant of his minds" (II Cor. II, 7, 11). What tremor in all these things, my Paulinus, holy man of God! what tremor, what darkness! Do we not think it was said of these: "Fear and trembling came upon me, and darkness covered me; and I said, Who will give me wings like a dove, and I will fly and rest? Behold I have gone far away flying, and remained in the desert." Nevertheless even in the desert itself he might perhaps have experienced what he adds: "I was expecting him who should save me from pusillanimity and tempest" (Psalm LIV,

6-9). Surely therefore human life upon the earth is temptation (Job VII, 1).

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

is versed are heavier than those unexperienced, or because it is really so, any pusillanimity and tempest of the desert seems to me less molesting, than those things which either we suffer, or we fear in the crowds.

5. Therefore I much approve your opinion, that we must act concerning the state of this life, or rather the course than the state. I add another thing, because this is first to be sought and held, before that, what the future is to be, to which this course carries. Hence therefore I interrogated what you feel, as if the right rule of this life being retained and kept we were already secure, when in so many things, and especially in those which I have briefly commemorated as I could, I feel myself to labor most perilously. But because all this ignorance and difficulty seems to me to exist hence, that in a great variety of manners, and of souls having most occult wills and infirmities, we carry on the business of the people, not of the earthly and Roman, but of the celestial Jerusalem, it pleased me more to speak with you from that which we shall be, than from this which we are. For there although we know not what the future goods are, nevertheless we are certain of no small thing, that those evils will not be there.

6. Concerning the acting therefore of this temporal life, in that way, through which we must come to the eternal, I know that carnal concupiscences are to be bridled; and only so much is to be remitted into the delights of the corporal senses, as is sufficient for sustaining and acting this kind of life, and all temporal molestations, for the

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

7. But concerning the resurrection of bodies, and the future offices of the members in that incorruption and immortality, since you have interrogated me in turn what I feel, hear briefly what, if it will not be enough, can be more broadly disputed if the Lord aids. It is to be held most firmly, whence the truthful and clear sentence of the holy Scripture is, that these visible and earthly bodies which are now called animal,

will be spiritual in the resurrection of the faithful and just. Furthermore, what the quality of a spiritual body is, being unexperienced to us, in what way it can be either comprehended or insinuated, I know not. Certainly there will be no corruption there, and by this they will not then need that corruptible food which they now need; nor nevertheless will they not be able to take it, and truly consume it by power, not by necessity. Otherwise neither would the Lord have taken it after the resurrection, who so afforded to us the example of corporal resurrection, that hence the Apostle says: "If the dead rise not, neither did Christ rise" (I Cor. XV, 16). Who when He appeared with all members, and used their offices, He also demonstrated the places of the wounds. Which scars I have always accepted as scars, not the wounds themselves, and those very things by power, not by necessity. The facility of which power He then especially showed, when He either demonstrated Himself in another form, or in the house where the disciples were established, when the doors were closed, He appeared true (Luke XXIV, 15-43, and John XX, 14-29, and Mark XVI, 12, 14).

8. Hence arises a question concerning the Angels, whether they have bodies congruent to their offices and courses, or are they only spirits? For if we shall have said them to have, it occurs to us: "Who makes his Angels spirits" (Psalm CIII, 4). But if we shall have said them not to have, it has more of a scruple, how it is written that they were presented to the corporal senses of men without a body, received in hospitality, their feet

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

9. In the meantime, if you already hold anything more congruent to the truth, or have been able to hear it from teachers, I most studiously expect to know it through you. Recite indeed my epistle, for which since you pleaded because you had responded most hastily on account of the haste of the deacon, therefore I do not complain, but rather commemorate, that what was then

omitted, should now be rendered. And indeed concerning Christian leisure for perceiving or discoursing on Christian wisdom what you feel, and concerning the leisure which I thought was yours, whose incredible occupations have been announced to me, seek and see what I sought to know from you. (And in another hand.) Mindful of us, live happy, great joys and solaces of ours, holy ones of God.

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

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

1. Whatever you are according to the course of this world, we nevertheless most faithfully write to our most dear and sincere fellow-servant Olympius the Christian. For we know this to be more glorious to you than all glory, and more sublime than all sublimity. For fame indeed brought to us that you have attained a higher honor; which whether it was true, had not yet been confirmed among us, when this occasion of writing arose. But since we know that you have learned from the Lord not to savor high things, but to consent to the humble, to whatever height you had been promoted, we presume that you

will receive our letters not otherwise than you are accustomed, most beloved lord, and son honorably to be embraced in the members of Christ. We least doubt that you will prudently use temporal felicity for eternal lucre, so that as much more as you can in this earthly republic, so much more you may expend for that celestial city, which bore you in Christ, which will be more abundantly repaid to you in the region of the living, and in the true peace of the secure and of joys remaining without end.

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

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

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

EPISTLE XCVII. Augustine to Olympius, that he may protect the laws concerning the breaking of idols and correcting of heretics, which were

sent into Africa while Stilicho was living; and that he may make it known by his authority and industry that they were constituted by the will of the Emperor, and thus that the enemies of the Church may understand that they flourish nonetheless after the death of Stilicho.

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

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

2. And indeed many holy brothers, my colleagues, the Church being gravely perturbed, have set forth almost fleeing to the most glorious court, whom whether you have already seen, or have received their letters from the city of Rome on the occasion of any opportunity: I nevertheless, although I could communicate no counsel

with them, could not omit through this brother and fellow-presbyter of mine, who by urgent necessity for the salvation of his fellow-citizen, even in mid-winter was compelled in whatever way to come to those parts, both to salute and to admonish your charity which you have in Christ Jesus our Lord, that your good work may be accelerated with most diligent instance, by which the enemies of the Church may know those laws, which concerning the breaking of idols and correcting of heretics were sent into Africa while Stilicho was living, were constituted from the will of the most pious and faithful Emperor; whose ignorance or unwillingness they either deceitfully boast or willingly think, and hence they render the most turbulent minds of the ignorant, and most perilously and vehemently infest us.

3. But this which I admonish your excellence by petitioning or suggesting, I do not doubt is done by the will of all my colleagues through Africa; and I judge that by whatever occasion first arising it can and ought most easily to be matured, so that vain men may know, whose salvation although opposing we seek, that the laws which were sent for the Church of Christ, the son of Theodosius rather than Stilicho took care to be sent. Therefore indeed the mentioned presbyter, the bearer of these, since he is from the region of Milevitanum, was ordered by his bishop, my venerable brother Severus, who salutes much your most sincere Love with me, to pass through Hippo-Regius, where I am; because when by chance we were together in the great tribulations

and perturbations of the Church, we sought an occasion of writing to your Excellence, and did not find one. I had already indeed sent one epistle in the business of my holy brother and fellow-bishop Boniface, bishop of Cataquensis; but there had not yet arrived to us more grave things, which might more vehemently agitate us: for the compressing or correcting of which how it may be succored by a better counsel according to the way of Christ, more commodiously the bishops who for that reason sailed, will act with so much benignity of your heart, who were able to bring something more diligently deliberated by common counsel, as much as the narrowness of time permitted. Nevertheless that by which the province may know the mind of the most clement and religious prince towards the Church, I suggest, petition, beseech, demand that it be deferred in no way, but even before you see the bishops who set forth, as soon as your most excellent vigilance can for the members of Christ established in greatest tribulation, it be accelerated. For the Lord offered no small solace in these evils, that He willed you to be able much more than you were able, when we were already rejoicing concerning your many and great good works.

4. We truly congratulate much concerning the firm and stable faith of some, and not a few, who from the occasion of those same laws have been converted to the Christian religion or catholic peace; for whose eternal salvation it delights us to be endangered even in this temporal one. For therefore especially from men excessively and

harshly perverse, we now sustain more grave impulses of enmities, which some of them sustain most patiently with us: but we fear much for their infirmity, until they learn and are able, the most merciful grace of the Lord aiding, to contemn the present world and the day of men with a more valiant strength of heart. The commonitorium which I sent to the brother bishops, if, as I think, they are not yet there, let it be delivered to them by your Excellence when they come. For we have so great confidence of your most sincere breast, that, the Lord our God aiding, we wish you not only an imparter of aid, but even a participant of counsel.

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

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

1. You ask of me, whether parents hurt their baptized little ones, when they try to heal them by the sacrifices of demons. And if they do not hurt, how does the faith of parents profit them when they are baptized, whose perfidy cannot be a hindrance to them. Where I respond, that so great is the virtue of that Sacrament, that is of salutary Baptism in the holy frame of the body of Christ, that once generated through the carnal

pleasure of others, when once he shall have been regenerated through the spiritual will of others, henceforth he cannot be bound by the bond of another's iniquity, to which he consents by no will of his own. "For the soul of the father is mine," He says, "and the soul of the son is mine. The soul that shall have sinned, the same shall die" (Ezek. XVIII, 4): but it does not sin itself, when parents, or anyone else, apply the sacrileges of demons to it while it is entirely ignorant. But therefore it drew from Adam what should be dissolved by the grace of that Sacrament, because it was not yet a soul living separately, that is another soul of which it might be said, "And the soul of the father is mine, and the soul of the son is mine." Now therefore when a man is in himself, another effect from him who begot, he is not held obnoxious by the sin of another without his own consension. He drew therefore the guilt, because he was one with him and in him from whom he drew, when that which he drew was admitted. But one does not draw from another, when each one living his own proper life there is now whence it may be said, "The soul that shall have sinned, the same shall die."

2. But that he may be able to be regenerated through the office of another's will, when he is offered to be consecrated, one Spirit does this, from whom the one offered is regenerated. For it is not written, Unless anyone shall have been born again from the will of parents, or from the faith of those offering or ministering; but, "Unless anyone shall have been born again of water and the

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

so evil. For then he will begin also to have his own proper sins, which should not be taken away by regeneration, but healed by another curation.

3. Nevertheless parents, or any elders, trying to bind their sons or any baptized little ones to the sacrileges of demons, are rightly called spiritual homicides. For indeed they do not make a killing in them, but as much as is in them, they become killers. It is rightly said to them, when they are prohibited from this crime, "Do not kill your little ones": for the Apostle also says, "Extinguish not the Spirit" (I Thess. V, 19); not because He can be extinguished, but as much as is in them, they are deservedly called extinguishers of Him, who so act that they wish Him extinguished. In this sense it can be rightly understood what the most blessed Cyprian wrote in the epistle concerning the Lapsed, when arguing against those who in the time of persecution had immolated to idols: "And lest anything should be wanting," he says, "to the heap of crime, infants also being imposed or handled by the hands of parents, the little ones lost what they had attained in the first beginning of their birth." They lost, he said, as much as pertained to the crime of those, by whom they were compelled to lose. They lost in the mind and will of those, who committed so great a facinorous act against them. For if they had lost in themselves, they would have remained certainly by divine sentence to be damned without any defense. Which if holy Cyprian had arbitrated, he would not continuously subjoin their defense, saying:

"Will not they, when the day of judgment shall come, say, We did nothing, nor having derelicted the food and cup of the Lord, did we hasten of our own accord to profane contagions; another's perfidy lost us, we felt parents as parricides: they denied us the Church as mother, they denied the Lord as father, so that while small and improvident, and ignorant of so great a facinorous act, we are joined by others to the consortium of crime, we were captured by another's fraud?" He would not subnect this defense, unless he believed it most just and about to profit the little ones in the judgment of God. For if it is truly said, "We did nothing"; "The soul that shall have sinned, the same shall die," nor will they perish under the just judgment of God, whom parents by their own crime, as much as pertains to themselves, have lost.

But that which is commemorated in the same epistle, that a certain little girl, her parents being troubled into flight, was derelicted to a nurse, and by the same nurse impacted with the sacrileges of demons, afterwards in the church she rejected the Eucharist brought to her with wondrous motions, seems to me therefore done by divine power, lest the elders should think themselves to sin nothing against the little ones in that iniquity, but rather they should understand, through that signifying gesture of the body of those who could not speak, that they were wondrously admonished what they themselves ought to do, who after so great a nefas rushed into the salutary sacraments, from which they certainly ought

to abstain by repenting. Nor when divine providence acts any such thing through infants, is it to be believed that they themselves act it by science or reason. For neither because God willed to coerce the dementia of a certain prophet even by a speaking ass (Num. XXII, 28), therefore is the wisdom of asses to be admired. Furthermore if through an irrational animal there sounded something most similar to a man, which is to be attributed to a divine miracle, not to an asinine heart; so the Almighty could through the soul of an infant, not where there was no reason, but where it was yet asleep, show by the gesture of its body what those, who had sinned both against themselves and against their little ones, ought to take care of. Otherwise since an infant does not return into the parent, so that with him and in him he is one man, but he is entirely another, having his own flesh and his own soul, "The soul that shall have sinned, the same shall die."

5. Nor let that move you, that some bring little ones to receive Baptism not with that faith that they may be regenerated by spiritual grace to eternal life, but that they think they will retain or receive temporal health by this remedy. For they are not therefore not regenerated, because they are not offered by these with this intention. For the necessary ministries and the words of the sacraments are celebrated through them, without which the little one cannot be consecrated. But that Holy Spirit who dwells in the saints, from whom that one silvered dove is melted by the fire of charity, acts what He acts even through

the servitude, sometimes not only of those simply ignorant, but even of those damnably unworthy. Indeed little ones are offered to receive spiritual grace, not so much by those in whose hands they are carried (although also by them, if they themselves are also good faithful), as by the universal society of saints and of the faithful. For they are rightly understood to be offered by all, to whom it is pleasing that they are offered, and by whose holy and individual charity they are helped to the communication of the Holy Spirit. Therefore the whole mother Church, which is in the saints, does this, because the whole brings forth all, the whole brings forth each one. For if the sacrament of Christian baptism, when it is one and the same, is valid and sufficient for consecration even among heretics, although it may not suffice for participation in eternal life; which consecration indeed makes the heretic guilty having the dominical character outside the flock of the Lord, yet sound doctrine admonishes that he must be corrected, not similarly consecrated again: how much more in the Catholic Church even through the ministry of stubble are the grains to be purged carried, so that they may be led to the society of the mass by means of the floor?

6. But I do not want that to deceive you, so that you think the bond of guilt drawn from Adam cannot be otherwise broken, unless little ones are offered by parents to receive the grace of Christ: for thus you say in writing, "That just as parents were authors to their punishment, by the faith of

parents they might be justified in the same way": when you see many not offered by parents, but even by any strangers, as sometimes little slaves are offered by masters. And sometimes their parents being dead, little ones are baptized, offered by those who were able to show them this kind of mercy. Sometimes also those whom parents cruelly exposed to be nourished by anyone, are sometimes gathered by holy virgins, and are offered by them to Baptism; who certainly neither had any own children, nor dispose to have them: and by this you see nothing else done here, except what is written in the Gospel, when the Lord had asked who had been neighbor to that one wounded by robbers, and left half-dead in the way; for it was answered, "He who showed mercy on him" (Luke X, 37).

7. You certainly seemed to have proposed a most difficult question at the end of your inquiry, with that intention videlicet with which you are accustomed vehemently to beware of a lie. "If I set," you say, "before you a little one, and I ask whether when he has grown he will be chaste, or will not be a thief; without doubt you will answer: I do not know. And whether constituted in that same little age, he thinks anything of good or evil; you will say: I do not know. If therefore you dare promise nothing certain about his future morals, and about his present thought; what is that which when they are offered to Baptism, the parents answer for them as guarantors, and say that they do what that age cannot think, or if it can, it is hidden? For we ask those by whom they

are offered, and we say: Does he believe in God? Concerning that age, which ignores whether there is a God, they answer: He believes; and so it is answered to each of the other things which are asked. Wherefore I wonder that parents answer so confidently for the little one in these things, so that they say he does so great goods which at the hour in which he is baptized, the baptizer asks; yet at the same hour if I subjoin, Will he who is baptized be chaste, or will he not be a thief? I do not know whether anyone dares to say, He will be something of these, or he will not be, as he answers me without hesitation that he believes in God, and that he turns himself to God. Then concluding your writings, you add and say: "To these questions therefore I ask that you deign to answer briefly, so that you do not prescribe to me from custom, but render a reason."

8. These letters of yours being read and reread, and considered as much as the straits of time permitted, I remembered Nebridius my friend, who when he was a most diligent and sharp inquirer of obscure things pertaining maximally to the doctrine of piety, greatly hated a brief answer to a great question. And whoever had demanded this, he bore most hardly, and he, if his person permitted, would restrain him with an indignant countenance and voice, deputing him unworthy who should seek such things, when he was ignorant of how many things could and ought to be said about so great a matter. But I am not angry with you in a similar way, as he was wont to be: for you are a bishop occupied with many cares,

as I am; whence neither is there easily leisure for you to read anything prolix, nor for me to write it. For he, then an adolescent, who was unwilling to hear such things briefly, and sought concerning many things in our discourse, sought as one at leisure from one at leisure: but you now thinking who and from whom you demand these things, command me to answer briefly about so great a matter. Behold I do as much as I can; may the Lord help so that I can do what you ask.

9. Indeed we often speak so that, as Easter approaches, we say that the passion of the Lord is tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, although He suffered so many years ago, and that passion was not made at all except once. Indeed on the Lord's day itself we say, Today the Lord rose; although since He rose so many years have passed. Why is no one so inept that he should argue that we have lied in speaking so, except because we name these days according to the likeness of those in which these things were done, so that the day itself may be said to be that which is not itself, but similar to it by the revolution of time, and it may be said to be done on that day, on account of the celebration of the sacrament, which was not done on that day, but already long ago? Was not Christ immolated once in Himself, and yet in the sacrament not only through all the solemnities of Easter, but every day He is immolated for the peoples, nor indeed does he lie who being asked shall have answered that He is immolated? For if the sacraments had not a certain likeness of those things of which they are

sacraments, they would not be sacraments at all. But from this likeness they mostly receive even the names of the things themselves. Therefore just as according to a certain mode the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ, so the sacrament of faith is faith; but to believe is nothing else than to have faith. And by this when it is answered that a little one believes, who does not yet have the affection of faith, it is answered that he has faith on account of the sacrament of faith, and that he turns himself to God on account of the sacrament of conversion, because the answer itself pertains to the celebration of the sacrament. As concerning Baptism itself the Apostle says, "We were buried with Christ through Baptism into death" (Rom. VI, 4). He did not say, We signified burial; but he says directly, We were buried. Therefore he named the sacrament of so great a thing only with the word of the same thing.

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

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

EPISTLE XCIX.

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

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

1. I had received three epistles of your Benignity when I wrote these things. One which still demanded my letters, another which indicated that they had already reached you, the third which contained your most benevolent care for

us even concerning the house of the most illustrious and egregious young man Julian, which adheres to our walls. Which being received, I did not delay to answer continuously, because the procurator of your Excellency wrote that he could soon send to Rome: by whose letters we were heavily saddened, because he did not take care to insinuate to us those things which are being done there in the City or around the City, so that what we were unwilling to believe by uncertain fame might become certain among us. Indeed by the letters of the brothers previously transmitted, although troublesome and hard, yet much lighter things were announced. I wondered certainly more than can be said, that neither with such an opportunity of your men the holy brother bishops wrote, nor did your epistle insinuate anything to us about your so great tribulations; which certainly through the bowels of charity are also ours; unless perhaps you did not think it ought to be done, because you led it to profit nothing, or you were unwilling for us to be saddened by your letters. It profits something, as much as I judge, to know even these things. First, because it is unjust to wish to rejoice with those who rejoice, and not to wish to weep with those who weep (Rom. XII, 15): then, because tribulation works patience, patience probation, probation hope, but hope does not confound, because the charity of God has been diffused in our hearts through the Holy Spirit, who has been given to us (Rom. V, 3-5).

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

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

adheres to another ancient church, just as this one of which it is treated, to another.

EPISTLE C.

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

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

1. I would certainly not wish the African Church to be constituted in these afflictions, so that it should stand in need of the aid of any earthly power. But because, as the Apostle says, "There is no power but from God" (Rom. XIII, 1); without doubt, when it is subvened by you, the most sincere sons of the Catholic mother, our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth (Psalm CXX, 2). For who does not feel in so great evils a no small consolation sent to us by divine power, when you, such a man and most loving of the name of Christ, have been sublimated with proconsular insignia, so that the power associated might restrain the enemies of the Church from wicked and sacrilegious attempts towards your good will, O lord eximious and worthily honorable and insignificantly laudable son? Finally there is only one thing which we greatly fear in your justice, lest perhaps, since whatever evil is committed by impious and ungrateful men against Christian society, it is indeed more grave and atrocious than if such things were committed against others, you also

for the immanity of the crimes, and not rather for the consideration of Christian lenity, should judge it must be punished; which we beseech you through Jesus Christ that you do not do. For neither do we seek vengeance for enemies in this land, nor in truth ought those things which we suffer to straiten us to those anxieties of mind, so that we should forget what He commanded us, for whose truth and name we suffer: we love our enemies and pray for them. Wherefore from the opportunity of terrible judges and laws, lest they fall into the punishments of eternal judgment, we desire them to be corrected, not killed; nor do we wish discipline to be neglected around them, nor to be exercised with the punishments of which they are worthy. So therefore restrain their sins, so that there may be those whom it may repent to have sinned.

2. We ask therefore that when you hear the causes of the Church, however much you shall have known it to be attacked or afflicted by nefarious injuries, you forget that you have the power of killing, and that you do not forget our petition. Let it not be vile to you, nor contemptible, O son honorably most beloved, that we ask you that they may not be killed, for whom we ask the Lord that they may be corrected. Besides even that we ought not to recede from the perpetual purpose of overcoming evil in good; let your prudence also think that, that no one cares to insinuate ecclesiastical causes to you except ecclesiastics. Therefore, if you shall have thought that men ought to be killed in these crimes, you will deter

us lest through our work anything such reach your judgment: which being discovered they will rage with more licentious audacity for our destruction, the necessity having been impacted and indicted for us, so that we may choose even to be killed by them, rather than we bring them to your judgments to be killed. I ask that you do not receive this admonition, petition, and obsecration of mine with contempt. For neither do I judge that you do not remember, that I could have had a great confidence in you even if I were not a bishop, you being sublimated much higher than you are now. Let the Donatist heretics know meanwhile through the edict of your Excellency, that the laws passed against their error remain, which they already judge and boast to be of no value, lest even so they can spare us to some extent. But you will aid our labors and dangers most greatly, that they may be fruitful, if you do not so care for their most vain sect and one most full of impious pride to be compressed by imperial laws, that it may seem to them or to theirs that they sustain whatever troubles for truth and justice: but that you allow them, when this is asked from you, to be convinced and instructed with the most manifest documents of certain things before the Acts either of your Excellency or of the minor judges, so that even those who are held by your command, may flex, if it can be, their hard will to the better, and read those things healthfully to the others. Indeed diligence is more onerous than useful, although so that a great evil

may be deserted, and a great good be held, men should only be coerced, not taught.

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

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

not wish me to be saddened by you concerning this matter, so that you think I ought to deny you anything, I who most gratefully acknowledge that I owe myself to you much more.

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

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

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

God according to Solomon. 6. Concerning Jonah the prophet.

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

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

2. And that in the first place I wish you to know, that this is not my office, that I myself should answer to all things which are proposed against our faith by pagans or by any other heretics. For I am not alone in the Church, who can dissolve these things; but there are many others and far to be preferred to me, who can effect this much better and more easily. Nevertheless because the charity of Christ urges us, and because you wished me to do this, I have not

suffered this petition of yours to remain without effect.

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

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

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

the purpose" (Rom. VIII, 28). Concerning which vocation he says: "That He may have you worthy of His holy vocation" (II Thess. I, 11). This book, after the epistle which was afterwards added at the beginning, thus begins: "It moves certain ones, and they inquire."

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

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

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

1. The questions proposed to you you have preferred to delegate to me, not, as I judge, from laziness, but because you more willingly hear from us those very things which you know, since you love us too much. But I for that reason preferred them to be opened by you, because that very friend who proposed them, as much as is given to be conjectured from this: that he did not write back to me to certain epistles, as if he is ashamed to follow us; let him see for what cause. This however I suspect, nor is my suspicion either malevolent or absurd, since you also know very well how much I love him, and how much it is a grief to me that he is not yet a Christian; and certainly I judge it not inconveniently that he, whom I see to have been unwilling to write back to me, has wished nothing to be written to him by me.

Therefore I beseech you, that just as I have obeyed you, and among my most narrow occupations, I feared to offend your holy and most dear will to me if I did not do what you asked, so you also should do what I ask. This however is, that you should not be reluctant to answer to all things for him briefly, as he requested from you, as you indicated to me, which you could have done even before. For you will know when you have read, that almost nothing was said by me which you yourself did not know, or which you were not able to know while I was silent. But this work of mine I ask that you have with the others, to whose study you know it to be suitable. But that of yours which I demand, let him have to whom this most especially is congruent, and the others whom those things delight not a little, in the manner they can be said by you, among whom I also am. May you live always in Christ, mindful of us.

FIRST QUESTION. ON THE RESURRECTION.

2. It moves some, and they inquire concerning two resurrections which one may suit the promised resurrection, whether that of Christ or of Lazarus? If that of Christ, they say, how can this suit the resurrection of those born from seed, of Him who was born by no condition of seed? But if the resurrection of Lazarus is asserted to suit, not even this seems to be congruent: since the resurrection of Lazarus was made from a body not yet decaying, from that body by which he was called Lazarus; but ours will be extracted from what is confused many centuries after. Then

if after the resurrection the state is going to be blessed, with no injury of the body, no necessity of hunger, what does it mean that Christ was fed, and showed His wounds? But if He did it on account of the unbelieving one, He feigned: but if He showed what is true, therefore in the resurrection wounds are going to be received.

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

4. But lest even this very thing which is written concerning the first man, infidel men should

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

5. But as much as pertains to that difference, that the body of Christ, not dissolved by decay and putrefaction, rose on the third day, but ours after a long time will be repaired from a certain confusion, into which they had departed having been dissolved; to human faculty both are impossible, but to divine power both are most easy. For as the ray of our eye does not reach more quickly to nearer things, more slowly to more distant things, but touches both intervals with equal speed; so when "in the twinkling of an eye" (I Cor. XV, 52), as the Apostle says, the resurrection

of the dead happens, it is as easy for the omnipotence of God and His ineffable will to raise up both recent corpses and those decayed by a long time. These things are incredible to some, because unexperienced; when all the nature of things is so full of miracles, that not as if by an easy investigation of reason, but by the custom of seeing, they are not strange, and on account of this, they seem worthy neither of consideration nor of inquiry. For I, and whoever with me strive to understand the invisible things of God through those things which have been made (Rom. I, 20), are either no less or more greatly admired, that in one so very small grain of seed, all things which we praise in a tree lay hid as if woven together, than that so vast a bosom of this world, which it assumes from human bodies while they decay, should restore them whole and entire to the future resurrection.

6. But how is it contrary, both that Christ was fed after the resurrection, and that in the resurrection which is promised there will be no need of foods; since we read that even the Angels took food of the same sort and in the same way, not in a feigned and empty phantasm, but in most manifest truth; and yet not by necessity, but by power? For in one way the thirsting earth absorbs water, in another the glowing ray of the sun: the former by need, the latter by power. Therefore the body of the future resurrection will be of imperfect happiness if it could not take foods; of imperfect happiness if it lacked foods. I could here dispute more widely about the changes of

corporal qualities, and about the very powerful strength of superior bodies over inferior ones; but it is proposed to me to answer briefly, and it is written for such geniuses whom it will have sufficed to admonish.

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

as I said above, would be convicted as false, if no wounds were being healed.

SECOND QUESTION. ON THE TIME OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

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

was done with the Roman or Latin souls, which were widowed of the grace of the not yet coming Christ, even until the time of the Caesars?»

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

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

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

11. Wherefore since we call Christ the Word of God through which all things were made, and therefore the Son because He is the Word, nor a Word spoken and passed away, but remaining Himself incommutable and incommutably with the incommutable Father, under whose regime the entire creature, spiritual and corporal, is administered according to the congruence of times and places, the wisdom and knowledge of what, when, and where ought to be done concerning it is in His power; assuredly both before He propagated the Hebrew nation, through which He

might prefigure the manifestation of His advent by suitable sacraments, and in the times of the Israelitish kingdom themselves, and then when He showed Himself mortally to mortals in the flesh accepted from the virgin, and thereafter even until now, when He fulfills all things which He foretold before through the Prophets, and from hence even until the end of the age, when He is to separate the saints from the impious, and to render to each his own, He Himself is the same Son of God, co-eternal with the Father, and the incommutable Wisdom through which the entire nature was created, and by the participation of which every rational soul becomes blessed.

12. Therefore from the beginning of the human race, whoever believed in Him, and in whatever way understood Him, and lived piously and justly according to His precepts, whenever and wherever they may have been, through Him without doubt they were made safe. For as we believe in Him both remaining with the Father, and who has now come in the flesh, so the ancients believed in Him, both remaining with the Father, and about to come in the flesh. Nor because on account of the variety of times that is now announced as done, which then was foreannounced as future, is the faith itself on that account varied, or the salvation itself diverse. Nor because one and the same thing is either preached or prophesied by some sacred rites and sacraments and others, is it on that account necessary to understand some things and others, or some salvations and others. But as to what may happen when,

which may pertain to one and the same liberation of the faithful and pious, let us attribute the counsel to God and hold obedience for ourselves. Therefore by some names and signs then, and by others now, and earlier more hiddenly, afterwards more manifestly, and earlier by fewer, afterwards by more, one and the same true religion is nevertheless signified and observed.

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

14. For if they should say that for that reason the Pythagorean discipline was not always nor everywhere, because Pythagoras was a man, and was not able to have this in his power; can they also say this, that at that very time when he

was, and in those places of the earth where that philosophy flourished, all who were able to hear him, wished also to believe and follow him? And on account of this more, if Pythagoras had been of such power, that he might preach his dogmas where he wished, and when he wished, even if he also had with that power the highest foreknowledge of things, he would nowhere and never appear, except where and when he foreknew that men would believe him. Therefore, since they do not object to Christ, that not all follow His doctrine; for they themselves also feel that this can by no means be rightly objected, either to the wisdom of philosophers, or even to the numen of their gods; what will they answer if, that depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God being excepted, where perhaps another divine counsel lies hidden far more secretly, without prejudice also of other causes which can perhaps be investigated by the prudent, we should say this alone to them for the sake of brevity, in the disputation of this question, that Christ then wished to appear to men, and His doctrine to be preached among them, when He knew, and where He knew there were those who were going to believe in Him? For in these times and these places, in which His Gospel was not preached, He foreknew that all would be such in His preaching, as not indeed all, but yet many were in His corporal presence, who were unwilling to believe in Him even when the dead had been raised by Him: as we see many even now, when the proclamations of the Prophets concerning Him are fulfilled with such

manifestation, still being unwilling to believe, and preferring to resist with human astuteness, rather than to yield to a divine authority so clear and conspicuous and so sublime and sublimely spread abroad. As long as the understanding of man is small and weak, it ought to yield to divine truth. What wonder therefore if Christ had known the world of the lands in prior ages to be so full of infidels, that He deservedly would not wish to appear to them, or to be preached to them, whom He foreknew would believe neither His words nor His miracles? For neither is it incredible that all were then such, as we admire so many to have been and to be from His advent even until this time.

15. And yet from the beginning of the human race, at one time more hiddenly, at another more evidently, as it seemed divinely to suit the times, neither did it cease to be prophesied, nor were those wanting who believed in Him, from Adam even to Moses, and in the people of Israel itself, which by a certain special mystery was a prophetic nation, and in other nations before He had come in the flesh. For since some are commemorated in the holy Hebrew Books already from the time of Abraham, neither from the lineage of his flesh, nor from the people of Israel, nor from an adventitious society in the people of Israel, who nevertheless were partakers of this sacrament; why should we not believe that even in the rest of the nations here and there, there were some and others, although we do not read them commemorated in the same authorities?

Thus the salvation of this religion, through which alone true salvation is truly and veraciously promised, was never wanting to anyone who was worthy, and to whom it was wanting, he was not worthy. And from the beginning of human propagation, even until the end, it is preached to some for a reward, to others for judgment. And on account of this both those to whom it was not announced at all, were foreknown as not going to believe; and those to whom it was announced though not going to believe, are demonstrated for an example of those; but those to whom it is announced being about to believe, these are prepared for the kingdom of heaven and for the society of the holy Angels.

21. Moreover, that the sacrifices distributed by the divine elocutions according to the fitness of the times, so that some were performed before the manifestation of the New Testament, which is ministered from that very truth as the victim of the one priest, that is, from the shed blood of Christ, and another now which is suitable to this manifestation, we who are already called by the declared name of Christians offer, is demonstrated not only by the evangelical but also by the prophetic Writings. Indeed, a change not of God, nor of the religion itself, but of the sacrifices and sacraments, would now seem impudently preached, unless it had been predicted before. For just as one and the same man, if he should offer one thing to God in the morning, another in the evening, according to the fitness of the time of day, does not change God nor the religion, just as

he who greets in one way in the morning and another in the evening does not change his greeting: so in the whole tract of the ages, when one thing was offered by the ancient saints, and another is offered by those who are now, the sacred mysteries are celebrated not by human presumption but by divine authority, suitable to the times, and neither God nor religion is changed.

QUESTION FOUR.

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

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

23. That this question was objected and proposed by any kind of philosopher at all, is difficult to believe: especially one who says, "Every measure is circumscribed by time," as if there were not accustomed to be a measure except of times, such as of hours and days and years; or as we say that a short syllable has a single time, in relation

to a long syllable. For I think that modii and baskets, urns and amphorae, are not measures of times. How then is every measure circumscribed by time? Do they not themselves say that this sun is everlasting? who nevertheless dare to scrutinize and report by geometric measures how great it is in relation to the earth. Whether they can or cannot do this, it is certain nevertheless that it has its own measure of its orb. Because even if they comprehend how great it is, they comprehend its measure; and if they do not attain this, they surely do not comprehend its measure: nor is it therefore none, because men cannot know it. Therefore something can be both everlasting, and have a certain measure of its own mode. For I have spoken according to them concerning the eternity of the sun, that they might be convinced by their own opinion, and might concede that something can exist with an everlasting measure. And thus they should not think that the eternal punishment which Christ threatened is not to be believed, because He also said: "In what measure you have measured, it shall be measured back to you."

24. For if He had said, "What you have measured, this shall be measured to you"; even so it would not be altogether necessary to refer the sentence to the same thing in every part. For we can rightly say, "What you have planted, this you shall pluck"; although no one plants a fruit but a wood, but plucks a fruit rather than a wood: but we say that according to the genus of the tree, because he does not plant a fig from which he

may pluck a nut. So it could be said, "What you have done you shall suffer": not so that if he has committed adultery, he may suffer adultery; but what he did to the law by that sin, this the law should do to him, that is, because he took away from his life the law prohibiting such things, the law itself should also take him away from the life of men which it governs. Likewise if He had said, "As much as you have measured, so much shall be measured back to you"; neither so would it be a consequence that we ought to understand punishments equal to the sins in every way. For wheat and barley are not equal, for example; and surely it could be said, "As much as you have measured, so much shall be measured back to you," that is, as much of wheat, as much of barley. But if it were dealt with concerning pains and it were said, "As much pain as you have inflicted, so much shall be inflicted on you"; it could happen that the pain might be so great, although longer in time, that is, of greater delay, but equal in force. For neither if we say concerning two lamps, "This fire grew hot as much as that one"; will it therefore be false, because one of them was perhaps extinguished sooner. Not therefore if something is so much according to one thing, and is not so much according to another, because it is not so much in every way, therefore is the mode in which it is so much false.

25. But when He said, "In what measure you have measured, it shall be measured back to you," and since it is manifest that the measure in which something is measured is one thing, and the

thing itself which is measured is another; it can now happen that in the measure in which men had measured, for example, a modius of wheat, in that same measure thousands of modii might be measured to them, so that there might be so great a difference in the quantity of the grain, and none in the measure: to say nothing of the diversity of the things themselves; because not only can it happen that in the measure in which one measured barley, in that wheat may be measured to him, but in the measure in which he measured grain, in that gold may be measured to him, and of the grain there may be one modius, but of the gold, very many. Thus, when without comparison of the things themselves, both the genus and the quantity differ, it can nevertheless be most rightly said: "In what measure he measured, in that it was measured to him." But from where Christ said this, is clear enough a little above: "Judge not," He says, "that you be not judged: for in what judgment you have judged, you shall be judged." Shall they, if they judge with an unjust judgment, be judged with an unjust judgment? Far be it. For there is no iniquity with God. But it was so said, "In what judgment you have judged, in that you shall be judged," as if it were said: In what will you have done good, in that same you shall be liberated; or, in what will you have done evil, in that same you shall be punished. As if anyone using his eyes for base concupiscence were ordered to be blinded, he would surely rightly hear: "In those eyes in which you sinned, in them you have deserved punishment." For each

one uses the judgment of his own mind, whether good or evil, either for doing good or for sinning. Wherefore it is not unjust that in that in which he judges he should be judged, that is, that he should pay the penalties in the very judgment of his own mind, when he suffers those evils which follow upon a mind that judges wrongly.

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

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

27. For the will itself is punished, whether by a punishment of the mind or of the body; so that she who is delighted in sins, may herself be punished in penalties, and that he who judges without mercy, may be judged without mercy: and in this sentence, indeed, the same measure is for this alone, that what he did not provide, may not be provided to him; and thus that which he himself is judged will be eternal, although that which he judged could not be eternal. In the same measure, therefore, although of non-eternal misdeeds, eternal punishments are measured back; so that because he wished to have an eternal enjoyment of sin, he may find an eternal severity of vengeance. But the proposed brevity of my response does not permit me to collect all things, or certainly as many as possible which the holy Books have concerning sins and concerning the punishments of sins, and from these to draw out

one sentence without any ambiguity, if indeed I should be able to do this by the powers of my mind, even if I should obtain suitable leisure. Now, however, I think it has been shown sufficiently, that it is not contrary to the eternity of punishments, that they are rendered in the same measure in which the sins were committed.

QUESTION FIVE.

Concerning the Son of God according to Solomon.

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

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

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

QUESTION SIX. CONCERNING THE PROPHET JONAH.

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

of question mocked with much laughter by the Pagans.

31. To this it is answered, that either all divine miracles are not to be believed; or there is no cause why this should not be believed. For we would not believe in Christ Himself, that He rose on the third day, if the faith of Christians feared the laughter of the Pagans. But since our friend did not propose a question from this, whether it is to be believed either that Lazarus was raised on the fourth day, or that Christ Himself rose on the third day; I wonder much that he has posed this which was done concerning Jonah as incredible: unless perhaps he thinks it easier for a dead man to be raised from the tomb, than for a living man to have been able to be preserved in so vast a belly of a beast. For to omit mentioning how great a magnitude of sea-beasts is indicated by those who have experienced it; how many men that belly which those ribs protected—which, fixed in public at Carthage, are known to the people—could contain in its space, who would not guess, by how great a gap that mouth lay open, which was like the door of that cave? Unless perhaps, as he posed, the garment were an impediment lest Jonah could be swallowed unharmed, as if he had squeezed himself through narrow passages, who, precipitated through the abruptness of the air, was so received that he was first received by the belly of the beast before he was lacerated by the tooth. Although Scripture says neither that he was cast into that cavern naked nor clothed, so that it can be understood that he rushed in

there even naked, if perhaps there was need, just as the skin from an egg, so the garment might be pulled from him, that he might be swallowed more easily. For men are so solicitous concerning the garment of this prophet, as if he were said either to have crept through a small window or to have entered into baths; where even if it were necessary to enter clothed, it would scarcely be troublesome, yet not wonderful.

32. But they have indeed what they may not believe in a divine miracle, that the vapor of the belly by which foods are softened, could have been so tempered that it might preserve the life of a man. How much more incredible therefore would they propose those three men, sent into the furnace by an impious king, to have walked in the midst of the fire unharmed? Wherefore if they will to believe no divine miracles, they are to be refuted by another disputation. For they ought not to propose one thing as if incredible, and call it into question, but all things which either such, or even more wonderful things are narrated. And yet if this which is written concerning Jonah were said to have been done by Apuleius of Madaura, or Apollonius of Tyana, of whom they boast many wonders with no faithful author, although even demons do some things similar to the holy Angels, not in truth but in appearance, not in wisdom but clearly in fallacy: yet, if concerning these, as I said, whom they praisefully name as magi or philosophers, something of the kind were narrated, laughter would no longer crackle in their cheeks, but pride (typhus). Thus let them

laugh at our Scriptures: as much as they can, let them laugh, while through each day they see themselves becoming rarer and fewer, either by dying or by believing; while all things are fulfilled which they predicted who laughed so long before at those about to fight in vain against the truth, to bark in vain, to fail by degrees, and left those things not only to be read by us their posterity, but promised them to be experienced.

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

34. Hence, why is it asked of us what that prefigured, that the beast rendered the swallowed prophet alive on the third day, since Christ sets this forth? "A wicked and adulterous generation,"

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

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

sinners to repentance (Luke V, 32). The shadow therefore of the gourd over his head were the promises of the Old Testament, or even those very gifts, in which was surely, as the Apostle says, "a shadow of things to come" (Coloss. II, 17), providing as it were a defense from the heat of temporal evils in the land of promise. But the morning worm, by whose gnawing the gourd withered, is the same Christ again, from whose mouth, when the Gospel was spread abroad, all those things which flourished temporally among the Israelites or as in a shadowy signification before, being emptied out, wither away. And now that people, having lost the Jerusalem kingdom, and the priesthood, and the sacrifice, all of which was a shadow of the future, is parched in a captive dispersion by the great heat of tribulation, just as Jonah, as it is written, by the burning of the sun (Jonah IV, 8), and grieves heavily; and yet to its grief and to the shadow which it loved, the salvation of the Gentiles and of those repenting is preferred.

36. Let the Pagans still laugh, and already deride Christ as a worm, and this interpretation of the prophetic sacrament with a more proud garrulity, while nevertheless He consumes them also gradually and by degrees. For concerning all such Isaiah prophesies, through whom God says to us: "Hearken unto me, ye that know judgment, my people, in whose heart is my law: fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye overcome by their detractions, nor think it a great matter that they despise you." For as a garment, so shall they

be consumed by time, and as wool they shall be eaten by the moth; but my justice remains for ever (Isai. LI, 7, 8). Let us therefore recognize the morning worm, because also in that psalm whose title is inscribed, "For the morning undertaking," He deigned to call Himself by this name: "I," He says, "am a worm, and no man; a reproach of men, and an outcast of the people." This reproach is from those reproaches which we are commanded not to fear through Isaiah saying: "Fear ye not the reproach of men." By this worm as by a moth they are eaten, who under His evangelical tooth see themselves each day failing in their fewness. Let us recognize Him, and for the sake of divine salvation, let us suffer human reproaches. He is a worm on account of the humility of the flesh; perhaps also on account of the virgin's birth. For this animal is mostly born from flesh, or from any earthly thing, without any sexual intercourse. He is morning, because He rose at dawn. That gourd surely could have withered even without any small worm. Finally if God had a worm necessary for this, what need was there to add "morning," except that that worm might be recognized, who sings for the morning undertaking: "But I am a worm, and no man"?

37. What is more lucid than that prophecy by the very effect and fulfillment of things? If this worm was mocked when He hung on the cross, as it is written in the same psalm, "They spoke with their lips, and wagged their head." "He hoped in God, let Him deliver him; let Him save him, since He wills him," when those things

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

38. We have set forth the proposed things as we were able: but let him who proposed them already be a Christian, lest perhaps while he

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

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

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

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

2. Therefore when you compelled us to the cult and religion of the most high God, I heard gladly; when you persuaded that the heavenly fatherland is to be gazed upon, I accepted gratefully. For you did not seem to me to speak of that city which some mural circuit constrains, nor that which

the treatise of philosophers mentioning as mundane professes to be common to all; but which the great God, and souls having well deserved of Him, inhabit and dwell in, which all laws by diverse ways and paths seek, which we are not able to express by speaking, but might perhaps be able to find by thinking. This therefore although it is principally to be sought and loved, nevertheless I do not think that one is to be deserted, in which we were born and begotten: which first infused into us the use of this light, which nourished, which educated, and, that I may say what properly pertains to the cause, concerning which most learned men report that for well-deserving men, after the death of the body a domicile is prepared in heaven, so that a certain promotion to the supernal may be provided to those men who have well deserved of their natal cities; and these dwell more with God, who are shown to have given salvation, either by counsels or by works, to their fatherland. Already that which you deigned to say jocularly, that our city burns not with arms but with flames and conflagrations, and engenders thorns rather than flowers, is not a very great reprehension, since we know that flowers are mostly generated from thorns. For who doubts that even roses are born from thorns, and that the fruits themselves are hedged in by a rampart of awns, so that sweet things are mostly mixed with harsh ones.

3. The last thing in the letters of your Excellence was that not the head or blood was demanded in vengeance of the Church, but that

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

4. Now since I have responded not as much as I ought, but as much as I was able, more as it is said, or less, I pray and beseech, would that I were able to be present, so that you might also perceive my tears, that you might think again and again who you are, what you profess, what

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

EPISTLE CIV.

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

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

CHAPTER ONE.

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

mies, either through us or through anyone else; but, as I said, if rumor has brought anything of the sort to you, explain it more clearly, so that we may know either what to do so that these things do not happen, or what we ought to respond to those who believe these things.

2. Look rather at my letters, which you were loath to answer; for there I expressed our mind sufficiently: but, as I think, having forgotten what I wrote back to you, you have related to me things altogether different and dissimilar. Indeed, as if remembering what I placed in my letters, you have inserted into yours what I did not place at all. For you say it was the last thing in my letters, that neither head nor blood is demanded in the Church's vengeance, but the things for which they most fear being despoiled. Then, showing how great an evil this is, you join and weave in, unless opinion deceives you, that you judge it to be more grievous to be despoiled of resources than to be killed. And so that you might more clearly explain about which resources you spoke, you go on and add that I know from frequent reading in literature that death brings a sense of all evils, but a needy life produces eternal calamity. Then you concluded that it is more grievous to live in evils than to end evils by death.

3. And indeed, I do not recall having read anywhere, neither in our literature, to which I confess I applied my mind later than I would have wished, nor in yours, which I learned from early age, that a needy life produces eternal calamity. For laborious poverty has never been a sin, and it

is a certain restriction and coercion of sins. And through this, it is not to be feared that for anyone after this brief life, this might avail for the eternal calamity of the soul—that he lived poor here; and in this very life which we spend on earth, in no way can any calamity be eternal, since that same life cannot be eternal, which is not even long-lasting, to whatever age or senility it may reach. For I read this rather in those letters: since the very life we enjoy is short, in which you judge, and now warn from frequent reading, that there can be eternal calamity. That death is the end of all evils, your letters indeed have, but not even all of them; for that is the opinion of the Epicureans, and if there are any others who think the soul is mortal. But those whom Tully calls, as it were, consular philosophers, because he weighs their authority greatly, judge that when we experience our last day, the soul is not extinguished, but emigrates, and they assert that its merits also, whether good or evil, remain either for beatitude or for misery. This agrees also with the Sacred Letters, of which I desire to be a student. Death, therefore, is the end of evils, but in those whose life is chaste, pious, faithful, and innocent, not in those who, burning with the desire for temporal trifles and vanities, even when they seem happy to themselves here, are proven wretched by the very depravity of their will, and are compelled not only to have but even to feel more grievous miseries after death.

4. Therefore, since these things are frequent both in some of your writings, which you hold

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

CHAPTER II.

5. Review my letter, if indeed you held it worthy, if not to be reread when it had to be answered, at least to be put away so that it might be brought forth for you when you wished; and attend to what I said; you will surely find this, which I think you would confess you have not answered. For I now insert my words from that letter: "We do not strive," I say, "to feed our

anger by avenging past things, but we are busy by mercifully consulting for the future. Evil men have the means by which they may be punished through Christians not only mildly, but even usefully and healthfully. For they have the fact that they live with an uninjured body, they have that from which they live, they have that from which they live badly. Let the first two remain safe, so that there may be those who repent; this we desire, this, as much as in us lies, we even insist upon with spent labor. But if the Lord wills to cut away the third, as if it were rotten and harmful, He will punish most mercifully." If you had reviewed these words of mine when you deigned to write back to me, you would have thought that we were to be asked for the avoiding not only of death but also of corporal tortures for those on whose behalf you act, more invidiously than dutifully; since I said we wish that what they live with an uninjured body be safe in them. Nor would you surely dread through us a needy life for them, such that they would lack sustenance imparted by others; for I said we wish that second thing also to be safe, that they have from which they live. But as for the third, that they have from which they live badly—that is, to say nothing else, certainly that from which the silver fabric of false gods, truly idols, for the sake of either preserving or adoring or still worshipping with sacrilegious rite, they might even rush to the burning of the church of God, and that the supports of the most religious poor be offered to be plundered by the unhappy mob, and blood be

shed—you who consult for your city, why do you fear it being cut away, lest an audacity nourished and strengthened by pernicious impunity should grow altogether? Explain this to us, teach this with circumspect disputation, what evil there is; carefully attend to what we say, lest you seem to object to that which we say to you as if by a certain oblique accusation under the guise of asking.

6. Let your citizens be honest, with upright morals, not with superfluous resources: we do not wish them to be led by that coercion through us to the plow of Quintius and to the hearth of Fabricius. By which poverty those princes of the Roman republic not only were not cheapened to their citizens, but for that reason were especially dearer, and more fit for governing the wealth of the fatherland. Nor do we desire or act so that only ten pounds of silver remain to the rich of your fatherland, like that of Ruffinus, twice consul; which then a laudably severe censure judged still to be cut away as a vice. Only the custom of a discolored age persuades us to handle too withered souls more mildly, so that what seemed just to those censors seems too much to Christian mildness: and you see how much difference there is, whether it is a fault already to be punished to have so much, or because of other most grave faults, to permit that someone have so much; what then was already a sin, now we wish to be at least the penalty of sin. But there is what can and ought to be done, so that severity does not proceed even to those things, nor a too secure impunity rejoice and rage, and an example of

imitation be proposed to the unhappy for most grave and hidden punishments. At least concede that those who strive to burn and devastate our necessities should fear for their too superfluous things. Let it be allowed to bestow also this benefit on our enemies, so that while they fear for things which it is not harmful to lose, they may not attempt to commit what is harmful to themselves. For neither is this to be called a vengeance for sin, but a protection of counsel; this is not to inflict punishment, but to fortify against receiving punishment.

7. Whoever deprives the imprudent of something with some sense of pain, lest he pay most atrocious penalties having become accustomed to superfluous crimes, pulls a boy's hair, lest he clap his hands at serpents; and thus, where the love is troublesome, no limb is injured, but where it deters, health and life are in danger. We are not beneficent then when we do that which is asked of us, but when we do that which may not hinder the petitioners. For we profit many by not giving, and we would harm them if we had given. Whence that proverb: "Neither to a boy a sword." "But you," says Tully, "not even to an only son." For in that by which we love anyone most, in that we ought least to commit to him those things in which one sins with great danger. And if I am not mistaken, he was speaking about riches when he dealt with these things. Accordingly, things which are dangerously committed to those using them badly are even often healthfully taken away. Physicians, when they see a rot to be cut

and burned, often mercifully grow deaf against many tears. If as often as we, when little or even somewhat grown, prayed for pardon for our sins, we had received it from parents or teachers, which of us would have grown up to be tolerable? Who would have learned anything useful? These things are done providently, not cruelly. Do not, I pray, in this cause intend nothing else than how you may effect with us what you are asked by your people: but consider all things diligently. If you neglect past things, which having been done cannot now be undone, look forward somewhat for the future; prudently attend not to what they desire who ask you, but to what is expedient for them. We are surely not proven to love them faithfully if we only look to this, lest, by not doing what they demand, the fact that we are loved by them should be diminished. And where is it that even your writings praise that ruler of the fatherland who consults for the utility of the people rather than for their will?

CHAPTER III.

8. "It matters not," you say, "what kind of sin it seems to be when indulgence is asked." You would say this rightly if it were a matter of punishing men, not of correcting them. For far be it from a Christian heart to be snatched to the punishment of anyone by the lust for revenging. Far be it that in dismissing a sin for anyone, he either does not anticipate the prayers of the petitioner or surely follows them immediately: but this at least, lest he should hate the man, lest he

should repay evil for evil, lest he be inflamed by the heat of harming, lest he should desire to be fed even by a vengeance due by law; but not lest he consult, lest he look forward, lest he restrain from evils. For it can happen that by opposing more vehemently, one neglects the correction of the man whom he hates more gravely, and by some trouble in coercing makes better him whom he loves most.

9. For "repentance also," as you write, "obtains pardon and purges the committed act": but that which is done in true religion, which thinks of the future judgment of God; not that which for the hour is either exhibited or feigned to men, not so that the soul may be purged from fault forever, but so that in the meantime life, quickly about to perish, may be freed from the present fear of trouble. Hence it is that for Christians confessing and praying, who had been involved in that fault, either by not succoring the church about to burn, or by taking away something from most wicked plunderings, we believed the pain of repentance to be fruitful, and we thought it sufficient for their correction, because the faith is in their hearts, by which they could consider what they ought to fear concerning the divine judgment. But what repentance can heal those who not only neglect to acknowledge the very fountain of indulgence but also do not cease to mock and blaspheme? And yet against these we do not retain enmities in our heart, which is open and naked to Him whose judgment we fear and whose help we hope for both in the present

and in the future life. But we think that we also provide something for them if men who do not fear God should fear something by which their utility is not harmed, but their vanity is chastised; lest God Himself, whom they spurn, should be more gravely offended with a harmful security by more audacious deeds, and lest that same security should be proposed to others for imitation much more perniciously. Finally, for those on whose behalf we are asked by you, we ask God for them that He may convert them to Himself, so that, cleansing their hearts by faith, He may teach them to perform true and healthful repentance.

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

most pernicious impunity of crime, but for the grace of everlasting happiness.

11. You have the thoughts and vows of my breast set forth in this cause. But what may lie hidden in the counsel of God, I confess, I am a man, I do not know: whatever that is, it is more just, and wiser, and most firmly established, with incomparable excellence above all the minds of men. For it is true what is read in our Books: "Many thoughts are in the heart of a man, but the counsel of the Lord remains forever" (Prov. XIX, 21). Accordingly, what time may bring, what of facility or difficulty may arise for us, what finally of will may suddenly exist from the correction or hope of present things—whether God is so indignant at these deeds that they are punished more severely by that very impunity which they seek, or whether He judges in that way which pleases us that they are to be mercifully coerced, or whether, some harder but more healthful correction of them preceding, and a true conversion not to men but to His mercy, He may avert whatever of terror was being prepared and turn it into joy—He Himself already knows, but we are ignorant. Why therefore should I and your Excellence labor here in vain before the time? Let us lay aside for a little while the care for which the hour is not, and let us do, if it please you, what is always pressing. For it is an empty time in which it is not becoming and necessary to act, whence we may be able to please God; which in this life either cannot be fulfilled unto that perfection so that no sin at all is in a man, or perhaps it is most

difficult: whence, all delays being cut off, one must flee to the grace of Him to whom it can most truly be said what someone said in a flattering poem to some nobleman, who yet confessed that he had received it from the Cumaean as if from a prophetic poem: "With you as leader, if any traces of our crime remain, they shall loose the lands from perpetual dread, being made void" (Virg. Eclog. 4). For with Him as leader, all sins being loosed and dismissed, by this way one arrives at the heavenly fatherland, with the habitation of which you were greatly delighted when I commended it to your love as much as I could.

CHAPTER IV.

12. But because you said that all laws seek it by different ways and paths, I fear lest perhaps, while you think that even that way in which you are now established tends thither, you may be more sluggish to hold that which alone leads thither. But again carefully attending to the word which you placed, I seem to myself not impudently to open your meaning: for you did not say, which all laws by different ways and paths "attain," or "show," or "find," or "enter," or "obtain," or anything of the sort, but by saying "seek" (appetunt), with a balanced and weighed word, you did not signify attainment, but the desire of acquiring. Thus you neither excluded that which is true, nor admitted others which are false; for that indeed seeks which leads thither, but not every one which seeks this leads thither; whither whoever is led is without any doubt blessed. But

we all wish to be blessed, that is, we seek it, yet not all of us who wish are able, that is, we do not all obtain what we seek. He therefore obtains who holds the way not only by which he seeks it, but by which he also arrives, leaving others in the journeys of seeking without end of obtaining. Since there would neither be error if nothing were sought, nor if the sought truth were held. But if you called the ways "different" in such a way that we do not understand them as "contrary," just as we say different precepts, all of which yet build a good life—some concerning chastity, others concerning patience, others concerning faith, others concerning mercy, and if there are any others—not only is that fatherland sought by ways and paths so different, but it is even found. For in the Holy Scriptures both "ways" are read, and "a way": ways, as in that: "I will teach the unjust your ways, and the impious shall be converted to you" (Psal. L, 15); a way, as in that: "Lead me in your way, and I will walk in your truth" (Psal. LXXXV, 11). Not those "others," and this "other"; but all are one, concerning which in another place the same Holy Scripture says: "All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth" (Psal. XXIV, 10): which, if they are carefully considered, produce a copious discourse and a most sweet understanding; which if it should be necessary, I will defer to another time.

13. But now, which I think to be enough for the undertaken office of writing back to your Excellence, since Christ said: "I am the way" (John XIV, 6), in Him mercy and truth are to be sought;

lest if we seek elsewhere we should err, holding a seeking way, but not also a leading one. As if we wished to hold this very one, whence you mentioned something, that all sins are equal; would it not send us far away as exiles from that fatherland of truth and beatitude? For what more absurd, what more insane thing can be said, than that he who laughed somewhat immoderately, and he who more truculently burned his fatherland, should be judged to have sinned equally? Which indeed you thought fit to be applied from the opinion of certain philosophers, not as a different way which yet leads to the heavenly habitation, but as a plainly perverse one which leads to most pernicious error, not according to your own sense, but for the cause of your citizens; so that we might so pardon those by whose raging fires the Church burned, as we would pardon if we were attacked by them with some petulant insult.

14. But see how you have built that up: "And if," you say, "as pleases certain philosophers, all sins are equal, indulgence ought to be common to all." Then, as you strive as it were to show all sins to be equal, you subjoin and say: "Someone spoke too petulantly, he sinned; he heaped on insults or crimes, he sinned equally." This is not to teach, but to propose that which is perversely felt, without any structure of documents. For to this which you say, "he sinned equally," it is quickly answered: he did not sin equally. You perhaps demand that I prove it: for what have you already proved, that he sinned equally? Or is that to be

heard which you join? "Each plundered another's goods, it is numbered among delicts." Here even you yourself were ashamed: for it shamed you to say that he sinned equally; but "it is numbered," you say, "among delicts." But the question there is not whether this also is numbered among delicts, but whether this is joined to that delict in equality. Or if they are equal for this reason, because both are delicts, mice and elephants will be equal because both are animals; flies and eagles, because both are winged things.

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

having been hurled at any stranger, he should equate—I do not say parricide—but that very insult against his father?

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

cede us, but you do not even yet follow; and write back rather what moves you concerning this way which we hold, and in which we insist that you should walk with us toward the supernal fatherland, with which we know and rejoice that you are delighted.

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

by which they vituperate mercy, in no way judge that all are to be pardoned alike, but that all are to be punished alike. Remove them therefore as far as you can from the patronage of this cause, and desire rather that we should act as Christians, so that, as we desire, we may acquire in Christ those whom we spare, lest we spare them with a pernicious dissolution. May the merciful and true God deign to gift you with true happiness.

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

AUGUSTINE, Catholic bishop, to the Donatists.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. The charity of Christ, for whom we wish to gain every man as much as pertains to our will, does not permit us to be silent. If you hate us for this reason, because we preach Catholic peace to you, we serve the Lord who says: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God" (Matt. V, 9); and it is written in the Psalm: "With those who hated peace, I was peaceful; when I spoke to them, they fought against me without cause" (Psal. CXIX, 7). For this reason certain presbyters of your party sent word to us,

saying: "Depart from our peoples, if you do not want us to kill you." How much more justly we say to them: Nay, do you not depart, but come near peacefully to the peoples not ours, but His whose we all are; or if you do not want to and are unpeaceful, do you rather depart from the peoples for whom Christ shed His blood: whom you therefore wish to make yours lest they be Christ's, although you attempt to possess them under His name; just as if a servant should steal sheep from the flock of his lord, and whatever should be born from them, he should fix upon them the character of his lord, lest his theft could be recognized. For so your elders did; they separated from the Church of Christ peoples having the baptism of Christ, and whoever were added to them, they baptized them with the baptism of Christ. But the Lord both punishes the thieves, if they have not corrected themselves, and recalls the sheep from error to the flock, nor does He exterminate His character in them.

2. You call us traditors; which neither could your elders prove against our elders, nor will you be able to prove in any way against us. What do you want us to do for you, who, when we tell you to hear our cause and yours patiently, know only how to be proud and to be insane? For we would certainly show you that those were rather traditors who condemned Caecilian and his associates as if for the crime of tradition. And you say, "Depart from our peoples"; whom you teach so that they may believe you, and not believe Christ. For you say to them that because

of traditors, whom you do not show, the Church of Christ remained only in Africa, in the party of Donatus: which you recite not from the Law, not from the Prophet, not from the Psalm, not from the Apostle, not from the Gospel, but from your heart and from the slanders of your parents. But Christ says that "repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem" (Luke XXIV, 47): with which Church, manifested from the mouth of Christ, you do not communicate, and drawing others into your perdition, you do not wish to be set free.

CHAPTER II.

3. But if we are displeasing to you for this reason, because you are compelled to unity by the commands of the Emperors, you yourselves have done this, who never permitted us to preach the truth wherever we wished, so that each one might hear it securely and choose it willingly, because of your violences and terrors. Do not gnash your teeth and disturb your souls; patiently, if it can be done, consider what we say, and recall the deeds of your Circumcellions and of the clerics who have always been their leaders, and you will see what cause has excited this against you. Whence you complain unjustly, because you compelled all these things to be ordered against you. For, not to repeat things long past and many, at least think of your recent deeds. Marcus, a presbyter of Casphaliana, compelled by no one, became a Catholic of his own will. Why did your

people persecute him, and would have almost killed him, unless the hand of God, through men coming upon them, had suppressed their violences? Restitutus of Victoria transferred himself to the Catholic Church with no one compelling him. Why was he snatched from his house, beaten, rolled in the water, clothed in a rush mat (buda), and kept in captivity I know not how many days, and perhaps would not have been restored to his own liberty, unless Proculeianus already saw the exhibition of himself to be imminent for that very cause? Marcianus of Urga chose Catholic unity of his own will. Why did your clerics overwhelm his subdeacon with stones, when he himself had fled, beaten almost to death, whose houses were overturned for their crime?

4. What more shall we say? Just now you sent a herald to cry out at Sinitus: "Whoever shall communicate with Maximinus, his house shall be burned"; who, before he himself had been converted to the Catholic Church, and had not yet returned from across the sea, for what other reason had we sent a presbyter to Sinitus, except that, being troublesome to no one, he might visit our people and, placed in a house of his own right, might preach Catholic peace to those who wished? Whom you then cast out from there with grave injury. What else were we doing when one of us, Possidius, Bishop of Calama, was going to the Figuline estate, except that our people, although they were few who were there, might be visited, and after hearing the word of God, those who wished might be converted to the

unity of Christ? For whom, as he was walking on his way, they laid in wait in the manner of robbers, and because he could not fall into their snares, they had almost burned him alive with open violence in the Livetensian estate together with the house to which he had fled, unless the colonists of the same estate, because of the danger to their own safety, had extinguished the flames applied a third time: and yet when Crispinus, because of this deed, was convicted as a heretic in the proconsular judgment, by the intercession of the same Bishop Possidius he was not exacted ten pounds of gold. Ungrateful for which benevolence and mildness, he dared to appeal to the Catholic Emperors. Whence he provoked this wrath of God against you, about which you murmur, much more importunately and vehemently.

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

which they confess to us before and after, so that even thus they may escape your oppressions.

6. And yet what is better, to bring forward the true commands of the Emperors for unity, or false indulgences for perversity: which you have done, and with your lie you suddenly filled all Africa? In which deed you showed nothing else except that the party of Donatus, always presuming on a lie, is tossed about and carried around by every wind, as it is written: "He who trusts in falsehoods, he feeds the winds" (Prov. X, 4). For just as that indulgence was true, so are the crimes of Caecilian true, and the tradition of Felix of Aptunga, by whom he was ordained, and whatever else you have been accustomed to say against the Catholics, so that you may separate unhappy people from the peace of the Church of Christ, and you yourselves be unhappily separated. Indeed, we presume upon no power of man, although certainly it is much more honorable to presume upon Emperors than to presume upon Circumcellions, to presume upon laws than to presume upon seditions. But we remember it is written: "Cursed is everyone who puts his hope in man" (Jer. XVII, 5). Whence, therefore, do we presume, if you wish to know? Think of Him about whom the prophet foreannounced, saying: "All the kings of the earth shall adore Him, and all nations shall serve Him" (Psal. LXXI, 11). And therefore we use this power of the Church, which the Lord both promised and gave to her.

7. For if the Emperors were in error, which God forbid, they would give laws for their error

against the truth, through which the just would be both proved and crowned, by not doing what they commanded, because God would prohibit it. Just as Nebuchadnezzar had commanded that the golden statue be adored; those who were unwilling to do this pleased God, who prohibited such things. But when the Emperors hold the truth, they command for the truth itself against error, and whoever shall have contemned this, procures judgment for himself. For he both pays penalties among men, and before God he will have no face, who was unwilling to do this which the truth itself commanded him through the heart of the king. Just as Nebuchadnezzar himself, afterwards moved and changed by the miracle of the safety of the three children, proposed an edict for the truth against error, that whoever should blaspheme the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, should go to destruction, and their houses to dispersion (Dan. III, 96): and you do not wish that the Christian Emperors should command something such against you, when they know that by you, in those whom you rebaptize, Christ is exsufflated (exsufflari)? If the commands of kings do not pertain to preaching religion and prohibiting sacrileges, why do you yourselves also sign at the edict of a king commanding such things? Or are you ignorant that these are the words of the king: "The signs and wonders which the Lord God most high has done for me, it has pleased me to announce in my sight, how great and powerful is His kingdom, an everlasting kingdom and His power from gener-

ation to generation" (Dan. III, 99, 100)? Or when you have heard this, do you not answer, "Amen"; and with this said in a clear voice at the edict of the king, do you sign yourselves in the holy solemnity? But now, because you can do nothing with the Emperors, you wish to make us an object of envy for it. But if you were able to do anything, how much would you do; when you can do nothing, and you do not cease!

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

tions (interpellationibus) they caused weariness to the Emperor himself concerning Felix of Aptunga, by whom Caecilian had been ordained, saying that he was a traditor: and that therefore Caecilian could not be a bishop, because he had been ordained by a traditor; until also Felix himself, by the command of the Emperor, the cause having been heard, was proved innocent by the proconsul Aelianus.

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

this cause than the judgment of Constantine, most firmly guarded through so many Christian emperors?

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

CHAPTER III.

11. But now let us take all these things from the midst; let us love peace, which every learned and unlearned man understands is to be preferred to discord, let us love and hold fast to unity. The Emperors command this, which Christ also

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

12. Attend to how with the most manifest truth through the heart of the king, which is in the hand of God, God Himself has spoken in that very law which you say was brought forth against you; but it is, if you understand, brought forth for you. Attend to what the words of the prince have: "For if in those who were first initiated, the religion of Baptism is for that reason judged weak, because those from whom it is received are thought to be sinners, it will be necessary that the delivered Sacrament (Sacramentum) be renewed as often as the administrator of the conferred Baptism shall have been found unworthy, and our faith will depend not from the choice of our will, nor from the grace of the divine gift, but

from the merits of the priests and the quality of the clerics." Let your bishops make a thousand councils, let them answer this one sentence, and we will consent to you in what you wish. For see how perversely and impiously it is said, what you are accustomed to say, that if a man be good, he himself sanctifies him whom he baptizes; but if he be evil, and he who is baptized does not know it, then God sanctifies. If this is true, then men ought to wish to be baptized by evil men who are unknown, rather than by known good men, so that they might be able to be sanctified by God rather than by man: but let this madness be far from us. Why then do we not speak the truth and be rightly wise, that that grace is always of God and the Sacrament is of God, but the ministry only of man; who if he is good, adheres to God and works with God; but if he is evil, God works through him the visible form (formam) of the Sacrament, but He Himself gives the invisible grace. Let us all be wise in this, and let there be no schisms among us.

CHAPTER IV.

13. Agree with us, brothers; we love you, we wish for you this which we wish for ourselves. If you hate us more severely for this reason, because we do not permit you to err and to perish, say this to God, whom we fear when He threatens evil shepherds and says: "That which had erred, you did not recall, and that which had perished, you did not seek" (Ezek. XXXIV, 4). This God Himself does to you through us, whether by beseeching,

or by threatening, or by correcting, or by losses, or by labors, or by His own hidden admonitions or visitations, or by the laws of temporal powers. Understand what is being done with you; God does not wish you to perish in sacrilegious discord, alienated from your Catholic mother. You have never been able to prove anything against us; your bishops, when called together by us, never wished to confer peacefully with us, as if fleeing from speaking with sinners. Who could bear that pride? As if the Apostle Paul did not confer with sinners and with those who were very sacrilegious: read the Acts of the Apostles and see. As if the Lord Himself did not have discourses concerning the Law with the Jews by whom He was crucified, and answered them congruently. Finally, the devil is the first of all sinners, who can never be converted to justice, and yet not even the Lord Himself disdained to answer him from the Law; so that you may understand that these men do not wish to confer with us for this reason, because they know their cause is lost.

14. We are ignorant of what those men boast against themselves who rejoice in calumnious dissensions. In the Scriptures we learn of Christ, in the Scriptures we learn of the Church. These Scriptures we have in common; why do we not in them hold both Christ and the Church in common? Where we recognized Him of whom the Apostle says, "To Abraham were the promises spoken and to his seed; He does not say, And to seeds, as if in many; but as if in one, And to your seed, which is Christ" (Gal. III, 16); there

we recognized the Church, about which God says to Abraham, "In your seed shall all nations be blessed" (Gen. XII, 3). Where we recognized Christ in the Psalm prophesying of Himself, "The Lord said to me, You are my Son; today I have begotten You"; there we recognized the Church in that which follows, "Ask of me, and I will give You the nations as Your inheritance, and the bounds of the earth as Your possession" (Psal. II, 7, 8). Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "The Lord, the God of gods, has spoken"; there we recognized also the Church in that which follows, "And I have called the earth from the rising of the sun even to the setting" (Psal. XLIX, 1). Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "And He Himself as a bridegroom proceeding from His chamber, rejoiced as a giant to run the way"; there we recognized also the Church in that which is said a little above, "Their sound went out into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world. In the sun He set His tabernacle" (Psal. XVIII, 5, 6). She is the Church set in the sun, that is, known in manifestation to all, even to the bounds of the earth. Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "They pierced my hands and my feet, they numbered all my bones; they indeed considered and looked upon me, they divided my garments among themselves, and for my vesture they cast lots"; there we recognized also the Church in that which is said a little after in that very Psalm, "All the ends of the earth shall be mindful and be converted to the Lord, and all the

kindreds of the nations shall adore in His sight: for the kingdom is the Lord's, and He Himself shall rule over the nations" (Psal. XXI, 17, 18, 19, 28, 29). Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "Be exalted above the heavens, O God"; there we recognized also the Church in that which follows, "and Your glory above all the earth" (Psal. LVI, 6). Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "O God, give Your judgment to the king, and Your justice to the son of the king"; there we recognized also the Church in that which is said of Him in that very Psalm, "And He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the world. Before Him the Ethiopians shall fall down, and His enemies shall lick the earth. The kings of Tarshish and the islands shall offer gifts; the kings of the Arabians and of Sheba shall bring presents; and all the kings of the earth shall adore Him, all nations shall serve Him" (Psal. LXXI, 2, 8, 9, 10, 11).

15. Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, that the stone cut from the mountain without hands broke all the kingdoms of the earth, certainly those which presumed on the cults of demons; there we recognized also the Church in that which is said, that the stone itself grew and became a great mountain, and filled all the earth (Dan. II, 34, 35). Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "The Lord shall prevail against them, and shall exterminate all the gods of the nations of the earth"; there we recognized also the Church in that which follows there, "And all the islands of the nations shall

adore in His sight, every one from his own place" (Zeph. II, 11). Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "God shall come from the South (ab Africo), and the Holy One from the shady mountain; His virtue shall cover the heavens"; there we recognized the Church in that which follows, "And the earth is full of His praise" (Hab. III, 3). For Jerusalem is placed from the South, as is read in the book of Joshua the son of Nun (Josh. XV, 8), whence the name of Christ was diffused; and there is the shady mountain, the Mount of Olives, whence He ascended into heaven so that His virtue might cover the heavens, and the Church might be filled throughout all the earth with His praise. Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before his shearer was without voice, so He opened not His mouth," and the rest which are said there concerning His passion; there we recognized also the Church in that which is said there, "Rejoice, O barren one, that does not bear; break forth and cry out, you that do not travail; for many are the children of the desolate, more than of her that has a husband. For the Lord said: Enlarge the place of your tabernacle, and fasten your curtains, there is no reason to spare. Lengthen your cords, and strengthen your strong stakes; extend even again and again to the right and to the left. For your seed shall inherit the nations, and you shall inhabit the cities which were desolate. There is no reason to fear, for you shall prevail; nor be ashamed that you have been detestable. For you

shall forget your confusion forever, and you shall not be mindful of the ignominy of your widowhood; because I am the Lord who made you, the Lord is His name: and He who delivered you, the God of Israel Himself shall be called of the universal earth (Isa. LIII, 7, and LIV, 1-5).

CHAPTER V.

16. We do not know what you say concerning traditors, whom you were never able to convict, never to show. I do not say that your own people are rather manifested as detected and confessed in such a crime: what does it pertain to us concerning the burdens of others? except that we correct those whom we can, either by correction or by any discipline in the spirit of mildness (mansuetudinis) and the diligence of charity; those, however, whom we are not able to correct, even if necessity compels for the safety of the rest that they communicate with us in the Sacraments of God, yet let us not communicate in their sins, which does not happen except by consenting and favoring. For thus we tolerate them in this world, in which the Catholic Church is diffused through all nations, which field the Lord says is His, as cockle (zizania) among the wheat (triticum), or in this floor of unity as chaff (paleam) mixed with the grain, or within the nets of the word and the Sacrament as bad fish included with the good, until the time of harvest (Matt. XIII, 24-43), or of winnowing (Id. III, 12) or of the shore (Id. XIII, 47-50), lest because of them we root up also the wheat, or purge the

bare grains separated from the floor before the time, not to be sent into the barn, but cast out to be gathered by the birds; or the nets being broken through schisms (schismata), while we beware of them as bad fish, we go out into the sea of pernicious liberty. For on account of this the Lord confirmed the tolerance of His servants by these and other similitudes, lest while the good think themselves blamed by the admixture of the evil, through human and rash dissensions they either lose the little ones, or the little ones perish. Which the celestial teacher premonished to be guarded against even to such an extent, that He made the people secure even concerning evil superiors, lest on account of them the chair (cathedra) of salutary doctrine be deserted, in which even the evil are compelled to say good things. For the things which they say are not their own, but God's, who placed the doctrine of truth in the chair of unity. Therefore that truthful one and the Truth itself says of superiors doing their own evil things and saying God's good things: "What they say, do; but what they do, do not do: for they say, and do not do" (Matt. XXIII, 3). He would certainly not say, "What they do, do not do," unless the evil things which they do were manifest.

17. Let us not, therefore, because of evil men, perish in evil dissension: although we could show, if you wish, that your elders were not execrators of evil men, but accusers of the innocent. But whoever they were and of whatever kind they were, let them bear their own burdens. Behold

the common Scriptures, behold where we know Christ, behold where we know the Church. If you hold Christ Himself, why do you not hold the Church herself? If in Christ Himself whom you read, and do not see, you nevertheless believe because of the truth of the Scriptures; why do you deny the Church, which you both read and see? By saying these things to you and by compelling you to this good of peace and unity and charity, we have been made enemies to you; and you command that you will kill us who tell the truth to you, and do not permit you to perish in error as much as we can. May God vindicate us from you, that He may kill that error of yours in you, and you may rejoice with us concerning the truth. Amen.

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

1. I have heard that you are preparing to rebaptize a certain subdeacon of ours. Do not: so may you live to God, so may you please God, so may you not have the Sacraments of Christ in vain, so may you not be separated forever from the body of Christ. Do not, I ask you, brother; for your own sake I ask you more; certainly attend a little to what I say. Felicianus of Musti condemned Primian of Carthage, and in turn he himself was also condemned by him. For a long time Felicianus was in the sacrilegious schism (schismate) of

Maximian; he baptized many there through his Churches, and now he is your bishop with Primian, but also baptizing no one after him. By what license, therefore, do you still think there should be rebaptizing after us? Solve this question for me, and baptize me: but if you cannot solve this, spare another's soul, spare your own. Or if you argue that I have said something false about Felicianus, demand that I prove it; certainly if I do not prove it, then do what you think. I add also, if I do not prove it, let me not be a bishop of my communion; but if I do prove it, do not be an enemy to your own safety. I wish you, lord brother, to be in peace with us.

EPISTLE CVII.

Maximus and Theodorus reporting to Augustine what Macrobius answered them in person to his letters.

To the most blessed and venerable and much-desired father AUGUSTINE, MAXIMUS and THEODORUS send greeting in the Lord. 1. According to the precept of your Holiness (Sanctitatis), we went to Bishop Macrobius; to whom when we brought the letters of your Beatitude (Beatitudinis), at first he refused that they be read to him. Then, at length moved by our suggestion, he wished them to be recited to him; which being read over, he said: "I cannot but receive those coming to me, and give to them the faith which they shall have requested." But when it was said to him by us what he would say concerning the fact of Primian, he said that,

being recently ordained, he could not be a judge of his father, but would remain in that which he had received from his predecessors. Which we have found necessary to signify to your Holiness by these letters. May the Lord preserve your Beatitude for us, lord father.

EPISTLE CVIII. It treats of not repeating Baptism, reproving the contumacy of the Donatists in this matter; since they held the baptism of the Maximianists valid. He subsequently proves that they had no just cause for producing a schism. To his beloved brother and lord MACROBIUS, AUGUSTINE sends greeting.

CHAPTER I.

1. My dearest sons, honorable men, when they had brought my letters to your Benevolence, in which I admonished and asked you not to rebaptize our subdeacon, they wrote back to me that you had answered: "I cannot but receive those coming to me, and give to them the faith which they shall have requested": and yet if one baptized in your communion should come to you, who was for a long time separated from you, and through ignorance should think he ought to be baptized again, and should request it, when you have inquired and learned where he was baptized, you indeed receive him coming to you, yet you do not give him the faith which he requests, but you teach the man to have what he seeks, nor do you attend to the words of the erring one, but you apply the zeal of one correcting. Therefore his own error accuses the one evilly giving what is no

longer to be given, and violating the Sacrament (Sacramentum) which has been given, it does not excuse him because of the one requesting. Tell me therefore, I beseech you, how he does not have what he requested from you, which he had already received through me? If on account of "strange water" and a "strange fountain," which those are accustomed to say who do not understand, because it is written: "Abstain from strange water, and drink not of a strange fountain"; when Felicianus was separated from you in the party of Maximian, he was being drawn as an "adulterer of the truth, a chain of sacrilege," as the words of your council indicate. If he had taken away your fountain with him, what was the fountain in which, with him separated, you baptized your own? For now your bishop sits together with Primian, who was condemned by him and was his condemner.

2. But just as our people, who saw you in this cause, intimated to me in their letters (Epistle 107), when they asked what you would say to this, you answered that, being recently ordained, you could not be a judge of the deeds of your father, but would remain in that which you had received from your predecessors. At this I truly grieved for your necessity, since I think you, as I hear, a young man of good disposition. For what compels you to this answer, except the necessity of a bad cause? But if you attend, my brother, if you think rightly, if you fear God, no necessity compels you to persevere in a bad cause. For this answer of yours does not solve the question

proposed to you by me, but it absolves our cause from every calumny of your excuse. For you say that, being recently ordained, you cannot be a judge of the deeds of your father, but will remain in that which you have received from your predecessors. Why then do we not rather remain in the Church which, with Scripture as a witness, beginning from Jerusalem and bearing fruit and increasing through all nations (Acts I, 8), we received from the Lord Christ through the Apostles; and are we now judged concerning the deeds of I know not what fathers, which are said to have been admitted almost a hundred years ago? For if you, concerning your father still established in this life, whom you can interrogate, do not dare to judge; why is it said to me that I should judge concerning a dead man long before I was born? and why is it said to the Christian nations that they should judge concerning the deeds of African traditors (traditorum) dead so many years ago, whom so many Christians who then lived, established in the most remote lands, were not able to hear or to know while they were alive? You who do not dare to judge Primian, who remains and is known, why do you wish to impose upon me the judging of Caecilian, ancient and unknown? If you do not judge your fathers concerning their deeds, why do you judge your brothers concerning the deeds of others?

3. Or do you perhaps deny that we are brothers? But we better hear the Holy Spirit commanding through the prophet: "Hear, you who tremble at the word of the Lord: say, You are our brothers,

to those who hate you and who detest you, so that the name of the Lord may be honored, and may appear to them in joy, but they shall be ashamed" (Isa. LXVI, 5, according to LXX). For in truth, if the name of the Lord were more joyful to men than the names of men, would Christ crying out, "My peace I give to you" (John XIV, 27), be divided in His members through those who say, "I indeed am of Paul, but I of Apollos, but I of Cephas" (I Cor. III, 4) and are torn apart through the names of men? would Christ be exsufflated (exsufflaretur) in His baptism, of which it is said, "He it is who baptizes" (John I, 33); of which it is said, "Christ loved His Church, and delivered Himself for her, so that He might sanctify her, cleansing her by the washing of water in the word" (Eph. V, 25, 26)? would He then be exsufflated in His own washing, if the name of the Lord were more joyful, whose the baptism itself is, than the name of men, of whom you say: "That is holy which he gives, not what he gives"?

CHAPTER II.

4. And yet your colleagues, where they wished, attended rather to the truth, and felt that not only the baptism which Primianus gave in your communion, but also that which Felicianus gave in the sacrilegious schism of Maximianus, was holy because of the joy of the Lord's honor; and they did not dare to violate the character, not only which he himself had received among you, but also which he, as a deserter, had impressed on others outside of us, when he was corrected,

because they recognized it as royal. You do not wish to judge regarding this deed of theirs, which was so good, where you ought to follow them in praiseworthy imitation, and you follow their judgment in which they deserve to be detested by all. You fear to judge concerning Primianus, lest you be compelled to hear what you might blame: nay rather, judge, and there you will be more able to find what you may praise. For we do not want you to remember what Primianus did ill, but what he did best: who, in receiving those whom his condemner had baptized in a most wicked separation, corrected the error of men, but did not destroy the Sacraments of God. He recognized the good of Christ even in malignant men; but he amended the evil of men without violating the good of Christ. Or if this deed displeases you, at least attend to this, wisely observe this with your good natural talent, that you do not judge one man, Primianus, for the deeds of that same Primianus, and you judge the Christian world for the deeds of Caecilianus. You fear lest he pollute you if you should know what you do not dare to punish: absolve therefore the nations, which could not even know what you accuse.

5. Nor yet was that the deed of Primianus alone: you know, as I suppose, you too, that nearly a hundred of your bishops, conspiring in a damnable faction with Maximianus, dared to condemn Primianus; and three hundred and ten in the Council of Bagai (Vagaiensi concilio), as the words of its decree sound out: "The lightning of the sentence has struck out from the bosom

of peace Maximianus, the rival of the faith, the adulterer of the truth, the enemy of the mother Church, the minister of Dathan, Korah, and Abiram." From this, twelve others, who had been present at his ordination when he was raised against Primianus, were joined in a condemnation not delayed: but to the others, lest too great a cutting off should occur, a delay of returning was granted on a pre-appointed day, with their honors safe, if they should return within the limit of the time. Nor did the three hundred and ten fear to recall to their college those accused of so great a sacrilege of Maximianus, looking perhaps at what is written: "Charity covers a multitude of sins" (I Pet. IV, 8). Moreover, those to whom the time of delay was permitted, baptized outside of your communion whomever they could baptize. For they could not have been invited by the granted delay to return unless they had been outside. Then both before the delay was finished, and after it was finished, those twelve condemned with Maximianus were accused before three or more proconsuls, so that they might be driven from their seats by judicial vigor: among whom was Felicianus of Musti (Mustitanus), of whom I do not speak, and Praetextatus of Assura (Assuritanus), recently deceased, in whose place as one condemned another had already been ordained. These two not one Primianus, but many of your fellow-bishops, when they were celebrating the birthday of Optatus of Thamugadi (Thamugadensis) with a very great number, after their condemnation without delay, after the

delay which had been given to the others was ended, after the accusation had been divulged even by forensic noise before so many consuls, they received in their honors intact, and after them they baptized no one. If this assertion is resisted, or if any of these things is denied, let it be demanded of me at the peril of my episcopate to prove what I say.

6. The case is finished, brother Macrobius: God has done this, God has willed this; it was of His hidden providence that in the case of the Maximianists a mirror of correction should be proposed to you, so that all criminal calumny against us, or rather against the Church of Christ increasing throughout the whole world, might be ended—I do not say yours, lest I should seem insulting to you, but certainly that of your people. For nothing at all has remained of those things which are usually brought forward against us from the Scriptures by men who do not understand them. For they have been accustomed to have these things in their mouths: "Abstain from strange water" (Prov. IX, 18). But the answer is: It is not strange water, although it be in strangers; just as that water of Maximianus was not strange, from which you did not abstain. Likewise it is proposed to us: "They have become to me like lying water, not having faith" (Jer. XV, 18). But the answer is: This was said of feigned men (fictis hominibus), not pertaining to the Sacraments of God, which even in liars cannot be lies. For certainly those were liars who condemned Primianus, as you yourselves assert,

with false accusations; yet the water was not lying, in which those separated from you baptized whomever they could. For when you received it in those whom Felicianus and Praetextatus baptized outside, you felt that it had been truthful even in liars. It is proposed to us: "He who is baptized by a dead person, what does his washing profit him?" (Ecclus. XXXIV, 30). The answer is: If this was written about baptism, by which those whom the Church has cast out as dead baptize, he did not say this is not a washing, but that it profits nothing; which we also say. Nevertheless, when he comes to the Church with that baptism, what was a hindrance outside will profit inside; not when the Baptism itself is repeated, but when the baptized person is corrected. Just as the Council of Bagai speaks of Maximianus and his associates, at one time dead to your congregation, as the elect of the communion: "The truthful wave," it says, "has cast the shipwrecked members of some upon the rough rocks." Full of corpses are the shores, after the example in a way of the Egyptians perishing, for whom there is a greater penalty in death itself, because after their soul has been extorted by the avenging waters they do not even find burial itself. From this crowd of dead men, you received Felicianus and Praetextatus into their honors as if reviving, and you did not rebaptize those baptized by them in that death; because you recognized that the baptism of Christ given outside through dead men did not profit the dead, but that same baptism profited those reviving inside. It is proposed to us: "Let not

the oil of a sinner fatten my head" (Psalm CXL, 5). The answer is, that this is understood to be written about the smooth and deceitful flattery of a fawning adulator, with which the head is anointed and grows for them, when sinners are praised in the desires of their soul, and those who have done iniquitous things are blessed. Which appears sufficiently from the prior verse; for the whole sentence is placed thus: "The just man shall correct me in mercy, and shall reprove me; but let not the oil of a sinner fatten my head." He said he preferred to be bruised by the truthful austerity of a merciful man, than to be extolled by the deceptive praise of a deceiver. But however you may understand it, certainly in those whom Felicianus and Praetextatus baptized in the sacrilege of Maximianus, either you received the oil of sinners, or you recognized that it was the oil of Christ given even while sinners were ministering. For they were not not sinners, when it was said of them in the Council of Bagai: "Know that they are condemned as guilty of a famous crime, who by a deadly work of perdition have glued together a sordid vessel with collected dregs."

CHAPTER III.

7. Let it have sufficed to have said these things about Baptism. But the cause of your separation is accustomed to be colored by these testimonies which are not understood. It is written: "Do not communicate in other men's sins" (I Tim. V, 22). But the answer is, that he communicates in other men's sins who consents to evil deeds; not

he who, while he himself is wheat, nevertheless communicates in the divine Sacraments together with the chaff, as long as the floor is being threshed. For it is written: "Go out from thence, and touch not the unclean thing"; and: "He who touches the polluted, is polluted" (Isa. LII, 11); but by the consent of the will, by which the first man was deceived, not by the association of the body, by which even Judas kissed Christ. For those fish, of which the Lord speaks in the Gospel, the good and the bad within the same nets, by which He fits together the unity of the congregation, swim together mixed in their bodies but separated in their morals, even unto the end of the world, which is prefigured by the name of the shore (Matth. XIII, 48, 49). For it is written: "A little leaven corrupts the whole lump" (I Cor. V, 6), but of those who consent to those doing evil, not of those who, according to the prophet Ezekiel, groan and mourn because of the iniquities of the people of God which are done in the midst of them (Ezek. IX, 4).

8. Daniel also groans over this mixture of the evil (Dan. IX, 5-16); the three men also groaned (Id. III, 28-31); the former testifies to this in prayer, the latter in the furnace: yet they did not separate themselves by a bodily disjunction from the unity of the people whose sins they were confessing. All the prophets said such and so great things against the same people in which they were! yet they did not seek for themselves another people in which they might be, by bodily departure or segregation. The Apostles

themselves tolerated the devil Judas mixed with them even unto the end, in which he also lost himself by the snare, without any contamination of themselves, so that the Lord said to them, because of his presence among them: "And you are clean, but not all" (John XIII, 10). Nor because of his uncleanness was the lump of their dissimilar morals corrupted as if by leaven. Nor can it be rightly affirmed that his wickedness was hidden from them, except perhaps in that by which he was also about to betray the Lord: for they themselves wrote about him that he was a thief, and took away all things which were put into the Lord's bags (John XII, 6). No one calumniated them by that testimony: "You saw a thief, and you ran with him" (Psalm XLIX, 18): for one runs with the deeds of the evil, not by the communion of the Sacraments, but by the consent of the same deeds. How much the Apostle Paul complains about false brothers (II Cor. XI, 26)! from whose bodily mixture, however, he was not stained, being set apart by the diversity of a pure heart. For he rejoices that Christ is likewise preached by some whom he knew to be envious (Philipp. I, 15-18); and certainly envy is a diabolical vice.

Finally, the bishop Cyprian, now that the Church was more copiously dilated, and who was closer to our times—whose authority you sometimes try to use to confirm the repetition of Baptism—although that council, or those writings, if they are truly his, and not, as some think, written and feigned under his name, contain how much he loved unity, and how he advised in a very

open exhortation that those should be tolerated in it, even against whom he himself felt, lest the bond of peace should be broken: attending most especially to this, that if any human error should creep in to either party, to whom something else seems than the truth has, if fraternal concord is kept, charity also covers a multitude of sins. This he so held, so loved, that if he had tasted anything otherwise than the thing is concerning the sacrament of Baptism, that also God would reveal to him, as the Apostle says to the brothers walking in charity: "As many as are perfect, let us be thus minded; and if in anything you be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this to you." Nevertheless, whereunto we have attained, let us walk by the same rule (Phil. III, 15, 16). To this is added that because he was a fruitful branch, if he had anything still to be purged, it was purged by the glorious sickle of martyrdom: not because he was killed for the name of Christ, but because he was killed for the name of Christ in the bosom of unity. For he himself wrote, and most confidently asserts, that those who are outside of unity, even if they die for that name, can be killed, but cannot be crowned (Lib. de unit. Eccl.). So much does charity of unity, either kept or violated, avail either for the deleting or for the confirming of sins.

That same Cyprian, then, when he lamented many who had fallen when the Church was wasted by the persecution of the impious Gentiles, attributing this to the bad morals of those who were living in the Church itself in a damnable conversation, groans concerning the

morals of his colleagues, nor does he cover his groan with silence; but he says that they had progressed into such great greed, that while the brothers were hungering even in the Church, they wished to have silver in abundance, they snatched away estates by insidious frauds, and they increased their gain by multiplying usuries (Serm. de lapsis, vers. init.). I suppose that Cyprian was not stained by the greed, estates, and usury of those men; yet he was set apart from them not by bodily segregation, but by dissimilarity of life. He touched the altar with them; but he did not touch their unclean life, when he thus blamed and rebuked it. For those things are touched by liking, and are repelled by disliking. And therefore that best bishop lacked neither censure, by which he might coerce sins, nor caution, by which he might keep the bond of unity. A clear and open sentence of his is read in a certain letter which he wrote to the presbyter Maximus, in which he altogether commanded, holding the prophetic rule, that the unity of the Church ought in no way to be deserted because of the mixture of the evil. "For although," he says, "tares seem to be in the Church, yet our faith or charity ought not to be hindered, so that because we see tares to be in the Church, we ourselves should withdraw from the Church. We only must labor that we may be able to be wheat" (Epist. 51).

If your ancestors had retained in their minds this law of charity promulgated from the mouth of Christ the Lord—for those parables are His, both concerning the tares to be tolerated in the

unity of the field throughout the world even until the time of harvest (Matth. XIII, 24-43), and concerning the bad fish to be tolerated within the same nets even until the time of the shore (Ibid. 47-50)— if they had considered this with the fear of God, they would not have cut themselves off by a nefarious separation from the Church —which Cyprian himself described as stretching out its rays through all nations, and extending its branches through all the earth by the abundance of its fruitfulness—not, I say, from so many Christian nations, which were altogether ignorant of who, or what, or against whom they were making objections, because of Caecilianus and some Africans or other, whether, as you think, truly criminal, or, what is more to be believed, attacked by calumnies; which does not happen except either by private grudge rather than common utility, or by that vice which Cyprian himself subsequently counts up and commemorates as to be avoided. For when he had commanded that because of the tares which are seen in the Church, the Church is not to be deserted, he follows and joins: "We only must labor that we may be able to be wheat, so that when the wheat begins to be stored in the Lord's barns, we may receive fruit for our work and labor. The Apostle says in his Epistle, 'But in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some indeed unto honor, and some unto dishonor' (II Tim. II, 20): let us give our diligence, and labor as much as we can, that we may be a vessel of gold or of silver. But to break

the earthen vessels is granted to the Lord alone, to whom also a rod of iron was given. The servant cannot be greater than his lord; nor should anyone claim for himself what the Father attributed to the Son alone, that he should think that he can already either carry the fan for winnowing and purging the floor, or separate all the tares from the wheat by human judgment. Proud is that presumption, and sacrilegious obstinacy, which a perverse madness assumes for itself; and while they assume for themselves always something more than mild justice demands, they perish from the Church; and while they insolently extol themselves, being blinded by their own swelling, they lose the light of truth."

12. What is clearer than this attestation of Cyprian; what more truthful? You see with how much evangelical and apostolic light it shines forth; you see that those who, as if offended for their own justice by the iniquities of others, desert the unity of the Church, are themselves rather the most iniquitous. You see that they are tares outside, those who were unwilling to tolerate tares in the unity of the Lord's field. You see that they are chaff outside, those who were unwilling to tolerate such things in the unity of a great house. You see how truthfully it is written: "An evil son says he is just; but he does not wash his departure" (Prov. XXIV, sec. LXX): namely, the departure by which he goes out of the Church, he does not purge, he does not excuse, he does not defend, he does not show it pure and without crime; for this is "he does not wash"; because if

he did not call himself just, but were truly and legitimately just, he would not most impiously desert the good because of the bad, but would most patiently sustain the bad because of the good, until the Lord Himself, either by Himself or by His Angels, should separate the tares from the wheat, the chaff from the grains, the vessels of wrath from the vessels of mercy, and the goats from the sheep, the bad fish from the good at the end of the world.

CHAPTER IV.

13. But if you try to take those testimonies of the Scriptures—which your ancestors believed were to be understood or brought forward for dividing the people of God—otherwise than the sense of the divine elocutions demands, now cease: attend to that mirror which God, with most merciful provision, if you are wise, has constituted to admonish you. I speak of the case of Felicianus, "the rival of the faith, the adulterer of the truth, the enemy of the mother Church," as was shouted out in the Council of Bagai, "the minister of Dathan, Korah, and Abiram; about whom they added more, that the open earth did not swallow him, but that he was reserved for a greater punishment from above." For "having been snatched away," they say, "he had gained his penalty by the compendium of death; now he collects more grievous usuries of death, while he is among the dead as one living." For I ask whether those then touched that unclean dead man who, conspiring with him, condemned the

innocence of Primianus. For if they touched him, they were certainly polluted by touching the polluted. Why then, in the communion of the same man, and separated from yours, as if they were innocent, is a delay of returning granted, so that having returned they might have foundations of intact honor and faith, and they who were not present as it were at the ordination of Maximianus, deserve to hear that "the plantations of the sacrilegious shoots did not pollute them," being placed in the same part, bound together in the same schism, divided from you, associated with them, established together in Africa, most well-known, most friendly, most closely joined, who even if they did not ordain him while present, nevertheless for his sake condemned Primianus even while absent; and the shoot of Caecilianus is said to have stained the most numerous, most remote, most unknown Christian peoples of the whole world, many of whom could not know not only his case, but not even his name? Those do not communicate in other men's sins, who not only knew the sin of Maximianus, but also raised him up by lifting him against Primianus: and those communicate in other men's sins, who either did not know Caecilianus as bishop in distant nations, or only heard of him in nearer ones, or simply and peacefully knew him as such in Africa itself, or in Carthage itself raised him against no one! Nor were they running with a thief, who were communicating with him of whom Nummasius the advocate says, speaking for Restitutus your bishop then present, that "by

a secret almost theft of sacrilege, he invaded the principacy of the episcopal name"; nor were they putting their portion with an adulterer, who were communicating with an adulterer of the truth; nor was their whole lump corrupted by a little leaven, when they favored him, when they remained in his part, not as if ignorant, being cut off from you, but were taking care to be raised and erected by you against cutting off; then you yourselves, who thus invited them to return, that you said those joined in so great a society to Maximianus were unpolluted by the shoot of sacrilege, because you received Praetextatus also and Felicianus with their honors safe, because you are peacefully in concord with them (because even today you see Felicianus sitting together with you) being stained by no communion of other men's sins, defiled by no contact of uncleanness, you are corrupted by the leaven of no malignity: and a foreign crime is objected to the Christian world through these testimonies, a division of unity is defended by a funereal separation, and he who has remained in the root of the true mother is accused by a cut-off branch as if an unclean branch!

CHAPTER V.

14. What of that, that you are accustomed to glory in having sustained persecutions? If the cause, and not the penalty, does not make martyrs; when it was said, "Blessed are they who suffer persecution," it was added in vain, "for the sake of justice" (Matth. V, 10). Do not the

Maximianists very easily conquer you even in the glory of this title, who suffered persecution not only afterwards with you, but first and from you? The words of the advocate accusing Maximianus, in the presence of your colleague Restitutus—who had already been ordained in the place of Salvius of Membressa, when he had been condemned without delay with those other eleven before the day of the delay itself should pass—are those which I have already commemorated a little before. Titianus also, when the day of delay itself had passed, accused Felicianus and Praetextatus of that whole conspiracy against Primianus with very grave words. The Council of Bagai also was alleged not once in the Proconsular Acts, and then in the municipal ones, judicial proceedings were excited, most threatening orders were impetrated, it was demanded and commanded that those resisting should be brought to coercion, the office was imparted, the aids of the cities were granted, through which that which had been judged might be fulfilled. Why then do you conflict with us about the commanded persecution, who have not divided those things with us by equal right? For since he who sustains persecution does not always reach passion; your clerics and Circumcellions have so composed between us, that you should sustain persecution, and we should sustain passion. But, as I said, contend with the Maximianists for that praise, who recite against you the forensic Acts, where you agitated them by persecutions through the judges: but plainly you afterwards were in con-

cord with some of them corrected by such coercion; whence our concord is not to be despaired of, if God should deign to help, and to inspire a peaceful mind in you. For that also, which is accustomed to be said by your part against us with a maledictory rather than a truthful mouth, "Their feet are swift to shed blood" (Psalm XIII, 3), we have rather experienced those things in so many robberies of the Circumcellions and of your clerics, who, having mangled human bodies with a most atrocious slaughter, stained so many places of ours with blood: whose leaders, when you were entering into this country, they led out with their troops, shouting out praises to God among songs, which voices they had as if it were a trumpet of battles in all their robberies. Yet on another day, being shaken and stimulated by the stings of your words, which you hurled at them through a Punic interpreter with an honest and ingenuous indignation of liberty, being irritated rather than delighted by their obsequious deeds, they snatched themselves away from the midst of the congregation with furious motions, as we have been able to hear from those who were present narrating it, nor after their feet swift to shed blood did you salt the pavements with any water —which after ours your clerics thought ought to be done.

But, as I had begun to say, this testimony from the Scriptures, which you are accustomed to hurl at us more by way of reviling than by proving, Their feet are swift to shed blood, even against Felicianus and Praetextatus with vehe-

ment impetus, that grandiloquent sentence of the Council of Bagai vomited out. For when they had said concerning Maximian what seemed ought to be said: And not only him, they say, does the just death of his crime condemn; the chain of sacrilege also draws many into the fellowship of the crime, concerning whom it is written: «The poison of asps is under their lips, whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness. Their feet are swift to shed blood (Psal. XIII, 3),» etc. Having said these things, so that they might then show who they were whom the chain of sacrilege drew into the fellowship of the crime, and condemn them with similar severity along with Maximian: Guilty, therefore, they say, of a famous crime, Victorianus of Carcavia, to whom they join eleven others, among whom Felicianus of Musti and Praetextatus of Assura. After these things were said against them, such a great concord was made with them, that nothing of their honors was diminished; no one washed by them, after the feet of the washers were swift to shed blood, was judged to be washed again. Why, therefore, must we despair of our concord? May God turn away the envy of the devil, and the peace of Christ conquer in our hearts: and, as the same Apostle says, let us forgive ourselves, if any one has a complaint against another, even as God in Christ has forgiven us (Colos. III, 15, 13), so that, as I have already said and must often be said, charity may cover a multitude of sins (I Pet. IV, 8).

CHAPTER VI.

But you, brother, with whom I now deal, and concerning whom in Christ, as He Himself knows, I desire to rejoice, if you wish to undertake the defense of the party of Donatus in this cause of Maximian through the faculty of your genius and eloquence, and not to act falsely, since the memory of it is recent, those men in whom these things were done still being in the body, with so many proconsular and municipal Acts, where the Catholic Church has always been reminded: so that you do not admit that matter of the water of another, and of the water of a lie, and the washing of a dead man, and if there are any other things of this kind, to be understood as you are accustomed; but rather in this way, that the baptism of Christ given to the Church for the participation of eternal salvation, should not be judged a stranger outside the Church, nor be accounted as alien among aliens, but should avail for the destruction of the strangers and aliens, but for the salvation of its own and proper ones; and in them, when they are converted to the peace of the Church, let the error be emended, and let not the Sacrament be destroyed by punishing the error, so that that which was a hindrance to the perverse one without, may begin to be profitable to the corrected one within: nor again are you to accept those things concerning not communicating with the sins of others, concerning separation from the evil, concerning not touching the unclean and polluted, concerning guarding against the corruption of a little leaven, and other such things, as you are accustomed, lest you involve

yourselves inexplicably in the cause of Maximian. But so wisely will you assert this, this you will hold, which sound doctrine commends, which the true rule proves by prophetic and apostolic examples, that the evil are rather to be tolerated, lest the good be deserted, than that the good are to be deserted, so that the evil may be separated. Only so that from imitation, from consent, from the similarity of life and morals the reprobate should be separated, growing together, mixed together in tribulation, gathered together within the nets until the time of harvest, of winnowing, and of the shore. Concerning the persecution, however, whatever has been done by your people through judges for the expelling and perturbing of the Maximianists from their seats, how are you going to defend it, unless that your more prudent ones did this with the mind of correcting, not with a moderate terror of harming: if however some exceeded the human measure, as in those things which the city itself testifies that Salvius of Membressa suffered, they do not prescribe for the rest, as the chaff with the wheat constituted in one communion of the Sacraments, but separated by dissimilarity of life?

Since these things are so, I embrace that defense of yours. For that will be it, if it be true; and it will be conquered by the truth, if it be not that. I embrace, I say, your defense; but you see that this is also mine. Why, therefore, should we not labor to be wheat together in the unity of the Lord's threshing floor, while we tolerate the chaff together? Why not, I beseech you, what is

the cause, for what good, for what utility, tell me? Unity is fled from, so that the people purchased by the blood of the only Lamb may be inflamed against one another with contrary zeal, and the sheep be divided, as if they were ours between us, and not of that master of the house who said to the servant, Feed my sheep (John XXI, 17), not, Feed your sheep; and concerning whom it was said, That there may be one flock, and one shepherd (Id. X, 16): who cries in the Gospel, In this all men shall know that you are my disciples, if you have true love in you (Id. XIII, 35); and, Let both grow until the harvest, lest perhaps when you wish to gather the cockle, you root up the wheat together with it (Matth. XIII, 30). Unity is fled from, so that here the husband, there the wife may meet: let him say, Hold unity with me, because I am your husband; let her answer, I die there, where my father is: so that in one bed they divide Christ, whom we detest if they divide the bed. Unity is fled from, so that relatives, and citizens, and friends, and guests, and whoever are bound together by human closeness, both being Christians, in entering upon banquets, in delivering and receiving in marriage, in buying and selling, in pacts and agreements, in salutations, in consents, in conversations, in all their things and businesses should be in concord, and at the altar of God in discord. For they who ought to finish there whatever discord was conceived from elsewhere, and according to the precept of the Lord, first be reconciled to their brothers, and

then offer the gift of the altar (Id. V, 24), being in concord elsewhere, there they are in discord.

Unity is fled from, so that we may seek public laws against the wickedness of your people (for I do not wish to say yours), and the Circumcellions may be armed against those same laws, which they contemn with that very fury with which they excited them against you when they were raging. Unity is fled from, so that a rustic audacity may be raised up against its possessors, and fugitive slaves, against apostolic discipline, should not only be alienated from their masters, but even threaten their masters; and not only threaten, but also despoil them with most violent aggressions, with your agonistic confessors as authors and leaders, and as princes in the crime itself, who for the praises of God adorn your honor, who for the praises of God shed the blood of another, so that you, on account of the envy of men, having gathered your people and run about, may promise to return the spoils to those from whom they were taken. Nor yet would you wish even this, that you might be able to fulfill it, lest you be compelled to offend too much the audacity of those men, which your presbyters thought necessary for themselves. For they boast of their preceding merits toward you, demonstrating and enumerating before this law, by which you rejoice that liberty has been restored to you, that your presbyters held the places and basilicas through them, our people being devastated and put to flight, so that if you wish to be severe

against them, you would appear ungrateful for their benefits.

Unity is fled from, so that whoever among us should refuse to bear discipline, may flee to them to be defended, so that they may be offered to you to be rebaptized. As that subdeacon Rusticianus from the country, on whose account I have been compelled to write these things to you with great grief and fear, being excommunicated by his presbyter on account of reprobate and perverse morals, having become a debtor of many in that region, and against ecclesiastical vigor, and against his creditors, sought no other protection, except that he should be struck again by you, and be loved by them as if most clean. Already your predecessor rebaptized such a deacon of ours, and he himself excommunicated by his presbyter, and made him your deacon, who not after many days, having mixed with the audacity of the same lost ones as he desired, and in a nocturnal aggression, in the midst of his robbery and fire, being slain by the concourse of a multitude coming to help, was killed. These are the fruits of this division which you do not wish to heal, so by fleeing unity, as the division itself ought to have been fled from; which is foul through itself, and damnable to God, even if these and other such horrendous and unspeakable things did not happen on account of it.

CHAPTER VII.

Let us recognize, therefore, brother, the peace of Christ, and let us hold it together, and as

much as God grants, let us study to be good together, and together let us emend the evil with whatever discipline we can, saving unity, and on account of that same unity, let us tolerate them with whatever patience we can: lest, as Christ admonished, when we wish to gather the cockle before the time, which the blessed Cyprian testified was to be seen and discerned not without, but in the Church, we root up the wheat together with it. For you truly do not have certain private privileges of sanctity, so that our evil ones should pollute us, and your evil ones should not pollute you; so that an ancient fear of traditors, which we do not know, should contaminate us, and the present audacity of the lost, which you see, should not contaminate you. Let us recognize that ark which prefigured the Church: let us be clean animals together there; nor let us refuse that even the unclean be carried in it with us until the end of the flood. They were in the ark together, but Noah did not offer together of the unclean in the odor of sacrifice to the Lord (Gen. VII, VIII). Nor yet on that account was the ark deserted before the time by any clean ones because of the unclean. Only the raven deserted it, and separated itself from the fellowship of that ark before the time; but it was from the two unclean, not from the seven clean: let us detest the uncleanness of this separation. For whoever are praiseworthy with such morals, this separation alone makes them damnable: because the evil son says that he himself is just, but his exit he does not wash; although insolently elated and

himself blinded by his own swelling, he dares to say what the Prophet, foreseeing it, detested: Touch me not, because I am clean. (Isai. LXV, 5) Whoever, therefore, before the time, as if on account of the uncleanness of certain ones, deserts the congregation of this unity, as if the ark in the flood carrying clean and unclean, shows himself rather to be that which he flees. This the Lord willed, that even in this city your people through the mouth of a certain one...

(A space of XXVII verses is vacant in the Vatican MS. exemplar, from which epistle CVIII was rescued).

EPISTLE CIX.

Severus, bishop of Milevis, professes that he takes the greatest delight and fruit from the reading of Augustine, extolling him with the highest praises, and finally provoking him to write back.

To the venerable and desirable bishop AUGUSTINE, to be embraced with the whole bosom of charity, SEVERUS.

1. Thanks be to God, brother Augustine, whose gift is whatever of good joys is in us. I confess, it is well with me with you; I read you much: I will say a wonder, but clearly true, that as much as your presence is accustomed to be absence to me, so much has your absence become presence of you. No turbulent actions of temporal things interpose themselves to us. I do as much as I can, although I cannot as much as I will: what should I say, as much as I will? You know best how greedy I am of you: nor yet do I murmur,

because I do not do as much as I will, since again I do no less than as much as I can. Thanks be to God, therefore, most sweet brother, it is well with me with you, I rejoice being more closely joined with you; and so to speak, adhering to you as uniquely as possible, receiving the redundancy of your breasts I prepare my strength, if I might be able to be made fit to shake and squeeze them, so that whatever they keep closed more secretly and inwardly, the skins being removed which they still insert to be sucked by the suckling, the very bowels, if it is possible, may deign to pour out to me. The bowels, I say, I desire to be poured out to me: your bowels, bowels fat with celestial fodder, and seasoned with all spiritual sweetness; your bowels, pure bowels, simple bowels, except that they are bound with a double link of twin charity; your bowels, bowels infused with the light of truth, and reflecting the truth. To the flowing or reflecting of these I subject myself, that my night may fail in your light, so that we may be able to walk together in the clarity of the day. O truly skilful bee of God, constructing honeycombs full of divine nectar, flowing with mercy and truth, through which my soul running about is delighted, and with vital food whatever it finds less in itself, or feels weak, it strives to repair and support.

2. The Lord is blessed through the proclamation of your mouth, and your faithful ministry: which you cause to so harmonize and respond to the Lord singing to you, that whatever of His fullness overflows even to us, is made more pleasant

and more grateful through your elegant service, and succinct cleanliness, and faithful and chaste and simple ministry: which you cause to so shine through your cleverness and your vigilance, that it may dazzle the eyes, and snatch them into itself; unless you yourself point to the Lord, so that whatever shines delightfully in you, we referring it to Him, may recognize it to be His from whose goodness you are so good, and from whose purity and simplicity and beauty you are pure, simple and beautiful; and to Him giving thanks for your good, He may deign to join us to you, or in some way subject us, that we may be more fully subjected to Him, by whose leading and moderation we rejoice that you are such, so that it may also happen to you to rejoice concerning us: which I do not distrust in my heart, if you help me with your prayers, by whose imitation I have already profited not a little, so that I desire to be such. You see what you do, because you are so good, how you snatch us into the love of our neighbor, which is for us the first step toward the love of God and the last, and as it were the boundary by which each is annexed to the other, the love of God and of neighbor; in which we, as I said, standing as it were on the boundary of both, are touched by the heat of both, and burn with the love of both. But as much as that fire of neighbor has burned and purged us, so much it compels us to go more pure into that love of God. In which already no measure of loving is imposed on us, since He Himself there is the measure, to love without measure. It

is not therefore to be feared lest we love our Lord too much, but it is to be feared lest too little.

3. This superior letter, which offers me to you as if having wiped away sadness with the happiness of actions, concerning the liberal leisure which it was permitted me to spend with you, being placed in this country (for so it could be permitted) more joyful, was written as if a goal of those joys, before indeed the venerable bishop deigned to visit us, and what I truly wonder at, it came on the same day it was written. What is this, I ask, my soul, except perhaps that which delights us; yet although it is honest, it is not yet useful enough, because it is in part? Meanwhile it is permitted to the universe to adapt this very part, that is ourselves, as much as the matter yields to us for our sins, that is we ourselves yield, more estimable and more linkable to ourselves, if yet you admit this word. You have a letter longer not according to your greatness, but according to my smallness, with which I have provoked you, that now not according to my smallness, but according to your greatness, a letter may be sent to me. Which however as great as it will be, will not be long to me, to whom the whole time is short for reading you. Write back to me when, or where I ought to meet you, on account of that cause for which you ordered me to meet. Which if it is intact, and not perhaps something else seemed better, then I shall meet; but if not, I ask you, I do not wish you to recall me from my course: for that alone seemed to be what I would prefer for myself. All the brothers who are fellow-

servants with us in the Lord, I both desire much, and salute.

EPISTLE CX.

Augustine to Bishop Severus, most blandly expostulating and seeking why he was praised so much by him in the superior letter.

To the most blessed and sweet lord, the venerable and too desirable brother and fellow-priest SEVERUS, and to the brothers who are with you, AUGUSTINE and the brothers who are with me, greeting in the Lord.

1. My letter, which our most dear son and fellow-deacon Timothy carried, was already prepared for him when he was about to depart, when our sons Quodvultdeus and Gaudentius came to us with your letters. Thence it happened that departing immediately, he did not bring my response, since after their arrival he stayed with us for however short a time, and seemed about to depart through each hour. But even if I had responded through him, I would still be a debtor. For even now that I seem to have responded I am a debtor, I do not say of charity, which we owe so much more as we have expended more, of which the Apostle shows us to be perpetual debtors saying, Owe no man any thing, but to love one another (Rom. XIII, 8); but of your letter itself: for when shall I suffice for your sweetness, and for such a great greediness of your mind, which it announced to me when read? It indeed suggested to me a thing most known in you; nevertheless,

although it was not a suggestor of a new thing to me, it was a new exactress of responses.

2. You wonder perhaps why I say I am an unequal payer of this debt, when you think so much of me, who know me as my own soul: but this itself is what made for me a great difficulty of responding to your letters, because I spare to say even how great you seem to me on account of your modesty, and certainly by saying less, when you have conferred such praise upon me, what else shall I remain but a debtor? Which I would not care for, if I knew that those things which you spoke concerning me to me, were not said from most sincere charity, but by adulation inimical to friendship. In this way indeed I would not even become a debtor, because I ought not to repay such things: but the more I know with how faithful a mind you speak, the more I see by how great a debt I am weighed down.

3. See however what has happened to me, that in a certain way I have praised myself, who have said that I was faithfully praised by you. But what else should I say, than that which I have suggested concerning you, whom you know. Behold, I have made a new question for myself which you did not propose, and you perhaps expect that I should solve it: so it was little to me that I was a debtor, unless I also piled up a more ample debt for myself; although this may be easy to show, and, if I do not show it, easy for you to see, both that true things can be said unfaithfully, and not true things faithfully. For he who so believes as he speaks, although he does not speak true things,

speaks faithfully; but he who does not believe what he speaks, although he speaks true things, speaks unfaithfully. Do I then doubt that you believe those things concerning me which you wrote? Since I do not recognize them in me, you have been able to say faithfully of me things that are not true.

4. But I do not wish you to be so deceived even by benevolence; to which benevolence I am a debtor, because I can say both so faithfully, and so benevolently those things which are true concerning you, unless, as I said above, I should spare your modesty. I however, when I am praised by the most brotherly and most familiar one of my soul, have it as if I were praised by myself. Which you see how troublesome it is, even if true things are said. How much more because even when you are my other soul, or rather your soul and mine are one, you are so deceived in me by thinking that those things are present in me which are lacking, just as one man can be deceived concerning himself? Which I do not wish not only for this reason, lest you whom I love be deceived, but also lest you pray less that I may be what you already believe me to be: nor in this am I a debtor to you, that I should believe and speak the same good things of you by the progress of benevolence, which you still recognize to be lacking to yourself, but that with a mind so indeed benevolent I should say only those good things of yours, the gifts of God, concerning which I am certain in you. Which I do not fail to do not so that I may not be deceived in them, but lest you praised by

me, should seem to have praised yourself; and on account of that rule of justice, by which I do not wish it to be done to me. Which if it ought to be done, I choose to be a debtor, as long as I think it ought not to be done; if however it ought not to be done, I am not even a debtor.

5. But I know what you can respond to me to these things: you speak those things as if I had desired a prolix letter of yours concerning my praises. Far be it that I should believe this of you; but your letter, I do not wish to say how true, or how not true, yet full of my praises, demanded this of me so that I might reprehend it, even you being unwilling. For if you wanted me to write anything else, you desired me as a giver, not a payer. Furthermore, the order of justice has it thus, that we should first return the debt; then finally to him to whom we return it, if this pleases, we may also give something. Although even such things as you desired that I should write, if we should more diligently think upon the dominical precepts, we return rather than give, if to no one anything is to be owed, except that we should love one another. For love itself exacts the debt, so that serving fraternal charity, we should help him who rightly wishes himself to be helped, in what we can. But, my brother, I believe that you also know how many things are in my hands, by which on account of diverse cares which the necessity of our servitude has, vix are the very fewest drops of time distilled to me, which if I expend on other things, I seem to myself to act against my office.

6. For that which you wish, that I should write a prolix letter to you, even this indeed I owe, I confess; I owe this absolutely to this so sweet, so sincere, so pure will of yours. But because you are a good lover of justice, thence I admonish you so that you may hear this from me more willingly concerning her whom you love. You see that that which I owe to both you and others is prior to that which I owe to you alone; and time does not suffice me for all things, when it does not even for those things which are prior. Whence all my most dear and most familiar ones, of whom in the name of Christ you are among the first to me, will do a thing of their office, if not only they themselves do not impose other things to be written by me, but even prohibit the rest with as much authority and holy benignity as they can; lest I should seem hard when I have not given the things asked by individuals, while I wish rather to return those things which I owe to all. Finally when as we hope and hold the promise, your Venerability shall come to us, you will know by what works of letters and how much I am occupied, and you will more instantly do what I have asked, so that you may demolish from me others whom you can, wishing to enjoin me to write something else. May the Lord our God fill so great and so holy a bosom of your heart which He Himself made, most blessed lord.

EPISTLE CXI.

Augustine to Victorianus the presbyter, consoling him to accept with tolerance the evils

which the barbarians, making an incursion into Italy and Spain, were bringing upon holy men and sacred virgins.

To the most dear lord and most desirable brother and fellow-presbyter VICTORIANUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. Your letter filled our heart with great grief, in which you asked that I should respond something with a prolix work; when to such evils more prolix groans and weeping are owed, than prolix books. For the whole world is afflicted by such great calamities, that there is almost no part of the lands where such things, as you have written, are not committed and lamented. For a short time ago, even in those solitudes of Egypt, where the monasteries separated from all noise had lodged as if secure, the brothers were killed by barbarians. Now indeed what nefarious things have been perpetrated just now in the regions of Italy, what in the Gauls, I think does not even lie hidden from you; from so many provinces of Spain also, which for a long time seemed untouched by these evils, such things have already begun to be announced. But why do we go far? Behold in our Hippo region, since the barbarians have not reached it, the robberies of the Donatist clerics and Circumcellions so devastate the churches, that the deeds of the barbarians are perhaps milder. For what barbarian could have thought out that these men, so that they might send lime and vinegar into the eyes of our clerics, whose other members they also mangled with horrendous blows and wounds? They also plun-

der some houses and set them on fire, they snatch away dry fruits, they pour out moist ones, and by threatening such things to the rest, they compel many also to be rebaptized. The day before I dictated these things to you, from one place through terrors of this kind forty-eight rebaptized souls were announced to me.

2. These things are to be lamented, not wondered at, and we must cry out to God, that He may deliver us from such great evils, not according to our merits, but according to His mercy. For what indeed was to be hoped for by the human race, when these things were predicted so long ago both in the Prophets and in the Gospel? Therefore we ought not to be so contrary to ourselves, as to believe when they are read, and to complain when they are fulfilled: but rather even those who had been incredulous, when they read or heard these things written in the holy Books, ought now at least to believe when they already see them being fulfilled; so that from these then great pressures as if in the press of the Lord our God, just as the amurca of the incredulous murmuring and blaspheming flows out, so also the oil of the faithful confessing and praying may not cease to be expressed and clarified. For to those who do not rest from casting impious complaints against the Christian faith, saying that before this doctrine was preached through the world, the human race did not suffer such great evils, it is easy to respond from the Gospel; for the Lord says: The servant not knowing the will of his lord, and doing things worthy of stripes, shall

be beaten with few; but the servant knowing the will of his lord, and doing things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with many (Luke XII, 47, 48). What wonder then, if in Christian times this world, as a servant already knowing the will of his Lord, and doing things worthy of stripes, is beaten with many? They attend to with what great celerity the Gospel is preached, and they do not attend to with what great perversity it is despised. But the humble and holy servants of God, who suffer temporal evils doubly, because they suffer both from the impious themselves, and with them, have their consolations, and the hope of the future world; whence the Apostle says: The sufferings of this time are not worthy of the future glory, which shall be revealed in us (Rom. VIII, 18).

3. Therefore, most dear one, respond also humbly and truthfully and piously to those whose words you say you cannot bear, since they say, If we sinners have merited these things, why have both the servants of God been slain by the sword of the barbarians, and the handmaids of God been led away captive? For however great justice we may preserve, however great obedience we may exhibit to the Lord, can we be better than those three men, who were projected into the furnace of burning fire for preserving the law of God? And yet read what Azarias says there, one of the three who opening his mouth in the midst of the fire, said: Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers, and laudable; and glorious is thy name for ever: for thou art just in all things which

thou hast done to us, and all thy works are true, and thy ways are right, and all thy judgments are truth, and thou hast made judgments of truth in all things which thou hast brought upon us, and upon the holy city of our fathers, Jerusalem; for in truth and judgment thou hast brought all these things upon us, on account of our sins; for we have sinned, and have not obeyed thy Law, and have not hearkened to thy mandates, so that it might be well with us; and all things which thou hast brought upon us, thou hast brought in true judgment. And thou hast delivered us into the hands of iniquitous and most hostile deserters, and to an unjust king and most wicked beyond the whole earth. And now it is not for us that we can open our mouth: truly we have become a confusion and a reproach to thy servants, and to those who worship thee. Deliver us not up for ever on account of thy name, O Lord, and despise not thy testament, and take not away thy mercy from us, on account of Abraham who is beloved by thee, and on account of Isaac thy servant, and Israel thy holy one, to whom thou hast spoken that thou wouldst multiply their seed as the stars of heaven and the sand of the sea: for, O Lord, we have become the least among all nations, and we are humble today in the earth on account of our sins (Dan. III, 26-37). You see certainly, brother, what kind of men, how holy, how strong in the midst of tribulation, where nevertheless they were spared, and the flame itself feared to burn them, confessed their sins, for which they knew

themselves to be worthily and justly humbled, nor were they silent.

4. Can we even be better than Daniel himself, concerning whom through Ezekiel the prophet God says to the prince of Tyre: Art thou wiser than Daniel (Ezek. XXVIII, 3)? And who is placed as one among the three just men whom God says He will alone deliver; showing certainly in them three forms of just men, whom He says He will so deliver, that they should not deliver even their sons with them, but they themselves alone should be delivered: Noah, Daniel, and Job (Ezek. XIV, 14, 16)? Read however also the prayer of Daniel, and see how being placed in captivity he confesses his sins, not only of his people, but also his own, and says for these things that through the justice of God he has come to that punishment of captivity and reproaches. For thus it is written: And I set my face toward the Lord God, that I might seek prayers and supplications in fastings and sackcloth, and I prayed to the Lord my God, and confessed, and said: O Lord God, great and wonderful, and who keepest thy testament, and mercy to those who love thee and keep thy precepts, we have sinned, we have done against the Law, we have acted impiously, and we have departed, and have declined from thy precepts, and from thy judgments, and we have not hearkened to thy servants the Prophets, who spoke in thy name to our kings, and to all the people of the land. To thee, O Lord, justice, but to us confusion of face, as this day to the man of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and

to all Israel, who are near, and who are far off in all the land, in which thou hast scattered them there, on account of their contumacy, because they have disapproved of thee, O Lord. To us however confusion of face, to our kings, and to our princes, and to our fathers, who have sinned. To thee, O Lord our God, belong mercies and propitiations, because we have departed, and have not heard the voice of the Lord our God, so that we might be in the precepts of this law which He gave in our sight in the hand of His servants the Prophets. And all Israel have sinned against thy law, and have declined so as not to hear thy voice: and there has come upon us the curse and the oath, which is written in the law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned, and He has established His words, which He spoke to us and to our judges, who shall judge us, to bring upon us great evils, which have never been done under the whole heaven according to those which have been done in Jerusalem. As it is written in the Law of Moses, all these evils have come upon us, and we have not entreated the Lord our God, that He might turn away our delicts from us, and that we might understand all thy truth. And the Lord God has watched over all His holy one, and has led through those things which He has done to us, because the Lord our God is just in all His world which He has made, and we have not heard His voice. And now, O Lord our God, who hast brought out thy people from the land of Egypt in a strong hand, and hast made for thyself a name as this day, we have committed

delicts against thy law. O Lord, in all thy mercy let thy impetus and thy wrath be turned away from thy city Jerusalem, and from thy holy mountain. For on account of our sins and the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people have come into confusion to all who are around us. And now hearken, O our God, to the prayers of thy servant and to his oration, and show us thy face to thy sanctification which is deserted. On account of thee incline, O my Lord God, thine ear, and hearken; open thine eyes, and see our destruction and that of thy city Jerusalem, over which thy name has been invoked upon it, because not in our justice have we cast our prayer in thy sight, but to thy mercy which is great. Hearken O Lord, be propitious O Lord, attend O Lord, and do not delay for thy sake, O my God; because thy name is invoked in thy city, upon thy city and thy people. And while I was still speaking and praying and enumerating my sins and the sins of my people (Dan. IX, 3-20). See how he spoke of his own sins first, and afterwards of his people's. And he commends this justice of God, and says this praise of God, because not unjustly, but for their sins He scourges even His holy ones themselves. If therefore those say these things who by most excellent sanctity had fires and lions harmless around them, what does it behove us to say in our humility, who are so far unequal to them, however much justice we may seem to preserve?

5. But lest anyone should think that those servants of God, whom you say were killed by the barbarians, ought to have escaped that death

in the same way as those three men were delivered from the fires, and Daniel from the lions; let him know that those miracles were done for this reason, so that the kings by whom they were delivered into those punishments might believe that they worship the true God. For this was in the hidden judgment and mercy of God, so that He might consult for the salvation of those kings in that way. To King Antiochus, however, who slew the Maccabees with cruel punishments, He did not wish to consult thus, but He punished the heart of the hard king with sharper severity by their most glorious sufferings. Read however, even what one of them, who suffered in the sixth place, says. For thus it is written: And after him they brought the sixth. But do not thou think that thou shalt be unpunished, who hast wished to fight against God and His Law with thy laws (II Mach. VII, 18, 19). You see even how humbly and truthfully these men are wise, who confess that they are scourged by the Lord for their sins: concerning whom it is written, For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth (Prov. III, 12); and he scourgeth every son whom he receiveth (Heb. XII, 6): whence also the Apostle, For if we would judge ourselves, we should not indeed be judged by the Lord. And when he, being tortured with torments, was dying, he said: Do not deceive thyself on account of us; we suffer these things sinning against our God, and these things have been done worthy of us. But when we are judged we are corrected by the Lord, lest we should be condemned with this world (I Cor. XI, 31, 32).

6. Read these things faithfully, preach them faithfully, and as much as you can beware, and teach that it must be bewared, lest it be murmured against God in these temptations and tribulations. You say that good servants of God and faithful and holy ones have been slain by the sword of the barbarians. But what does it matter, whether a fever or the sword has released them from the body? Not by what occasion they go out, but what kind they go out to Him the Lord attends in His servants, except that a long-lasting languor has a greater penalty than the swiftest exit: and yet even that long-lasting and horrendous languor we read, such as that Job suffered, to whose justice certainly God Himself who cannot be deceived, yields such a testimony.

7. Very grave indeed and much to be lamented is that captivity of chaste and holy women, but their God is not a captive, nor does He desert His captives, if He knows them as His own. For even those saints whose sufferings and confessions I have commemorated from the holy Scriptures, being led by enemies and placed in captivity, said those things which should be read by us when written, so that we might learn that the captive servants of God are not deserted by their Lord. Whence however do we know what the omnipotent and merciful God wishes to be done of His wonders even through those women in that barbarian land itself? Only do not cease to groan for them to God, and to seek as much as you can, and as much as He Himself permits, when He shall have given time and faculty, what has been done

concerning them, or what consolations of yours they may be able to have. For from Sitifis a few years ago the nun niece of Bishop Severus was led away by barbarians, and through the wonderful mercy of God was restored to her parents with great honor. For that house of the barbarians where she entered as a captive, began to be tossed by a sudden infirmity of the masters, so that all the barbarians themselves, three unless I am deceived, or more brothers, labored with a most dangerous infirmity. Their mother noticed the girl dedicated to God, and believed that by her orations her sons could be delivered from the danger of already imminent death; she asked that she should pray for them, promising that, if they were made safe, they would return her to her parents. She fasted and prayed, and was immediately heard. For it had been done for this, as much as the outcome taught. Thus they, having perceived health by such a sudden benefit of God, wondering at her and honoring her, fulfilled what their mother had promised.

8. Pray therefore to God for them, and ask that He may also teach them to say such things as the above-mentioned saint Azarias, among other things in his prayer and confession, poured out to God. For they are in the land of their captivity just as they were in that land where they could not sacrifice to the Lord according to their custom, just as these women cannot, either to bring an oblation to the altar of God, or to find there a priest through whom they may offer to God. May the Lord therefore grant to them that they may

say to Him what Azarias said in the consequences of his prayers: There is not at this time a prince and a prophet and a leader, no burnt offerings, nor oblation, nor supplications, nor a place for sacrificing in thy sight, and to find mercy; but in a contrite soul and a spirit of humility let us be accepted. As in the burnt offerings of rams and bulls, and in a multitude of fat lambs, so let our sacrifice be made in thy sight today to perfect those following thee, because there shall be no confusion to those who trust in thee. And now we follow with our whole heart and fear thee, and seek thy face, O Lord; do not confound us, but deal with us according to thy gentleness, and according to the multitude of thy mercy, and deliver us according to thy wonders, and give glory to thy name, O Lord, and let all be ashamed who show evils to thy servants, and let them be confounded from thy omnipotence, and let their strength be bruised, and let them know that thou art the Lord God alone and glorious in the whole circle of the earth (Dan. III, 38-45).

9. To them saying these things, and groaning to God, He will altogether be present to His own who is accustomed to be present to His own, and either He will permit nothing to be perpetrated in their most chaste members by hostile lust; or if He shall permit it, He will not impute it. For when the mind is stained by no turpitude of consent, it defends even its own flesh from crime: and whatever in it the lust of the sufferer has neither committed nor permitted, shall be the fault of the doer alone; and all that violence shall be deputed

not for the turpitude of corruption, but for the wound of passion. For so much does the integrity of chastity avail in the mind, that while it remains inviolate, pudicity cannot be violated even in the body, whose members could be overcome.

Let this letter, brief for your desire, yet very prolix for my occupations, and too much accelerated on account of the haste of the bearer, suffice for your charity. Much more abundantly will the Lord console you, if you shall have read His Scriptures most intently.

EPISTLE CXII. He exhorts Donatus the ex-proconsul that, all pomp being cast aside, he should follow Christ, and allure his own to the communion of the Catholic Church. To the distinguished lord and brother honorable for most sincere affection, DONATUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. That I, desiring much to see you while you were administering, even when you had come to Tibili, could not see you, I believe to have been done for this reason, so that I might rather enjoy your mind being freed from public cares, than that that salutation, with me idle before you, and you busy, should temper the desire of neither of us as much as would be enough: recollecting indeed the honesty of your disposition from an early age, I think your breast abundantly fit into which Christ might most largely infuse Himself, so that you may bring fruits to Him more worthy of eternal and heavenly glory than of temporal and earthly proclamation.

2. For from many, or rather indeed from all whom I could either question, or even hear voluntarily proclaiming, praising and preferring your chastity and virtue of administration quite constantly, and without any scruple of dissonant variety I have received it, and so much more certainly as your proclaimers were ignorant of our closeness, and did not know at all whether I knew you even slightly, lest I should believe that they had given themselves more to my ears than that they were spreading true things concerning you. For there praise is remote from vanity, where even vituperation is secure from offense. Nevertheless, O distinguished brother, and honorable for most sincere affection, you are not now to be taught, but perhaps to be admonished, that all that glory and popular fame is not to be rejoiced in the mouth of the common people, but in the things themselves: which even if they displease the common people, yet by their own splendor and weight, they are precious not by the commendation of the unskilled; and he is more to be pitied who disapproves of such things, than he who is to be judged miserable concerning such things when disapproved. When however they please, and are also popularly proclaimed with the praise due to them, not even thus indeed do they themselves become greater or better by another's judgment; since they are integrated by inward truth, and are solidified by the strength of conscience alone. Whence more of happiness happens to men thinking rightly, than to him

concerning whom the common people think well.

Which things since you know best, good man, behold, as you have begun, with the strongest sight of your heart the Lord our God Jesus Christ, and altogether detumescing from all vain pomp, rise up into Him who does not windily lift up those converted to Him, but places those leaning and ascending with certain steps of faith in the everlasting height of heavenly and angelic dignity. Through whom I beseech you that you may write back to me, and that you may courteously and kindly exhort all your own whom you have in Sinita or Hippo to the communion of the Catholic Church. In whose bosom I have known that your father also, a laudable and excellent man, was begotten by you; whom I ask that you salute from me with the office due to his merits, and do not be reluctant to visit us. Which also on account of your business, which you have here, to be made better before God, I do not impudently demand. May the mercy of God encompass you, and preserve you from all iniquity.

EPISTLE CXIII.

Augustine asks Cresconius that he may be a helper of his petition for Faventius.

To the most dear lord, and worthily honorable and to be accepted brother CRESCONIUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

If I shall have dissembled from this cause, concerning which behold I write again to your

religion; not only your Excellence, but even he himself, whoever he is, in whose cause Faventius was thus snatched away, will worthily blame me, and rightly reprehend me: judging certainly, if he himself also had fled to the aid of the Church, if anything similar had happened to him, that I would have thus dissembled from his necessity and tribulation. Then, if the estimation of men is to be contemned, what shall I say to the Lord our God himself, and what account shall I give, if I shall not have acted as much as I can for the safety of him, who committed himself to the Church, which I serve, to be protected and helped, most dear lord and venerable son? I ask therefore your Benignity, since it is difficult and incredible, that you should not already either know or be able to know in what cause he is detained, that you may deign to help my petition in the meantime before the apparitor who holds him, so that he may do what is commanded by the law of the Emperor: that he may cause him to be interrogated before the municipal Acts, whether he wishes thirty days to be granted to him, in which he may act under moderate custody in that city in which he is detained, so that he may order his affairs, and provide for the expenses. In the space of which days, by your benevolence favoring us, if we shall have been able to finish his cause by a friendly discussion, we shall rejoice: if however we shall not have been able, the outcome of the judgments which shall please God will find him, according to the merit of the cause itself or the will of the most omnipotent Lord.

EPISTLE CXIV.

To Florentinus upon the same cause of Faventius.

To the most dear lord and son FLORENTINO, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

By the command of whose power you snatched Faventius, you yourself will see: but this I know, that every power constituted under the empire serves the laws of its emperor. Although therefore I have already sent through my brother and fellow-presbyter Celestine the law, which indeed even before I sent it, you ought by no means to have been ignorant of, by which it is granted to those who are commanded by any power to be exhibited to judgments, that they may be led to the municipal Acts, and there be interrogated whether they wish thirty days to be granted to them in that city where they are held, to act under moderate custody, for preparing their resources, or for ordering their business, as shall be necessary; which law, as the mentioned presbyter reported to me, was recited to your religion: yet even now I have sent it again and again with these letters; not terrifying, but asking, and interceding for a man humanely, and with episcopal mercy, as much as humanity and piety itself permits, lord son, so that you may deign to grant this both to your reputation and to my petition, and what the law of the Emperor commands, whose republic you serve, you may not be reluctant to do with my intervention and prayer also approaching.

EPISTLE CXV.

To Fortunatus, Bishop of Cirta, concerning the same matter.

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

Your Holiness knows Faventius well, who was the tenant of the Paratian forest. He, when he feared something for himself from the lord of the same possession, fled to the church of Hippo; and there he was, as those fleeing are wont, waiting how he might finish his business through our intercession. Who, as often happens, being less and less solicitous through each day, and secure as if the adversary were ceasing, when he was going out from his friend from dinner, was suddenly snatched by a certain Florentinus, as they say, an Official of the Count, by a band of armed men, as many as seemed to them sufficient for this deed. When this was announced to me, and as yet it was unknown by whom or by which persons he had been snatched, yet there was a suspicion concerning him whom he, fearing, was protecting himself through the church; immediately I sent to the tribune, who is established for guarding the shore. He sent soldiers: no one could be found. But in the morning we knew both in what house he had been, and that after cock-crow he had departed with him who had held him. I also sent thither whither he was said to have been led away: where the mentioned Official being found, was unwilling to grant to the presbyter whom

I had sent, that he might at least see him. On another day I sent letters, asking that there be granted to him what the Emperor commanded in such causes, that is, that they who have been commanded to be exhibited be interrogated by the municipal Acts, whether they wish to act thirty days in that city under moderate custody, so that they may order their business or prepare expenses: thinking certainly that through those very days we could perhaps finish his cause by a friendly discussion. Now however having set out with that Official he was led away: but there is fear lest perhaps being led to the Consular office, he may suffer something of evil. For he has a cause with a most wealthy man, although the integrity of the judge is proclaimed with most clear fame. Lest however money should prevail at the Office, I ask your Holiness, most dear lord and venerable brother, that you deign to deliver my letters to the honorable and most dear to us Consular, and to read these to him; because I have not thought it necessary to insinuate the same cause twice; and let him defer the audience of his cause, since I do not know whether he is guilty or innocent in it. And let him not contemn that the laws were not kept concerning the same man, so that he was thus snatched, nor as it was commanded by the Emperor, was led to the municipal Acts to be interrogated, whether he wished to receive the benefit of delay; so that through this we may be able to finish the matter with his adversary.

EPISTLE CXVI.

To Generosus, the Consular of Numidia, Augustine commending the cause of Faventius.

To the distinguished and worthily illustrious lord, and honorably most dear son GENEROSUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

Since the praise and proclamation of your administration and your distinguished fame delighted me very much, on account of the affection which we owe to your merits and benevolence, never as yet in requesting any benefit has my intercession been burdensome to your Excellence, most dear lord and venerable son. But now your Benignity will perceive what has been done in the city in which I serve the Church of God, since your Excellence will have known from the letters which I gave to my venerable brother and fellow-bishop Fortunatus, by what necessity I was compelled to thrust my petition upon your occupations. And indeed you will do what becomes not only an upright, but also a Christian judge, with that mind toward us, concerning which in the name of Christ it was certainly to be presumed.

EPISTLE CXVII.

Dioscorus sends many questions to Augustine from the books of Cicero, asking that he respond maturely to them.

To prooemiarize with you is not only superfluous, but also troublesome, you who desire the matter, not words. And therefore simply hear. The old man Alypius, being asked by me, had very

often promised to respond with you to a few little questions of the dialogues; and since he is said to be in Mauritania today, I ask with all my strength and pray, that you alone may deign to respond, which without doubt you were going to do even in the presence of that brother of yours. It is not money, it is not gold, which you were without doubt going to give for anyone if you had it; now however you speak without labor what I require. I could entreat you more and through many of your dear ones; but I know your mind, which does not desire to be asked, but to grant to all, if only that which is unseemly be absent, which in this matter is entirely nothing of unseemliness: yet whatever it is, I ask that you grant it to one about to sail. You know how very troublesome it is for me to be a burden, I do not say to your Sincerity, but to anyone. For God alone knows how, compelled by excessive necessity, I have done this. For while you are safe and God favoring, I am about to sail: and you are not ignorant of the manners of men, who are prone to vituperating, and you see how, if anyone being interrogated shall not have responded, he will be thought unlearned and dull. Therefore, I beseech you, respond to all without delay; lest you send me away sad. So may I see my parents; because for this alone I sent Cerdo, and I await him alone. Brother Zenobius has been made Master of the memory, and sent us a conveyance with provisions. If I am not worthy that you should respond to my little questions, at least let the provisions be feared. May the supreme Divinity protect you in safety

for us for a long age. The Pope greets your Dignity very much.

EPISTLE CXVIII. Augustine responds to Dioscorus that questions of this kind are neither becomingly treated by a bishop, nor usefully learned by a Christian. He disputes concerning the end of studies and concerning the supreme good, exhorting Dioscorus that he follow Christian philosophy, which alone, the example of divine humility being proposed, was able to persuade the truth. Finally he illustrates certain passages of Cicero, who rebukes the opinions of philosophers concerning God.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. You thought that I was to be suddenly encompassed, or rather overwhelmed by a crowd of innumerable questions, even if you believed me to be free and at leisure: for when could I, in any leisure whatever, dissolve so many knots of things for one so hastening, and as you write, now almost about to depart? For I should be hindered by the number of the things themselves, even if the knots were easy to be dissolved. But they are involved with such perplexity, and constrained by such tenacity, that even if they were few, occupying me most at leisure, they would fatigue my intention with a great delay of time, and wear away my nails. But I should wish to snatch you away from the midst of your delicate inquiries, and to pack you among my cares, so that you might either learn not to be vainly curious, or not dare to impose your curiosity to

be fed and nourished upon those, among whose cares the greatest care is to repress and restrain the curious. For how much better, and how much more fruitfully, if time and labor is spent in giving any letters to you, it is spent rather to this, that your vain and fallacious desires may be cut back, which are to be avoided so much the more, as they deceive more easily, veiled and cloaked as they are by I know not what shadow of honesty and the name of liberal studies; than that by our ministry, and, so to speak, attendance, they should be more vehemently excited into a dominion, by which they may press down your so good mind?

2. For behold, so many dialogues having been read, if they have helped you nothing toward seeing the end and laying hold of all your actions, what do they profit, tell me? For where you have established the end of all this most burning study of yours, both unfruitful to you, and troublesome to us, your letter indicates enough. For when you were busy with me through letters concerning the resolving of the questions which you sent, you wrote thus: "I could," you say, "entreat you more and through many of your dear ones; but I know your mind, which does not desire to be asked, but to grant to all, if only that which is unseemly be absent, which in this matter is entirely nothing of unseemliness: yet whatever it is, I ask that you grant it to one about to sail." In these words of your letter you think indeed rightly of me, that I desire to grant to all, if that which is unseemly be absent; but that in this

matter there is nothing of unseemliness, does not seem so to me. For a becoming face of things does not touch my sense, when I think of a bishop distracted and distended by clattering ecclesiastical cares, suddenly as if becoming deaf, withholding himself from all these, and expounding the little questions of Tullian dialogues to a single schoolman. Which, however much you may by no means wish to attend to, being snatched by the ardor of your studies, you also feel nevertheless. For what else does it indicate, that when you had said that in this matter there was entirely nothing of unseemliness, you immediately added: "Yet whatever it is, I ask that you grant it to one about to sail." For this sounds as if it seems to you indeed that there is nothing of unseemliness in this matter, yet whatever of unseemliness there is, you ask that I grant it to one about to sail. But what is it, I ask you, that you added, "about to sail"? Or ought I, unless you were about to sail, not to grant to you anything of unseemliness? Doubtless you think that unseemliness is washed away by sea water. Which if it were so, mine certainly, who am not about to sail, would remain unexpiated.

3. You write also that I know how very troublesome it is for you to be a burden to anyone, and you attest that God alone knows that you have done this compelled by excessive necessity. Here surely when I read your letter, I sufficiently noticed my mind recognizing your necessity, when behold you bring to me and say: "You are not ignorant of the manners of men, who are

prone to vituperating, and you see how, if anyone being interrogated shall not have responded, he will be thought unlearned and dull." At this place indeed I burned to write back to you: for by this languor of your mind you have penetrated my breast, and burst into my cares, so that I could not dissemble, how much God would help me, to heal you; not so that I might think concerning the disentangling and explaining of your questions, but that I might break off your happiness hanging from the tongues of men and nodding from so unhappy a stay, and bind it to a certain seat altogether unshaken and stable. Do you, O Dioscorus, not even look back at your Persius insulting you with a twisted little verse, but plainly crushing and restraining a childish head, if sense be present, with a suitable box on the ear: "Is your knowing nothing, unless another knows that you know this?" (Persius, Satire 1). So many, as I said above, dialogues you have read, into so many altercations of philosophers you have inserted your heart. Tell me which of them established the end of his actions in the fame of the common people, or in the tongue of men even good and wise. But you, and what is more to be shamed, now about to sail, testify that you have progressed quite illustriously in Africa, when for no other cause you assert that you are a burden to the most busy bishops, and those intent upon things far distant, that they should expound Cicero to you, except because you fear men prone to vituperating, lest being interrogated by them, if you shall not have responded, you be thought unlearned and dull!

O thing worthy of the vigils and night-labors of bishops!

4. You do not seem to me to think of anything else day and night, except that in your studies and doctrine you may be praised by men. Which even if I have always judged to be dangerous to those tending toward certain and right things, yet now in you especially I experience it. For from no other source than from the same destruction have you not seen by what thing at last we could be moved, that we should give you what you were seeking. For as perversely you yourself are snatched to learning those things which you interrogate for no other reason than that you may be praised, or not be vituperated by men; so perversely also you think that we are moved in your petition by such causes alleged. And would that we could effect that you also might be moved very little by so vain and fallacious a good of human praise, when we should indicate to you, that we are moved not to grant to you what you seek, since you write these things of yourself, but to correct you! "The manners of men," you say, "are prone to vituperating." What then? "If anyone being interrogated shall not have responded," you say, "he will be thought unlearned and dull." Behold, I interrogate you not concerning anything from the books of Cicero, the sense of which perhaps those reading cannot track down, but concerning your very letter itself, and concerning the meaning of your words. For I ask why you did not say, "He who shall not have responded, will be manifested unlearned and dull," but rather you

said, "He will be thought unlearned and dull"; unless because you yourself also sufficiently understand, that he who shall not have responded to such things, is not unlearned and dull, but is thought so. But I admonish you, that he who fears to be cut down by the tongues of such thinkers as by sickles, is dry wood, and therefore not only thought unlearned and dull, but truly is and is convicted so.

5. Perhaps you will have said: But since I am not dull in mind, and especially I strive not to be, I do not wish to be thought dull in mind either. Rightly; but for what end you do not wish it, that I ask. For that which in those questions opening and explaining to you, you did not doubt also to be a burden to us, you said this was the cause and this the end, and so necessary, that you called it an excessive necessity, lest namely being interrogated concerning these and not responding, you be thought dull and unlearned by men prone to vituperating. But I ask, whether this be the whole why you desire those things from us, or whether also you do not wish to be thought unlearned and dull on account of something else. If this is the whole, you perceive, as I think, that this is the end of so vehement an intention of yours, by which you are also a burden to us, as you confess. But what from Dioscorus can be a burden to us, unless that which burdens Dioscorus himself even not knowing it? which he will not feel, except when he shall have wished to rise; and would that these burdens might not be so bound, that he may also strive in vain to shake his shoul-

ders! Which I do not say for this reason, because those questions are learned, but because they are learned for such an end. For this end you now certainly feel to be trifling, vain, windy. It has also a swelling, under which also a wasting is begotten, and the pupil of the mind is overshadowed so as not to see the opulence of truth. Believe it, so it is, my Dioscorus, so may I enjoy you in that very will, and in that dignity of truth, from whose shadow you are turned away. For whence I may make faith to you concerning this matter, except even in this way, I do not find. For you do not see it, or in any way as long as you construct ruinous joys from human tongues, can you see it.

6. If however the end of these actions and of your intention is not there, but on account of something else you do not wish to be thought unlearned and dull; I ask what that is? If for this reason lest a narrower access be to you for acquiring temporal riches, for obtaining a wife, for laying hold of honors, and other things of this kind, passing through with a headlong flux, and snatching those fallen into themselves to the bottom; neither does it become us to serve you for this end, nay it even becomes us to remove you from hence. For we do not so prohibit you to place the end in the uncertainty of fame, so that you might emigrate as from the Mincius into the Eridanus; whither perhaps the Mincius itself might impinge you even not emigrating. For when the vanity of human praise shall not have satisfied the greedy spirit, because it brings nothing for feeding except what is vain and inflated, that very

greediness compels it to refer to something else, as if more fertile and more fruitful; which nevertheless if it flows past by a temporal slip, it is just as if a river should lead into a river, so that there is no end of misery, as long as the end of our offices is placed in an unstable thing. In some firm therefore and incommutable good we wish to fix the home of your most constant intention, and the most secure rest of all your good and honest action. Or perhaps that very earthly happiness which I have mentioned, if by the breeze of a prosperous rumor, or even by opening sails to the blasts you shall have been able to reach it, this also you think to refer into another certain, and true and full good? But it does not seem so to me, and truth itself altogether denies, that it is reached either by so many windings to itself, which is so near, or by so many expenses, which is so gratuitous.

7. Or do you think that human praise itself is to be used as an instrument, so that you may prepare access through this to the minds of men, for persuading true and wholesome things; and you beware lest they, when they shall have thought you unlearned and dull, should judge you unworthy to whom they might lend either a most intent or a most patient ear, whether you exhort anyone to right deeds, or rebuke the malice and iniquity of a sinner? This end of justice and beneficence, if you thought of it in interrogating those questions, we have deserved ill of you, to whom in your letter, you did not rather put that by which we might be moved, so that either we might

willingly give what you were seeking, or for that reason might not give, because any other cause perhaps might prohibit, yet not because it would be a shame not only to serve, but even not to resist your vain desire. For how much better and more wholesomely, I ask you, do you receive the rules of truth themselves, much more certainly and more briefly through themselves, by which you may be able yourself to refute all false things, lest what is false and shameful, if you shall have learned the years-old and decrepit falsities of many with a study more boastful than prudent, you should judge yourself to be learned and intelligent; which now I do not think seems so to you. For not in vain for so long have we said such true things to Dioscorus: from which we proceed in this letter.

CHAPTER II.

Wherefore now let us see that, since you judge yourself by no means unlearned and dull by the ignorance of those things, but rather of truth itself, so that whoever has written or shall have written concerning these things, either they are those things which you already hold certain, or if they are false, you may securely be ignorant of them, nor be macerated with vain solicitude concerning the knowing of the diversity of others' opinions, lest you remain as if unlearned and dull. Since therefore these things are so, let us see also that, if it pleases, whether the false estimation of others, who are, as you write, prone to vituperating, so that if they shall have perceived

you to be ignorant of those things, they should think you unlearned and dull, falsely indeed, but yet think it, ought so to move you that you should even not incongruously seek that these things be expounded to you by bishops; since indeed we believe you to desire those things for that end, by which you may consult for them for persuading the truth, and correcting the life of those, who, if they shall have thought you unlearned and dull in those books of Cicero, will judge you unworthy from whom anything of useful and wholesome science is to be received by them. Which is not so, believe me.

First because I do not see at all that there are some in those lands, where you fear to be seen unskilled and very little acute, who may interrogate you anything concerning those questions: since indeed here, whither you came for learning those things, both in Rome you have experienced how negligently they are held, and on account of this neither are they taught nor learned; and in Africa even to such a degree do you suffer no interrogator concerning these, that you do not find even yourself who may suffer them, and by that want you are compelled to send them to bishops to be expounded: as if indeed those bishops, even if young men, were snatched by the same ardor of mind as you, or rather error, as if they cared to learn these things as something great, and would suffer them to endure in their memory even to episcopal grey hairs, and even to ecclesiastical chairs; or if they themselves wished it, greater and weightier cares would not seclude

those things, even from unwilling hearts; or if any of them should remain in their minds by excessive custom, they would not also prefer them being recollected to be buried in oblivion itself, than to respond to inept things sought, when even in that very scholarly levity and rhetorical chairs, they seem to have so become silent and so become torpid, that they are judged to be sent from Carthage to Hippo, whither they may be able to be expounded; where they are so unusual and altogether foreign, that if I wished by the care of responding to inspect anything, wishing to see how the sentence which was to be expounded to me is reached from above, or from it thereafter what speech is woven together, I could not find a book at all. Those rhetoricians of Carthage, however, if they failed this study of yours, are not only not reprehended by me, but also are approved, if perhaps they now recollect, that these are wont to be the contests not of Roman forums, but of Greek gymnasia. But you, when you also cast your thought into the gymnasia, and found those very things also naked and cold of such things, where you might lay down these cares of yours, the basilica of the Christians of Hippo occurred to you, because in it now sits a bishop who sometimes sold those things to boys. But neither do I wish you to be a boy still; and it does not become me now to be of childish things, as not a seller, so neither a giver. Which since these things are so, that is, since two so great cities, artificers of Latin letters, Rome and Carthage, neither are a weariness to you, so that they should search out those

things from you, nor do they care for your wearinesses, so that they should hear you searching out those things; I wonder so much as cannot be said, that you fear, a youth of so good a talent, lest you should suffer any troublesome interrogator concerning these things in Greek and Oriental cities. More easily indeed will you have heard jackdaws in Africa, than in those parts this kind of voice.

Then if I am deceived, and anyone there should perhaps exist as a so much more odious percontator of this kind of questions, as he is more inept in those places; do you not rather beware lest much more easily those exist, who being Greek men established in Greece, and initially imbued with the Greek language, should interrogate you some things concerning the very books of the philosophers, which Cicero did not put in his letters? Which if it shall have happened, what are you going to respond? that you wished rather to know those things in the books of Latin authors, than of Greek? By which response first you will do an injury to Greece, and you know how those men do not bear this. Then now ulcerated and angry, how quickly they will judge you, what you very much do not wish, both dull, who preferred to learn the dogmas of Greek philosophers, or rather certain pieces of dogmas plucked and dispersed in Latin dialogues, than in the Greek books of the authors themselves whole and connected; and unlearned, who since you do not know so many things in your own language, have ambitiously sought to collect those things

in a foreign one in vain. Or perhaps you will respond that, you did not contemn the Greek books concerning these things, but first cared to know the Latin, now however wishing to be learned in Latin, now to seek the Greek? If it does not shame a Greek man to have learned Latin as a boy, now to wish to learn Greek as a barbarian, will it shame you at last to be ignorant of some things in the Latin ones themselves, which how many learned Latin men are ignorant of with you, you feel even by this very thing, that you say you are a burden to us with great necessity, established in so great a multitude of the learned at Carthage?

Finally make it that you could have responded to all things which you ask from us. Behold now you are called most learned and most acute, behold now a "Greekling" blast lifts you up with praises to heaven; do you only remember your gravity, and to deserve that praise for what end you shall have wished, namely that you may teach them, having lightly wondered at these light things, and now hanging upon your mouths most benevolently and most avidly, something most grave and most wholesome: that very thing whatever is most grave and most wholesome, whether you hold it, and know how to deliver it rightly, I should wish to know. For it is ridiculous when for that reason you shall have learned many superfluous things, that the ears of men may be prepared for you for necessary things, not to hold the necessary things themselves, for receiving which you shall have prepared them through superfluous things; and while you are

occupied that you may learn whence you may make them intent, to be unwilling to learn what may be infused into them being intent. But if you say that you know this already, and you respond that that very thing is Christian doctrine, which we know you to prefer to all things, and in it alone to presume the hope of eternal salvation, there is no need for it that auditors be procured by the knowledge of the dialogues of Cicero, and by the collection of begged discordant sentences of others. Let them become intent upon your manners, who are about to receive any such thing from you. I do not wish that you first teach something which is to be unlearned, so that you may teach true things.

For if the knowledge of the dissenting and repugnant sentences of others helps anything the insinuator of Christian truth, that he may know how he may destroy opposing falsities, at least to this end, lest anyone dissenting against him, should fix his eye only upon refuting your things, but diligently hide his own. For the knowledge of the truth is suitable both to judge and to subvert all false things, if only they are brought forward, even those which were previously unheard of. But so that not only open things may be struck, but also hidden things may be dug out, if it is necessary to know others' errors, lift up your eyes and ears, I pray you, and see and listen whether anyone against us brings forward anything concerning Anaximenes and concerning Anaxagoras; since now not even the ashes of the much more recent, and much loquacious Stoics

or Epicureans are warm, whence any spark may be excited against the Christian faith: but the circles and conventicles partly fugacious, partly also boldly prompt, either of the Donatists, or of the Maximianists, or of the Manichaeans, or even of the Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, Cataphrygians, and other pests, to whose flocks and crowd you are about to come, clatter innumerably; the errors of all of whom if it irks to know, what is it to us, for the sake of the defense of the Christian religion, to seek what Anaximenes thought, and to boil up again with vain curiosity long-since stilled strifes, when the dissensions and questions even of certain heretics, who wished to glory in the Christian name, as of the Marcionites and Sabellians, and of many besides, are now silent? Nevertheless if it is necessary, as I said, to foreknow some sentences opposing the truth, and to have them thoroughly treated; we ought rather to have thought concerning the heretics, who call themselves Christians, than concerning Anaxagoras and Democritus.

CHAPTER III.

But let him whoever shall have sought from you what you seek from us, hear that you are more learnedly and more prudently ignorant of those things. For if Themistocles did not care that he was held more unlearned, when he had refused to sing to the strings at feasts, where when he had said that he was ignorant of those things, and it had been said to him, "What then do you know?" he responded, "To make a great republic

from a small one": must you doubt to say that you are ignorant of those things, when to him who shall have asked what you know, you can respond, that you know how even without those things a man can be blessed? Which if as yet you do not hold, you seek those things as perversely as perversely if you were burdened by some dangerous disease of the body, you would seek delicacies and most delicate garments rather than medicines and doctors. For by no means is that knowledge to be deferred, or any to be preferred to this by you, especially now in this age, or in the order of learning. But see how easily you could know this, if you wished. For he who seeks how he may arrive at a blessed life, seeks nothing else indeed, unless where the end of good is, that is where the supreme good of man is established, not by a depraved and rash opinion, but by a certain and unshaken truth: which is not found where it is established by anyone, unless either in the body, or in the mind, or in God, or in any two of these, or certainly in all. Which if you shall have learned, that neither the supreme good, nor any part of the supreme good is altogether in the body, two will remain, the mind and God, in one or in both of which it may be. If however you shall have added and learned this same thing concerning the mind as concerning the body, what else now will occur except God, in whom the supreme good of man is established; not that other goods are not, but that is called supreme, whither all things are referred. For by enjoying that everyone is blessed, on account of which he wishes to

have the other things, since that is loved now not on account of something else, but on account of itself. And therefore the end is called there, because now whither it may run out, and whither it may be referred, is not found. There is the rest of desiring, there the security of enjoying, there the most tranquil joy of the best will.

14. Give therefore one who quickly sees, that the body is not the good of the mind, but the mind rather is the good of the body; it will be receded now from inquiring whether that supreme good, or any part of it is in the body. For what is most foolishly denied, the mind is better than the body. Likewise it is most foolishly denied that he is better who gives a blessed life, or some part of a blessed life, than he who receives it. Therefore the mind does not receive from the body either the supreme good, or some part of the supreme good. They who do not see this are blinded by the sweetness of carnal pleasures, which they do not behold to come from the indigence of health. But the perfect health of the body, will be that extreme immortality of the whole man. For with so potent a nature God made the soul, that from its most full beatitude which is promised to the saints in the end of times, there should redound even into the inferior nature, which is the body, not the beatitude which is proper to one enjoying and understanding, but the fullness of health, that is the vigor of incorruption. They who do not see which, as I said, war with unquiet altercations, variously according to each one's capacity, establishing the supreme good of man in the

body, and excite crowds of carnal seditious men; among whom the Epicureans flourished with more excellent authority among the unlearned multitude.

Give me again one who quickly sees that the soul itself is not blessed by its own good when it is blessed, otherwise it would never be wretched; and we shall cease from inquiring whether that supreme and, so to speak, beatific good, or some part of it, is in the soul. For when the soul rejoices in itself as if in its own good, it is proud. But when it perceives that it is mutable, at least by this one fact that it is made wise from being foolish, and beholds that wisdom is immutable, it must at the same time behold that it is above its own nature, and that it rejoices more abundantly and more certainly in the participation and illumination of it than in itself. Thus ceasing and deswelling from its own boasting and inflation, it strives to adhere to God, and to be refreshed and reformed by that immutable one, from whom it begins to have not only every species of all things, whether those reached by the sense of the body or by the understanding of the mind, but even the very capacity of formation before formation, when something is called unformed which can be formed. Therefore it feels itself to be so much less stable, by as much as it less adheres to God who is in the highest degree: and for this reason He is in the highest degree, because He neither increases nor decreases by any mutability; but for itself that change is expedient by which it increases, so that it may perfectly cohere to Him, while that change

which is in defect is vicious; but every defect tends toward destruction, to which whether any thing arrives although it does not appear, yet it appears to all that destruction leads to this, that it be not what it was. Whence it concludes that things do not fail, or are able to fail, for any other reason than that they were made from nothing: so that what is in them, that they are and remain, and are ordered even for their own defects toward the complex of the universe, pertains to the goodness and omnipotence of Him who is in the highest degree and the founder, who is powerful to make even from nothing, not only something, but even something great: but the first sin, that is the first voluntary defect, is to rejoice at one's own power; for it rejoices at less, than if it rejoiced at the power of God, which is surely greater. Not seeing this, and intuiting the powers of the human soul, and the great beauty of deeds and words, even if they were ashamed to place the supreme good in the body, yet placing it in the soul itself, they surely placed it lower than where it is to be placed by the most sincere reason. Among those who so think among the Greek philosophers, both in number and in subtlety of disputation the Stoics prevailed, who nevertheless thinking all things to be corporeal in natural things, were able to turn the soul away more from the flesh than from the body.

But among those who say that the enjoyment of God, by whom both we and all things were made, is our one and supreme good, the Platonists were eminent, who not undeservedly

thought it pertained to their duty to resist the Stoics, and the Epicureans especially and almost alone. For the same Academics are Platonists, as the very succession of listeners teaches. For Arcesilas, who first having hidden his own opinion, decided to do nothing else than refute those men, seek to whom he succeeded, you will find Polemo; seek to whom Polemo, Xenocrates: and to the disciple Xenocrates Plato left the Academy as his school. As far therefore as pertains to the question of the supreme good of man, remove the persons of men, and constitute the discussion itself; surely you will find two errors colliding with each other with adverse front: one establishing the supreme good in the body, the other establishing it in the soul. But the reason of truth, by which God is understood to be our supreme good, resists both, but not teaching true things before unteaching false ones. Constitute that same thing again with the persons joined, you will find Epicureans and Stoics fighting most fiercely among themselves; but the Platonists trying to judge their strife, hiding the opinion of truth, and convicting and refuting their vain confidence in falsehood.

But just as those could not fulfill the role of their errors, so the Platonists could not fulfill the role of true reason. For to all of them the example of divine humility was lacking, which was illustrated at the most opportune time through our Lord Jesus Christ; to which one example in the soul of any fiercely arrogant man, all pride yields and is broken and dies. And therefore they,

not being able by authority to lead the crowds blinded by the love of earthly things to the faith of invisible things, when they saw them moved by the greatest Epicurean contentions, not only to drain, whither they were carried of their own accord, but even to defend the pleasure of the body, so that in it the supreme good of man might be established; and those who were moved against this pleasure by the praise of virtue, were less difficulty contemplating it in the souls of men, whence good deeds, about which they could judge in whatever way, proceeded: at the same time they saw that if they tried to insinuate to them some divine thing and immutable above all things, which was touched by no sense of the body, but understood by the mind alone, which nevertheless also exceeded the nature of the mind itself, and that that was God proposed to the human soul for enjoyment, purged from every stain of human desires, in whom alone every appetite of beatitude might acquiesce, and in whom alone might be the end of all our goods, they would not understand them, and with either Epicureans or Stoics resisting, they would give the palm much more easily to them than to themselves, so that the true and salutary opinion, which is most pernicious to the human race, would become base by the mockery of unlearned peoples: and this in morals.

But in natural questions, if these said that the efficient cause of all natures is incorporeal Wisdom, while those never departed from the body, when some gave the principles of things

to atoms, others to the four elements, in which fire prevailed for the effecting of all things; who would not see the abundance of fools devoted to the body, when they were in no way able to intuit the corporeal creative power of things, to whose suffrage they would rather be snatched away?

There remained the part of rational questions. For you know that whatever is sought for the sake of attaining wisdom, has a question either of morals, or of nature, or of reason. When therefore the Epicureans said that the senses of the body are never deceived, while the Stoics conceded that they are sometimes deceived, yet both placed the rule of comprehending truth in the senses; who would hear the Platonists with these contradicting? Who would think they were to be had not only in the number of the wise, but even in the number of men at all, if it were promptly said by them, that not only is there something which can be perceived neither by the touch of the body, nor by smell or taste, nor by these ears or eyes, nor at all thought of by any imagination of such things as were so felt; but that that alone truly is, and that alone can be perceived, because it is immutable and eternal; but is perceived by the intelligence alone, by which alone truth, as it can be reached, is reached?

When therefore the Platonists felt such things, which they neither taught to men devoted to the flesh, nor were of such authority among the peoples as to persuade them to be believed, until the soul should be led to that habit by which these things are grasped, they chose to hide

their opinion, and to dispute against those who boasted that they had found the truth, since they placed the very finding of truth in the senses of the flesh. And indeed, what pertained to what their counsel was? It certainly was not divine, or endowed with any divine authority. Only attend to this, since Plato is most clearly shown by Cicero in many ways to have established both the end of good, and the causes of things, and the confidence of reasoning, in wisdom not human, but plainly divine, whence the human might be in some way kindled, in that wisdom surely altogether immutable, and in truth always having itself in the same way; and that those were attacked under the name of Epicureans and Stoics by the Platonists, who placed both the end of good, and the causes of things, and the confidence of reasoning in the nature of the body or of the soul; that the matter has devolved by succession of times, so that at the beginning of the Christian age, when the faith of invisible and eternal things was healthfully preached to men through visible miracles, who could neither see nor think anything besides bodies, the same Epicureans and Stoics are found to have contradicted the blessed apostle Paul, who was sowing the same end among the Gentiles, in the Acts of the Apostles.

In which matter it seems to me to be sufficiently demonstrated that the errors of the Gentiles, whether concerning morals, or concerning the nature of things, or concerning the reason of investigating truth, which although they were

many and manifold, yet were eminent especially in these two sects, with the learned attacking them and subverting them with such subtlety and abundance of disputing, yet lasted even until Christian times. Whom now certainly in our age we perceive to have so become silent, that now in the schools of rhetoricians it is scarcely commemorated only what their opinions were: yet the contests have been eradicated and suppressed even from the most talkative gymnasia of the Greeks, so that if any sect of error should now emerge against the truth, that is, against the Church of Christ, unless covered by the Christian name, it would not dare to leap forward to fight. From which it is understood that the philosophers of the Platonic nation themselves also, with a few things changed which the Christian discipline disapproves, ought to submit their pious necks to the one most invincible King Christ, and to understand the Word of God clothed in man, who commanded, and what they feared even to bring forth was believed.

To Him I would wish you to subject yourself, my Dioscorus, with all piety, nor should you fortify for yourself any other way to grasp and obtain the truth than that which has been fortified by Him who, as God, saw the infirmity of our steps. And that is first, humility; second, humility; third, humility: and as often as you should ask I would say this; not because there are not other precepts which are said, but unless humility both precedes and accompanies and follows all whatever things we do well, and is proposed for us to behold, and

applied for us to adhere to, and imposed by which we are repressed, now pride wrests the whole from our hand while we are rejoicing in some good deed. For other vices are in sins, but pride is to be feared even in things rightly done, lest those things which were laudably done be lost by the desire of that very praise. Therefore just as that most noble rhetorician, when he had been asked what seemed to him first to be observed in the precepts of eloquence, is said to have answered, Delivery; when it was asked what second, the same delivery; what third, to have said nothing else than delivery: so if you should ask, and as often as you should ask about the precepts of the Christian religion, I would not like to answer anything else than humility, even if perhaps necessity should compel me to say other things.

To this most salutary humility, which our Lord Jesus Christ was humbled to teach; to this, I say, a certain, so to speak, most unlearned science is especially opposed, while we rejoice to know what Anaximenes, what Anaxagoras, what Pythagoras, what Democritus felt, and other such things, so that we may seem learned and erudite, when this is far from true doctrine and erudition. For he who shall have learned that God is not distended or diffused through places, neither finite nor infinite, as if He were greater in some part, smaller in some other, but is everywhere whole present, just as truth, of which no one soberly says that a part is in this place, and a part in that, since truth is surely God; in no way will it move him what he felt concerning the infinite air, whoever

felt that it was God Himself. What is it to him, if he does not know what form of body these say; for they surely say that which is everywhere finite: and whether for the sake of refuting as an Academic, Cicero objected to Anaximenes that God ought to have form and beauty, thinking as if of a corporeal species, because he had said that God was corporeal, for air is a body; or whether he himself felt that there is an incorporeal form and beauty to truth, by which the soul itself is informed, and through which we judge all the deeds of a wise man to be beautiful, so that not only for the sake of refuting, but even most truly he said that it becomes God to be of the most beautiful species, because nothing is more beautiful than the intelligible and immutable truth itself? But that which he says, that air is begotten, which nevertheless he censed to be God, in no way moves this man who understands, that not as air is begotten, that is, is effected by some cause that it be, since it is in no way God, so was the Word of God begotten, God with God, but in a far other way, which no one understands, unless he to whom God Himself shall have inspired it. But who would not see that he is foolish even in corporeal things themselves, when he says that air is begotten, and wishes it to be God; but does not call Him God by whom the air is begotten, for it can be begotten by no one? But when it is said that the air is always in motion, in no way will it disturb a man, so that he should therefore think it to be God, who knows that the motion of every body is inferior than is the motion of the soul;

but the motion of the soul far slower than is the motion of the supreme and immutable Wisdom.

Likewise Anaxagoras, or whoever, if he calls mind the very truth and wisdom, what is it for me to contend with the man about a word? For it is manifest that the description and measure of all things is made by it, and that it is not incongruously called infinite, not through spaces of places, but through power, which cannot be comprehended by human thought; nor that wisdom itself is something unformed, for this is of bodies, so that whatever things should be infinite, are also unformed. But Cicero, by the study of refuting, as it seems, on account of adversaries feeling corporally, denies that anything can be joined to the infinite, because on that part by which anything is joined, there must be some end in bodies. Therefore he says that he did not see, neither that any motion joined and containing the sense, that is, adhering by continual coupling, to the infinite, that is, to an infinite thing, can be any, as if he were acting concerning bodies, to which nothing can be joined except through ends of places. But thus he added: Nor the sense at all, by which not the whole nature should feel when struck; as if he had said that that mind, the ordainer and moderator of all things, has a sense, such as the soul has through the body. For it is manifest that the whole soul feels, when it feels something through the body: for surely it is not hidden from the whole, whatever that is which is felt. But for this reason he said that the whole nature feels, so that he might as it were take away from him

what he says, that the mind is infinite. For how does the whole feel, if it is infinite? For the sense of the body begins from some place, nor does it run through the whole, unless it should come to the end of it; which cannot be said in the infinite. But neither had he said anything concerning the sense of the body. And in another way is that called whole which is incorporeal, because it is understood without ends of places, so that it can be called both whole and infinite: whole on account of integrity; infinite, because it is not encompassed by the ends of places.

Then, he says, if he wished the mind itself to be as it were some animal, there will be something interior from which that animal may be named; so that that mind should be as it were a body, and have a soul within from which it might be called an animal. See in what way he speaks according to corporeal custom, how animals are accustomed to be seen, on account of the gross sense, as I think, of those against whom he disputes: and yet he said a thing which would sufficiently admonish them, if they were able to wake up, that everything which occurs to the mind as a living body, ought rather to be thought to have a soul and to be an animal, than to be a soul. For this is what he says: There will be something interior, from which that animal may be named. But he adds: But what is more interior than mind? Therefore the mind cannot have an interior soul so as to be an animal, because it is itself interior. Therefore let it have a body on the outside, to which it may be interior, so that it may be an ani-

mal. For this is what he says: It is girt therefore by an external body; as if Anaxagoras had said that unless it were of some animal, mind could not be. If he felt the mind itself to be the supreme wisdom, which is proper to no living being as it were, because truth is commonly at hand to all souls able to enjoy it. And therefore see how politely he concludes: Which since it does not please, he says, that is, it does not please Anaxagoras, that that mind, which he calls God, should be girt by an external body, by which it might be an animal, an open and simple mind with no thing joined by which it might feel, that is, with no body joined through which it might feel, seems to flee the force and notion of our intelligence (Cicero, lib. 1 de Nat. Deorum).

Nothing is more true than that this flees the force and notion of the intelligence of the Stoics and Epicureans, who cannot think unless corporeal things. But that which he says, of ours, he wished to be understood of human; and well he does not say, It flees; but, It seems to flee. For this seems to them, that no one can understand this, and therefore they think there is no such thing: but from the intelligence of some, as much as is given to man, it does not flee that there is an open and simple wisdom and truth, which is proper to no living being, but by which commonly every soul, which is able for it, is made wise and truthful. Which if Anaxagoras felt it to be, and saw it to be God, and called it mind, not only the name of Anaxagoras, which on account of literate antiquity all, to speak militarily, litteriones willingly

blow up, does not make us learned and wise, but not even the knowledge itself of his, by which he knew it to be true. For truth ought not to be dear to me for this reason, because it was not hidden from Anaxagoras, but because it is truth, even if none of them had known it.

If, therefore, the knowledge of that man who perhaps saw the truth ought not to puff us up, so that we seem as it were to be learned by it, nor even the solid reality of the truth itself, by which we can be truly learned; how much less can the names and dogmas of those men who perceived false things help our learning, and make hidden things known? since, if we are men, it should rather befit us to be saddened by the errors of so many and such renowned men, if it happens that we hear them, than to seek these things studiously for this reason, that we may be tossed about by the most vain boasting among those who do not know them. For how much better it would be not even to have heard the name of Democritus, than to think with grief of someone thought great in his own times, who judged that there were gods who were images, which flowed from solid bodies, and were not solid themselves, and that these, by going around and gliding into the minds of men with their own motion here and there, caused the divine power to be thought of; when surely that body from which the image flowed should be judged to be as much more excellent as it is more solid? And therefore his opinion fluctuated and wavered, as they say, so that sometimes he said that a certain nature from

which the images flowed was God, who nevertheless could not be thought of except through those images which he pours out and emits, that is, which were carried from that nature—which he thinks to be I know not what corporeal and eternal thing, and even through this divine—as if in the likeness of vapor by a continuous emanation as it were, and came and entered into our minds, so that we could think of God or gods. For they think there is no other cause of any thought of ours, except when images come from these bodies which we think of and enter into our minds: as if many and almost innumerable things were not thought of incorporeally and intelligibly by those who have learned to think such things, like wisdom and truth themselves. Which if they do not think of, I wonder how they dispute about it in any way; but if they do think of it, I would wish they would tell me either from what body or of what sort the image of truth comes into their minds.

Although Democritus is also said to differ in natural questions from Epicurus in this, that he feels there is in the concurrence of atoms a certain animal and breathable force: by which force I believe he also says that the images themselves are endowed with divinity, not all images of all things, but those of the gods, and that the principles of mind are in the universe, to which he attributes divinity, and living images, which are accustomed either to benefit us or to harm us. But Epicurus places nothing in the principles of things except atoms, that is, certain little bodies

so minute that they can no longer be divided, nor can they be perceived either by sight or by touch; by the fortuitous concurrence of which little bodies he says that both innumerable worlds, and living beings, and souls themselves are made, and the gods whom he established in human form not in some world, but outside the worlds and between the worlds: and he does not wish to think of anything at all besides bodies; yet in order that he may think of them, he says that images flow down from the things themselves which he thinks are formed by atoms, and enter into the mind, subtler than are those images which come to the eyes. For he also says that this is the cause of seeing: certain huge images, so that they embrace the whole world from the outside. But you understand already, as I think, what sort of images these men imagine.

I wonder that it did not admonish Democritus by this very fact that the things he says are false, because so great images coming into our so small mind, if it is corporeal, as they wish, and is included in so small a body, cannot touch it as a whole. For when a small body is touched by a great body, it can in no way be touched by the whole at the same time: how therefore are they thought of as a whole at the same time, if they are thought of insofar as they touch the mind by coming and entering it, when they can neither enter as a whole through so small a body, nor touch so small a mind as a whole? Remember that I am saying these things according to them; for I do not perceive the mind to be such: or if Dem-

ocritus thinks the mind is incorporeal, Epicurus indeed alone can be pressed by this reason; but why did even he not see that it is not necessary and cannot happen that an incorporeal mind should think by the arrival and contact of corporeal images? Concerning the sight of the eyes certainly both are equally refuted; for so small eyes can in no way touch the so huge bodies of the images as a whole.

But when it is asked of them why one image is seen of some body, from which images flow innumerably; they respond that by this very fact that the images flow and pass frequently, it happens as if by a certain crowding and density of them that from many one is seen. Which vanity Cicero so refutes that by this very fact he denies that their eternal god can be thought of, by which he is thought of by innumerably flowing and gliding images. And since, with an innumerability of atoms being supplied, they say that the forms of the gods are made eternal, while certain little bodies depart from the divine body so that others succeed them, and they do not allow that nature to be dissolved by the same succession: "All things therefore," he says, "would be eternal, because that innumerability of atoms is lacking to no one, which might promptly supply perpetual ruins." Then how does that god not fear lest he perish, "since he is beaten without any intermission, and agitated by the eternal incursion of atoms?" For he says that that body is beaten which is struck by rushing atoms, and agitated which is penetrated: then "since images,"

concerning which enough has already been said, "always flow away from him" (Lib. 1 de Nat. Deorum), how can he be confident of immortality?

In all these ravings of those who hold these opinions, this is especially to be grieved over, that it is not enough for them to be narrated, so that they might be rejected with no one's disputation opposing; but the geniuses of the most acute men have even undertaken this business, so that they might copiously refute these things, which ought to have been derided and cast away by even the slowest as soon as they were said. For if you grant that there are atoms, if you grant even that they push and agitate themselves by fortuitous concurrence; is it also lawful to grant them this, that atoms fortuitously concurring among themselves should so complete some thing, that they modify it by form, determine it by figure, polish it by equality, illustrate it by color, vegetate it by soul? All which things he who loves to see by mind rather than by eyes sees can in no way be made except by the art of divine providence, and he seeks that from Him by whom he was made. For not even that there are atoms themselves is to be granted in any way; which, omitting the subtlety which is handed down by the learned concerning the division of bodies, see how easily it can be shown according to their own opinion. For surely they themselves say that all things which are of nature are nothing else than bodies and void, and those things which happen to these; which I believe means motion and pulse and the consequent forms. Let them say therefore in what

genus they place images, which they think flow from more solid bodies, being themselves very little solid, so that they cannot be felt except by the touch of the eyes when we see, and of the mind when we think, if they also are bodies. For they so judge, that they can go out from a body and come to the eyes, or to the mind, which they nevertheless say is corporeal. I ask whether images also flow from the atoms themselves? If they flow, how are they already atoms, from which some bodies are separated? If they do not flow, either something can be thought of without images, which they vehemently do not wish; or whence do they know atoms, which they have not even been able to think of? But I am already ashamed to refute these things, when they were not ashamed to feel them. But when they have dared even to defend them, I am ashamed not now of them, but of the human race itself, whose ears were able to bear these things.

Since, therefore, so great is the blindness of minds through the filth of sins and the love of the flesh, that even these monsters of opinions have been able to wear out the leisure of the learned by disputing, will you, Dioscorus, or anyone endowed with a vigilant genius, doubt in any way that the human race could have been better consulted for following the truth, than that man should be received by Truth itself ineffably and wonderfully, and bearing His person on earth, by right commanding and by doing divine things, should healthfully persuade to be believed what could not yet be prudently understood? We serve

His glory, we exhort you to believe in Him immovably and constantly, through whom it has been done that not a few, but even peoples, who cannot judge these things by reason, believe by faith, until, supported by healthful precepts, they escape from these perplexities into the breezes of the purest and most sincere truth. Whose authority ought to be obeyed so much more devotedly, as we see that no error now dares to extol itself to gather crowds of the unskilful to itself, which does not seek the veils of the Christian name: and that those alone of the ancients, besides the Christian name, continue somewhat more frequently in their little assemblies, who hold those Scriptures, through which they pretend they do not understand and see that the Lord Jesus Christ Himself was announced. Furthermore, those who, although they are not in the catholic unity and communion, nevertheless boast in the Christian name, are forced to oppose believers, and dare to lead the unskilful across as if by reason, especially when the Lord came with that medicine to command faith to the peoples. But they are forced to do this, as I said, because they feel that they lie most abjectly, if their authority is compared with the catholic authority. They try, therefore, to overcome the most stable authority of the most founded Church as if by the name and promise of reason. For this is as it were the regular temerity of all heretics. But that most clement commander of faith both fortified the Church with the citadel of authority through the most celebrated assemblies of peoples and nations and

the seats themselves of the Apostles, and armed it with the most copious preparations of even invincible reason through fewer piously learned and truly spiritual men. But that is the most right discipline, that the weak be received as much as possible into the citadel of faith, so that, they being now most safely placed, the strongest reason may be fought for them.

But the Platonists, who, at that time when the errors of false philosophers were barking around them, not having a divine person by whom they might command faith, preferred to hide their opinion to be sought, rather than to bring it forth to be polluted, when the name of Christ was now becoming frequent while earthly kingdoms were admiring and perturbed, had begun to emerge to bring forth and open what Plato had felt. Then the school of Plotinus flourished at Rome, and had many most acute and skillful men as fellow-disciples. But some of them were depraved by the curiosity of magic arts, some, knowing that the Lord Jesus Christ, of that truth itself and incommutable wisdom which they were trying to reach, bore the person, passed over into His service. And so the whole peak of authority and light of reason was established in that one healthful name and in His one Church, for the recreating and reforming of the human race.

I do not at all repent of having spoken these things to you for a very long time in this letter, even if perhaps you would have preferred other things. For you will approve these things more, the more you profit in the truth; and then you

will approve my counsel, which you now think has less complied with the utility of your studies. Although even to those questions of yours, I have responded not only to some in this letter, but also to almost all the others in the very parchments in which you sent them, by annotating briefly as I could. In which if you think that I have done too little, or something other than you wished, you do not think rightly, my Dioscorus, from whom you have now sought those things. But all the questions of the Orator and of the books about the Orator I have passed over. For I seemed to myself to be I know not what trifler, if I were to pursue them to be explained. For concerning the others I could also be fittingly questioned, if anyone brought forth the things themselves to be treated and dissolved, not from the books of Cicero, but by themselves. But in those the things themselves are now less suitable to our profession. But I would not do all these things, unless I had removed myself somewhat from Hippo after the sickness in which I was when your man had come. On which days also I was attacked again by the perturbation of health and fevers. Thence it has happened that these are sent to you later than they could have been. How you have received these, I demand a reply.

To the holy and most blessed lord pope AUGUSTINE, CONSENTIUS.

Already indeed I had suggested the kind of my petition in a brief discourse to your brother Alypius the bishop, holy and to be admired by me for all the virtues of his mind, hoping that he might

deign to be a helper with you for my prayers. But because the cause which compelled you to go to the villa defrauded me of your presence, I preferred to insert my prayer in letters, rather than that the expectation of my mind should fluctuate; especially since that which I ask, if you perceive that it ought to be granted to me, the solitude of that very place in which you now stay, as I think, may be able to help your sense searching into the deepest mysteries. I therefore, when I have altogether defined within myself that the truth of divine matter ought to be perceived from faith rather than from reason; for if the faith of the holy Church were apprehended from the reason of disputation, and not from the piety of credulity, no one besides philosophers and orators would possess beatitude. But because it pleased God, who chose the weak things of this world to confound the strong, to save believers through the foolishness of preaching, not so much reason is to be required concerning God, as the authority of the saints is to be followed. For surely neither the Arians, who think the Son, whom we confess as begotten, to be less, would persist in this impiety, nor would the Macedoniani thrust down the Holy Spirit, whom we believe to be neither begotten nor unbegotten, as much as is in them from the citadel of divinity, if they preferred to accommodate their faith to the holy Scriptures rather than to their own reasonings.

Yet you, admirable man, if that Father of ours, the only one conscious of secrets, who has the key of David (Apoc. III, 7), has granted to the gaze of

your most serene heart to penetrate the machine of the heavens, and with revealed face, as it is written, to behold the glory of the Lord (II Cor. III, 18), in as much as He who gave you such a thought shall have given you the faculty of bringing it forth, enunciate to us some portion of the ineffable substance, and strive to express the image of His likeness, He himself helping, as much as you can, in words; since unless you are present as a guide and teacher of so great a matter, our thought dreads to look forth into that of so great a light reflected with a glare as if with bleary eyes. Enter therefore into that most obscure cloud of the mysteries of God, which keeps off our gazes; first in myself, then in books, correct the little questions in which I know myself to err, I who wish rather to follow the authority of your Holiness by faith than to be depraved by the false image of a heart conceived by reason.

For I indeed in a quite circumspect simplicity hearing and believing the Lord Jesus Christ to be light from light, as it is written, "Show forth well day from day His salvation" (Psal. XCV, 2); and in the Wisdom of Solomon, "For He is the brightness of the eternal light" (Wisd. VII, 26); I believed God—which although I was not able to believe as is worthy—nevertheless to be an infinite magnitude of a certain inestimable light, of which neither the human mind could suffice to estimate the quality, nor measure the quantity, nor feign the species, although thinking sublimely; yet that that was a certain thing, whatever it is, in which there is an incomparable form, an

inestimable beauty, which at least Christ might behold even with carnal eyes. When therefore about the end of the first book, as you deign procul dubio to remember, desiring to prove the Lord Jesus Christ, that is the man assumed, so to possess divine power that the matter of the human flesh which He had received remained—as I had taught that in those viscera nothing else than infirmity had perished—that knot of a question was objected to me. If, he says, that man whom Christ assumed was turned into God, therefore He ought not to be local: why therefore after the resurrection did He say, "Do not touch me, for I have not yet ascended to my Father" (John XX, 17)?

I therefore laboring to prove that Christ is everywhere by power, not by work; by divinity, not by flesh; wrote words of this sort concerning the unity of God and the trinity of persons: God, I say, is one, and the persons are three. God is undistinguished, the persons are distinct. God is within all things, beyond all things, He includes the last, fills the middle, transcends the highest, is diffused beyond the universe and through the universe: but the persons, constant in themselves, are secreted by property, not mixed by confusion. God therefore is one, and is everywhere; because there is both no other besides Him, and there is no empty place where another could be. All things are full of God, and besides God there is nothing. He himself is in the Father, He himself in the Son, He himself in the Holy Spirit: and through this, Father, and Son, and

Holy Spirit are not many gods, but He himself is one God; and it is not the Father himself who is the Son, nor the Son who is the Holy Spirit. The Father is in the Son, the Son in the Father, in both the Holy Spirit; because in three distinct in number, not in order—that is, in persons, not in power—one and indivisible God dwells. All things which are the Father's are the Son's; and those which are the Son's are the Father's; and those which are of both are the Holy Spirit's: because they possess not as it were an equal, but the same—that is, a unique—not a separate substance of the Deity; and therefore either in majesty or in age one does not precede the other, because that which is full cannot be divided, nor is there anything in fullness which can separate fullness, and make a greater portion for one, a smaller for the other. But in persons it is not so; because the person of the Father is not the Son's, nor is the same person of the Son the Holy Spirit's. There is one power, which a triple power possesses; there is one substance, in which there are three which subsist. The Father therefore, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit are everywhere in majesty, because they are one; they are among themselves only in persons, because they are three. And weaving other things of this sort, I led the matter to that point, that I might firm that the persons were indeed present and everywhere, but that that majesty which is above the heavens, beyond the seas, beyond the lower world, is one and the same. From which I showed it ought to be understood that the man whom Christ assumed,

although turned into God, did not lose the nature received, yet could not be believed to be as it were a fourth person.

But you, man, to whom the heaven itself, as I think, has been granted to enter by the subtlety of your thoughts; for He is truthful who says, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Matth. V, 8); you raise the height of a pure heart above all stars to that contemplation itself, you say that God ought not to be thought of as some body. For even if someone should feign in his mind a light a thousand times clearer and more intense than this sun, no likeness of God can be comprehended there, because all that can be discerned is a body: but just as we cannot think of justice or piety as corporeal, unless perhaps we feign some feminine bodies for ourselves by gentile vanity; so also God is to be thought of as much as we can without any simulation of phantasy. But to me, who can hardly perceive the subtlety of disputation with a quite lukewarm heart, it seemed that nothing living according to substance was in justice: and therefore I cannot yet think of God, that is, a living nature, as similar to justice; because justice lives not in itself, but in us; or rather we live according to justice, but justice itself by itself in no way lives, unless perhaps not this human equity, but that which is God, is asserted alone to be justice.

Whence I would wish to be confirmed from all not only by the present words, but even by a fuller letter. For it is not right that only our feet should be recalled by your admonition from

that way of error in which many of us walk. For when many in those islands in which we dwell, while they proceed on the right mound to the way, have run into the path of this tortuous error, will there be some Augustine there, to whose authority they may yield, to whose doctrine they may believe, by whose genius they may be overcome? Or perhaps from that affection of paternity you prefer to direct me by a secret commonition, rather than to rebuke me as a companion of a depraved journey? But to me, desiring to run for the utility of the soul rather than for the praise of the world, your co-argumentation is not useless, and therefore even not bitter; especially since it will bring forth both life and praise for me and the others at the same time. For no one, as I think, can be so unjust who would rather denote me for foolishness because I once followed devious ways, than hesitate to judge prudently because I have chosen right things. For they are not to be estimated as fools, whom Paul the Apostle admonished lest they should run into uncertainty, saying, "So run that you may comprehend" (I Cor. IX, 24): wherefore that way which we run is not only to be relinquished by us, but even to be shut off and cut off, lest perhaps it frustrate them also by a fallacious simulation of affection. For you have been chosen, unless I am mistaken, not as a reader of books already published by me, but as an emendator of those to be approved. For in that letter, which I placed as it were a little preface in those little books of mine, words of this sort were written: "It pleased me," I say, "to stabilize

the fluctuating boat of our faith by the sentence of the blessed bishop Augustine." Why therefore, man who are the peak of this doctrine which is in Christ, do you hesitate to argue openly a son to be corrected for the future, when the anchor of your sentence, unless it has pressed its bite deeper, cannot stabilize us more certainly? For the question is not light or blamed, in which not only has it profited nothing, but even afterwards, as has been most strongly said by you, the blindness of our thought has run into the crime of idolatry. I would wish this to be discussed by you cautiously and prudently, so that the serenity of your doctrine and genius may so wipe away the cloud of our mind, that what we cannot now think, declared to us by the light of intelligence from you, we may be able to see with the eyes of the heart. May you possess the celestial kingdoms, remembered of me, safe and blessed forever, holy and most blessed lord pope.

EPISTLE CXX.

Augustine to Consentius concerning the questions proposed to him about the Trinity.

To the most beloved brother and to be honored in the bowels of Christ CONSENTIUS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

I asked you to come to us for this reason, because I was greatly delighted by your genius in your books. Therefore I wished that you would read certain of our works, which I thought were necessary for you, not placed far from us, but

rather among us, so that those things which perhaps you had understood less, you might question without difficulty being present, and from our sermonizing and mutual colloquy, as much as the Lord granted both to us to bring forth and to you to take, you yourself might know what was to be emended in your books, and you yourself might emend it. For you are of such faculty that you can explain those things which you perceive; and furthermore of such probity and humility that you deserve to perceive true things. And now I am in the same sentence, which ought not to displease you; whence I recently admonished you that in those things which, elaborated by us, you read with you, you should make signs at those places which move you, and come to me with these, and ask about each one. I do not yet exhort you to do what you have done. For you would rightly be ashamed, and it would irk you to do it, if you had wished it even once and had found me difficult. I had also said that, when I had heard from you that you were fatigued by most faulty codices, you should read in ours, which you could find more emended than the others.

But concerning what you ask, that I discuss the question of the Trinity—that is, concerning the unity of the divinity and the distinction of persons—cautiously and prudently, so that the serenity of my doctrine, as you say, and of my genius, may so wipe away the cloud of your mind, that what you cannot now think, declared by the light of intelligence from me, you may be able in some way to see with your eyes: see first

whether that petition agrees with your superior definition. For superiorly in that same letter in which you ask this, you say that you have defined within yourself that truth of divine matter ought to be perceived from faith rather than from reason. "For if," you say, "the faith of the holy Church were apprehended from the reason of disputation, and not from the piety of credulity, no one besides philosophers and orators would possess beatitude." But because it pleased God," you say, "who chose the weak things of this world to confound the strong, to save believers through the foolishness of preaching (I Cor. I, 27), not so much reason is to be required, as the authority of the saints is to be followed." See therefore according to these words of yours, lest you ought rather, especially concerning this matter in which our faith chiefly consists, to follow the authority of the saints alone, and not seek the reason of its intelligence from me. For neither when I begin to introduce you in some way into the intelligence of so great a secret (which unless God helps within, I shall not be able to do at all), shall I do anything else by discoursing than render a reason as I can: which if you not irrationally demand from me, or from any teacher, that you may understand what you believe, correct your definition, not so as to reject faith, but so that those things which you already hold by the firmness of faith, you may also behold by the light of reason.

For far be it that God should hate this in us, in which He created us more excellent than the rest of the animals. Far be it, I say, that we should

believe for this reason, that we might not receive or seek reason; since we could not even believe unless we had rational souls. Therefore, that in certain things pertaining to healthful doctrine, which we are not yet able to perceive by reason, but someday shall be able, faith should precede reason, by which the heart may be cleansed, so that it may take and bear the light of great reason, this certainly belongs to reason. And therefore it was reasonably said by the prophet: "Unless you believe, you shall not understand" (Isai. VII, 9 sec. LXX). Where without doubt he distinguished these two, and gave counsel whereby we should first believe, so that we might be able to understand that which we believe. Therefore, that faith should precede reason, it seemed reasonable. For if this precept is not reasonable, therefore it is unreasonable: far be it. If therefore it is reasonable that to some great things, which cannot yet be taken, faith should precede reason, without doubt howsoever small the reason which persuades this, even it precedes faith.

Therefore the Apostle Peter admonishes that we ought to be ready for a response to everyone asking us for a reason concerning our faith and hope (I Pet. III, 15): since if an infidel asks a reason of my faith and hope from me, and I see that before he believes he cannot take it, I render this very reason to him in which, if it can be done, he may see how preposterously before faith he asks a reason of those things which he cannot take. But if one already faithful asks a reason, so that he may understand what he believes, his capacity

is to be looked into, so that according to it, with the reason being rendered, he may take as much intelligence of his faith as he can; more, if he takes more; less, if less: so long as, until he arrives at the fullness and perfection of knowledge, he does not depart from the journey of faith. Hence is what the Apostle says: "And yet if you perceive anything otherwise, God will reveal that also to you; nevertheless in that to which we have arrived, let us walk in it" (Philipp. III, 15, 16). Now therefore if we are faithful, we have arrived at the way of faith, which if we do not leave, we shall arrive without doubt not only to so great an intelligence of incorporeal and incommutable things as cannot be taken by all in this life, but even to the height of contemplation, which the Apostle says, "face to face" (I Cor. XIII, 12). For even some who are very little, and yet walk most perseveringly in the way of faith, arrive at that most blessed contemplation: but some, already knowing in some way what the invisible, incommutable, incorporeal nature is, and refusing to hold the way which leads to the mansion of so great beatitude, because it seems foolish to them —which is Christ crucified—cannot arrive at the inner sanctuary of rest itself, by whose light their mind is already grazed as if radiating in the distance.

But there are certain things which, when we have heard them, we do not accommodate faith to them, and with the reason being rendered to us we know them to be true, which we are not able to believe. And all the miracles of God are

therefore not believed by infidels, because the reason for them is not seen. And in truth there are those of which a reason cannot be rendered, yet there is not none: for what is there in the nature of things which God has made irrationally? But of some of His wonderful works, it is even expedient that the reason be hidden for a time, lest among minds languid with fastidiousness, they become cheap by the knowledge of that same reason. For there are, and many there are, who are held more by admiration of things than by knowledge of causes, where miracles cease to be wonderful, and there is need for them to be excited to the faith of invisible things by visible miracles, so that being purged by charity, they may arrive there where by familiarity with truth they may cease to wonder. For even in the theaters men wonder at the rope-walker, they are delighted by musicians: in the former difficulty causes stupor; in the latter pleasantness retains and feeds.

These things I have said, that I might exhort your faith to the love of intelligence, to which true reason leads, and for which faith prepares the mind. For that which has persuaded, in that Trinity which is God, that the Son is not co-eternal with the Father, or is of another substance, and in some part dissimilar, and in that way that the Holy Spirit is inferior; and likewise that which has persuaded that the Father and the Son are of one and the same, but the Holy Spirit of another substance, is to be said to be avoided and detested, not because it is reason, but because it is false reason. For if it were true reason, it would

certainly not have erred. Wherefore just as you ought not for that reason to avoid all speech, because there is also false speech; so you ought not to avoid all reason, because there is also false reason. This also I would say concerning wisdom. For not for that reason is wisdom to be avoided, because there is also false wisdom, to which Christ crucified is foolishness, who is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God: and therefore through this foolishness of preaching it pleased God to save believers, since that which is foolish of God is wiser than men. This could not be persuaded to some of the philosophers and orators, following not the true way but a likeness of the true, and in it deceiving themselves and others; but to some of them it could. And to those to whom it could, Christ crucified is neither a scandal nor foolishness; for they are among those to whom, being called Jews and Greeks, He is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God. In which way, that is in the faith of which Christ crucified, those who were able to comprehend His rectitude through the grace of God, even if they were called philosophers or orators, surely confessed with humble piety that the fishermen had been their leaders far more excellently in it, not only by the most firm strength of believing, but even by the most certain truth of understanding. For when they had learned that for this the foolish things of the world and the weak were chosen, that the strong and the wise might be confounded (I Cor. I, 21-29), and had known themselves to be falsely wise and to prevail imbecilely; being healthily

confounded, they were made foolish and weak, so that through the foolish and weak thing of God, which is wiser and stronger than men, among the chosen foolish and weak things they might become truly wise and effectively strong.

But before what else but the truest reason does faithful piety blush, so that we do not hesitate to overthrow a certain idolatry which the infirmity of human thought endeavors to establish in our heart from the habit of visible things? Nor should we dare to believe the Trinity, which we worship as invisible and incorporeal and immutable, to be as it were three living masses, however vast and beautiful, yet terminated by their own proper spaces, and cohering to one another in their places by contiguous proximity —whether one of them be placed in the middle so as to separate the two joined to it on each side, or whether each one touches the other two in the manner of a triangle, so that none is separated from any other; and that of those three persons, so great and such as they are, though in a very grand scale, yet terminated by masses from above and below and all around, there is some fourth divinity, not such as any one of them is, but common to all as the numen of all, and whole in all and in each, through which one divinity the same Trinity is called one God; and that its three persons are nowhere except in the heavens, but that divinity is nowhere not present, but present everywhere: and that through this it is indeed rightly said that God is both in heaven and on earth, on account of that divinity which is every-

where and common to the three; but that it is not rightly said that the Father is on earth, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit, since for this Trinity there is no seat except in heaven. When true reason begins to undermine this composition of carnal thought and vain figment, immediately with the help and illumination of Him within, who does not wish to dwell in our heart with such idols, we hasten to shatter these things and as it were to shake them out of our faith, so that we do not suffer even any dust of such phantasies to remain there.

Wherefore, unless faith had preceded in our heart, clothing us with piety, through which, being admonished from without, we perceive these things to be false while the truth itself shines within, would we not hear in vain those things which are true? And through this, since faith has performed what pertained to it, therefore the subsequent reason has found something of those things which it sought. Therefore, not only true reason, by which we understand that which we believe, but even faith itself of things not yet understood, is without doubt to be preferred to false reason. For it is better to believe what is true, although not yet seen, than to think that you see as true what is false. For faith has its own eyes, by which it sees in a certain way that to be true which it does not yet see, and by which it sees most certainly that it does not yet see what it believes. Furthermore, he who by true reason already understands what he was only believing, is surely to be preferred to him who still desires to understand what he believes; but if he does not

even desire it, and thinks that those things which are to be understood are only to be believed, he is ignorant of what use faith is: for pious faith does not wish to be without hope and without charity. Thus, therefore, the faithful man ought to believe what he does not yet see, so that he may both hope for and love the vision.

9. And indeed of visible past things, which have passed away temporally, there is only faith, since they are not hoped for as still to be seen, but are believed as having been done and transacted; as is that fact, that Christ died once for our sins and rose again, and now dies no more, and death shall no more have dominion over Him (Rom. VI, 9, 10). But those things which are not yet, but are to be, such as the resurrection of our spiritual bodies, are so believed that they are also hoped for as to be seen; but they can in no way be shown now. Those things, however, which are so that they neither pass away nor are to be future, but remain eternal, are partly invisible, such as justice, such as wisdom; and partly visible, such as the now immortal body of Christ: but the invisible things are beheld when understood, and through this they themselves are seen in a certain way congruent to them; and when they are seen, they are much more certain than those things which the sense of the body reaches, but they are called invisible for this reason, because they cannot be seen at all by these mortal eyes. But those things which are visible and permanent can, if they be shown, be beheld even by these mortal eyes; as the Lord showed Himself to the Disciples

after the resurrection (Matt. XXVIII, Mark XVI, Luke XXIV, and John XX, XXI), as also after the ascension to the apostle Paul (Acts IX, 3, 4), and to the deacon Stephen (Acts VII, 55).

10. Therefore we so believe those permanent visible things that, even if they be not demonstrated, we hope that we shall at some time see them; nor do we endeavor to comprehend them by reason or understanding, except so that we may think of them more distinctly from invisible things, because they are visible: and when we imagine in thought what kind they are, we know well enough that they are not known to us. For I also think of Antioch, unknown, but not as I think of Carthage, known. For my thought fashions that vision, but recalls this one; yet I in no way doubt, whether what I have believed concerning that one from many witnesses, or what I have believed concerning this one from my own sights. But justice and wisdom and whatever is of that kind, we do not imagine in one way and gaze upon in another; but we behold these invisible things when understood by a simple intention of the mind and reason, without any corporeal forms and masses, without any lineaments and figures of members, without any local spaces, whether finite or infinite. And the light itself by which we discern all these things, in which it sufficiently appears to us what we believe as unknown, what we hold as known, what form of body we remember, what we fashion by thought, what the sense of the body reaches, what the soul imagines similar to the body, what certain

thing and most dissimilar to all bodies the intelligence contemplates: this light, therefore, where all these things are judged, is certainly not diffused through local spaces all around, like the brightness of this sun and of any corporeal light, nor does it illustrate our mind as if with a visible whiteness, but it shines invisibly and ineffably, and yet intelligibly, and it is as certain to us as it makes certain to us the things which we behold all together according to it.

11. Since, therefore, there are three kinds of things which are seen; one of corporeal things, such as this heaven and this earth, and whatever in them the corporeal sense discerns and touches; another similar to corporeal things, such as are those which we imagine as thought by the spirit, or which we behold as if bodies, whether remembered or forgotten, whence also are visions which are suggested in sleep or in some ecstasy of mind, in these as it were local quantities; the third distinct from both, which is neither a body nor has any likeness of a body, such as is wisdom, which is beheld when understood by the mind, and in whose light a true judgment is formed concerning all these things: in which of these kinds is it to be believed that that Trinity exists which we wish to know? Surely either in some one of them, or in none. If in any, certainly in that which is more excellent than the other two, such as is wisdom; but if its gift is in us, and it is less than that supreme and immutable Wisdom which is called the Wisdom of God, I think that we ought not to think the Giver inferior to His gift: but if some

splendor of it is in us, which is called our wisdom, however much of it we are able to receive through a glass and in a riddle, it behoves us to separate it both from all bodies and from all likenesses of bodies.

12. But if that Trinity is to be thought to be in none of those kinds, and is so invisible that it is not even seen by the mind; much less ought we to have such an opinion of it as to believe it to be similar to corporeal things or to the images of corporeal things. For it does not surpass bodies in the beauty of mass or in magnitude, but in dissimilarity and disparity of nature: and if it is distinct from comparison with the goods of our soul, such as are wisdom, justice, charity, chastity, and other such things, which indeed we do not weigh by the mass of the body, nor do we fashion as it were their corporeal forms by thought, but when we understand them rightly, we behold them in the light of the mind without any corpulence or likeness of corpulence; how much more distinct is it from the comparison of all corporeal qualities and quantities? Yet that it does not altogether shrink from our understanding, the Apostle is witness, where he says: For the invisible things from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; even His eternal power and Godhead (Rom. I, 20). And through this, since the same Trinity has made both body and soul, it is without doubt more excellent than both. Therefore, the soul being considered, especially the human and rational and intellectual soul which

was made after His image, if it does not exceed our thoughts and intelligences, but we have been able to apprehend that which it has as its chief part, that is, the mind and intelligence itself, by the mind and intelligence, it will perhaps not be absurd that we should meditate, with His help, on raising it to understand its Creator also. but if it fails in itself and succumbs to itself, let it be content with pious faith as long as it is on pilgrimage from the Lord, until that which was promised be done in man, by His doing who is able, as the Apostle says, to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think (Eph. III, 20).

CHAPTER III.

13. Since these things are so, in the meantime I want you to read the many things pertaining to this question that we have already written; those also which we have in hand, and which, because of the magnitude of so difficult a question, we are not yet able to explain. But now hold with unshaken faith that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are the Trinity, and yet one God; not that there is some fourth divinity common to them, as it were, but that the Trinity itself is ineffably inseparable, and that the Father alone begot the Son, and the Son alone was begotten of the Father, and the Holy Spirit is the Spirit both of the Father and of the Son. And whatever likeness to bodily things occurs to you when you think on these matters, drive it away, refuse it, deny it, reject it, cast it off, flee it. For it is no small beginning of the knowledge of God, if, before we

can know what He is, we begin already to know what He is not. But love understanding greatly; for even the holy Scriptures themselves, which urge faith in great things before understanding, cannot be useful to you unless you understand them rightly. For all heretics who receive them in their authority seem to themselves to be following them, whereas they are rather following their own errors; and hence they are heretics not because they despise them, but because they do not understand them.

14. But you, dearest one, pray strongly and faithfully that the Lord may give you understanding, so that what the diligence of a teacher or master applies from without may be fruitful; since neither is he who plants anything, nor he who waters, but God who gives the increase (I Cor. III, 7): to whom we say, Our Father who art in heaven (Matth. VI, 9); not because He is there and not here — He who by incorporeal presence is wholly everywhere — but because He is said to dwell in those to whose devotion He is present, and these are especially in heaven, where also our conversation is, if our mouth truthfully answers that our heart is lifted up. For even if we take carnally what is written, Heaven is my seat, and earth the footstool of my feet (Isai. LXVI, 1), we ought to believe that He is both there and here, although not wholly there, since the feet would be here, nor wholly here, since the upper parts of the body would be there. This carnal thought, in turn, that which is written of Him can shake off from us: Who has measured the heavens with a

span, and the earth with a closed hand (Id., XL, 12). For who would sit in the space of his own span, or place his feet in as much room as his fist grasps? Unless perhaps vain flesh proceeds so far that it is not enough for it to attribute human members to the substance of God, unless it also fashions them monstrously, where the span is wider than the loins, and the closed fist wider than both spans joined together. But these things are said so that, when the things we hear carnally do not agree with one another, we, admonished by them, may think spiritually of things ineffable.

15. Hence, even if we think of the body of the Lord, which He raised from the tomb and lifted up into heaven, only in human form and with human members, yet it must not be supposed that He so sits at the right hand of the Father that the Father should seem to sit at His left. For indeed in that beatitude which surpasses all human understanding, there is only a right hand, and that same right hand is the name of that same beatitude. Accordingly, neither is that which He said to Mary after His resurrection, Do not touch me, for I have not yet ascended to my Father (John XX, 17), to be taken so absurdly that we should suppose that, after He had ascended, He wished to be touched by women, He who offered Himself to be touched by men before He ascended. But when He said that to Mary, in whom the Church is figured, He surely wished it to be understood that He had then ascended to the Father when she recognized Him as equal to the Father; and with such faith she touched Him beneficially,

lest, if she believed Him to be only that which had appeared in the flesh, she should not touch Him rightly. Thus did the heretic Photinus touch Him, who believed Him to be only a man.

16. And if perchance something else more apt and better can be understood in these words of the Lord, yet the opinion by which the substance of the Father is thought to be in heaven, according as the Father is one person in the Trinity, but the divinity is not in heaven only, but everywhere — as if the Father were one thing, and His divinity another, which is common to Him with the Son and with the Holy Spirit; so that the Trinity itself is as it were in corporeal places and as it were corporeal, but the one divinity of the three persons is everywhere present, and it alone, as being incorporeal, is everywhere whole—is without doubt to be rejected. For if it were their quality (which be far from us, that in the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit quality should be one thing, substance another), yet if it could be their quality, it could certainly not be more widely anywhere than in its own substance: but if it is substance, and is another than they themselves are, it is another substance; which nonetheless is most falsely believed.

17. But if perchance you understand less what the difference is between substance and quality; this certainly you observe more easily, that both the divinity of the Trinity (which is thought to be another thing than the Trinity itself is, and on account of which it is called not three gods but one God, because it is one common to the three) is

either substance, or it is not substance. If it is substance, and is another than the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit, or the same Trinity together: it is without doubt another substance: but this the truth refutes and rejects. But if that divinity is not substance, and it is God, because it is everywhere whole, not that Trinity; therefore God is not a substance: who that is a Catholic would say this? Likewise, if that divinity is not substance, and according to it the Trinity is one God, because this is one in the three; it ought not to have been said that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are of one substance, but of one divinity which is not substance. But you recognize in the Catholic faith that this is true, this is confirmed, that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, therefore, since it is a Trinity, is one God; because they are inseparably of one and the same substance, or (if this be better said), essence. For some of ours, and especially the Greeks, have said that the Trinity which is God is rather essence than one substance; thinking or understanding some difference between these two names: concerning which there is no need to dispute now; for even if we should call that divinity, which is thought to be other than the Trinity itself, not substance but essence, the same falsehood will follow. For if it is another than the Trinity itself, it will be another essence: which be far from a Catholic to feel. It remains, therefore, that we should so believe the Trinity to be of one substance, that the essence itself be no other thing than the Trinity itself. To the vision of which, however much we may profit

in this life, it will be through a glass and in a riddle what we shall see. But when we shall have begun to have a spiritual body, which is promised in the resurrection, whether we see it by the mind, or in a wonderful way (since the grace of the spiritual body is ineffable) even with the body; yet not through intervals of places, nor less in part, greater in part, since it is not a body, and it is everywhere whole, we shall see according to our capacity.

CHAPTER IV. 18. But as to what you put in your letter, that it seems to you, or rather that it seemed to you, that nothing living according to substance is in justice, and that therefore you could not yet think of God, that is, a living nature, as similar to justice: because justice, as you say, lives not in itself, but in us; nay, we rather live according to it, but justice itself by itself in no way lives: so that you may answer yourself to this, look at this, whether it can be rightly said that life itself does not live, by which it comes to pass that whatever we do not falsely say lives, does live. For I think it seems absurd to you that one should live by life, and life itself should not live. Furthermore, if life itself chiefly lives, by which everything that lives does live, recall, I beseech you, what the divine Scripture calls dead souls; surely you will find the unjust, the impious, the unfaithful. For although the bodies of the impious live through them, of whom it is said that the dead bury their dead (Matt. VIII, 22), and there even iniquitous souls are understood not to be without some life; for otherwise bodies could

not live from them, except by some kind of life, which souls can in no way lack, whence they are deservedly called immortal: yet they are called dead for no other reason than that justice being lost, justice is the truer and greater life even of souls, although they live immortally with some kind of life, as being the life of lives, which when they are in bodies, even the bodies themselves are living, which cannot live by themselves. Wherefore if souls cannot but live in themselves in some way, because from them even bodies live, which die when deserted by them; how much more is true justice to be understood to live even in itself, from which souls so live that when this is lost they are called dead, although they do not cease to live with whatever small amount of life!

19. That justice, furthermore, which lives in itself, is without doubt God, and lives immutably. But just as this, since it is in itself life, also becomes life to us when we are made in some way partakers of it: so when it is in itself justice, it also becomes justice to us when by cohering to it we live justly; and we are more or less just according as we more or less cohere to it. Whence it is written of the only-begotten Son of God, since He is indeed the Wisdom and Justice of the Father and is always in itself, that He was made unto us wisdom from God, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption; that, as it is written: He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord (I Cor. I, 30, 31). Which indeed you yourself saw, adding and saying: Unless perchance not this justice of human equity, but that which is God, alone be as-

serted to be justice. That supreme God is plainly true justice, or that true God is supreme justice; to hunger and thirst after which is indeed our justice in this pilgrimage, and to be afterwards filled with which is our full justice in eternity. Let us not therefore think of God as similar to our justice, but let us rather think of ourselves as so much the more similar to God, as we shall be able to be the more just by participation in Him.

20. If, therefore, we must beware lest we think God similar to our justice, since the light that illuminates is incomparably more excellent than that which is illuminated; how much more must we beware lest we believe him to be something inferior and, in a certain way, more discolored, than our justice is! But what else is justice, when it is in us, or any virtue whatsoever by which one lives rightly and wisely, than the beauty of the inner man? And certainly it is according to this beauty rather than according to the body that we were made in the image of God: whence it is said to us, Do not be conformed to this age, but be reformed in the newness of your mind, so that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good and pleasing and perfect (Rom. XII, 2). If, therefore, we call, or know, or wish the mind to be beautiful not in bulk nor in parts distant from one another in their places, as bodies are either seen or thought, but in an intelligible power, such as justice is, and it is according to this beauty that we are reformed to the image of God: assuredly the beauty of God himself, who formed us and reforms us to his image, is not to be conjectured

in any corporeal bulk; and he is to be believed incomparably more beautiful to the minds of the just, by as much as he is incomparably more just. These things I have perhaps set before your Love at greater length than you expected, as far as the usual manner of letters is concerned; but as far as the question of so great a matter is concerned, it may have sufficed to have admonished you briefly: not that it should be enough for your erudition, but that you yourself, being also diligently instructed by other things read or heard, may more fully refute what has been said contrary to your own view; which is indeed so much the better, the more humbly and faithfully it is done.

LETTER CXXI.

Paulinus, bishop of Nola, proposes to Augustine several questions, first concerning the Psalms, then concerning the Apostle, and finally concerning the Gospel.

CHAPTER I.

1. Concerning a few things which have now come to my mind — as the bearer of this letter hastens to the ship, and I myself hurry along in his very haste — I shall put forward some points, so that you may not write back to me without an addition; which, if perhaps they are clear to others, yet seem obscure to me, let none of the prudent sons who may perhaps be standing about you from among our people at the hour of this little reading laugh at my foolishness, but

rather let him favor me with the benevolence of fraternal charity by instructing me, that I may be made a partaker of those who see, and, with minds illumined by your teaching, of those who consider the wonders of the law of the Lord.

2. Tell me, then, blessed teacher of Israel, what is meant by what is said in the fifteenth psalm: "To his saints who are in the land, he has made wonderful all his wills among them. For their infirmities were multiplied; afterward they made haste." Whom does he call saints — those who are saints in the land? Is it perhaps those Jews who, being sons of the flesh of Abraham and not sons of the promise, are excluded from the seed that was called in Isaac (Rom. IX, 8, 7), and are therefore "saints in the land" because they are holy by carnal descent, but earthly in life and in sense — who savor earthly things, and grow old in the oldness of the letter through carnal observance; not being reborn into a new creature, because they did not receive him through whom old things passed away, and new things were made? For perhaps he calls them "saints" in this psalm in the same way that he also calls them "just" in the Gospel, where he says, "I have not come to call the just, but sinners" (Matth. IX, 13); that is, those just who glory in the sanctity of their lineage and the letter of the Law: to whom it is said, "Do not glory in the father Abraham; for God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham" (Id. III, 9). Their type is set forth in that Pharisee, who, recounting his own righteous deeds as though before a Lord

who did not know them, proclaimed them in the temple; not praying that he might be heard, but demanding, as it were, the debt of merit for works that were indeed good, but ungrateful to God, because what justice had built up, pride was tearing down: nor did he proclaim this in silence, but with his voice, so that it might appear that he was not speaking to divine ears, since he also wished to be heard by men; and therefore he did not please God, because he pleased himself: "For the Lord has scattered the bones of those who please themselves. They were confounded," he says, "because he despised them" (Psal. LII, 6) — he who does not despise a humble and contrite heart.

3. Finally, in the same parable of the Gospel, in which the persons of the Pharisee and the Publican are compared, the Lord Himself evidently shows what He accepts in man and what He rejects (Luke XVIII, 10-14), as it is written that God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble (James IV, 6). Therefore He protests that the Publican went away from the temple more justified for the confession of his sins than the Pharisee for the imputation of his justices. But deservedly that praiser of himself, being repudiated, departed from the face of God, who, while he brought forward expertise in the Law with his very name, had forgotten the Lord saying in the prophet: To whom shall I have respect, but to him that is humble and quiet, and that trembleth at my words (Isa. LXVI, 2)? But the other is received as his own accuser in a contrite heart,

and obtains pardon for confessed sins on account of the grace of humility, while that holy Pharisee (such as the holy Jews are) carries back a burden of sins from the boast of sanctity. Of him indeed those Jews are the form, of whom the Apostle says that, desiring to establish their own justice, which is from the Law, they have not submitted to the justice of God (Rom. X, 3), which is from faith, which was reputed to our father Abraham for justice, not from works (Id. IV, 2, 3), because according to the omnipotence of God he believed God: with whom he is truly just who lives by faith; nor is he a saint on earth, but in heaven, because he walks not after the flesh but after the spirit; whose conversation is in heaven; not glorying in the circumcision of the flesh, but in the circumcision of the heart, which is performed not in the letter but in the spirit, invisibly; whence his praise is not of men, but of God.

4. Then as to what he joins in the same verse, He has made His wills wonderful among them, I believe he says it for this reason, because He first kindled for them the lamp of the Law, and gave them precepts for living. For he says, He made His ways known to Moses, His wills to the children of Israel (Ps. CII, 7). Then He worked the sacrament of His own piety among them, being born in the flesh of a virgin, God in their nation, and made man of their flesh from the seed of David: then the virtues of healings, which He performed in them and before them. Who through these things was not only not believed, but was even blasphemed by them, when they said, This man if he were of

God would not heal on the sabbaths (John IX, 16); and, He casteth not out devils but by Beelzebub the prince of the devils (Matt. XII, 24). On account of this mind blinded by hardened impiety, their infirmities and darkness were multiplied.

5. But what is that which he says, Afterwards they accelerated? Whether into repentance, like those in the Acts of the Apostles who, being pricked by the preaching of blessed Peter, believed in Him whom they had crucified, and hastening to be expiated from so great a sin, ran to the gift of grace (Acts II, 37-41)? or rather because the virtues of the soul are strengthened by faith and the charity of God, for those impious ones void of both, the infirmities of the soul were multiplied from the impiety of crimes occupied by deadly languors? For Christ is the light and life of believers, and health under His wings: whence it is no wonder if both their darkness and infirmities were multiplied unto destruction, who received not life and light, nor wished to remain under His wings; whom, as He Himself crying protests in His Gospel, He often wished to gather under His wings, as a hen gathereth her chickens, and they would not (Matt. XXIII, 37). Their infirmities being multiplied, therefore, whither did they accelerate? Perhaps to cry out for the cross of the Lord, and to extort it from an unwilling Pilate with nefarious voices, that they might fill up the measure of their fathers, so that these should kill the Lord of the Prophets, whose fathers killed the Prophets themselves, by whom it was announced that this Savior of the world was to come. After-

wards they accelerated: for their feet are swift to shed blood. Destruction and unhappiness are in their ways, and the way of peace they have not known (Ps. XIII, 3), that is, Christ who says, I am the way (John XIV, 6).

6. In the following psalm I desire this to be explained to me, what it means when it says, "From thy hidden things their belly is filled. They are filled with swine's flesh," or, as I hear it written in certain psalters, "they are filled with sons, and have left what remained over to their little ones."

7. Again in another psalm I am accustomed to marvel, understanding the Son to be speaking to the Father, in the fifty-eighth psalm, where, concerning the hostile Jews, of whom he had said above, "Behold, they will speak with their own mouth, and a sword is in their lips," a little below he says, "Slay them not, lest they ever forget thy Law. Scatter them in thy power, and destroy them, O Lord." Which we see fulfilled in them even to this present day: for they have been cast down from their ancient glory, living without temple and without sacrifices, and without prophets, in a dispersion among all the nations. But why do we marvel that already through the Prophet He was asking that they not be slain, for whom also, at the very time of the Passion, while they were already leading Him to the cross, He was praying, saying: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke XXIII, 34)? But what he added, "Lest they ever forget thy Law," as though for this reason their life were necessary even without faith in the Gospel, I

confess is obscure to me. For what does it profit them, unto salvation, which is sought by faith alone, to be occupied in the memory and meditation of the Law; unless perhaps for the honor of the Law itself, or of the race of Abraham, so that even in the earthly part of his carnal seed, which seems to be reckoned according to the sand of the sea, the letter of the ancient Law may persist, lest perhaps some, by reading the Law, be illumined unto faith in Christ, who is the end both of the Law and of the Prophets, and shines forth prefigured and prophesied in all their books? Or is it because from these very impious ones the future generation of the elect will come, who, chosen from each of the tribes, are designated in the twelve thousands (Apoc. VII, 5-8); to whom that very revelation of blessed John, from the voice of the Angel foretelling it, bears this testimony, that being wholly unstained and free from human union, they will cleave more closely to the retinue of the eternal King? Of whom he says specifically: "They follow the Lamb wherever he goes, because they have not defiled themselves with women; for they are virgins" (Id. XIV, 4).

8. In the sixty-seventh, besides other things, this is most obscure to me, that he says, "Yet God has crushed the heads of his enemies, the crown of hair of those walking on in their sins"; what it means for "the crown of hair" to walk on in sins. For he did not say, "the crown of the head," but "the crown of the hair," which is without feeling. Or does he wish to show a man filled with sins? It is written: "Every heart in sorrow, from the feet

even to the head" (Isai. I, 6). And what he says a little below, "The tongue of thy dogs, from the enemies, from him." From whom, "him"? And can the Gentiles be called God's dogs, whom He Himself names dogs in the Gospel (Matt. XV, 26)? Or does he perhaps call God's dogs those who could be so esteemed, if any live in pagan fashion under the Christian name; a portion of whom is reckoned with the unfaithful, because they deny in their deeds the God whom they worship in words?

CHAPTER II.

9. So much for now concerning the Psalms; now let me also set forth whatever I have to propose concerning the Apostle. He says to the Ephesians what he had said in another Letter (I Cor. XII, 28) concerning the degrees or orders of God's dispositions, the Holy Spirit working the divisions of graces: "And some indeed he gave as apostles, and some as prophets, others as evangelists, and others as pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints" (Ephes. IV, 11, 12), and so on. This I wish you would distinguish for me amid this diversity of names: what is the proper character of offices or graces belonging to each name — what is proper to Apostles, what to Prophets, what to Evangelists, what to Pastors, or what to Teachers. For in all these diverse names I see that a similar, and almost one and the same, office of teaching has been treated. But these Prophets whom he placed after the Apostles I do not think to be those who, in the order of time,

existed before the Apostles, but those to whom, already under the Apostles, there was granted by grace either the interpretation of the Scriptures and the discernment of minds, or the prediction of a time to come; as Agabus perceived, who both foretold the coming famine (Act. XI, 28) and, concerning what blessed Paul was to suffer at Jerusalem, both announced it in word and showed it by the sign of his girdle (Id. XXI, 10, 11). I wish specifically to discern what difference there is between Pastors and Teachers, since both names are usually applied to those set over the Church.

10. Likewise, as to what he says to Timothy, "I exhort, therefore, that first of all supplications, prayers, petitions, and thanksgivings be made for all men" (I Tim. II, 1), I ask that you explain to me what distinction there is in this diversity of words, since all the things he says are to be done seem to me to belong to the office of prayer.

11. Likewise, as to what he says to the Romans, I ask and beg that you expound it to me; for I confess I am much in the dark concerning this saying of the Apostle about the Jews, where he says, "According to the Gospel indeed they are enemies for your sake; but according to election they are most dear for the sake of the fathers" (Rom. XI, 28): how are the same people both enemies for our sake, we who have believed from among the Gentiles, as though the Gentiles could not have believed unless the Jews had not believed; or how could God himself, the one creator of all, who wills all men to be saved and to come to the

knowledge of the truth (I Tim. II, 4), not have been capable of the acquisition of both, without possessing the one in exchange for the other; and then, "most dear for the sake of the fathers"? If they are "most dear," how or from what cause do they not believe, and continue to be enemies of God? "Have I not," he says, "hated those who hated you, O God, and pined away because of your enemies? I hated them with a perfect hatred." Surely I think this is the Father's voice speaking to the Son through the prophet in the same psalm, where above he had said concerning the portion of believers: "But to me your friends, O God, are made exceedingly honorable; their dominion is exceedingly strengthened" (Psal. CXXXVIII, 21, 22, 17). But what does it profit them toward salvation, which is attained only through faith and the grace of Christ, if they are most dear to God on account of the faith of the fathers? To what good are they loved, who must necessarily be condemned for this reason, that, differing through their own unbelief from the faith of the Prophets and of the patriarchal fathers, they are enemies to the Gospel of Christ? If, then, they are most dear to God, how will they perish? And if they do not believe, how will they not perish? If they are loved for the sake of the fathers, without merit of their own, how are they not also saved for the sake of the fathers? But even if Noah, Daniel, and Job were in their midst, they would not save impious sons; they alone would be saved (Ezech. XIV, 14, 16)?

12. Extract for me another even more obscure thing from the deep, and bring it into the shallows. In the Epistle to the Colossians, I cannot at all understand what he says: "Let no man seduce you, willing in humility and religion of angels, walking in things which he has not seen, in vain puffed up by the sense of his flesh, and not holding the head" (Coloss. II, 18, 19); concerning which angels does he speak: if of enemies and evil ones, what is their religion, or what humility, and who is the master of this seduction, who, under the pretext of I know not what angelic religion, teaches as if seen and discovered things which he has not seen? Without doubt these are heretics, who both follow and bring forth the doctrines of demons, with inventions conceived from their spirit, feigning as if seen the phantasms which they have not seen, and sowing them into ill-believing hearts with pestiferous disputations (I Tim. IV, 1, 2); these are they who do not hold the head, that is, Christ the fountain of truth, to whose doctrine whatever is opposed is insane. And these are blind leaders of the blind (Matth. XV, 14), concerning whom I think it is said: "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and have dug for themselves broken cisterns, which do not hold water" (Jer. II, 13).

13. Then in the following chapter he added: "Touch not, nor taste, nor handle, which are all unto destruction in the very use according to the precepts and doctrines of men, which indeed have a show of wisdom in superstition and humility, and in not sparing the body, not in

any honor to the satisfying of the flesh" (Coloss. II, 21-23). What are these things, in which the master of truth testifies that a show of wisdom is present, and yet denies that the truth of religion itself is present? Or perhaps does he speak of such as those of whom he says to Timothy: "Having indeed a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof" (II Tim. III, 5)? I ask you, therefore, specifically to dissolve these two chapters from the Epistle to the Colossians for me word by word, because he has mixed execrable things with laudable ones. For what is so laudable as a show of wisdom, and what so execrable as the superstition of error? Humility also is both pleasing to God, and especially laudable in true religion, yet it is given with a show of wisdom to those very ones concerning whose doctrines and acts it is said to us, "Touch not, nor taste, which are unto destruction" (Col. II, 21, 22), because they are not from God: and all that is not from faith is sin (Rom. XIV, 23). But God has dissipated the counsels of the wise (Ps. XXVII, 10), who are foolish before God through the prudence of the flesh, which cannot be subject to the law of God (Rom. VIII, 7): for He knows the thoughts of men, that they are vain (Psal. XCIII, 11). What kind of humility, and what kind of show of wisdom he says is present in superstition coming from the doctrines of men, I require to know. And as for what he says, "In not sparing the body, not in any honor to the satisfying of the flesh" (Id. 23); I understand these things very little, because in the same sentence there seems to me to be a

great distinction: for I think he says this concerning any feigned or useless abstinence, such as is wont to be affected by heretics, "in not sparing the body;" but as for what he added, "not in any honor," it is because they perform a show of holy work, not exercising it in the faith of truth, and they act with the honor or fruit of no glory, which they accomplish in great reproach of perverse error, transfiguring themselves into ministers of justice. But what he added, "to the satisfying of the flesh," seems to me contrary to that which he says, "in not sparing the body:" for he seems to me not to spare the body who subdues the flesh with fasts, as the Apostle says, "I buffet my body, and lead it into servitude" (I Cor. IX, 27); from which work the satisfying of the flesh is alien: unless perhaps he called even that care for satisfying the flesh, which is especially shameful to those pretending the observance of religion, a not sparing of the body, according to that precept of honesty which he says elsewhere, that everyone should know how to possess his vessel honorably (I Thess. IV, 4), that he may exhibit his body as a living victim, pleasing to God (Rom. XII, 1), not in the satisfying of the flesh, because the distension of the body kills the sobriety of the soul, and is an enemy to chastity.

CHAPTER III.

14. It remains that I should also suggest something to your Blessedness concerning Gospel passages: not indeed as many as are wont to occur to one reading at leisure (for there is no

time now to seek for things dispersed through books, or to fan the memory in recollecting), but I will inquire about even a few which come to mind at the hour of this dictation. Concerning the form of the resurrection, I ask that you send to me, if you have it recorded in your papers, or certainly weave it again for me—which is easy for you—the letter, not long but full of instruction of faith, by which you had replied to my second consultation while you were wintering at Carthage. For even if it does not exist in writing, because perhaps as a short letter it was despised by you and not kept among your books in the tumult, renew it for me from the treasure of your heart, ready in the same sense, and send it to me among other responses which you will return to me, as I hope, Christ granting a passage of days to me and to you, so that I may receive those things whereby your labor may bear fruit in me, according to these chapters of the Scriptures concerning which I have questioned you, who see as if through God, that I may hear what God speaks in you or from you to me.

15. Moreover, I ask that you make clear to me in what manner or for what reason the Lord, after the resurrection, both to the women who first came to the tomb, or afterwards to those two on the way, and then to His Disciples, was both not recognized and recognized (Luke XXIV, 16). For He rose in the same body in which He also suffered. And how was the form of the same body not the same as it had been? Or if it was the same, how was it not recognized by those who had

known it? That indeed I believe to be a mystery (sacramenti), that He who had not been recognized by those walking on the way was revealed in the breaking of bread. Yet I wish to hold that very thing according to your sense, not my own.

16. And as to what He says to Mary, "Touch me not, for I have not yet ascended to the Father" (John XX, 17): if she was not allowed to touch Him standing nearby, how would she touch Him when He had ascended to the Father, unless perhaps by the progress of faith and the ascent of the mind, by which God becomes distant or near to man, and she had doubted concerning Christ, whom she had thought to be a gardener? Therefore perhaps she deserved to hear, "Touch me not." For she was judged unworthy to touch Christ with her hand, whom she had not yet apprehended by faith, nor had understood as God, since she had thought Him a gardener, concerning whom she had heard a little before from the Angels: "Why seek you the living with the dead" (Luke XXIV, 6)? "Touch me not" therefore, "for" to you "I have not yet ascended to the Father," who still seem to be only a man; afterwards you shall touch me, when you have ascended by believing to the point of recognizing me.

17. Also, explain to me what you feel concerning those words of the most blessed Simeon, so that I may follow your sense: who, when he had come into the temple by the Spirit's action to see Christ according to the oracle of God, and having received the infant Lord into his bosom, had blessed Him, said to Mary: "Behold this child is

set for the fall and resurrection of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be contradicted; and a sword shall pierce your own soul also, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed" (Id. II, 34, 35). Is it to be believed that he prophesied this concerning the passion of Mary, which is nowhere written? Or rather concerning her maternal affection, by which later, standing by the cross at the time of the passion, where that which she herself had brought forth was fixed, she was pierced by the pain of her maternal bowels; and the sword of the cross penetrated her soul, those things which had pierced her son according to the flesh while she was looking on? For I see that in the Psalms it was said thus of Joseph, "They humbled his feet in fetters; the iron passed through his soul" (Psal. CIV, 18), just as Simeon said in the Gospel, "And a sword shall pierce your own soul" (Luke II, 33). He did not say "Flesh," but "soul," in which the affection of piety is contained, and the sting of pain works as a sword; either when it is affected by some injury to its flesh, as Joseph, who endured not the passions of death, but of injuries, sold as a slave, and bound as a criminal, and given to prison: or when it is tortured by the sadness or pain of internal affection; as in Mary, whom surely her maternal mind had led to the cross of the Lord, in whom she then thought only of the son of her own body, that when she had seen Him dead, she might mourn with human infirmity, and gather Him for burial, presuming nothing for herself concerning His resurrection, because the penalty of the passion

placed before her eyes blinded the faith of the wonder that was to follow. Although the Lord, standing by her cross, did not comfort her as one trembling with the infirmity of a dying person, but having death itself in His power, through which He was dying willingly, with the full virtue of one living and the constancy of one about to rise, He admonishes her from the cross, saying of the blessed apostle John. "Woman, behold your son;" and likewise to him standing there. "Behold your mother" (John XIX, 26, 27). Now, indeed, departing from human fragility by which He had been born of a woman, through the death of the cross into the eternity of God, that He might be in the glory of God the Father, He delegates to man the rights of human piety, and chooses the younger from among His disciples, that He might appropriately assign the virgin mother to the virgin apostle, teaching two things equally in the same sentence: leaving to us a form of piety, when He is solicitous for His mother, that he whom He was leaving in body He should not leave in care —but neither was He about to leave her in body, because Him whom she saw dying she was soon to see restored to life— and that which should pertain to the faith of all, sealing the health-bringing mystery (sacramentum) of His piety by the secret reason of the divine counsel under this voice, so that He might delegate another mother to be held in place of a mother, and to be comforted in His stead, and in turn deliver to him a new son in place of His body, or rather, as I might say, give birth to one: by which He might

show that she, besides Him who had been born of her as a virgin, had neither had a son nor had one; because the Savior would not have had such great care for her comfort if he had not been her only son.

18. But let us return to the words of Simeon, in the conclusion of which I confess my understanding is darkened: "And a sword," he says, "or a blade, shall pierce your soul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed." According to the letter this is altogether obscure to me; for we nowhere read that the most blessed Mary was slain, so that that holy man might seem to have prophesied a future passion to her by a corporal sword. But also what he added, "That the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed." For He says, "God searching the hearts and reins" (Psal. VII, 10). And concerning the future judgment the Apostle says, that then "God will make manifest the hidden things of the hearts and the secrets of darkness" (I Cor. IV, 5). Likewise the Apostle, expressing spiritually the celestial arms with which we ought to be armed in our inner man, calls the sword of the spirit the word of God (Ephes. VI, 17); concerning which he says to the Hebrews, "The word of God is living, and effectual, and more piercing than any two-edged sword; reaching," he says, "even to the division of the soul and the spirit" (Hebr. IV, 12), and the rest which you know. What wonder then, if the ignited force of this word, and the more piercing edge of the two-edged sword, pierced the soul of that holy Joseph once, and afterwards of the blessed Mary? For we

do not know that iron passed through the body of either the former or the latter. And that it may more clearly appear that the Prophet there placed iron for the sword of the word, he says in the immediately following verse: "The word of the Lord ignited him." For the word of God is both fire and sword, the Word who is God Himself saying both of Himself: "For I have come," He says, "to cast fire upon the earth; and what will I but that it be already kindled" (Luc. XII, 49)? Likewise elsewhere He says: "I have not come to send peace, but a sword" (Matth. X, 34). You see that he designated the one force of his doctrine by the different names of fire and sword. Or how would the passion or tribulation brought upon Mary through a sword endure? Therefore I desire to know this, what it pertained to Mary that the thoughts of many hearts should be revealed; or where it appeared that from the fact that a sword, whether of corporal iron or the spiritual sword in the word of God, pierced her soul, from thence the thoughts of many hearts were revealed. Explain therefore this conclusion of Simeon's words especially to me, because I do not doubt it is clear to your holy soul, which from the purity of the inner eye has merited the illumination of the Holy Spirit, through whom it can search and inspect even the deep things of God. May God have mercy on me through your prayers, and illuminate His face upon me through the lamp of your word, holy lord, most blessed brother of one mind in the Lord Christ, my master in the faith of truth, and my protector in the bowels of charity.

EPISTOLA CXXII. Augustine to the clergy and people of Hippo excuses his absence, exhorting them that in relieving the poor they should be more eager than usual, on account of temporary afflictions. To the most beloved brothers fellow-clergy and the whole people, AUGUSTINE, sends greeting in the Lord.

1. In the first place, I ask your charity, and through Christ I beseech you, let not my bodily absence sadden you. For in spirit and in heart's affection I think you do not doubt that in no way can I depart from you; although it saddens me more than perhaps yourselves, that my infirmity cannot suffice for all the cares which the members of Christ demand of me, whom both His fear and charity compel me to serve. For your Love should know that I have never been absent with licentious liberty, but by necessary servitude, which has often compelled my holy brothers and colleagues to endure even labors of the sea and across the sea; from which not a lack of devotion of mind, but a less suitable health of body has always excused me. Accordingly, most beloved brothers, so act that, as the Apostle says, whether coming and seeing you, or absent, I may hear of you, that you stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel (Phil. I, 27). If any temporary trouble agitates you, it ought the more to admonish you how you should think of that life where you may live without any labor, escaping not the troublesome straits of a short time, but the horrendous punishments of eternal fire. For if now with such

care, with such intention, with such labor you act, lest you fall into some transitory torments; how much it behooves you to be solicitous, that you may flee eternal miseries! And if death is so feared, which finishes temporal labor; how is it to be feared which sends into eternal pain! And if the delights of this world, short and sordid, are so loved; how much more vehemently the pure and infinite joys of the future world are to be sought! Thinking on these things, be not sluggish in good works, that you may come to the harvest of your seed in its time.

2. For it has been announced to me that you have forgotten your custom of clothing the poor; to which mercy I exhorted you when I was present, and now I exhort you, let not the contrition of this world overcome you and make you sluggish, to which world you see such things happen as our Lord and Redeemer, who cannot lie, foretold would come. Not only, therefore, ought you not to do less works of mercy, but you ought even to do more than you are wont. For as they migrate more hastily to more fortified places who see the ruin of a house imminent with shattered walls; so Christian hearts, the more they feel the ruin of this world approach with frequent tribulations, the more they ought to transfer with unwearied celerity the goods which they were disposing to store in the earth into the celestial treasure, so that if any human accident happens, he may rejoice who has emigrated from a ruinous place: but if no such thing follows, he should not be saddened who, when he is at some time to die,

has commended his own goods to the immortal Lord, to whom he is to come. Therefore, my most beloved brothers, from that which each one has, according to his own strength which he himself knows, do what you are wont, with a more cheerful mind than you are wont, and among all the troubles of this world retain the apostolic exhortation in your heart, where he says: The Lord is at hand; be solicitous for nothing (Philipp. IV, 5, 6). Let such things be reported to me of you, by which I may know, not on account of my presence, but on account of the precept of God, who is never absent, that you are wont to do what for many years you did while I was present, and sometimes also while I was absent. May the Lord keep you in peace; and, most beloved brothers, pray for us.

EPISTOLA CXXIII.

Jerome to Augustine renouncing certain things through an enigma.

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

that it may die in Tahpanhes, and there perish in eternal servitude.

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

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

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

1. Although by the state of my health or by nature I cannot bear the cold, yet never have I been able to endure greater heats than in this so horrendous winter, because I was unable, I will not say to proceed, but even to fly toward you, for whom the seas were to be crossed by flight, established so near, coming from so far for the sake of visiting us. And perhaps your Holiness may have thought that same winter harshness to be the only cause of my punishment; far be it, most dear ones. For what is grave and troublesome, or even dangerous, in these rains, which I ought not to have undergone and endured in order to come to you, such great comforts in the midst of our so great evils, in this crooked and perverse

generation, lights so ardently kindled from the highest light, sublime by the humility assumed, and clearer by the clarity despised? At the same time also I would enjoy the so spiritual happiness of my carnal country, which deserved to have you even present: of whom when absent, when it heard that which you were born, and that which by the grace of Christ you have become, although it believed by charity, yet, lest it should not be believed, it was perhaps afraid to narrate.

2. I will say therefore why I did not come, and by what evils I have been hindered from so great a good; so that I may deserve not only pardon from you, but also, through your prayers, mercy from Him who works in you that for which you live unto Him. The people of Hippo, to whom the Lord gave me as a servant, since in great and almost in every part it is so weak that the pressure even of a lighter tribulation can make it gravely ill, is now struck by such a great tribulation that even if it were not so weak, it would scarcely sustain it with any health of the soul. But now when I returned, I found it most dangerously scandalized by my absence; and certainly to your healthy palates, in whose spiritual strength we rejoice in the Lord, it tastes how it has been said: Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is scandalized, and I burn not? (2 Cor. 11:29). Especially since there are many here who, by detracting from us, try to perturb against us the minds of others, by whom we seem to be loved, that they may make a place in them for the devil. But when they are angry with us, for whose salvation we are busy,

their great plan of revenge is the lust of dying, not in the body, but in the heart, where the funeral is secretly felt by its own stench before it is foreseen by our thought. Without doubt you will willingly forgive this my solicitude; especially since if you were to be angry and wished to be revenged, you would perhaps find nothing more grave than that which I suffer when I do not see you in Thagaste. But I hope, aided by your prayers, that it will be granted to me to come to you as soon as possible wherever you may be in Africa, when this by which I am now detained shall have passed; if this city in which we labor is not unworthy, for neither do I dare to think it worthy, to rejoice together with us in your presence.

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

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

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

2. Accordingly, I am not angry with the holy Albina, nor do I judge that she should be rebuked, but healed from such a suspicion. She, because she did not direct those same words toward my person, but complained as if of the people of Hippo, that they had opened their greed, wishing to keep with them for the sake not of the clerical office, but of money, a rich man, and a despiser

and giver of such money; yet she almost cried out what she felt about us: nor she alone, but even her holy children, who said this also on that very day in the apse. These, therefore, as I said, I think are more to be healed from suspicions of this kind, than to be rebuked on account of them. For where can security and rest from such thorns be prepared or offered for us, if they could sprout against us in hearts so holy and most dear to us? Certainly the unskilled common people felt this of you; of us, the lights of the Church: wherefore you see what is more to be grieved for. But I think that neither ought to be accused, but healed: for they are men, and they suspect of men such things as, although false, are yet not incredible. For certainly such men do not dote to such an extent as to believe that the people desire their money; especially having already experienced that the people of Thagaste received nothing from it: thus also therefore the people of Hippo. But all this envy seethes only against the clerics, and especially against the bishops, whose dominion seems to be prominent, and who are thought to use and enjoy the things of the Church as possessors and lords. In regard to that greed so noxious and deadly, if it is possible, my Alypius, let not the weak be built up through us. Remember what we spoke, before this temptation, which more compels to this, happened. By conferring on this rather, with the Lord helping, let us try to provide; nor let our conscience suffice for us, because it is not such a cause where it alone ought to suffice. For if we are not reprobate servants of

God, if anything of that little flame flourishes in us by which charity seeks not its own; we ought certainly to provide good things, not only before God, but also before men, lest drinking tranquil water in our conscience, we be convicted of acting with incautious feet, so that the sheep of the Lord drink troubled water.

3. For as to what you wrote, concerning the kind of oath violently extorted, that we should inquire among ourselves, I beseech you let not our disputation make very clear things obscure. For if certain death were threatened, so that a servant of God should swear that he would do something illicit and nefarious, he ought to have preferred to die rather than to swear, lest he should fulfill the oath by a crime. But now when only the most persistent clamor of the people compelled the man to no wickedness, but to that which if it were done, would be done licitly; and when it was feared indeed lest some lost ones, who are often mixed with the multitude even of the good, having found an occasion of sedition and as it were of just indignation, should break out into some criminal violence from greed for plunder, but yet that which was feared was uncertain; who would judge that on account of uncertainties, I say not damages and any bodily injuries, but for the sake of avoiding death itself, a certain perjury ought to be committed? I know not who that Regulus was; he had heard nothing in the holy Scriptures concerning the impiety of false swearing, had learned nothing of the sickle of Zechariah, and undoubtedly had sworn to the Carthaginians not

by the sacraments of Christ, but by the pollutions of demons; and yet he did not fear most certain tortures and a death of horrendous example through necessity so as not to swear, but by free will because he had sworn, he accepted it lest he should commit perjury. And that Roman censorship then refused to have, not in the number of the saints, but in the number of the senators, nor in celestial glory, but in the terrestrial court, not only those who from fear of death and of cruel punishments had preferred most openly to commit perjury rather than return to fierce enemies; but even him who had thought himself absolved from the guilt of perjury because after the oath he had returned under a feigned necessity of some sort. Thus they who expelled him from the senate did not attend to what he himself had thought in swearing, but to what those to whom he had sworn expected of him. Nor had they read what we sing everywhere: Who swears to his neighbor, and does not deceive (Psal. 14:4). We are wont to praise these things, although in men alien to the grace and name of Christ, with huge admiration; and still we think it must be inquired in the divine Books, whether we may sometimes licitly commit perjury, where it is even commanded to us not to swear, lest by the facility of swearing we should slip into perjury!

4. I do not doubt that it is most rightly said that the faith of an oath is fulfilled, not according to the words of the one swearing, but according to the expectation of the one to whom it is sworn, which the one who swears knows.

For words with great difficulty comprehend, especially briefly, the sentiment of whose faith the oath is required from the swearer. Wherefore they are perjurers who, having kept the words, deceived the expectation of those to whom the oath was made; and they are not perjurers who, even with the words not kept, fulfilled that which was expected of them when they swore. Accordingly, since the people of Hippo wished to have the holy Pinianus not as one condemned, but as a most dear inhabitant of their city, even if it could not be sufficiently comprehended in his words, yet it is so manifest what they expected of him, that it moves no one of those who were able to hear, that he is now absent after the oath, knowing that he is to set out for a certain cause, with the will of returning. And by this he will neither be a perjurer, nor will he be thought so by them, unless he deceives their expectation: but he will not deceive it, unless he either changes his will of dwelling among them, or departs at some time without the disposition of returning; which may it be far from his character and faith, which he keeps as due to Christ and the Church. For, to omit what you know with me, how tremendous is the divine judgment concerning perjury; this certainly I know, that we ought henceforth to be angry with no one who does not believe us when we swear, if we think the perjury of such a man is not only to be borne with equanimity, but even to be defended. May the mercy of Him who delivers from temptation those who hope in Him, avert this both from us and from him. Therefore, as you

wrote back in the commonitory, let him fulfill the promise by which he thus promised not to depart from Hippo, just as I or the people of Hippo themselves do not depart, to whom yet the faculty of going and returning is free: except that for those who are not detained by an oath, there is even the power of migrating altogether and not returning without the guilt of perjury.

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

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

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

1. The grief of your mind, which you write you are unable to explain, it is right to console, not to increase; so that if it can be done, we may heal your suspicions, not so that by being angry with them for our own sake, we should further disturb your venerable heart dedicated to God. No fear of

death was cast upon our holy brother, your son Pinianus, by the people of Hippo, even if perhaps he himself feared something of the sort. For we also feared lest by some lost ones, who are often mixed with the multitude by secret conspiracy, they should break out into violent audacity, an occasion of sedition having been found which they might excite as if by just indignation. But, as we were able to hear afterward, nothing of the sort was said or attempted by anyone: but truly they cried out many contumelious and unworthy things against my brother Alypius, from whose so huge guilt would that they might deserve to be absolved through his prayers. But I, after their first clamors, when I had said to them by what promise I was detained from ordaining him against his will, and had added that if, my faith having been violated, they should have him as a priest, they should not have me as a bishop, had returned to our seats, the crowd having been left behind. Then they, having hesitated a little and been disturbed by my unexpected response, like a flame a little pressed down by the wind, then began to be much more ardently excited, thinking that it could happen that either the not keeping of that promise should be extorted from me, or that, while I kept the faith of the promise, he should be ordained by another bishop. I was saying to those I could, the more honorable and grave who had ascended to us in the apse, that neither could I be moved from the faith of the promise, nor could he be ordained by another bishop in the church committed to me, unless I

were questioned and permitted it; and if I should permit it, I would nonetheless deviate from the faith. I was adding also, that they wished for nothing if he were ordained against his will, except that once ordained he should depart. They did not believe that this could happen. But the multitude established before the steps, persisting in the same will with a horrendous and most persistent roar of clamors, made us uncertain of mind and of counsel. Then those unworthy things were cried out against my brother, then more grave things were feared by us.

3. In the midst of these my agitations and heavy sorrow, and without the respiration of any counsel, behold suddenly and unexpectedly our holy son Pinianus sends to me a servant of God, who should say to me that he wished to swear to the people, that if he were ordained against his will, he would depart altogether from Africa; believing, I suppose, that since he could not commit perjury, they would no longer cry out with fruitless perseverance, toward expelling from here a man whom at least we ought to have as a neighbor. But as for me, because it seemed to me that a more vehement grief from them after this oath was to be feared, I kept it silently within me; and since at the same time he had asked that I should come to him, I did not delay. When he had said this very thing to me, he continuously added to the same oath that which he had commanded to me by another servant of God while I was going to him, namely, concerning his presence, if no one imposed the burden of the clerical office on

him against his will. Here I, recreated in such great straits as if by a blowing breeze, answered him nothing; but I proceeded with a more hurried step to brother Alypius, and told him what he had said. But he, as I think, avoiding lest anything should be done by his authority by which he thought you would be offended, said: 'On this, let no one consult me.' Which having been heard, I proceeded to the tumultuous people, and having made silence, I opened what had been promised along with the promise of the oath. But they, who were only thinking of and desiring his priesthood, did not receive what had been offered as I thought; but muttering a little among themselves, they asked that it be added to the same promise and oath, that if ever it should please him to consent to undertaking the clerical office, he would consent only in the church of Hippo itself. I reported it to him; he assented without hesitation. I announced it to them, they rejoiced; and soon they demanded the promised oath.

4. I returned to our son, and found him fluctuating in what words that promise with the oath could be comprehended, on account of irrupting necessities which might compel him to depart. At the same time also he showed what he feared, lest any hostile incursion should have broken in, which ought to be avoided by departure. The holy Melania wished the excuse of unwholesome air to be added; but she was rebuked by his response. But I said that a grave and not to be despised cause of necessity had been introduced by him, which would compel even citizens to emigrate:

but if these things were said to the people, it was to be feared lest we should seem to presage evil; but if the excuse were made under the general name of necessity, it would be thought to be nothing but a fraudulent necessity. It pleased us yet to try the mind of the people about this matter; and we found nothing other than that which we had thought. For when his words spoken by the deacon were recited, and all things had pleased; when the name of interposed necessity sounded, continuously there was a protest, and the promise displeased, the tumult recrudescing, and the people thinking that it was being dealt with by nothing other than fraud. Which when our holy son had seen, he commanded the name of necessity to be taken away from there, and the people returned again to joy.

5. And when I excused my fatigue, he refused to approach the plebs without me; we approached together. He said to it that he had commanded what had been heard from the deacon, that he had sworn, and that he would do those things, and continuously he prosecuted all things in that tenor in which he had dictated them. The response was: 'Thanks be to God,' and it was asked that the whole writing be signed. We dismissed the catechumens, and continuously he signed the writing. Then we bishops began to be asked, not with voices of the people, but yet by the people through honest faithful ones, that we also should sign. But when I began to sign, the holy Melania spoke against it. I wondered why so late, as if by not signing we could make that

promise and oath undone: but yet I obeyed; and thus my subscription remained not full, nor did anyone further think that it must be urged on us to sign.

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

undertaking the clerical office, he would consent only in the church of Hippo, it is manifest enough that they hoped also regarding his very dwelling among them, and therefore they did not depart from that desire for the work of God.

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

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

8. It remains, therefore, that this most base appetite for money be directed indirectly against the clerics, and especially against the bishop. For we are thought to lord it over the affairs of the Church, and to enjoy its riches. Finally, whatever we have received from these things, we either still possess or have distributed as it seemed best; we have bestowed nothing therefrom upon the people situated outside the clerical state or outside the monastery, except to a very few who were in need. I do not say, therefore, that these things ought to have been said by you especially

against us, yet they could credibly be said against us alone. What then shall we do? By what reason shall we purge ourselves, if we cannot before our enemies, at least before you? This matter is of the soul, it is within, far from the eyes of mortals, secret and known only to God. What then remains, except to call God to witness, to whom it is known? When, therefore, you feel these things about us, you do not command (which is much better, and which you thought should be objected to me in your letter as something blameworthy), but you altogether compel us to swear; not by threatening the fear of the death of our flesh, which the people of Hippo were thought to have done, but by threatening the fear of the death of our reputation, which, on account of the weak to whom we endeavor to present ourselves as an example of good works by whatever conduct we can, must certainly be preferred even to the life of this flesh.

9. Nevertheless, though you thus compel us to swear, we are not angry with you, as you are angry with the people of Hippo. For as human beings you believe about human beings, if not those things which are in us, at least those things which can be in us. These things are to be healed in you, not accused; and our reputation must be purged before you, if our conscience is purged before the Lord. Who perhaps will grant that, just as my brother Alypius and I spoke together before this temptation had occurred, it may become very well known not only to you, our most dear fellow-members, but even to those

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

10. Nor let it be troublesome to you, that you should think yourselves as if burdened, because I thought an oath should be taken. For neither did the Apostle burden, or love them too little to whom he said: "We were not with you in

the speech of flattery, as you know; nor in an occasion of greed, God is witness" (I Thess. II, 5). Indeed, he called themselves as witnesses for an open matter; but for a hidden matter whom, except God? If therefore he rightly feared lest human ignorance should think something of the kind about him, whose labor was manifest to all, because except for the greatest necessity he did not take anything for his own uses from the peoples to whom he dispensed the grace of Christ, but rather managed other things necessary for his livelihood with his own hands: how much more must we labor that we may be believed, who are far unequal both in the merit of sanctity and in the virtue of mind, nor can we work anything with our own hands for the supports of this life; and if we could, we would by no means be permitted by such great occupations, which I do not believe those men suffered at that time? Therefore, let not a most base appetite for money be further objected in this cause to the Christian people, which is the Church of God. For it is more tolerable that it be objected to us, upon whom a suspicion of this evil, although false, yet plausible, could fall, than to those whom it is certain are far from this appetite and suspicion.

11. But to deny an oath to minds endowed with any faith, how much more to the Christian faith, I do not say to confirm something contrary, but even to doubt at all is not lawful. Concerning which matter, I have, as I judge, most fully opened what I feel in the letter which I wrote to my brother. Your Holiness wrote to me: "If

either I or the people of Hippo think this, that satisfaction should be made for an oath violently extorted." For what do you yourself think? Does it please you that, even with certain death threatening, which was then feared in vain, a Christian should assume the name of the Lord his God for a fallacy, and a Christian should adduce his God as a witness to a falsehood? Who certainly, if besides an oath he were compelled to a false testimony with death threatening, ought rather to have feared to defile his life than to end it. Hostile and armed lines of battle certainly conflict with a most open threat of death; and yet when they swear to one another, we praise those who keep faith, but we rightly detest those who deceive. But that they should swear, what did both sides fear from one another, except to be killed or captured? And through this, unless a person obeys an oath extorted by fear either of death or of captivity, unless the faith which was given there be kept, they are held by the crime of sacrilege and of perjury, even such men who fear more to forswear themselves than to kill a man: and do we, as if about to discuss it, pose the question whether an extorted oath of the servants of God should be fulfilled, who are pre-eminent by the gift of sanctity, monks running to the perfection of the commands of Christ even by the distribution of their own things!

12. For what is that promised presence burdened by the name of exile, or of deportation, or of relegation, I beseech you? I think that the priesthood is not exile. Would our friend, there-

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

13. Thanks be to God, because the people of Hippo do not feel that the promise concerning them is fulfilled otherwise than that he should be present with the will of dwelling there, and should go where it is necessary with the intention of returning. For if they were to attend to and exact the words of the oath, the servant of God should no more have departed in any way than he should have forsworn himself in any way. But because it would be their crime to hold not only such a man, but any man at all, in such a way; nei-

ther did they prove that they themselves had any other expectation, for when they heard that he had departed about to return, they congratulated him, nor does a true oath owe them anything else than that which they expected from it. What is it, then, that is said, that he, with the oath expressed by his own mouth, made an exception for necessity? As if he did not again command that this should be taken away by his own mouth. Certainly when he himself spoke to the people, he would then also have interposed it: and if he had done so, it would certainly not have been answered, "Thanks be to God"; but they would have returned to that outcry which had been made when it was thus read by the deacon. And does it at all pertain to the matter whether an excuse of necessity for departing was interposed or was not? Nothing else was expected from him than that which we said above. But whoever deceives the expectation of those to whom he swears, cannot but be perjured.

14. Let that, therefore, which was promised be done, and let the hearts of the weak be healed, lest by such an example those to whom this is pleasing be built up to the imitation of perjury; while to those to whom it is displeasing, they most justly say that none of us should be believed, not only when promising something, but even when swearing. For from this rather the tongues of enemies are to be guarded against, from which as if from javelins for the killing of the weak that great enemy makes use. But be it far from us that we should hope anything else from

such a soul than what the fear of God inspires, and such great excellence of sanctity as is in it exhorts. I, however, whom you say ought also to have prohibited it, confess I could not so judge that I would rather wish the church to which I serve to be overturned by such great tumult or offense, than to accept what was offered to us by such a man.

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

1. That eminent man, my son Ruferius, your kinsman, related to me what you have vowed to the Lord: at whose narration I was gladdened, and at the same time fearing lest that tempter who of old envies such good things should persuade you otherwise, I believed that your Charity should be exhorted in a few words, my excellent and worthily honorable and desirable son, that you should think of what is read in the divine elocutions: "Delay not to be converted to the Lord, and defer it not from day to day" (Eccli. V, 8); and that you should seize and take care to return what you know you have vowed to Him, who both exacts debts and pays promises. For this also is written: "Vow, and pay to the Lord your God" (Psal. LXXV, 12): although even if you had not vowed, what else was to be persuaded to you, or what better can be done by a man,

than that he should restore himself to Him by whom he was instituted; especially since such great evidence and light of God's charity toward us has appeared, that He should send His only-begotten Son to die for us? It remains, therefore, that what the Apostle says should be done, that Christ died for this reason, "that those who live should no longer live for themselves, but for Him who died for them and rose again" (II Cor. V, 15). Unless perhaps the world is still to be loved, crushed by so great a collapse of things that it has even lost the appearance of seduction. For as much as those are to be praised and proclaimed who did not deign to flourish even with a flourishing world; so much are those to be rebuked and accused whom it delights to perish with a perishing world.

2. The labors and dangers and destructions of this transitory life, if they are undergone for the sake of the same life which is some time to be ended, so that its death may not be altogether taken away, but deferred for a little while; how much more are they to be undergone for the sake of the eternal life, where nature does not anxiously avoid death, nor cowardice basely fear it, nor wisdom bravely sustain it! for there will be none for any one, which will not be. Let eternal life, therefore, have you among its lovers. Do you not perceive how vehement lovers this miserable and needy life has, and how much it binds its lovers to itself? who yet, often disturbed by its danger, end it more quickly by that very thing by which they dread to end it, and while they avoid

death, they accelerate it, as if anyone about to be carried away by a river should rush into it while fleeing a robber or a beast. They sometimes even cast provisions into the sea when a tempest is raging; and that they may live, they throw away that from which they live, lest that which is lived even in labor should quickly be ended. With what great labors is it acted, that it may be labored for a longer time! and when death has begun to impend, it is avoided for this reason, that it may be feared for a longer time. For among so many cases of human fragility, how many deaths are feared, of which certainly when one has come, it remains that the others are not feared! and yet one is fled that all may be feared. By what great pains are they tortured who are cured by physicians and are cut! is it so that they may not die? But that they may die somewhat later. Many certain tortures are undertaken that a few uncertain days may be added: and sometimes, overcome by the pains themselves, they die immediately, which they undertake from fear of death; and since they by no means choose to end life lest they should suffer pain, but to suffer pain lest they should end it, it happens to them that they both suffer pain and end it: not only because even when healed they certainly end life after pains, which, compared to such great punishments, can neither be everlasting, because it is mortal, nor long-lasting, because it is all brief, nor secure from that same brief space of its own, because it is always uncertain; but also because sometimes

they ended it by pain, which, lest they should end it, they wished to suffer pain.

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

4. These things being considered, what great thing does eternal life command its lovers, when it commands itself to be loved in the same way as this life is loved by its own? Or indeed is it worthy or to be borne, when all things which are loved in the world are despised, so that life which is to be ended after a little while may at least be held for that little while in the world; and the world is not despised, so that life which is without end may be obtained with Him through whom the world was made? Just now when Rome

itself, the domicile of a most famous empire, was being devastated by a barbarian incursion, how many lovers of this temporal life, that they might redeem it to be prolonged even unhappily and naked, gave all things which they were keeping not only for delighting and adorning, but even for sustaining and protecting it! Certainly lovers are accustomed to confer many things upon those whom they love, so that they may have them: these would not have had their beloved, unless by loving they had rendered her needy; nor would they confer many things upon her, but rather would take away all things, lest an enemy should take her away from them. Nor do I rebuke their counsel: for who does not know that she would have perished, if those things had not perished which had been stored up on account of her? although some also lost those things first, and soon her; but some, although prepared to lose all things on account of her, lost her first. But from this we must be admonished what kind of lovers of eternal life we ought to be, so that on account of it we may despise all superfluous things, when for this transitory life things have been despised which were necessary for it.

5. For neither do we, that we may hold our beloved, despoil her as they did theirs; but to obtain that eternal life we make this temporal one, like a handmaid, serve more readily, if we neither bind her with the bonds of vain ornaments, nor load her with the burdens of noxious cares, and if we hear the Lord, who most faithfully promises to us that life which is to be desired with the

greatest ardor, as if crying out in the assembly of the whole world: "Come to me, all you who labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you. Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me that I am meek and humble of heart; and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light" (Matth. XI, 28-30). This discipline of pious humility drives out from the soul and, in a way, exhales windy and turbulent greed, avid for things placed outside our power. For there is labor where many things are sought and loved, for the obtaining and retaining of which the will is not sufficient, because it does not have a consequent faculty. But a just life is present when we wish it, because to wish for it fully is itself justice; nor does justice to be perfected require anything more than a perfect will. See if there is labor where to wish is sufficient. Whence it was divinely said: "Peace on earth to men of good will" (Luke II, 14). Where there is peace, there is rest; where there is rest, there is an end of desiring, and no cause for laboring. But that this will may be full, it must be sound: and it will be sound if it does not flee from the physician, by whose grace alone it can be healed from the disease of noxious desires. He is therefore the physician who cries out, "Come to me all you who labor," calling his yoke easy and his burden light; because with charity diffused in our hearts through the Holy Spirit, that which is commanded will certainly be loved, and it will not be harsh nor burdensome, if under this one yoke it is served with a neck so much the more free as it is less swollen. And

this is a single burden, by which its bearer is not pressed down, but lifted up. If riches are loved, let them be kept there where they cannot perish. If honor is loved, let them be held there where no unworthy person is honored. If health is loved, let it be desired to be obtained there where, once obtained, nothing is feared. If life is loved, let it be acquired there where it is ended by no death.

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

just as Caesar exacted his own in the coin. How much more, therefore, is it to be returned when it is promised, to whom it is owed even when not promised!

7. Wherefore, most dear one, I could indeed, according to my little faculty, more abundantly praise the fruit of the holy purpose which I found you had vowed to God, and demonstrate what is the difference between the Christian lovers of this world and the despisers, although both are called faithful. Both have been washed in the same bath of the sacred fountain, imbued and consecrated by the same mysteries, both are not only hearers of the same Gospel, but even preachers; yet both are not partakers of the kingdom of God and of light, and co-heirs of eternal life, which alone is blessed. For the Lord Jesus distinguished them, not from those who do not hear, but those same hearers of His words among themselves, by a very wide limit, not a slight distinction: "Whoever hears," He said, "these words of mine, and does them, I will liken him to a wise man who built his house upon a rock: the rain descended, the floods came, the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it did not fall; for it was founded upon a rock. But whoever hears these words of mine, and does them not, I will liken him to a foolish man who built his house upon the sand: the rain descended, the floods came, the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the ruin thereof" (Id. VII, 24-27, and Luke VI, 47-49). To hear those words, therefore, is to build; in this both are

equal: but in doing and not doing what they hear, they are as unequal as a building founded on the solidity of a rock is unequal to that which is overturned without any foundation by the easy mobility of sand. Nor does whoever does not hear at all therefore acquire anything more secure for himself: for building nothing, he is given over to be much more easily overwhelmed, carried away, and dispersed without any roof by rains, floods, and winds.

8. I could also, according to my measure, distinguish those same persons pertaining to the right hand and the kingdom of heaven in their grades and merits, and show how the conjugal life of fathers and mothers of families procreating children, yet religious and pious ones, differs from that life which you have vowed to God, if you were now to be exhorted to vow it; but because you have already vowed, you have already bound yourself, it is not lawful for you to do otherwise. Before you were guilty of a vow, it was free for you to be in a lower state; although that liberty is not to be congratulated by which it happens that what is returned with reward is not owed. But now because your promise is held with God, I do not invite you to a great justice, but I deter you from a great iniquity. For you will not be such, if you do not do what you have vowed, as you would have remained if you had vowed no such thing. For you would then have been lesser, not worse: but now you would be so much the more miserable, which be far from you, if you break faith with God, as you would be

more blessed if you fulfill it. Nor therefore let it repent you to have vowed, rather rejoice that it is no longer lawful for you what would have been lawful to your detriment. Attack therefore intrepidly, and fulfill words with deeds; He Himself will help, who seeks your vows. Happy is the necessity which compels to better things.

9. There could be only one cause by which we would not only not exhort you to fulfill what you have vowed, but even prohibit you, if perhaps your wife should refuse to undertake this with you through infirmity of mind or flesh. For such things are not to be vowed by married persons except by common consent and will: and if it should have been done too hastily, the temerity is rather to be corrected than the promise fulfilled. For neither does God exact if anyone has vowed anything from what belongs to another, but rather forbids to usurp what belongs to another. For a divine sentence has been uttered concerning this matter through the Apostle: "The wife has not power of her own body, but the husband; likewise also the husband has not power of his own body, but the wife" (I Cor. VII, 4): he called the sex by the name of body. But since I hear that she is so prepared to dedicate continence to God, that she is hindered by this alone, if she is compelled to return the debt to you by conjugal right; do you both return to God what you both have vowed, so that what you do not exact from one another may be paid to Him. If continence is a virtue, as it is, why should the weaker sex be more prompt to it, when virtue seems rather

to be named from "vir" (man), as the similarity of the word resounds? Do not therefore, O man, abhor the virtue which the woman is prepared to undertake. Let your consensus be an oblation to the supernal altar of the Creator, and concupiscence being conquered, let the bond of charity be as much stronger as it is holier. Let us rejoice concerning you in the abundant grace of Christ, excellent and worthily honorable and desirable sons.

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

1. By the edict of your Spectability, by which provision has been made for the preservation of tranquility and quiet of our conference, and for the manifestation and fortification of the truth, we intimate through these letters that we consent in all things, as you have deigned to admonish; that is, concerning the place and time of the conference itself, and concerning the number of those whom it will behoove to be present. We also consent that those to whom we delegate the office of conferring should subscribe to their

prosecutions: and in that writing by which we impose this task upon them, and promise that we will hold as ratified what they shall have done, you may not only have the subscriptions of all of us made, but also you yourself may see them when they are being made; about also to admonish, the Lord helping, the Christian people, that for the sake of quiet and tranquility they should altogether abstain their assembly from the place of the conference, and should not hasten to hear those things which are being done while they are being done, but should wait that they may know them when written down, as you have promised to all that you would bring them forth.

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

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

3. Indeed, each one of us, having a partner of honor joined to himself, will be able to sit more eminently by turns, just as a colleague sits near a pilgrim bishop. When this is granted on both sides with alternate basilicas, each is anticipated by the other with mutual honor; because

where the command of charity shall have dilated hearts, the possession of peace does not become narrow, so that one of them being deceased, thereafter single individuals may succeed single individuals in the pristine manner: nor will anything new be done; for from the beginning of the separation itself, in those who, the error of the nefarious division being condemned, have tasted the sweetness of unity even late, Catholic love has guarded this. Or if perhaps the Christian peoples are delighted by single bishops, and cannot tolerate the consortium of two by the unusual appearance of things, let us both withdraw from the midst, and the Churches in each case having the cause of schism condemned, being established in peaceful unity, by those who shall be found single in single Churches, unity having been made throughout the necessary places, let single bishops be constituted. For why should we doubt to offer the sacrifice of this humility to our Redeemer? Or did He descend from heaven into human members, that we might be His members; and do we fear to descend from our chairs, lest His very members be torn by a cruel division? For ourselves, nothing is more sufficient than that we are Christian faithful and obedient: let us therefore always be this. But we are ordained as bishops on account of Christian peoples: what therefore profits Christian peoples for Christian peace, let us do this concerning our episcopate. If we are useful servants, why do we envy the Lord's eternal gains for the sake of our temporal heights? The episcopal dignity will be more fruit-

ful to us if, being laid down, it shall have collected the flock of Christ more than, being retained, it shall have dispersed it. For with what face shall we hope for the honor promised by Christ in the future age, if our honor hinders Christian unity in this age?

4. We have taken care to write these things to your Excellence for this reason, that through you they may become known to all. We ask that in the help of the Lord our God, by whose admonition we promise these things, and by whose help we trust we can fulfill them, even before the conference, if it can be done, pious charity may either heal or tame the hearts of men, whether weak or hard; and so with peaceful minds let us not resist the most manifest truth, and either let our discussion be preceded by concord, or followed by it. For nor ought we to despair, if they recall that the peaceful are blessed, since they shall be called the children of God (Matth. V, 9), that they should much more worthily and easily wish that the part of Donatus be reconciled to the whole Christian world, than that the whole Christian world be rebaptized by the part of Donatus: especially since coming from the sacrilegious and condemned schism of Maximianus, whom they also took care to correct by pursuing them even by the commands of earthly powers, they sought them with such great love that they neither dared to rescind the baptism given by them, and they received some of them condemned without any diminution of their honor, while others they judged to have been unpolluted in the society

of that division. We do not envy their concord among themselves; but it certainly behooves them to perceive with what piety and such great zeal the Catholic root seeks the branch broken from itself, if that branch itself likewise labored to collect a small fragment cut from itself. (And by another hand): We wish you, son, to be well in the Lord. I, Aurelius, bishop of the Catholic Church of Carthage, have subscribed to this letter. (Likewise by another hand): I, Silvanus, the old man of the Church of Summa, have subscribed.

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

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

thought should not tempt them, and that that suspicion should rather deceive us! and therefore if they wish all to be present, so that when it shall have seemed good to them, we also being assembled there, let us go forth together from there concordant and quieted, and the schismatical division being corrected, bound by the brotherly bond of the unity of Christ, with all good men wondering and rejoicing, but the devil alone and those like him grieving, let us proceed together into the Church for the giving of thanks and rendering praises to God with most ardent and most lucid charity.

2. For what great thing is it, if a peaceful eye should attend, and Christian thought should not desert to consider and see, remote from human criminations whether true or false, that the Church is to be sought in those Letters where Christ its Redeemer became known? For just as we do not hear against Christ those who say that His body was stolen from the sepulcher by the disciples; so we ought not to hear against His Church those who say that it is not except in the Africans alone and in the very few associates of the Africans. For the Apostle says that true Christians are members of Christ (Ephes. IV, 25); as therefore we do not believe that the flesh of Christ, being dead, perished from the sepulcher by anyone's theft, so we ought not to believe that His living members have perished from the world by anyone's sin. It is not therefore difficult, since Christ is the head and the Church the body, to see both commended together in the Gospel, both

the head against the calumnies of the Jews, and the body against the criminations of the heretics. For that which is read, "It behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead on the third day," is against those who say that He was taken away dead from the sepulcher; but that which follows, "and that penance and remission of sins should be preached in His name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem" (Luke XXIV, 46, 47), is against those who say that the Church is not in the world: so that in one brief chapter and a few words, both the enemy of the head and the enemy of the body may be repelled, and, if he shall have faithfully attended, may be corrected.

3. For we grieve that our brothers hold these enmities so much the more, as it is more certain that they hold the same Scriptures with us, in which these most open testimonies are contained. Indeed, the Jews who deny that Christ rose again, at least do not receive the Gospel: but these our brothers are bound by the authority of both Testaments; and yet they wish to criminate us concerning the Gospel delivered, and they do not wish to believe it when recited. But now perhaps having undertaken the care of this conference they have more diligently searched the sacred Scriptures; and because they have found in them innumerable testimonies by which the future Church in all nations and in the whole world was promised, just as we see it beginning to be rendered and presented in the Gospel and the apostolic Epistles, and in the Acts of the Apostles, where both the places themselves, and cities,

and provinces are read through which it grew, beginning from Jerusalem, so that from there it might diffuse itself even into Africa, not by migrating but by growing; but they have not found any testimony of the divine elocutions where it was said that it was to perish from the other parts of the world, and to remain in Africa alone in the part of Donatus; and they saw how absurd it is that so many divine testimonies should be recited for that which was to perish; but for that which, as they think, was to be pleasing to the Lord, no testimony of Him is found: thinking these things perhaps, for the ending of vain and pernicious enmities contrary to eternal salvation, they wished to assemble all at the place of our conference, not so that a new tumult might arise, but that the ancient discord might be ended.

4. For also that by which they are accustomed to be gravely irritated against us, because the kings of the earth, whom it was predicted so long before would serve Christ the Lord, establish laws against heretics and schismatics for the sake of Catholic peace, we believe that they have sometimes considered that it is not to be blamed: because even the ancient kings, not only of the Hebrew nation, but also of foreign ones, lest anyone should do or even say anything against the God of Israel, that is, the true God, terrified all the peoples of their kingdom with most threatening precepts; and the ancestors of these men sent the cause of Caecilian itself, from which that dissension arose, to the emperor Constantine to be accused through the proconsul Anulinus;

which they certainly seem to have done for no other reason than that the emperor Constantine should decree something by royal authority against those who had been overcome, in favor of those who had overcome; and they were able to find that the whole cause itself was finished long ago (and perhaps they did so by the necessity of the conference itself), having searched the public archives, after the ecclesiastical judgments by which Caecilian was acquitted, with that emperor also judging, to whose examination they first sent and later brought the whole matter. There they were also able to find that the cause of Felix of Aptunga, the ordainer of Caecilian, whom they had called the fountain of all evils in their council, was cleared, with the proconsul Aelianus taking cognizance by the precept of the same emperor.

5. Although if they also attended to this, and, as was easy, noticed, that in the holy Scriptures the Church of Christ was promised to be with tares, and chaff, and bad fish mixed in, until the time of the harvest (Matt. XIII, 24-30), of the winnowing (Id. III, 12), and of the shore (Id. XIII, 47, 48), they certainly were able to think that even if Caecilian and his fellow bishops had had a bad cause, they could not have prejudiced the Christian world, which God promised so long before to a few believers, and now has rendered to many who see it. Unless perhaps a sinning man prevailed more against the Church than God swearing for the Church, and the iniquity that it lost more than the truth that He promised.

How foolish and impious it is to feel these things they have perhaps already seen: they also considered that the Maximianists, the condemners of Primian, having been condemned by them, were taken care of to be driven even from the basilicas through the earthly powers, and there they learned more certainly by their own more recent example that it is not a sin if the Church asks for something of the kind against her rebels from powers of this sort: and because they afterwards received some of the condemned, to whom when they condemned them, they gave a delay to very many others also constituted in the same society of the schism, whom they said had remained unpolluted in the communion of the sacrilegious shoot of Maximian, and they did not dare to rescind and iterate the Baptism given either by the condemned or by their associates, although given outside in the schism; they certainly judged sufficiently that those things which they were saying against us were condemned by their own example: and it is to be believed that they already understand how unworthy, how intolerable it is, that while they sit in the episcopal chairs with these men, and both the condemners of Primian and the condemned in his cause sit together with Primian himself, so that there may be peace in the part of Donatus, the Christian world should be defamed concerning Caecilian, lest the unity of Christ live in peace.

6. Perhaps thinking all these things, and moved by the fear of God, they all wished to be present at the place of conference, not by a

disposition of tumult, but of peace. For as to their having said that they were all present for this reason, that their number might appear, since their adversaries have often lied that they were few; if this was ever said by our side, it could most truly be said of those places where the number of our fellow bishops and clerics and laity is far greater, and especially in the proconsular province: although, except for consular Numidia, even in the other African provinces they are very easily surpassed by the number of our people; or certainly, in comparison with all the nations through which the Catholic communion is dilated, we most rightly say that they are very few. But now if they wished their number to become known, would it not become known more orderly and tranquilly through their subscriptions, which you have admonished them in the edict to subjoin to their mandate in your sight? What therefore does it mean that they desire all to be present at the place of conference? For if they do not think of peace, what will they not perturb when about to speak, or what will they do there when about to keep silence? For even if there should be no clamor, the very whisper alone of many will make a sufficiently great noise by which that conference may be impeded.

7. But what is it that they thought fit to be put in their Petition (Notoria), that they had justly demanded that all should be present because all were summoned to come? as if a few could be chosen who ought to be present, except by all who had come, so that they might subscribe

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

subscribed. (Likewise): Silvanus, of the first see of the province of Numidia, I have subscribed.

EPISTLE CXXX.

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

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

CHAPTER I.

1. Recollecting that you both asked and I promised that I should write something to you about praying to God, when by the grant of Him whom we pray to, time and opportunity have been conceded, it was fitting that I should now at last pay my debt, and serve your pious study in the charity of Christ. How much however your very petition has gladdened me, in which I have known how great a care you have for so great a matter, I cannot explain in words. For what greater business ought there to have been for your widowhood than to persist in prayer night and day, according to the Apostle's admonition? for he says: "But she who is truly a widow and desolate has hoped in the Lord, and persists in prayer night and day" (1 Tim. V, 5). Whence it can seem a wonder, since according to this world you are noble, wealthy, and the mother of so great a family, and in that although a widow, yet not desolate, how the care of praying has occupied

your heart and especially claimed it for itself; unless because you prudently understand that in this world and in this life no soul can be secure.

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

treasure up for themselves a good foundation for the future, that they may apprehend true life" (1 Tim. VI, 17-19)?

CHAPTER II.

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

4. But good men seem even in this life to provide no small solaces. For if poverty pinches,

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

and illuminates the hidden things of darkness, and manifests the thoughts of the heart, and then praise will be to each one from God (1 Cor. IV, 5).

5. In these darknesses therefore of this life, in which we sojourn from the Lord, as long as we walk by faith, not by sight (2 Cor. V, 6, 7), the Christian soul ought to repute itself desolate, lest it should cease to pray: and let it learn to intend the eye of faith to the word of the divine and holy Scriptures as to a lamp placed in a dark place, until the day dawns, and the day-star arises in our hearts (2 Peter I, 19). For a certain ineffable fountain of this lamp is that light which so shines in the darkness that it is not comprehended by the darkness, for the seeing of which, hearts are to be cleansed by faith: "Blessed are the clean of heart; for they shall see God" (Matt. V, 8); and, "We know that when He shall have appeared, we shall be like Him, because we shall see Him as He is" (1 John III, 2). Then there will be true life after death, and true solace after desolation: that life will deliver our soul from death, and that solace our eyes from tears; and since there will no longer be any temptation there, therefore it follows in the same psalm, "My feet from falling." Furthermore if no temptation, now no prayer: for there will not yet be there the expectation of the promised good, but the contemplation of it rendered; whence, "I will please," he says, "the Lord in the region of the living" (Psalm CXIV, 8, 9), where we shall then be, not in the desert of the dead, where we now are. "For you are dead," says the Apostle, "and your life is hidden with Christ

in God: but when Christ shall have appeared, your life, then you also shall appear with Him in glory" (Coloss. III, 3, 4). For this is the true life, which the rich are commanded to apprehend by good works: and there is true solace; with which solace now the desolate widow, even she who has children and grandchildren, and treats her house piously, acting with all her own that they may place their hope in God, says however in prayer, "My soul has thirsted for you: how manifoldly for you also my flesh, in a desert land, and without a way, and without water" (Psalm LXII, 2, 3); which is this dying life, by whatever mortal solaces it be frequented, with whatever wayfarers it be accompanied, with whatever abundance of things it be heaped up. For you know how uncertain all those things are: and in comparison with that promised happiness what they would be, even if they were not uncertain?

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

CHAPTER III.

7. Before therefore that consolation comes, in whatever abundance of temporal goods you may overflow, that you may persist in prayers day and night, remember that you are desolate. For the Apostle did not attribute this office to any widow whatever: "But she who is truly," he says, "a widow and desolate, has hoped in the Lord, and persists in prayers day and night." But beware most vigilantly of that which follows, "But she who lives in delights, being alive is dead" (1 Tim. V, 5, 6): for a man lives in those things which he loves, which he seeks after as great, by which he believes himself to be happy. Wherefore what the Scripture said of riches, "If riches should overflow, do not set your heart" (Psalm LXI, 11), this I also say to you of delights: If delights should overflow, do not set your heart. Do not value yourself highly for this reason, that they are not lacking, that they supply abundantly, that they flow as if from a most large fountain of earthly happiness. Altogether despise and contemn these things in yourself, nor seek anything in them besides sound health of body. For this is not to be contemned on account of the necessary uses of life, before this mortal thing be clothed with immortality (1 Cor. XV, 54); that is, with true and perfect and perpetual health, which not failing by earthly infirmity, is refreshed by corruptible pleasure, but persisting by celestial firmness, is vegetated by eternal incorruption. For the Apostle himself says, "Do not make provi-

sion for the flesh in lusts" (Rom. XIII, 14); because we carry care of the flesh, but for the necessity of health. "For no one ever hated his own flesh" (Eph. V, 29), as he likewise says. Hence it is that he also admonishes Timothy, a too great chastiser of his body, as it appears, that he should use a little wine, on account of his stomach and his frequent infirmities (1 Tim. V, 23).

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

CHAPTER IV.

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

CHAPTER V.

Here perhaps you may now ask what the happy life itself is. In which question the geniuses and leisures of many philosophers have been worn out, who however could find it so much the less, as they less honored its fountain, and did not give thanks to Him. First therefore attend, whether we should acquiesce to those who say that he is happy who lives according to his own will. But far be it that we should believe this to be true: for what if he should wish to live wickedly? Is he not convinced to be so much more miserable, as his evil will is more easily fulfilled? Meritedly even those who have philosophized without the worship of God rejected this opinion.

For a certain most eloquent man of them says: "But behold others, not philosophers indeed, but yet prompt to disputing, all say that they are happy who live as they themselves will. False that indeed: for to will what is not becoming, is the very most miserable thing; nor is it so miserable not to obtain what you will, as to wish to obtain what is not behooving" (Cicero, in Hortensius). What does it seem to you? were these words not said by truth itself through any man whatever? We can therefore say here what the Apostle says of a certain Cretan prophet, when his opinion had pleased him: "This testimony is true" (Tit. I, 13).

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

But when men shall have obtained that health in themselves and in those whom they love, will we be able to say that they are already happy? For they have something which it is not unbecoming to will; but if they do not have other greater and better things and fuller of utility and decorum, they are still far from the happy life.

CHAPTER VI.

Does it please therefore that above this temporal health they should desire for themselves and theirs honors and powers? Certainly, if so that through this they may consult for those who live under them, not on account of these things themselves, but on account of another thing which from there becomes good, it is becoming to will them: but if on account of the vain pomp of elation and the superfluous or even noxious pageant of vanity, it is not becoming. Wherefore if they desire for themselves and theirs also a sufficiency of necessary things, of which the Apostle thus speaks: "But godliness with sufficiency is great gain. For we brought nothing into this world, nor can we carry away anything hence: having food and covering, with these let us be content. For those who wish to become rich fall into temptation and a snare and many foolish and noxious desires, which drown men into destruction and perdition. For the root of all evils is avarice; which some seeking after have erred from the faith, and have inserted themselves into many sorrows" (1 Tim. VI, 6-10): this sufficiency therefore whoever wills, does not unbecomingly

will, nor does he will more; otherwise he does not will it itself, and therefore neither does he will it becomingly. He was desiring this and praying for this who said: "Give me neither riches nor poverty; but constitute for me what things are necessary with sufficiency, lest being satiated I become a liar, and say, Who sees me? or having been made poor I should steal, and forswear the name of my God" (Prov. XXX, 8, 9). You see certainly also that sufficiency is not sought on account of itself, but on account of the health of the body, and the congruent habit of the person of the man, by which habit it may not be inconvenient to those with whom one must live honestly and dutifully.

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

CHAPTER VII.

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

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

still lacking, on account of which alone we live well?

CHAPTER VIII.

15. Why therefore are we dispersed through many things, and seek what we should pray for, fearing lest perhaps we should pray as we ought not, and do not rather say with the Psalm: One thing have I asked of the Lord, this will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life; that I may behold the delight of God, and visit His temple (Ps. XXVI, 4)? For there all the days are not made all by coming and passing away, nor is the beginning of one the end of another; all are together without end, where neither life itself has an end, whose days those are. For the sake of obtaining this happy life, the true Happy Life itself taught us to pray, not in much speaking, as if it were brought about that we should be heard by being more loquacious, since we pray to Him who knows, as the Lord Himself says, what is necessary for us before we ask Him (Matt. VI, 7, 8). Whence it can seem wonderful, although He prohibited much speaking, why He so exhorted us to pray, He who knows what is necessary for us before we ask Him, as to say, It is necessary always to pray, and not to faint; the example of a certain widow being proposed, who desiring to be avenged of her adversary, by often interpellating an unjust judge, bent him to hear her, moved not by justice or mercy, but overcome by weariness: that from this we might be admonished, how much more

certainly the merciful and just Lord God hears us praying without intermission, when she could not be contemned even by an unjust and impious judge with assiduous interpellation; and how willingly and appeased He fills the good desires of those by whom He knows that the sins of others are forgiven, if she reached where she desired who wished to be avenged (Luke XVIII, 1-8). He also to whom a friend had come from a journey, and he had nothing to set before him, desiring three loaves to be lent to him by a friend, by which perhaps the Trinity of one substance itself was figured, a most insistent and most troublesome petitioner excited him already sleeping with his servants, that he might give him as many as he wished, he himself also rather avoiding weariness than thinking of benevolence: that from this we might understand, if he is compelled to give who, when he sleeps, is excited unwillingly by the petitioner, how much more benignly He gives who knows not how to sleep, and excites us sleeping that we may ask.

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

things to them that ask Him (Id. XI, 5-13)? When therefore according to those three things which the Apostle commends, faith is signified in the fish, either on account of the water of Baptism, or because it is entire in the waves of this world; to which is contrary that serpent, who that God might not be believed, persuaded by poisonous fraud: hope in the egg, because the life of the chick is not yet, but is to be, nor is it already seen, but is still hoped for; for hope that is seen is not hope (Rom. VIII, 24); to which is contrary the scorpion, since he who hopes for eternal life forgets the things that are behind, and extends himself to those that are before; to whom it is harmful to look back; but the scorpion is to be guarded against from that part which it has poisonous and stinging backwards: charity in the bread; for the greatest of these is charity (I Cor. XIII, 13), and in foods certainly the utility of bread surpasses the rest; to which is contrary the stone, since hard hearts reject charity: or whether these things signify something else more congruously, yet He who knows how to give good gifts to His children, compels us to ask and to seek and to knock.

17. Why He should do this, who knows what is necessary for us before we ask Him, can move the mind, unless we understand that the Lord and our God does not wish our will to be made known to Himself, which He cannot be ignorant of; but that our desire should be exercised in prayers, by which we may be able to receive what He prepares to give. For that is very great, but we

are small and narrow for receiving it. Therefore it is said to us: Be dilated; be not leading a yoke with unbelievers (II Cor. VI, 13, 14). For by so much more capably shall we take that which is very great, which neither eye has seen, because it is not a color; nor ear has heard, because it is not a sound; nor has it ascended into the heart of man (I Cor. II, 9), because the heart of man ought to ascend thither, by how much more faithfully we believe it, and more firmly hope for it, and more ardently desire it.

CHAPTER IX.

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

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

CHAPTER X.

19. Which things being so, even when there is leisure to pray for a long time, that is when other offices of good and necessary actions are not hindered, although even in those, as I said, it is always to be prayed with that desire, it is not improper nor useless. For neither, as some think, is this to pray in much speaking, if it be prayed longer. One thing is much talk, another thing a long-lasting affect. For even of the Lord Himself it is written that He passed the night in praying (Luke VI, 12), and that He prayed more prolixly

(Id. XXII, 43): where what else was He doing than providing an example for us, an opportune petitioner in time, with the Father an eternal Hearer?

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

CHAPTER XI.

21. For us therefore words are necessary, by which we may be admonished and may inspect what we ask, not those by which we should believe the Lord is either to be taught or to be bent. When therefore we say, Hallowed be Thy name, we admonish ourselves to desire that His name, which is always holy, should also be

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

selves be commended to our memory by these words.

CHAPTER XII.

22. For whatever other words we may say, which the affect of the one praying either forms by preceding that it may become clear, or attends by following that it may increase; we say nothing else than what is placed in that Lord's prayer, if we pray rightly and congruously. But whoever says that which cannot pertain to that evangelical prayer, even if he does not pray illicitly, he prays carnally: which I know not how it should not be called illicitly, since it becomes those reborn in the spirit to pray not otherwise than spiritually. For he who says, for example, Be glorified in all nations, as Thou hast been glorified in us: and, Let Thy faithful prophets be found (Ecclus. XXXVI, 4, 18); what else does he say than, Hallowed be Thy name? He who says, God of virtues, convert us, and show Thy face, and we shall be saved (Ps. LXXIX, 4); what else does he say than, Thy kingdom come? He who says, Direct my paths according to Thy word, and let not any iniquity have dominion over me (Ps. CXVIII, 133); what else does he say than, Thy will be done as in heaven and in earth? He who says, Give me neither poverty nor riches (Prov. XXX, 8); what else does he say than, Give us this day our daily bread? He who says, Remember, O Lord, David, and all his meekness (Ps. CXXXI, 1): or, O Lord, if I have done this, if there be iniquity in my hands, if I have rendered to them that retributed me evils

(Ps. VII, 4); what else does he say than, Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors? He who says, Take from me the lusts of the belly, and let not the desire of copulation apprehend me (Ecclus. XXIII, 6); what else does he say than, Lead us not into temptation? He who says, Deliver me from my enemies, O God, and from them that rise up over me liberate me (Ps. LVIII, 2); what else does he say than, Deliver us from evil? And if you run through all the words of holy prayers, as much as I estimate, you will find nothing which is not contained and concluded in that Lord's prayer. Whence it is free to say the same things in praying with other and other words; but it ought not to be free to say other things.

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

but cupidity overcomes, how much better is this asked, that He should deliver also from that evil of cupidity, to whom we say, Deliver us from evil!

CHAPTER XIII.

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

CHAPTER XIV.

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

26. In these tribulations therefore which can both profit and harm, what we should pray for

as it behoves, we know not: and yet because they are hard, because they are molestful, because they are against the sense of our infirmity, by a universal human will we pray that these be taken away from us. But this of devotion we owe to the Lord our God, that if He shall not have taken them away, we should not therefore estimate ourselves to be neglected by Him, but rather by a pious patience of evils, we should hope for more ample good things: for thus virtue is perfected in infirmity. For to some impatient ones the Lord God granted what they asked being angry, just as on the contrary He denied the Apostle being propitious. For we read what and how the Israelites asked and received; but their concupiscence being fulfilled, their impatience was heavily chastised (Num. XI). He gave also a king to them asking according to their heart, as it is written, not according to His own heart (I Sam. VIII, 5, 7). He gave also what the devil demanded, that His servant to be proved might be tempted (Job I, 12, and II, 6). He heard also the unclean spirits asking, that a legion of demons might be sent into many swine (Luke VIII, 32). These things are written, lest perhaps anyone should weigh himself great if he shall have been heard, when he asks something impatiently, which not to impetrate profits more; or should cast himself down, and despair of divine commiseration toward himself, if he be not heard, when perhaps he asks something, by the receiving of which he may be more atrociously afflicted, or being corrupted by prosperity may be inwardly overturned. In

such things therefore what we should pray for as it behoves, we know not. Whence if anything shall have happened contrary to what we pray for, by bearing it patiently, and in all things giving thanks, we ought by no means to doubt that this was rather necessary which God's will, not which our will had. For also of this kind an example that mediator provided for us, who when he had said, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me, transforming the human will in himself from the assumption of man, continuously subjected: Nevertheless not what I will, but what Thou wilt, Father (Matt. XXVI, 39). Whence not undeservedly through the obedience of one many are constituted just (Rom. V, 19).

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

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

CHAPTER XV.

28. There is therefore in us a certain, as I may so say, learned ignorance, but learned by the Spirit of God who helps our infirmity. For when the Apostle had said, But if we hope for that which we see not, through patience we wait for it; he there subjected: Likewise also the Spirit helps our infirmity: for what we should pray for, as it behoves, we know not; but the Spirit Himself intercedes for us with unutterable groanings. And He who searches hearts, knows what the Spirit savors, because according to God He intercedes for the saints (Rom. VIII, 25-27). Which is not so to be understood, that we should estimate the Holy Spirit of God, who in the Trinity is incommutable God, and with the Father and the Son one God, as someone who is not what God is, to

intercede for the saints: for it was said indeed, He intercedes for the saints, because He makes the saints to intercede; as it was said, The Lord your God tempts you, that He may know if you love Him (Deut. XIII, 3), that is that He may make you to know. He makes the saints therefore to intercede with unutterable groanings, inspiring in them a desire even of so great a thing as yet unknown, which through patience we wait for. For how is it told, when it is desired, what is unknown? for certainly if it were altogether unknown, it would not be desired; and again, if it were seen, it would not be desired, nor sought with groanings.

CHAPTER XVI.

29. Considering all these things, and if the Lord should suggest anything else to you concerning this matter, which either did not occur to me or was too long for me to say, strive in prayer to overcome this world; pray in hope, pray faithfully and lovingly, pray urgently and patiently, pray as a widow of Christ. For although it belongs to all His members, that is, to all who believe in Him and are associated with His body, to pray as He taught, yet a more diligent care for prayers is found in the Scriptures to be specially enjoined upon His widows. For there were two Annas honorably named, one married who bore the holy Samuel, the other a widow who recognized the Holy of Holies when He was yet an infant. And the married woman prayed in sorrow of soul and affliction of heart, because she had

no children: then she obtained Samuel himself, and gave him back to God as accepted, because when she asked, she vowed (1 Sam. 1). But how her prayer belongs to that Lord's prayer is not easily found, except that in what is placed there, Deliver us from evil, it seemed no small evil both to be married and to lack the fruit of marriage, since she alone excuses marriage for the sake of procreating children. But concerning that Anna the widow, see what is written: Because she did not depart from the temple, serving with fasts and supplications night and day (Luke 2:36, 37). Nor from anywhere else did the Apostle say, as I also mentioned above: But she who is truly a widow and desolate, has hoped in the Lord, and persists in prayers night and day (1 Tim. 5:5): and the Lord, when He always exhorted us to pray and not to fail, mentioned the widow, who although she converted an unjust and impious judge, and a despiser of God and men, to hear her cause by interceding assiduously. How much therefore widows beyond others ought to be free for prayers, can be sufficiently understood from this, that to all for the undertaking of the zeal for praying, the example of the widow is proposed for exhortation.

30. But what in this kind of work was chosen in widows, except destitution and desolation? Wherefore if every soul understands itself to be destitute and desolate in this world, as long as it journeys from the Lord, surely it commends its certain widowhood to God its defender with assiduous and most earnest prayer. Pray therefore

as a widow of Christ, not yet having His sight, whose help you pray for. And although you be very rich, pray as a poor person: for you do not yet have the true riches of the world to come, where you may fear no losses. Although you have children and grandchildren, and a numerous family, as was also said above, pray as one desolate: for all temporal things are uncertain, even if they remain to the end of this life for our consolation. But if you seek and savor those things which are above, you desire eternal and certain things, which as long as you do not yet have, even while all your people are safe and obedient to you, you ought to consider yourself as desolate. And if you do, surely also by your example your most religious daughter-in-law, and the other holy widows and virgins placed more securely under your care: for the more piously you manage your house, the more earnestly you ought to persist in prayers, not occupied with the business of present things, except what the cause of piety demands.

31. Indeed, remember to pray for us also not negligently. For we do not wish you to defer to us in honor, which we bear dangerously, in such a way as to take away the help which we know to be necessary. Prayer was made for Peter by the family of Christ, prayer was made for Paul; and we rejoice that you are in His family, and we incomparably more than Peter and Paul stand in need of the help of fraternal prayers. Pray emulously with a concordant and holy strife: for you do not strive against one another, but against the

devil, the enemy of all the holy. In fasts and vigils, and all chastisement of the body, prayer is very much helped (Tobit 12:8). Let each of you do what she can: what one can do less, she does in her who can, if she loves in the other that which she herself does not do because she cannot; therefore, let her who is less able not hinder her who is more able, and let her who is more able not urge her who is less able. For you owe your conscience to God; but owe nothing to any of you, except that you love one another. May the Lord hear you, who is able to do above what we ask or understand (Eph. 3:20).

EPISTLE CXXXI.

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

To the distinguished lady and deservedly illustrious, and most excellent daughter PROBA, AUGUSTINUS, in the Lord greetings. It is indeed so, as you say, that the soul being placed in a corruptible body, is constrained by a certain earthly contagion, and being in a certain way depressed by so great a weight, is bowed down, so that it more easily desires and thinks of many things in the depths than of one thing in the heights. For the holy Scripture also says thus: For the body which is corrupted weighs down the soul, and the earthly habitation depresses the sense that thinks many things (Wisdom 9:15). But for this reason came our Savior, who raised up with the word of health that woman in the Gospel bowed

down for eighteen years, who perhaps signified this (Luke 13:11-13), so that the Christian soul may not in vain hear, Lift up your heart; nor in vain respond, that it has it to the Lord. Looking at which, you do rightly to consider the evils of this world tolerable through the hope of the future. For thus by a certain good use they are converted into good, while they do not increase our concupiscence, but exercise patience; concerning which matter the Apostle says: We know that all things work together for good to them that love God (Rom. 8:28). All things, he says: not only therefore those which are sought as sweet, but also those which are avoided as troublesome; when we so take some lest we be caught, and so bear others lest we be broken, and according to the divine precepts give thanks in all things to Him, of whom we say: I will bless the Lord at all times; His praise shall always be in my mouth (Psalm 34:1); and, It is good for me that Thou hast humbled me, that I may learn Thy justifications (Psalm 119:71). For indeed, if the tranquility of deceitful prosperity always smiled here, the human soul would not seek that port of true and certain security, distinguished lady and deservedly illustrious, and most excellent daughter. Rendering therefore the owed service of salutation to your Excellence, and giving thanks that you bear a most religious care for our health, I ask for you from the Lord the rewards of the future life, and the consolations of the present; and I commend myself to the love and prayer of all of you, in whose hearts Christ dwells through faith. And

with another hand: May the true and truthful God truly console your heart, and protect your health, distinguished lady and deservedly illustrious, and most excellent daughter.

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

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

that when I am free, you are also free), but also because of the rushing presence of those who for the most part are not fit for such business, and are delighted more with the strifes of the tongue than with the lights of knowledge: but what is held written is always free for reading when it is free for the reader; nor does it become burdensome when present, which is taken up when you will, and laid down when you will.

EPISTLE CXXXIII. Augustine to Marcellinus the tribune, that he should punish the Donatists who confessed to atrocious crimes in the inquiry without the punishment of death, as is congruent with the gentleness of the Church. To the distinguished and deservedly renowned, and most dear son MARCELLINUS, AUGUSTINE, in the Lord greetings. 1. I have learned from your Nobility that those Circumcellions and clerics of the party of Donatus, whom the care of public discipline had brought from Hippo to judgment for their deeds, have been heard, and that many of them have confessed to the homicide which they committed against Restitutus, a Catholic presbyter, and to the slaughter of Innocent, another Catholic presbyter, and to his eye being dug out, and to a finger being cut off. Wherefore a very great solicitude has been struck into me, lest perhaps your Sublimity should think that they are to be punished with such severity of the laws that they suffer such things as they did. And therefore by these letters I adjure your faith which you have in Christ, through the mercy of the Lord Christ Himself, that you neither do this,

nor permit it to be done at all. For although we could dissemble from their destruction, who seem to have been presented for examination not by our accusing, but by the petition (Notoria) of those to whom the vigilance of protecting public peace belonged; yet we do not wish the sufferings of the servants of God to be avenged by equal punishments, as if by way of retaliation. Not that we would prohibit the license for crimes to be taken away from wicked men; but we rather wish this to suffice, that being alive and with no part of their body truncated, they be directed either from insane restlessness to the leisure of health by the coercion of the laws, or from malignant works be deputed to some useful work. This too is indeed called condemnation; but who does not understand that it is rather to be called a benefit than a punishment, where neither the audacity of raging is relaxed, nor the medicine of repenting is withdrawn?

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

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

3. Finally, you have been sent for the benefit of the Church. I attest that this benefits the Catholic Church, or, that I may not seem to exceed the measure of my dispensation, that this is expedient for the Church belonging to the diocese of Hippo-Regius. If you do not hear a friend asking,

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

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

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

2. Certain Circumcellions and Donatist clerics, by the care of those who serve the public discipline, a petition (Notoria) having been sent before, were brought to judgments and laws. These when they were heard by the most renowned and spectable man the tribune and notary your brother, my son Marcellinus, not coerced by the tortures of claws and flames, but by rods, confessed the horrendous crimes perpetrated by them against my brothers and fellow-presbyters; that namely they killed one of them caught in ambushes, and truncated another snatched from

his house, his eye being dug out and finger cut off. When I had learned that they had confessed these things, and therefore did not doubt that they would come under the laws of your axe, I accelerated these letters to your Nobility, by which I deprecate, and through the mercy of Christ beseech, that we may so rejoice in your greater and more certain happiness, that equal things be not returned to them; although the laws in punishing cannot cut off a finger and pluck out an eye by the blows of a stone, as these were able to do in their raging. Wherefore I am secure concerning those who confessed that they did this, that they will not report this retaliation; but lest either they, or those whose homicide has been made open, be punished by the sentence of your power, this I fear, that this may not happen I both ask the judge as a Christian, and warn the Christian as a bishop.

3. We read indeed that the Apostle said of you that you bear the sword not without cause, and are ministers of God, avengers against those who do evil (Rom. 13:4); but the cause of the province is one thing, the cause of the Church is another: the administration of the former is to be carried out terribly; the gentleness of the latter is to be clemently commended. If I were speaking with a judge who was not a Christian, I would act otherwise: nor yet even so would I desert the cause of the Church, and as much as he would deign to admit, I would insist that the sufferings of the Catholic servants of God, which ought to benefit for examples of patience, be not stained

with the blood of their enemies; and if he would not acquiesce, I would suspect him to resist with a hostile mind. But now when the matter is dealt with before you, my reason is one, my consultation another. We see you indeed as a ruler of most high power, but we also recognize a son of Christian piety. Let your sublimity be subjected, let your faith be subjected; I treat a common cause with you, but you can do in it what I cannot: confer counsel with us, and reach out help.

4. It has been diligently handled so that the enemies of the Church, who are accustomed to solicit ignorant minds with the vain talk of seduction, as if boasting of the persecution which they vaunt themselves to suffer, might confess their horrendous crimes perpetrated against Catholic clerics and be entangled in their own words. The Acts (Gesta) must be read to heal the souls which they have poisoned with pestiferous persuasion: does it please you that we should fear to reach the end of the Acts in reading, if it shall contain their bloody punishment, where we place even conscience itself, lest those who suffered should seem to have returned evil for evil? If therefore nothing else could be established for curbing the malice of the lost, perhaps extreme necessity would urge that such should be killed; although as far as pertains to us, if nothing milder could be done for them, we would prefer that they be released free, than that the sufferings of our brothers be avenged by the shedding of their blood: but now since something can be done, by which both the gentle Church may be commended, and

the audacity of the ungentle may be restrained; why should you not incline to the more provident part, and the milder sentence, which it is permitted to judges to do even in causes not of the Church? Fear therefore with us the judgment of God the Father, and commend the gentleness of the mother: for when you do it, the Church does it, for whose sake you do it, and whose son you do it. Contend in goodness with the evil: they with monstrous crime tore away members from a living body; you by a work of mercy effect that those members which they employed in wicked works, should serve some useful work as whole members. They did not spare the servants of God preaching correction to them; you spare them when apprehended, spare them when led forth, spare them when convicted. They with impious steel shed Christian blood: you restrain even the judicial sword from their blood for Christ's sake. They having killed a minister of the Church extorted a space of living: you grant to the living enemies of the Church a space of repenting. Such a Christian judge you ought to be in the cause of the Church, at our requesting, advising, and interceding. Men are accustomed, when it is dealt more leniently with their convicted enemies, to appeal from a milder sentence: but we so love our enemies, that unless we presumed upon your Christian obedience, we would appeal from your severe sentence. May almighty God keep your Excellence more increased and happy, lord distinguished and deservedly sublime, and most excellent son.

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

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

1. You ask me, a man of proof in probity and justice, that I should inquire into some of the ambiguities of learned reading. I embrace the grace of the commanded duty, and willingly offer myself to your disciplines, following the authority of the ancient sentence, which believes no age to be too abundant for learning. Nor undeservedly did the wise man enclose the studies of prudence with no limits nor end, since virtue, remote from its beginnings, is never so unlocked to those approaching it, that the whole at once lies open to recognition. Lord truly holy, and deservedly venerable father, it is worth the effort to know the conversation held between us lately. We were present at certain gatherings of friends, where many opinions were brought forth according to wits and studies. The speech was however a rhetorical partition: I speak to one who knows; for you also taught these things a little before. It was being established what invention was, what the sharpness of invention, how great the labor of disposing, what the grace of translation, what the beauty of iconisms, and the faculty of speaking apposite even to the wit and nature of the

matter. Others again were extolling poetic works with favor. Not even this part of eloquence do you leave silent or unhonored, as the poet conveniently said: That the ivy creep among thy victorious laurels. (Virg. Ecl. 8). It was said therefore how great was the ornament of economy, what the charm of metaphors, how great the sublimity in comparison; now light and knotless verses, and, as I might say, the modulated variation of caesuras. Then the speech turned to your familiar philosophy, which you yourself were accustomed to cherish in the Aristotelian manner as Isocratic. We were seeking also what the teacher from the Lyceum did; what the manifold and continued hesitation of the Academy; what that disputer from the Porch; what the skill of the Physicists; what the pleasure of the Epicureans; what the infinite lust for disputing among all, and then the truth was more unknown, after it was presumed that it could be recognized.

2. While our conversation lingered on these things, one of many said: "And who is imbued with the wisdom of the perfection of Christianity, who can open the ambiguities in which I stick, and firm my doubtful assents with true or likely credulity?" We are amazed, keeping silence. Then he spontaneously broke forth into these: "I wonder whether the Lord and ruler of the world filled the body of an unstained woman, whether the mother bore those long fastidiousnesses of ten months, and yet the virgin brought forth with the solemnity of birthing, and after these her virginity remained intact." To these he joins

other things: "He lies hidden within the small body of a wailing infancy, to whom the whole universe is thought scarcely equal; He suffers the years of boyhood, grows up, is solidified in youth; so long is that ruler absent from His seats, and the care of the whole world is transferred to one small body; then He is resolved into sleep, is nourished by food, feels all the affects of mortals; nor by any competent signs do the indications of such great majesty shine clear, since that larval purging, the cares of the weak, life restored to the dead, these, if you think of others also, are small for God." We intervened to him inquiring further, and the gathering being dissolved, we deferred to the merits of better skill, lest while secrets are rashly violated incautiously, an innocent error should turn into a fault. You have received, O man capable of all glory, the confession of ignorance; you recognize what is desired from your parts. It interests your fame, that we should know the things sought. Howsoever ignorance is tolerated in other priests without detriment to divine worship; but when it comes to the bishop Augustine, whatever happens to be unknown is lacking to the law. May the highest divinity keep your Veneration safe, lord truly holy, and deservedly venerable father.

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

have brought much of evils into the commonwealth.

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

1. The illustrious man Volusianus read to me the letters of your Beatitude, or rather, at my compelling indeed, he read them several times, which namely everything that is said by you, since they are truly to be wondered at, I have everywhere wondered at. For the grace of the divine speech, humbly swelling, easily merited to please. For from this it pleased most, that you contend to set and firm the steps of a man somewhat stumbling by the exhortation of a good purpose. For we have with him a daily disputation according to our strength, and according to the poverty of our wit. Compelled indeed by the prayer of his holy mother, it is my care to meet him frequently for the sake of saluting, although he himself also deigns to return the turn in this part. But your Venerability's epistle being received, the man who is recalled from the stability of the true God by the persuasion of many of whom there is a plenty in this city, was so moved, that if, as much as he himself confirms, he had not at all feared the prolixity of the letters, he would have insinuated to your Beatitude every ambiguity that he can have. But yet sufficiently, as also you yourself will deign to prove, with a cultivated and accurate speech, and with the clear brightness of Roman eloquence, he asked that some things be resolved for him at

great expense. Which question indeed is everywhere worn out, and the craftiness of those is sufficiently known upon this part, who defame the dispensation of the Lord's incarnation. But yet I also in this part, because I trust that whatever you write back will be profitable to very many, have approached as a petitioner, that you deign to respond more vigilantly to those things, in which they lie that the Lord did nothing more than other men were able to do. For they bring forth into the midst their Apollonius and Apuleius, and other men of the magic art, whose miracles they contend to have been greater.

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

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

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

all these things that books be finished, which will be incredibly profitable to the Church, especially at this time.

EPISTOLA CXXXVII.

Augustine responds to the individual questions proposed above by Volusianus.

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

CHAPTER I.

1. I read your letters, in which I saw a specimen of a certain great dialogue, comprehended with laudable brevity. I ought therefore to respond, nor oppose any excuse for the delay. For it happened opportunely, that I had a little leisure from the business of others. Upon dictating which things I had established to spend this leisure, I deferred a little, by no means thinking it just that him whom I myself had exhorted to seeking, I should defer when seeking. But who of us, who minister, as we can, the grace of Christ, when he shall have read your words, would so will you to be instructed in Christian doctrine, that it might only suffice you for salvation, not of this life, which the divine speech took care to admonish is most like a vapor, appearing for a little while, and straightway vanishing and perishing (James 4:15), but that salvation for the sake of attaining and obtaining which in eternity we are Chris-

tians? It is a small thing therefore for us that you be so instructed, that it be enough for your being delivered. For your wit and eloquence, so excellent and so bright, ought to profit others also, against whose slowness or perversity, the dispensation of so great grace is most conveniently to be defended, which proud little souls weigh as nothing, which too much affect to be most powerful, and for healing or even restraining their own vices are able to do nothing.

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

merits of better skill, lest while secrets are more incautiously violated, an innocent error should turn into a fault.

3. Then you direct the intention of your letters to me, and after this confession of ignorance, you advise that I recognize what is desired from our parts. You join also that it interests my fame, that you should know the things sought, because howsoever ignorance is tolerated in other priests without detriment to divine worship, but when it comes to me as bishop, whatever happens to be unknown is lacking to the law. For so great is the depth of the Christian Letters, that I would profit in them daily, if I should try to learn them alone from beginning boyhood even to decrepit old age with the greatest leisure, the highest study, and a better wit: not that in them, as to those things which are necessary for salvation, it is arrived with so great difficulty; but when each one shall have held the faith there, without which one does not live piously and rightly, so many things, and overshadowed by so manifold shades of mysteries, remain to be understood by those profiting, and so great a depth of wisdom lies hidden not only in the words in which those things were said, but also in the things which are to be understood, that to the most aged, most acute, most flagrant with the desire of learning, this happens, which the same Scripture has in a certain place, When a man has finished, then he begins (Ecclus. 18:6).

CHAPTER II.

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

5. The human mind wonders at this, and because it does not take it, perhaps it does not

believe it: let it first ungratefully wonder at itself, let it lift itself a little, if it can, from the body, and from those things which it is accustomed to feel through the body; and let it see itself what it is that uses the body. But perhaps it cannot: for it is of great wit, as a certain one says, to call away the mind from the senses, and to lead away thought from custom (Cicero, Tusc. Disp. 1). Let it therefore search out the senses of the body themselves somewhat more unusually and vigilantly. There are certainly five partitioned senses of the body, which can neither be without the body, nor without the soul: because neither is feeling except of one living, which is from the soul to the body; nor without the corporeal instruments, and as if vessels and organs, do we see, hear, and use the other three senses. Let this rational soul attend, and let it consider the senses of the body not by the senses of the body, but by the mind and reason itself. Certainly a man cannot feel unless he lives; but he lives in the flesh, before both are separated by death. How therefore does the soul feel those things which are outside its own flesh, which lives only in its own flesh? Are not the stars in heaven most far from its flesh? Does it not see the sun in heaven? Or is not feeling seeing, since sight is the more excellent power in the five senses? Or does it also live in heaven, because it also feels in heaven, and sense cannot be where life is not? Or does it feel even where it does not live; because while it lives only in its own flesh, it feels even in those places, which besides its flesh contain those things which it touches with its

sight? Do you see how hidden this is in a sense so conspicuous, which is called sight? Attend also to hearing. For it also in a certain manner diffuses itself out from the flesh. For whence do we say, It sounds outside, unless we feel there where it sounds? Therefore also there outside our flesh we live. Or can we feel even where we do not live, since sense cannot be without life?

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

of God, through which all things were made, so assumed a body from a virgin, and appeared to mortal senses, that He did not corrupt His own immortality, that He did not change His eternity, that He did not diminish His power, that He did not desert the administration of the world, that He did not recede from the bosom of the Father, that is from the secret, in which He is with Him and in Him!

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

that which is incredible, if the passing word of man which it exhibits to the ears, the permanent Word of God should not exhibit to things, so that as this is heard at once by individuals even whole, so that should be at once everywhere whole?

8. It is not therefore to be feared for the small body of infancy, lest in it God should seem to have suffered so great straits. For not by mass, but by power is God great; who by His providence gave a better sense to ants and bees than to asses and camels; who from a most minute grain of seed creates so great a magnitude of a fig tree, when from much larger seeds many far smaller things are born; who endowed so small a pupil with an edge, by which flashing through the eyes, almost half the heaven would be surveyed in a twinkling of time; who from a point and as if center of the brain, diffuses all the senses by a fivefold distribution; who by the heart, a member so small, dispenses vital motion through all things of the body: in these and such like things insinuating great things from the smallest, who is not small in small things. For the very magnitude of His power, which feels no straits in narrowness, fecundated the virginal womb not by an adventitious, but by a native child-bearing: it fitted to itself a rational soul, and through the same also a human body, and the whole man entirely to be changed for the better, in no way changed for the worse itself; deigningly assuming the name of humanity from him, bountifully attributing divinity to him. The power itself through the virginal viscera of an in-

violate mother, brought forth the members of the infant, which afterwards through closed doors introduced the members of the young man (John 20:26). Here if the reason is sought, it will not be wonderful: if an example is asked, it will not be singular. Let us grant that God can do something, which we confess we cannot investigate. In such things the whole reason of the deed is the power of the doer.

CHAPTER III.

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

now he so appeared as mediator between God and men, that coupling each nature in the unity of person, he both sublimated the usual by the unusual, and tempered the unusual by the usual.

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

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

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

mitted to these things, on account of the custom of corporeal things, behaving themselves far otherwise and known otherwise.

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

could not discern and distinguish those things in the inmost truth itself: which Truth even before it assumed man, was itself present to all, who were able to be partakers of it. But most especially by the example of his incarnation he wholesomely persuaded this, that since many men greedy of divinity, through celestial powers which they thought to be gods, and various rites of illicit things, not of sacred but of sacrilegious things, should think they must go about for themselves to God, more proudly than piously, in which matter demons for the holy Angels substitute themselves to them by a kinship of pride, men might know that God is so near to the piety of men, to whom they went about as if placed far off through interposed powers, that he deigned to assume man, and to be united with him in a certain way so that the whole man should be fitted to him, just as the body to the soul; except the mutable concretion, into which God is not converted, and which we see that both the body and the mind have. But a help, because without the grace of faith which is from him, no one can overcome vicious lusts; and if any of them remain which he has not overcome, they may be purged by venial remission. As therefore pertains to his mastership, what last idiot now, or what abject little woman does not believe in the immortality of the soul and a life to come after death? Which when first Pherecydes the Assyrian had disputed of old among the Greeks, he turned Pythagoras the Samian by the novelty of that disputation from an athlete into a philosopher. Now therefore

that which Maro says, and we all see; Assyrian amomum is born everywhere: but as pertains to the help of grace, which is in Christ, he is altogether He, By whose lead if any traces of our crime remain, they shall dissolve the lands from perpetual fear, being void. (Virgil, Ecl. 4)

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

CHAPTER IV.

13. But no indications, they say, of so great a majesty shone forth by competent signs: because that ghostly purgation, the cures of the weak, life restored to the defunct, if others also be considered, are small things for God. We indeed also confess that the Prophets did such things. For in these signs what more excellent than that the dead rose again? Elias did this (1 Kings 17:22), Elisha did this (2 Kings 4:35). For about the miracles of the magi, whether they also raised the dead, let those see who also try to convince Apuleius, defending himself most copiously against the crimes of magical arts, not by accusing, but by praising him. We read that the magi of the Egyptians, most skilled in those arts, were overcome by Moses the servant of God, when they did certain wonderful things by unspeakable arts, he, having simply invoked God, subverted all their machinations (Exod. 7, 8). But both Moses himself and the other most truthful Prophets prophesied the Lord Christ, and gave great glory to him; they foretold that he would

come not as equal to themselves, nor superior in the same power of miracles, but plainly the Lord God of all, and man made on account of men. Who therefore also wished himself to do such things, lest it should be absurd if he did not himself do what he had done through them. He who thinks this little for God, I know not what more he may expect.

14. For I think such things are demanded, which while bearing man, he ought not to do. For in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, and all things were made through him (John 1:1). Having assumed man, ought he to have made another world, that we might believe him to be he through whom the world was made? But neither a greater world, nor one equal to this could be made in this world. But if he should make a smaller one below this, similarly this also would be thought little. Because therefore it was not fitting that he should make a new world, he made new things in the world. For a man procreated from a virgin, and raised from the dead into eternal life, and exalted above the heavens, is perhaps a more powerful work than the world. Here perhaps they respond, that they do not believe this to have been done. What therefore may be done for men, who contemn the smallest things, and do not believe the greater? Life restored to the defunct is therefore believed, because others did it, and it is little for God: his own flesh created of a virgin, and lifted from death into eternal life above the heavens, is therefore not believed,

because no one did it, and it is fitting for God. And through this what things each one thinks easy for himself, not in doing but in grasping, he accepts with an even mind; things above them he leads as if feigned for false: do not be like to them, I beseech you.

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

land of promise, it is also raised into a kingdom. Then sin prevailing, very often offending the true God who had conferred so great benefits upon them by sacrilegious darings, and scourged by various disasters, and consoled by prosperities, it is led forward even to the incarnation and declaration of Christ. Which Christ, the Word of God, the Son of God, God about to come in the flesh, about to die, about to rise again, about to ascend into heaven, in his most prepotent name, about to have peoples dedicated to himself in all nations; and that in him there would be remission of sins and eternal salvation for those believing, all the promises of that nation, all the prophecies, priesthoods, sacrifices, the temple, and altogether all the sacraments sounded forth.

16. Christ also came; there are fulfilled in his birth, life, sayings, deeds, passions, death, resurrection, ascension, all the proclamations of the Prophets (Matt. 1:25). He sends the Holy Spirit, he fills the faithful gathered in one house (Acts 2:2), and those themselves expecting this promised thing by praying and desiring. But filled with the Holy Spirit, they suddenly speak with the tongues of all nations, they confidently argue against errors, they preach the most wholesome truth, they exhort to repentance for the past culpable life, they promise indulgence from divine grace. Signs congruent and miracles follow the preaching of piety and true religion. Cruel infidelity is excited against them; they tolerate predicted things, they hope for promised things, they teach commanded things. Few in number

they are disseminated through the world, they convert peoples with wonderful facility, they are increased among enemies, they grow by persecutions, through the straits of afflictions they are dilated even into the extremes of the lands. From the most unskilful, from the most abject, from the fewest they are enlightened, ennobled, multiplied most illustrious geniuses, most cultivated eloquences; and they subjugate to Christ the wonderful skills of the acute, the eloquent, and the learned, and they convert them to preaching the way of piety and salvation. In alternate adversities and prosperities of things, they vigilantly exercise patience and temperance: the world declining into the extremes, and with weary things protesting the last age, they expect much more confidently, because this also was foretold, the eternal happiness of the heavenly city. And among all these things, the infidelity of impious nations rages against the Church of Christ: she overcomes by suffering, and by professing an unshaken faith among the cruelty of those resisting. The revealed truth, which for a long time was veiled by mystical promises, the sacrifice succeeding, those sacrifices by which this was figured are taken away by the overthrow of the temple itself. The nation of the Jews itself, reprobate through infidelity, extirpated from its seats, is dispersed everywhere through the world, that it may everywhere carry the holy Books, and thus the testimony of prophecy, by which Christ and the Church were foretold, lest it should be thought for a time feigned by us, may be brought

forth by the adversaries themselves; where also it was foretold that they themselves would not believe. The temples and images of demons, and sacrilegious rites are subverted little by little and alternately according to the prophetic predictions. Heresies sprout against the name of Christ, yet under the veil of the name of Christ, for exercising the doctrine of holy religion, just as they were foretold. All these things as they are read foretold, so they are discerned fulfilled, and from these so many and so great things which remain, they are expected to be fulfilled. What mind at length greedy of eternity, and moved by the brevity of the present life, would contend against the light and summit of this divine authority?

CHAPTER V.

17. What disputations, what literature of any philosophers, what laws of any cities, are in any way to be compared to the two precepts, from which Christ says the whole Law and the Prophets hang: You shall love the Lord your God from your whole heart, and from your whole soul, and from your whole mind; and, you shall love your neighbor as yourself? (Matt. 22:37, 39.) Here is physics, since all the causes of all natures are in God the creator. Here is ethics, since a good and honest life is not formed from elsewhere than when those things which are to be loved are loved as they are to be loved, that is God and neighbor. Here is logic, since the truth and light of the rational soul is none but God. Here also is the laudable safety of the republic: for a city is not

founded and guarded best unless by the foundation and bond of faith, and of firm concord, when the common good is loved, which is God supreme and most true, and in him men love each other in turn most sincerely, when they love on account of him to whom they cannot hide with what mind they love.

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

19. You see how prolix a letter I have made. If therefore anything moves you, and you hold it of so much account to be treated between us, let

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

20. For I know your Excellence to suffer most obstinate contradictions of some, who for this reason think, or wish it to be thought, that Christian doctrine does not agree with the utility of the republic, because they do not wish the republic to stand by the firmness of virtues, but by the impunity of vices. But not as to a king a man, or to any prince of a city, so also to God whatever is sinned by many is unpunished. But his mercy and grace preached to men through the man Christ, but imparted through God and the Son of God the same Christ himself, does not desert those who live from his faith and worship him piously, whether they experience the evils of this life patiently and strongly, or use its goods mercifully and temperately; about to receive an eternal reward for both in the city supreme and divine,

where there is now no calamity to be borne with annoyance, nor lust to be curbed laboriously, but alone without any difficulty and with perfect liberty the charity of God and neighbor is to be retained. May the most merciful omnipotence of God guard you safe and more happy, illustrious lord and deservedly distinguished, and most excellent son. I salute most officially according to your merits the holy mother, most worthily to be honored in Christ, whose prayers for you may God hear. My holy brother and fellow-bishop Possidius salutes your Excellence much.

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

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

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. To the illustrious and most eloquent man, and most beloved to us Volusianus, it was not necessary to respond more than to that which he thought must be inquired: but to those things which you yourself sent to me in your epistle to be treated and solved, whether they be suggested or

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

2. Therefore in your epistle you placed, that some are moved, why this God, who is also affirmed to be the God of the old Testament, having spurned the old sacrifices, should have been delighted with new ones. For they assert that nothing can be corrected, unless what before was proved not rightly done; or what once was rightly done, ought by no means to have been changed. For they say that things rightly done cannot be changed except unjustly. These words I have transferred from your letters into these of mine. To which if I should wish to respond copiously, time would fail me sooner than examples, by which the very nature of things and human works, by a certain reason, are changed for the opportunity of times, and yet the same reason by

which these are changed is not mutable. Whence I may commemorate a few, so that from these the vigilant intention being excited may now run through more similar things. Does not summer succeed to winter, with heat added gradually? are not nocturnal times turned into diurnal? How often are our ages varied! childhood yields to youth not about to return; youth succeeds to childhood not about to remain; old age finishing youth is finished by death. All these things are changed, nor is the reason of divine providence changed, by which it is brought about that these things are changed. But I do not think, when the farmer has ordered one thing in summer than he had ordered in winter, the reason of agriculture is changed. And when he rises in the morning who was resting at night, he has not changed the counsel of life. The master imposed another thing on the youth than he was wont on the boy. Therefore a constant doctrine, the precept being changed, the instruction not being changed, has changed the instruction.

3. For that great physician of our times Vindicianus, being consulted by someone, ordered that to be applied to his pain which seemed to agree in time; health followed the application. Then after some years the same cause of the body being moved again, he thought this same thing was to be applied; the application turned into worse. Wondering he runs back to the physician, indicates the fact: but he as he was most sharp, so responded, For this reason you were ill-received, because I did not order it; so that all who had

heard, and knew the man little, should think him not to trust in the medicinal art, but in I know not what illicit power. Whence when he was afterwards interrogated by some wondering, he opened what they had not understood, namely that he would not have ordered this now for that age. So much therefore avails, the reason and arts not being changed, what according to them must be changed for the variety of times.

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

5. How far this question lies open, surely he sees whoever is able to intuit the distance of the beautiful and the fitting scattered in a certain way in the university of things, nor neglects to look upon it. For the beautiful is considered and

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

6. But they are deceived who estimate that God commands these things for the sake of his own utility or pleasure: and they are deservedly moved why God changed those things, as if by mutable delight commanding one thing to be offered to himself in that prior time, another in this. But it is not thus. God commands nothing which may profit himself, but him to whom he commands. Therefore he is the true Lord, who

does not lack a servant, and whom the servant lacks. For in that Scripture which is called the old Testament, and in that time in which those sacrifices were still offered which are not offered at this time, it was said: I have said to the Lord, you are my God, since you do not lack my goods (Ps. 15:2). Therefore God did not lack those sacrifices, nor does he ever lack anyone's, but of things divinely imparted, either for imbuing the mind with virtues, or for attaining eternal salvation, they are certain signs, by whose celebration and function, not for God, but useful offices of piety are exercised for us.

7. But it is too long to dispute conveniently about the variety of signs, which when they pertain to divine things are called Sacraments. But just as a man is not for that reason mutable, because in the morning one thing, in the evening another; this in this month, that in another; not this in this year which in that: so God is not for that reason mutable, because in the prior volume of the whole age he ordered one thing, in the later another to be offered to himself, by which he might conveniently dispose the significations pertaining to the most wholesome doctrine of religion through mutable times without any mutation of his own. For that they may know, whom these things move, that this was already in the divine reason, nor when these new things were being constituted, did the prior things suddenly displease him as if by a mutable will, but that this had already been fixed and statuted in the very wisdom of God, to whom concerning even

greater mutations of things the same Scripture says: You shall change them, and they shall be changed: but you are the same (Ps. 101:27, 28); it is to be insinuated to them, that this mutation of the sacraments of the old and new Testament was even foretold by prophetic voices. For thus they will see, if they shall be able, that that which is new in time is not new with him who founded the times, and has without time all things which he distributed for their each times according to their variety. For even in that psalm, whence I commemorated something by which I might demonstrate that God does not lack our sacrifices, to whom it is said: I have said to the Lord, you are my God, since you do not lack my goods; a little after it is read from the person of Christ: I will not gather their assemblies of blood, that is of the victims of cattle, by which the assemblies of the Jews were formerly gathered: and elsewhere he says: I will not receive calves from your hand, nor he-goats from your flocks (Ps. 49:9): and another prophet says: Behold, says the Lord, the days shall come, and I will confirm a new testament over the house of Jacob, not according to the testament which I disposed for their fathers, when I led them out from the land of Egypt (Jer. 31:31, 32). And there are many other testimonies about this matter, by which it was foretold that God would do this, which it is now long to commemorate.

8. Here now if it has sufficiently stood, that what was rightly constituted at one time, the same can rightly be changed at another time, by

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

CHAPTER II.

Now then let us see of what kind is that which follows in your epistle. For you added that they say that the preaching and doctrine of Christ in no part agrees with the customs of the republic, of which it stands that this is the precept, that we ought to render evil for evil to no one (Rom. 12:17), and to provide the other cheek to the one striking, and to give the cloak to him who shall persist in taking away the tunic, and with him who shall wish to constrain us, we ought to go a double space of the journey (Matt. 5:39-41). All which things are asserted to be contrary to the customs of the republic: For who, they say, would suffer

anything to be taken from himself by an enemy, or would not wish to repay evils by the right of war to the depopulators of the Roman province? These and words of this kind of those detracting, or speaking such things not by detracting but by seeking, I would perhaps refell more laboriously, unless these disceptations were held with men liberally instituted. Whence what need is there that we should labor longer, and not rather interrogate them how they were able to govern and increase the republic, which from small and needy they made great and opulent, who having accepted an injury preferred to forgive than to pursue (Sallust, Bell. Catil.)? how to Caesar an administrator certainly of the republic, Cicero extolling his customs said, that he was wont to forget nothing but injuries (Orat. pro Q. Ligario)? For so great a praiser, or so great a flatterer said this: but if a praiser, he had known such a Caesar; but if a flatterer, he showed that the prince of a city ought to be such as he was fallaciously preaching him to be. But what is it not to render evil for evil, but to abhor the lust of avenging? which is having accepted an injury to prefer to forgive than to pursue, and to forget nothing but injuries.

When these things are read in their authors, it is exclaimed and applauded; the customs seem to be described and preached, by which it would be worthy that a city should rise up which should command so many nations, because having accepted an injury they preferred to forgive than to pursue. But when it is read the divine authority

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

11. How great are the precepts of concord, not sought out by human disputations, but written by divine authority in the churches of Christ, who is so deaf, even if alien to that religion, as to be ignorant? For to this also those things pertain, which they prefer to toss about rather than to learn, that the other cheek is to be provided to the

one striking, that to the one wishing to take away the tunic the cloak is also to be given, that with the one constraining the way is to be doubled. This indeed is done so that the evil man may be conquered by the good, or rather that in the evil man evil may be conquered by the good, and the man may be delivered from evil, not an exterior and alien one, but an intimate and his own, by which he is wasted more heavily and perniciously than by the cruelty of any enemy from without. He, therefore, who conquers evil with good, patiently loses temporal comforts, that he may teach how they are to be contemned for the sake of faith and justice, which he becomes evil by loving too much; and thus the injurious one may learn from him to whom he did the injury what kind of things those are for which he did the injury, and being penitent may be acquired for concord, than which nothing is more useful to a city, conquered not by the forces of the one raging, but by the benevolence of the one suffering. For then it is rightly done, when it is seen to be about to be profitable for him for whose sake it is done, for operating in him correction and concord. This certainly is to be done with the mind, even if another exit should follow, and he should not wish to be corrected and pacified, for whose correction and pacification, as if for curing and healing, that medicine was applied.

12. Otherwise, if we attend to the words, and think that their propriety is to be served, the right cheek is not to be provided if the left has been struck. Since, He says, "If anyone shall strike you

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

13. Finally, that these precepts pertain more to the preparation of the heart which is within, than to the work which is done in the open; so that patience with benevolence is held in the secret of the mind, but in the manifest that is

done which seems to be able to profit those to whom we ought to wish well, is clearly shown from this, that the Lord Jesus himself, the singular example of patience, when he was struck on the face, answered: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why do you strike me?" (John 18:23). By no means therefore did he fulfill his own precept, if we look at the words. For he did not provide the other part to the one striking, but rather prohibited that he who had done the injury should increase it; and yet he had come prepared not only to be struck on the face, but even to be killed by being crucified for these also from whom he was suffering these things, for whom he said while hanging on the cross: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke 23:34). Nor does the apostle Paul seem to have fulfilled the precept of his Lord and master, where even he, having been struck on the face, said to the prince of the priests: "God shall strike you, you whited wall. Do you sit to judge me according to the Law, and against the Law do you command me to be struck?" And when it was said by those standing by, "Do you offer an injury to the prince of the priests?", he wished to admonish them mockingly of what he said, so that those who were wise might understand that the whited wall, that is, the hypocrisy of the priesthood of the Jews, was now to be destroyed by the advent of Christ: for he said, "I knew not, brethren, that he is the prince; for it is written, To the prince of your people you shall not speak evil" (Acts 23:3-5); since without doubt, he who

had grown up in the same people, and had there been erudite in the Law, could not be ignorant of that prince of the priests, nor could he in any way deceive those to whom he was so known by saying that he did not know.

14. Therefore these precepts of patience are always to be retained in the preparation of the heart, and benevolence itself, lest evil be rendered for evil, is always to be fulfilled in the will. But many things are to be done, even with a certain benign asperity toward the unwilling who are to be punished, whose utility rather than whose will is to be consulted; which in the prince of a city their letters have most clearly praised. For in correcting a son, however asperity there may be, paternal love is surely never lost. Yet that is done which he may not wish and may grieve at, who even unwillingly seems to be needing to be healed by grief. And by this, if that earthly republic should guard the Christian precepts, even wars themselves will not be waged without benevolence, so that counsel may be taken more easily for the conquered for a pacified society of piety and justice. For to whom the license of iniquity is snatched away, he is usefully conquered; since nothing is more unhappy than the happiness of those sinning, by which a penal impunity is nourished, and an evil will like an interior enemy is strengthened. But the perverse and averse hearts of mortals think human affairs happy when the splendor of roofs is attended to, and the ruin of minds is not attended to; when masses of theaters are constructed, and

the foundations of virtues are dug out; when the insanity of effusion is glorious, and the works of mercy are derided; when from those things which abound to the rich, actors luxuriate, and the poor scarcely have necessities; when God, who cries out against this public evil with the public voices of his doctrine, is blaspheld by impious peoples, and such gods are required, in whose honor those same theatrical disgraces of bodies and minds are celebrated. If God permits these things to prevail, then he is more heavily indignant; if he lets these things go unpunished, then he punes more infestly. But when he overturns the support of vices, and renders needy the copious lusts, he mercifully opposes. For mercifully, if it were possible, even wars would be waged by the good, so that licentious desires being tamed, those vices might be lost which by a just command ought to have been either extirpated or pressed down.

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

parents, such sons, such masters, such servants, such kings, such judges, finally such renderers and exactors of the debts of the fiscus itself, as Christian doctrine has commanded them to be, and let them dare to say that it is adverse to the republic; rather indeed let them not doubt to confess that it is a great safety to the republic, if it be obeyed.

CHAPTER III.

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

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

17. Thanks be to the Lord our God, who against these evils sent us a singular help. For where would it not take, whom would it not involve,

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

this added men are made citizens of another city, whose king is truth, whose law is charity, whose mode is eternity.

CHAPTER IV.

18. But who would not think it worthy even of laughter, that they attempt to compare Christ to Apollonius and Apuleius, and others most skilled in the magic arts, or even to prefer them? Although it might be more tolerably borne when they compare those to him rather than their own gods: for much better, it must be confessed, was Apollonius than the author and perpetrator of so many stupors, whom they name Jove. These things, they say, are fabulous. Still therefore let them praise the luxurious, licentious, and plainly sacrilegious happiness of the republic, which feigned these reproaches of the gods, which not only placed them to be heard in fables, but also proposed them to be seen in theaters; where crimes were more numerous than numina, which the gods themselves were happy to have exhibited to them, who ought to have punished their own worshipers because they at least saw those things patiently. But they are not the ones, they say, who are celebrated by the lie of such fables. Who therefore are those, who are placated by the celebration of such turpitudes? Because Christian doctrine has betrayed the perversity and fallacy of these demons, through whom also magic arts deceive human minds, because it has made them open to the universal world, because it has distinguished holy Angels from their ma-

lignancy, because it has admonished that they are rather to be guarded against, and how they should be guarded against, it is said to be an enemy of the republic! as if, if altogether temporal happiness were to be obtained through them, any unhappiness rather had been to be chosen. But neither from this did God wish it to be doubted, who graced the first people worshiping one true God, but contemning most false gods, as long as it was opportune for the Old Testament, where the veil of the New Testament is, to be overshadowed, with so great a happiness of earthly things, so that anyone might understand that neither is it in the power of demons, but in that of Him alone, whom the Angels serve, and whom the demons tremble at.

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

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

20. But as much as pertains to miracles, which are shown stupendous to human senses, they err much who compare magi to the holy Prophets, excelling in the nobility of great miracles; how much more if they compare them to Christ, whom those Prophets, to whom any magi are in no way to be compared, foreannounced about to come, both according to the flesh, which he took from the Virgin, and according to the divinity, by which he is never separated from the Father! I see that I have made a most prolix epistle, yet I have not said all things about Christ which

might be able to suffice somehow either for those who by a slower genius are not able to attain divine things, or for those whom, although they may be moved acutely, yet contentious study and the preoccupation of a long-standing error hinders from understanding. Nevertheless, learn what moves them against this, and write back, so that either by epistles or by books, if God shall have helped, we may take care to respond to all things. May you be happy in the Lord, by his grace and mercy, lord excellent and deservedly distinguished, most dear and most longed-for son.

EPISTLE CXXXIX.

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

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

1. The Acts which your Excellence promised, I vehemently expect, and in the church of Hippo I desire right now to be recited, and, if it shall have been able to be done, even through all the churches constituted in the diocese; so that men may hear, and fully recognize the confessors of iniquity, not the fear of God extorting penitence, but judiciary diligence opening the hardness of most cruel hearts; whether of those who confessed concerning homicide and concerning the blinded and debilitated body of a presbyter; or of those who were not brave enough to deny that

they could have known those things, although they said they displeased them, fleeing Catholic peace, as if lest they be polluted by alien crimes, and perduring in that sacrilege of schism among so great a multitude of such horrendous criminals; or even of those who said they would not recede from there, even the Catholic truth and the perversity of the Donatists having been demonstrated to them. It is not light what God has willed to be done through your labor. Would that you might hear such causes of theirs frequently, and their crimes and insane pertinacity be so often betrayed, and the same publicized Acts be brought to the notice of all! But as to what your Excellence wrote, that you doubt whether you ought to command the same Acts to be proposed in Theoprepia; let it be done, if a frequent multitude can flow together thither: otherwise another more celebrated place is to be provided; nevertheless by no means is it to be omitted.

2. As for the punishment of those men, although they have confessed to such great crimes, I ask you that it be without the penalty of death, both for the sake of our conscience and for the sake of commending Catholic mildness. For the fruit itself of their confession has reached us, because the Catholic Church finds where she may preserve and exhibit her own lenity toward most atrocious enemies. For in so great a cruelty, whatever vengeance shall have proceeded besides blood, will appear as great lenity. Which although it may seem unworthy now to some of our people, moved by that atroc-

ity, and like a certain dissolution and negligence; yet the motions of minds having passed away, which are wont to be more turbulently excited by more recent deeds, an excellently luminous goodness will appear, and for this reason it will delight more to read and show the same Acts, lord deservedly distinguished, and much most dear and most longed-for son. There is my holy brother and fellow-bishop Boniface, and through the deacon Peregrinus who proceeded with him, I have directed a commonitory; which hold thus as if my presence. And what shall have pleased you in common for the utility of the Church, let this be done with the Lord helping, who is able to help mercifully in such great evils. Now Macrobius, their bishop, accompanied by wedges of lost men of each sex, goes around here and there, and has opened for himself basilicas, which a very small fear of the owners had closed. But with Spondeus, the procurator of the most illustrious man Celer, present, whom I have commended and much commend to your love, their audacity was somehow broken: now indeed after he has set out for Carthage, he has opened basilicas even in the same estates, and congregates peoples. With him also is that rebaptized deacon Donatus, although he had been a tenant of the church, who was chief in that slaughter. Who are not with him, when even he is with him? If the Proconsul or both of you together are about to bring forth sentence against them, and perhaps he persists in wishing to avenge by the sword, although he be a Christian, and as much as we have been able to attend,

he be not prone to these torments; yet if it shall be necessary, command even my epistles, which I thought were to be sent individually to you concerning this matter, to be alleged in the Acts. For I am wont to hear that it is in the power of the judge to soften the sentence, and to avenge more mildly than the laws command. But if he shall not have consented to this even by my letters, let him at least provide this, that they be received into custody, and we shall take care to impetrate this from the clemency of the Emperors, lest the passions of the servants of God, which ought to be glorious in the Church, be dishonored by the blood of enemies. For I know in the cause of the clerics of Anaunia, who being killed by Gentiles, are now honored as martyrs, the Emperor being asked easily conceded that those who had killed them and were already held captured, should not be punished by a similar penalty.

3. As for the books on the Baptism of infants, since I had already sent the codex itself to your Excellence, why I received them back from you I have forgotten: unless perhaps when I inspected them, I found them faulty, and I wished to emend them, which being wonderfully hindered, I have not done until now. Also know that the epistle to be written to you and added to these, which I had already begun to dictate when I was there, is so imperfect with a little added. But if I could render to you an account of all the days and lucubrations spent on other necessities, you would wonder, being heavily saddened, how great things distend me, which can in no way be deferred, nor

permit me to do those things in which you urge me, willing but ineffably (because I cannot) grieving, by asking and admonishing. For when I am somewhat vacant from the necessities of those men who so constrain me that it is in no way permitted to avoid them, nor is it opportune to contemn them; there are not wanting things which I prefer to be dictated, so constituted in the articles of times that they bear no delay. Just as the abbreviation of the Acts of our conference was for me laborious enough, when I saw that no one wished to commit himself to reading so great a heap of letters: just as also the epistle to the Donatist laics themselves, concerning this same conference of ours, which I have just finished in some lucubrations: just as the two not short epistles; one to your Love, the other to the illustrious man Volusianus, which I believe you have already received: just as I now have in my hands the book to our Honoratus concerning five certain questions, which he proposed to me and intimated through letters; to whom you see how very little it is opportune not to respond continually. For Charity, which as a nurse cherishes her own sons, not in the order of loving but in the order of subvening, prefers the weaker to the stronger, whom she wishes to be such as those already are, whom she passes over for the time not by contemning but by trusting in them. Such necessities therefore of dictating something, which may hinder me from those dictations for which I burn more, cannot be wanting, when a little space is scarcely given between heaps of occupations, by which

the lusts or necessities of others draw us constrained: and what I should do I altogether know not.

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

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

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

and grounded in charity, you may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth" (Eph. 3:17, 18); and which are the five foolish virgins, and which the wise (Matt. 25:2); and what are the exterior darknesses (Id. 22:13); and how it is to be understood, "The Word was made flesh" (John 1:14). But I, looking at the aforementioned heresy, the new enemy of the grace of God, proposed to myself a sixth question concerning the grace of the New Testament. Disputing about which, the exposition of the twenty-first psalm being interposed, in whose head it is written what the Lord exclaimed on the cross, which that friend in the first place proposed to me to be exposed; I dissolved all those five, not in this order in which they had been proposed, but as they were able to occur congruently in their places to me discoursing concerning the grace of the New Testament. This book begins thus: "Five questions you have proposed to me to be treated."

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

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

1. Five questions you have proposed to me to be thoroughly treated and solved, my most dear brother Honoratus, snatched from here and

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

CAP. PRIMUM.

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

that most of all, what is the grace of the New Testament. Let all those look at this, and into this, as each one shall have been able opportunely, let it confer its own work to us; not in that order, namely, in which you proposed them and I recollected them, but as each one shall have been necessary, let it respond as if called, and fulfill the office of its own work. Therefore let the exordium be born thus.

CAPUT II.

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

corporal creature, but above itself the Creator of itself and of the body.

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

Wishing therefore God to show that even earthly and temporal happiness is his gift, and that it ought to be hoped for from nowhere else

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

CHAPTER III.

6. But when the fullness of time came, so that the grace which was hidden in the Old Testament might now be revealed in the New, God sent his Son, made of a woman (Gal. IV, 4); by which name, according to the property of the

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

7. He therefore took up man whom men could see, so that being healed through faith, they might afterwards see what they then could not see. But lest the man Christ, by that very fact by which he appeared visibly, should not be believed to be also God, and only as much should be attrib-

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

participation those things are illuminated which are illuminated by it.

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

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

understand its God, and by his grace be reborn to him. For this birth is spiritual, therefore not of bloods, nor of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God.

CHAPTER IV.

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

11. God therefore sent his Son made of a woman, made under the Law (Gal. IV, 4). For he received the sacraments of the Law, so that he might redeem those who were under the law, that is, whom the Law held guilty by the killing letter, while the precept was not fulfilled, before the spirit gave life; because the charity of God which fulfills the precept, is shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who is given to us (Rom. V, 5). Therefore when he had said, That he might redeem those who were under the Law, he immediately subjoined, That we might receive the adoption of sons (Ibid. 5); that clearly he might discern the grace of this benefit from that nature of the Son, who was sent as the Son, not made by adoption, but always begotten as the Son, so that having participated in the nature of the sons of men, he might adopt the sons of men to participate also in his nature. Wherefore also when he had said, He gave them power to become the sons of God, and had added the manner, lest a carnal birth should be understood, namely that he provided this to them, who believe in his name, and are reborn through spiritual grace, not of bloods, nor of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God; he soon commended as it were the sacrament of this exchange. For as if wondering at so great a good we did not dare to hope for it, he immediately subjoined, And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (John I, 14) (which is one of those five things which you wished to be explained to you); as if he were saying: O men! do not despair that you can become

sons of God; because even the Son of God himself, that is, the Word of God, was made flesh, and dwelt among us. Give in return; become spirits, and dwell in him who was made flesh, and dwelt in you. For it is no longer to be despaired of that by participation of the Word men can become sons of God, when the Son of God by participation of the flesh was made the son of man.

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

he commends the same one as man, whom he commends as God, so that there may be one person; lest, not a Trinity, but a quaternary should be induced. For just as the number of persons is not increased when flesh is added to a soul, so that there may be one man; so the number of persons is not increased when man is added to the Word, so that there may be one Christ. Therefore it is read, The Word was made flesh, so that we may understand the singularity of this person, not so that we may suspect the divinity changed into flesh.

CHAPTER V.

Therefore Christ the man, so that through him the grace of the New Testament might be revealed, which pertains not to temporal but to eternal life, was certainly not to be commended by earthly happiness. Hence subjection, hence passion, hence scourgings, spittings, insults, the cross, wounds, and as if overcome and subjected, death itself, so that his faithful might learn what reward of piety they ought to seek and hope for from him whose sons they had become; lest God should be served for this as if for a great thing, so that they who served him should seek to obtain earthly happiness, casting away and trampling their faith, estimating it by a most vile price: whence by a most beneficent providence almighty God granted earthly happiness even to the impious, lest it should be sought as a great thing by the good. Hence that seventy-second psalm introduces a man repenting, that once

with a heart not right, he served God for this reward, which when he saw the impious flourish and excel in, being troubled he began to think that God does not care for human things. And when the authority of the saints pertaining to God recalled him from that thought, he took up and intended to recognize so great a secret, which was not opened to him as he labored, until he entered the sanctuary of God, and understood in the last things; that is, until having received the Holy Spirit he learned to desire better things, and foresaw what the future punishment would be for the impious, even those who had flourished temporally with a certain grassy happiness. Read and diligently note this seventy-second psalm, explained through our ministry on the night on which the solemnity of the most blessed Cyprian was dawning.

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

and the revelation of grace which he brought for the making and liberating of the faithful.

CHAPTER VI.

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

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

17. But these words, by which a human day and the prolongation of this life are lusted after, are words of sins (verba delictorum), and are far from that salvation of which we do not yet possess the thing, but already bear the hope; concerning which it is written: For we are saved by hope: but hope that is seen is not hope (Rom.

8:24). And therefore in that psalm also, when he had said: My God, my God, look upon me; why hast thou forsaken me? he immediately adds: Far from my salvation are the words of my sins; that is, these are the words of my sins, and are far from that salvation of mine which the grace of not the Old, but the New Testament promises me. Although it can also be distinguished thus: My God, my God, look upon me; why hast thou forsaken me far from my salvation? as if he were saying: By forsaking me, that is, by not hearing me, thou art made far from my salvation, namely the present salvation of this life: so that there is another sense, the words of my sins, that is, those things which I have said are the words of my sins, because they are words of carnal desires.

18. Christ says these things from the person of His body, which is the Church. He says these things from the person of the infirmity of the flesh of sin, which He transfigured into that likeness of the flesh of sin which He took from the Virgin. The Bridegroom speaks these things from the person of the bride, because He has in a certain way united her to Himself. And in Isaiah, where he says: As a bridegroom he hath bound a miter on me, and as a bride he hath adorned me with an ornament (Is. 61:10): he hath bound on me, and he hath adorned me, are as the voice of one, and yet we understand Christ as the bridegroom and the Church as the bride. But, they shall be two in one flesh; a great sacrament, says the Apostle, in Christ and in the Church (Eph. 5:31, 32): therefore now not two, but one flesh

(Matth. 19:6). If, therefore, there is one flesh, surely one voice is also fitting. Why do you seek here, human infirmity, the voice of the Word through whom all things were made? Hear rather the voice of the flesh which was made among all things; since the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us. Hear rather the voice of the medicine, by which you are healed so that you may see God, whom He deferred for you to see; but He brought man to be seen, offered Him to be slain, bestowed Him to be imitated, transferred Him to be believed, so that by this faith the eye of the mind might be healed to see God. Why, then, do we disdain to hear the voice of the body from the mouth of the head? The Church suffered in Him, when He suffered for the Church: just as He Himself suffered in the Church, when the Church suffered for Him. For just as we have heard the voice of the Church suffering in Christ, God, my God, look upon, etc., so also we have heard the voice of Christ suffering in the Church, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me (Acts 9:4).

CHAPTER VII.

19. And so, when we are not heard for the retaining or attaining of temporal goods, when we pray to God for these things, in that He does not hear us, He forsakes us: but for better things, which He wishes us to understand, and prefer, and lust after, He does not forsake us. Whence the Psalm follows and says: I have cried to thee by day, and thou wilt not hear (Psalm 21:3); and by night: here also is understood, and thou wilt

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

20. This is the grace of the New Testament: for in the Old Testament, when Thou didst commend that even earthly and temporal happiness ought to be asked for and hoped for from Thee alone: In thee our fathers hoped; they hoped, and thou didst deliver them. To thee they cried, and they were saved; in thee they hoped, and they

were not confounded (Psalm 21:5, 6). For those fathers living among their enemies, Thou didst both fill with riches, and deliver from hosts, and make to bring back glorious victories, and liberate them from diverse deaths. For one Thou didst substitute, lest he be struck, a ram (Gen. 22:13). Another from rottenness Thou didst restore to health, and gavest back to him double what he had lost (Job 42:10). Another among hungry lions Thou didst preserve unhurt and whole (Dan. 14:30-40). By others walking among flames Thou wast praised with a grateful voice (Id. 3:23-90). The Jews expected something of this sort to be done in Christ, whence they might prove if He were truly the Son of God. From their person it is also said in the book of Wisdom: Let us condemn him with a most shameful death: for there shall be respect had to his words. For if he be the true Son of God, he will defend him and deliver him from the hands of his enemies. These things, he says, they thought and were deceived: for their own malice blinded them (Wisd. 2:18-21). For attending to the time of the Old Testament, and that temporal happiness of the fathers also, in which God demonstrated in its exhibition to them that even such things are His gifts, they did not see that it was already the time in which it should be revealed in Christ that God properly bestows eternal goods on the just, who bestows temporal goods even on the impious.

CHAPTER VIII.

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

of man, and no man: not that Christ is not a man, of whom the Apostle says: There is one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus (1 Tim. 2:5); for every son of man is a man; but this sense looks back to a certain one who was so a man that he was not a son of man, that is, Adam. Perhaps, therefore, it was said thus: But I am a worm, and no man, that is, But I am a son of man, and no man: as if it were said: But I am Christ, in whom all are made alive; not Adam, in whom all die (1 Cor. 15:22).

22. And by this, O men, learn now through the grace of the New Testament to desire everlasting life. Why do you wish it as a great thing to be so delivered from death by the Lord as your fathers were delivered, when God was commending that there is no other bestower of even earthly happiness besides Himself? That happiness pertains to the old man, which oldness began from Adam: But I am a worm, and no man; Christ, not Adam. From the old you were old, from the new be new: from Adam men, from Christ sons of men. For not without cause does the Lord most familiarly call Himself in the Gospel the son of man (Matth. 17:9, 12) rather than man: nor without cause in another psalm does he say: Men and beasts thou wilt save, O Lord; as thy mercy is multiplied, O God. From Thee indeed is also this salvation common to men and beasts. But the new men have another certain proper salvation and separated from the fellowship of beasts, which pertains to the New Testament: they have it indeed; for concerning it follows there and says: But the sons

of men shall hope under the cover of thy wings. They shall be inebriated from the fatness of thy house, and thou shalt make them drink of the torrent of thy pleasure. For with thee is the fount of life, and in thy light we shall see light (Psalm 35:7-10); later he said: But the sons of men, as if distinguishing the sons of men from men. For in that happiness of His salvation which is common to men and beasts, he wished to call them by that name by which they might be shown to pertain to that first man, by whom oldness and death began, who was so a man that he was not a son of man. But upon these later ones, who hope for another happiness, and the ineffable pleasure of the fount of life, and the light of eternal light, he imposed this name by which the Lord wished Himself to be more familiarly called, in whom such grace was revealed, and thus he called them sons of men rather than men.

23. But do not think that a rule of speech is fixed by a perpetual law, so that wherever you read men or sons of men, you must always understand them according to this distinction: but as the circumstance of the reading provides, from which the sense, if it is open, is drawn; if it is hidden, it is extracted. As in this place of this psalm, whom would the intention of the distinction not move? since he who had said: In thee our fathers hoped, and thou didst deliver them. To thee they cried, and they were saved; in thee they hoped, and they were not confounded, subjoins: But I: for he does not say: And I; but, But I. What then is he who thus distinguishes himself? But I

am a worm, he says, and no man; as if to those whom Thou heardest and deliveredst, Thou didst commend that happiness which, pertaining to the Old Testament, was to be attributed to the old man who began from Adam; But I am a worm; that is, a son of man, not a man, like that man who was not a son of man.

CHAPTER IX.

24. And by this also what follows: The reproach of men, and the abjection of the people. All they that saw me, laughed me to scorn, and they have spoken with their lips, and wagged the head. He hoped in God, let him deliver him, let him save him, because he willeth him. This they said with their lips, not in their heart, insulting because it was not being done, not believing what was to come. But this also was done, but as it behooved to be done in the Son of man, in whom the hope of eternal life was to be revealed pertaining to the New Testament, not as they were expecting; and because they did not see it being done, they insulted Him as if overcome, pertaining as they did to the Old Testament and to the man in whom all die, not to the Son of man in whom all shall be made alive. For man brought death upon himself and the son of man: but the Son of man brought life to man by dying and rising again, the reproach of men and the abjection of the people even unto death. For He willed to suffer this in the sight of His enemies, by which they might think Him as if forsaken, so that the grace of the New Testament might be

commended, by which we might learn to seek another happiness, which now is in faith, but afterwards shall be in sight (species). For as long as we are in the body, says the Apostle, we are pilgrims from the Lord; for we walk by faith, not by sight (2 Cor. 5:6, 7): and therefore now in hope, then in reality.

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

salvation, should believe this concerning the resurrection of Him who was dead, which those who saw it preached with attesting signs, and did not hesitate to suffer similar things for that preaching.

CHAPTER X.

26. Wherefore also James, one of His Apostles, in his Epistle, when he exhorted the faithful who after the passion and resurrection of Christ were still held in this life, distinguishing the dispensation of the Old and New Testament, said: You have heard of the patience of Job, and you have seen the end of the Lord (James 5:11): lest they should patiently sustain temporal evils for this reason, that there might be restored to them what we read that Job received (Job 42:10). For he was both made whole from that wound and rottenness, and all things which he had lost were restored to him double: where also the faith of the resurrection was commended. For children were not given back double, but the same number, signifying that those also whom he had lost were to rise again; so that thus they themselves also being joined to those former ones, might not be found strangers to the restoration of the double. That therefore we might not hope for such a remuneration when we suffer temporal evils, he did not say: You have heard of the patience and the end of Job; but he said: You have heard of the patience of Job, and you have seen the end of the Lord: as if he were saying: Sustain temporal evils like Job; but for this sustenance do not hope

for temporal goods, which returned to him increased, but rather eternal ones, which preceded in the Lord. Job therefore was of those fathers who cried out and were saved. For when he says: But I, he sufficiently insinuates by what salvation he wishes it to be understood that they were made safe; in which He Himself was certainly forsaken: not that they were strangers to eternal salvation; but that was then in secret which was to be revealed in Christ. For in the Old Testament there is a veil which is then taken away, when anyone passes from there to Christ: upon whose crucifixion the veil of the temple also was rent (Matth. 27:51), that it might be signified what the Apostle said concerning the veil of the Old Testament, that in Christ it is evacuated (2 Cor. 3:14).

27. For even in those fathers, although most rare, yet there were examples of patience even unto death, from the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zacharias (Luke 11:51); whose blood the Lord Jesus says is to be required even of those who should persist in the iniquity of their fathers, by whom they were slain: and in the New Testament there neither was lacking, nor is lacking a multitude of good faithful ones, who even excel in this temporal happiness, and in it experience the goodness and mercy of God the giver, yet holding what the Apostle, the dispenser of the New Testament, commanded to the rich of this world: not to be high-minded, nor to hope in the uncertainty of riches, but in the living God, who giveth us all things abundantly to enjoy; that they do well, be rich in good works, give easily, communicate, lay

up in store for themselves a good foundation for the time to come, that they may lay hold on true life (1 Tim. 6:17-19): such as was manifested not only in Christ's spirit, but truly also in His flesh, when He rose from the dead, not such as the Jews destroyed in Him, when God did not deliver Him from their hands, and seemed to have forsaken Him crying out: My God, my God; why hast thou forsaken me? so that in that way He might transfigure in Himself His martyrs, who even if they should be unwilling to die—which He also said to Peter: Another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldst not; signifying by what death he should glorify God (John 21:18)—and for this reason should seem to be forsaken by their God for a time, when He would not bestow on them what they willed, they might emit that voice of the heart, and apply that affect of piety, which with the passion impending the Lord expressed with His own mouth, transfiguring them in Himself repeatedly: Nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt, Father (Matth. 26:39).

CHAPTER XI.

28. For in whom first, if not in our Head Himself, ought it to have appeared for the sake of what life we are Christians? Therefore He did not say, "My God, my God, thou hast forsaken me"; but He suggested a cause to be sought when He added, "why hast thou forsaken me?" (utquid dereliquisti me?); that is, why, for what reason, on what account? For certainly there was some cause, and that not a small one, that He should

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

29. Behold, so it has happened: yet so many do not want to be Christians for any other reason than that they may enjoy the happiness of this life; and therefore when that fails, they fail. What if such a distinguished example were not estab-

lished in our Head Himself, by which we might learn to despise earthly things for heavenly ones, not looking at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen? for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal (2 Cor. 4:18). Those whom He deigned to transfigure in Himself with those voices. For as far as He Himself is concerned, how would He wish to be delivered from that hour, who for that reason had come into that hour (John 12:27)? or how was He speaking thus, as if what He did not will happened to Him, when He had power to lay down His life and to take it up again, nor did anyone take it from Him, but He Himself laid it down and resumed it, as He says in the Gospel (John 10:18)? But without a doubt we were in those voices, and the Head was speaking for His body, with no disjunction in the significance of the voice where the connection of unity is not disjoined.

CHAPTER XII.

30. Finally, in the Psalm it follows, and while praying observe what it says: "For," it says, "thou hast drawn me out of the belly, my hope from the breasts of my mother. Upon thee I was cast from the womb; from the belly of my mother thou art my God" (Psalm 21:10, 11). As if it were saying: From one thing, and from another to another thing thou hast transferred me, that thou mayest be my good instead of the earthly goods of this mortality, which I obtained in my mother's belly, whose breasts I sucked. For this is the oldness

from which thou hast drawn me; and those are the goods of carnal nativity from which thou art my hope: for thence I was converted to thee. And "from the womb," that is, I who from these began in the womb, "was cast upon thee"; passing over to thee, namely, committing my whole self to thee. And therefore "from the belly of my mother," that is, from the goods of the flesh which I took in the belly of my mother, "thou art my God," so that instead of these thou mayest be my good: it was said in that manner of speaking, as if it were said, for example, "From the earth I inhabit heaven," that is, from here I emigrated thither; and this is our transfiguration into Him, who by the grace of the New Testament change our life, passing from the old to the new. For He, signifying this thing by the sacrament of His passion and resurrection, changed the flesh from mortality to immortality: but He did not change life from oldness into newness, who was never in impiety whence He might pass to piety.

31. Although there have not been wanting those who felt that this which was said, "From the belly of my mother thou art my God," pertained to our Head Himself, since the Father is His God in so far as He is man in the form of a servant, not in so far as He is equal to Him in the form of God; therefore "From the belly of my mother thou art my God," as if He were saying, "From the fact that I was made man, thou art my God." But what is, "Thou hast drawn me out of the belly," if it is referred to Jesus Himself procreated of the Virgin? as if God did not draw out others,

in whose providence is the whole order of being born: or did He wish to signify thereby the birth from the Virgin while the integrity of virginity was preserved in a wonderful manner, when He says, "Thou hast drawn me out of the belly of my mother"; so that what was done there wonderfully, when God is said to have done it, should seem incredible to no one? What then is also that, "My hope from the breasts of my mother"? How can this also be referred to the Head of the Church Himself, as if His hope which is in God began for Him from His mother's breasts, and not also before in the womb itself? For no other hope is to be understood, except that by which it was to be that God should exalt Him from the dead: all this, indeed, is said according to that which He was made man. Or perhaps because the breasts of women are prohibited from advancing into abundance from the very conception, did He wish it to be understood thus, "from the breasts"; as if He were saying, "From the time I took flesh," to which flesh immortality was to be hoped for: so that hope was not in Him before, when He was in the form of God, in which nothing was to be changed for the better; but "from the breasts of my mother," that is, from the very taking of the flesh, which was conceived in hope, of which hope the reality was to be in the future, when He should pass from death to immortality?

32. But how that which was said, "Upon thee I was cast from the womb," can be adapted to the Head, I know not: as if when He was in the womb, He were not in God, in whom we

live, move, and have our being (Acts 17:28); or the rational soul of that infant, from the time the flesh proceeded from the womb, began to hope in God. Unless perhaps it is to be believed that the rational soul came to Him already born, which had been lacking to Him while yet within the mother's bowels: and because the same soul, which was added to the flesh already born, was adhering to God, therefore according to the same flesh it is to be thought it was said, "Upon thee I was cast from the womb"; as if He were saying, "I obtained that soul from the womb which should cleave to thee." But who would dare to precipitate himself rashly into this opinion, when the reason concerning the arrival or origin of the soul lies so hidden in such a depth of nature, that it is better always to seek it as long as we are in this life, than to presume to have found it at some time? But from that transfiguration of ourselves into Him, how these things could be received, has been said. If, however, anything more suitable could be said, or shall have been said, we prejudice the talent of no one, we envy the doctrine of no one.

CHAPTER XIII.

33. Now see how that which follows, "Be not far from me, for trouble is near," illuminates the way it was said, "Why hast thou forsaken me." For how did He forsake Him, to whom it is said, "Be not far from me," unless because He forsook the temporal happiness of the old life? But He is asked not to depart and desert the hope of eternal life. But what is, "for trouble is near"? as if the

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

34. Therefore also the devil, holding this order of hurting, first received power over the external

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

35. The soul of the martyr, therefore, transfigured into Christ, cries out when it has already begun to be troubled in the flesh, and says to God, by whom it is forsaken in earthly happiness, but who is with it in the hope of eternal life: "Be not far from me, for trouble is near": it is not in my field, not in my gold, not in my cattle, not in my roofs and walls, not in the bereavements of my own; but it is in my flesh, to which I am coupled, to which I am connected, whose sensation I cannot not have; whence it urges me from very near, that I may fail from the virtue of patience. "Be not far from me; for there is none

to help": neither friend, nor kinsman, nor human praise, nor the recollection of past pleasure, nor anything of those things by which the ruin of earthly happiness is supported, nor even human virtue itself which is in my soul; because if thou desertest, what is the virtue of man?

CHAPTER XIV.

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

36. "Many calves have surrounded me": that is, the lesser ones among the people. "Fat bulls have besieged me": that is, the proud and wealthy, the princes of the people. "They have opened their mouth against me": crying out, "Crucify him, crucify him" (Luke 23:21). "As a ravening and a roaring lion": for they seized Him when apprehended, leading Him to the governor, and they roared by seeking His death. "I am poured out like water": as it were so that my persecutors, having slipped, might fall upon me. "All my bones are scattered": what are bones, if not the supports of the body? But the body of Christ is the Church: and the supports of the Church, who are they if not the Apostles, who are also called columns elsewhere? These were certainly scattered when He was led to His passion, or when He had suffered and died. "My heart is therefore become like melting wax in the midst of my belly." How this indeed may be adapted to our Head, the Savior of His own body, is difficult to find. For it does not happen except by great fear that the human heart melts like

wax: whence could that happen in Him, who had power to lay down and to receive His life? But undoubtedly He either transferred into Himself the cause of His weak ones; whether of those who tremble with fear of death, as Peter himself from an egregious presumer became so frequent a denier; or of those who pine away with a salutary sadness, as the same Peter when he wept bitterly. For sadness also as it were dissolves the heart: whence it is even said in Greek that it was called *lype* (λύπη). Or certainly He wished us to understand a profound sacrament, so that by the name of His heart He might signify His Scriptures, where His counsel indeed lay hidden, which was then opened when He fulfilled by suffering those things which were prophesied of Him. His Scriptures were therefore dissolved in those things which were perfected by His coming, birth, passion, resurrection, and glorification. For who now does not understand those things in the Prophets, when they have reached even to the understanding of the carnal multitude? whom perhaps He signified by the midst of His belly, so that in His body which is the Church, the carnal and weaker multitude should have as it were the place of the belly. Or if the name of the belly is more suitable for the inner parts, it is shown that the understanding of the Scriptures pertains rather to those who are more perfect, when His heart, that is, His Scriptures which contain His counsel, in the midst of them, that is, in their thought, is dissolved like wax, that is, is opened,

discussed, and expounded by the fervor of the spirit.

CHAPTER XV.

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

38. But as to that which follows, "And thou hast led me into the dust of death," how shall it be adapted to the Head; since His body, which rose on the third day, was certainly not dissolved into dust? nor did the Apostles otherwise expound what is placed in another psalm, "Neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption," except because His flesh was not corrupted, which rose so quickly (Psalm 15:10; Acts 2:24-32). Whence also in another psalm He says, "What profit is there in my blood, whilst I go down to corruption? Shall dust confess to thee, or declare thy truth?" (Psalm 29:10); saying this, namely,

that if in that manner as others He were left dead in the dust, and His flesh were reserved for the final resurrection, there would be no profit in His blood; because His death would be of no use, nor would the truth of God be declared, which had foretold that He would rise immediately. What then does He mean when He says in this place, "And thou hast led me into the dust of death"? Unless we take His body to be the Church, in which those who have suffered or are suffering for His name do not rise quickly as He did, but are led into the dust of death, being then about to rise when that time shall come of which He says in the Gospel, "The hour shall come when all that are in the monuments shall hear his voice, and shall come forth" (John 5:28, 29). Or certainly He wished the Jews themselves to be understood tropically as the dust of death, into whose hands He was led: for it is written, "Not so the wicked, not so; but as the dust which the wind driveth from the face of the earth" (Psalm 1:4).

CHAPTER XVI.

39. Finally it follows: "For many dogs have surrounded me; the council of the malignant hath besieged me": as if He had called those same ones the dust of death into which He was led, whom He called many dogs and the council of the malignant; calling those dogs, namely, who for the most part bark against the innocent, with whom they have no acquaintance. Now indeed in those things which He subjoins, it is recited as if from the Gospel. For His crucifixion is expressed

in that which He says: "They pierced my hands and my feet, they numbered all my bones. But they considered and gazed upon me." For His hands and feet were pierced with nails, and when He was stretched out on the wood, His bones were in a certain way numbered. But He was considered and gazed upon as to what would happen to Him, and whether Elias would come and deliver Him (Matth. 27:49).

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

41. "Deliver my soul from the sword" (*framea*). A *framea* is a sword; nor indeed was Christ killed by such an instrument, but by the cross, nor did they strike His side with a sword, but with a lance. Therefore, the word

being transferred, He called the tongue of the persecutors a sword, as it is said in another psalm, "And their tongue is a sharp sword" (Psalm 56:5). Whence, because in His flesh the tongue of the malignant prevailed, He prays that it may not harm His soul, when He says, "Deliver my soul from the sword": so that this prayer in prophecy, if you refer it to the Head of the body, should not seem like the petition of one in need, but rather a figured prediction of a future thing. Or certainly, because His body, that is the Church, was to suffer grave persecutions, He said "sword," by which the martyrs were chiefly slaughtered; whence He wishes their souls to be delivered, lest they fear those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul (Matth. 10:28), and consent to unlawful things. Or even in their own passions He calls the tongue of the enemies a sword, whence He wishes His soul, that is the soul of His body, the soul of His saints, to be delivered.

42. But as to what follows, "And from the hand of the dog my only one," nothing more suitable than the only Church seems to me to be understood. But He called the world a dog, barking not by reason but by custom against an unaccustomed truth. For this is the nature of dogs, that toward those with whom they have acquaintance, whether they be good or bad, they do not bark; but at the sight of unaccustomed persons, even innocent ones, they are provoked. But by the "hand of the dog," He signified the power of the world. Whose kingdom also about to be hostile to His body, that is His Church, He figured by

the name of a lion in that which He added: "Save me from the lion's mouth." Whence it is written, "There is no difference between the threats of a king and the wrath of a lion" (Prov. 19:12): although the apostle Peter also compares the devil to a roaring lion, going about and seeking whom he may devour (1 Peter 5:8). And showing that the proud of this world would oppose humble Christians, He says consequently: "And my humility from the horns of the unicorns." For therefore the proud are understood in the unicorns, because pride hates fellowship, and as much as in itself lies, every proud man desires to stand out alone.

CHAPTER XVII.

43. Now attend to where the fruit is: either that He was forsaken, that He might not be heard for earthly happiness, not for folly, but that we might know what we ought to desire by the grace of the New Testament; or that He was not forsaken but heard in that which He says, "Be not far from me," who had said, "Why hast thou forsaken me"; which is certainly contrary, unless the former be referred to one thing, and the latter to another. Attend and hear as much as you are wise, draw as much as you can take in, and as much as I myself am able to speak of so great a matter, or rather as much as He bestows who hears us, both in Christ, in so far as He is man the mediator between us and God, and with Christ, in so far as He is God equal to God, and "is able to do," as the Apostle says, "above that which we ask or understand" (Ephes. 3:20): see in this

psalm the grace of the New Testament; see what is done, what is insinuated, what is commended, what is illustrated by the fruit of that forsaking, tribulation, and prayer. Behold what we read prophesied so long before, what we now see fulfilled: "I will declare thy name," He says, "to my brethren; in the midst of the Church will I sing to thee." Those brethren are they of whom He says in the Gospel: "Go, and tell my brethren" (John 20:17). That Church is she which He just now called His only one; this is the only Catholic Church, which is spread copiously through the whole world, which is extended by growing even to the furthest nations: whence He says in the Gospel, "And this Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all nations; and then shall the end come" (Matth. 24:14).

44. But as to what He says, "I will sing," this is that new song, of which it is said in another psalm: "Sing ye to the Lord a new song, sing to the Lord, all the earth" (Psalm 95:1). You have here both; both by what song He said He would sing, and in the midst of what Church: the former pertains to the new song, the latter to all the earth. For He Himself sings in us, by whose grace we sing, as the Apostle says: "Do you seek a proof of Christ who speaketh in me?" (2 Cor. 13:3). But the "midst of the Church" you may refer to eminence namely, and to manifestation itself, because all things by how much the more clearly they are known, by so much the more are they said to be in the midst; or certainly to the interior ones of the Church, because the interior parts are

the middle. For not everyone who sounds with his lips sings the new song, but he who sings in that manner as the Apostle admonishes, saying: "Singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord" (Ephes. 5:19). For within is this joy, where the voice of praise is both sung and heard; by which voice He is praised who is to be loved freely with the whole heart, with the whole soul, with the whole mind, and who enkindles His lover in Himself by the grace of His Holy Spirit: for what else is the new song, but the praise of God?

CHAPTER XVIII.

45. Finally it follows, and demonstrates this more evidently. For when He had said, "I will declare thy name to my brethren," because no one has ever seen God, but the only-begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, He Himself hath declared Him (John 1:18); and when He had added, "in the midst of the Church will I sing to thee": how He sang, that is, because He sang in us, when we profit in the name which He declared to His brethren; and because He sang the praise of God in us, He immediately manifested it, saying, "Ye that fear the Lord, praise him." But who praises truly, unless he who loves sincerely? It is just the same, therefore, as if He were saying: "Ye that fear the Lord, love him." For He said to man, as it is written: "Beheld, piety is wisdom" (Job 28:28, sec. LXX). Furthermore, piety is the worship of God, nor is He worshipped except by loving. The highest and true wisdom, therefore, is in that first precept: "Thou shalt love the Lord

thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul" (Matth. 22:37): and by this, wisdom is the charity of God; nor is it shed abroad in our hearts, except by the Holy Spirit who is given to us (Rom. 5:5). But "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" (Psalm 110:10): and fear is not in charity, but perfect charity casteth out fear (1 John 4:18). Accordingly, fear sent before into our heart drives out thence the custom of evil works, and keeps a place for charity, which, when it comes as mistress, that she may take her seat, fear departs.

46. Therefore "ye that fear the Lord, praise him": that you may worship God not servilely but freely, learn to love Him whom you fear, and you will be able to praise what you love. For the men of the Old Testament, fearing God because of the letter that terrifies and kills, not yet having the life-giving Spirit (2 Cor. 3:6), used to run with sacrifices to the temple; and although in figure of the future blood by which we are redeemed, yet being ignorant of what was prefigured by them, they used to immolate bloody victims. But now in the grace of the New Testament, "ye that fear the Lord, praise him." For He Himself in another psalm, foretelling that those things were to be changed which were then offered in the shadow of the future, says: "I will not accept calves from thy hand, nor he-goats from thy flocks." And a little after, that He might show the sacrifice of the New Testament, when those things were about to cease, He says: "Offer to God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows to the Most High." And at the end of the same psalm He says: "The sacri-

fice of praise shall glorify me; and there is the way by which I will show him my salvation" (Psalm 49:9, 14, 23). The salvation of God is Christ, whom when the old man Simeon had recognized in spirit as an infant, and had taken Him into his hands: "Now lettest thou, Lord," he says, "thy servant depart according to thy word in peace; because mine eyes have seen thy salvation" (Luke 2:29, 30).

CHAPTER XIX.

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

the word of promise: At this time I will come, and Sarah shall have a son" (Rom. 9:8; Gen. 18:10).

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

CHAPTER XX.

49. Then follows and says: "Let all the seed of Israel fear him." For Jacob himself and Israel were

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

50. Which grafting of the wild olive, the natural branches having already been cut off because of the pride of unbelief, even the Lord Himself foretold in the Gospel, on the occasion of that Centurion who believed in Him from the Gentiles. For then He said: "Amen I say to you, I have not found so great faith in Israel": and He added, "Therefore I say to you that many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the king-

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

51. Dealing therefore with those who were grafted into the olive tree through grace, "Thou sayest," he says, "the branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in. Well; because of unbe-

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

CHAPTER XXI.

52. Wherefore, although the Apostle says to the faithful belonging to the New Testament what I mentioned a little while ago, "For you have not received the spirit of servitude again in fear; but you have received the spirit of adoption of sons, in which we cry: Abba, Father" (Rom. 8:15); that is, so that faith may be in us, which worketh by charity (Gal. 5:6), not so much by fearing punishment as by loving justice: yet because the soul does not become just except by participation in the Better One who justifieth the ungodly (for what has it that it has not received?), it ought not to glory, by attributing to itself what is God's, as if it had not received it (1 Cor. 4:7). For this reason it was said to it: "Be not high-minded, but fear."

And this fear is commanded even to those who, living by faith, are heirs of the New Testament, and called into liberty. For to be high-minded was said to mean to be proud: which in another place, on the contrary, he shows sufficiently, where he says: "Not minding high things, but consenting to the humble" (Rom. 12:16). From this that he said, "consenting to the humble," he certainly opened up that he had said nothing else by "minding high things" than being proud.

53. Fear, therefore, is not in charity, because perfect charity casteth out fear; but that servile fear, that by which, when each one abstains from an evil work, he is terrified by punishment, not delighted by justice; this fear charity casteth out, which iniquity does not delight, even if impunity were proposed: not that fear by which the soul fears lest it lose the very grace by which it has been brought about in it that it is not delighted by sinning; by which it fears lest God desert it, even if He should punish it with no torments of pain. This fear is chaste; charity does not eject it, but adopts it. For concerning it it is written: "The fear of the Lord is chaste, enduring for ever and ever" (Psalm 18:10): by no means would he call that one enduring, unless he knew another which would not endure. And well did he call that one chaste; for it is not lacking in the love by which the soul cleaves to God, which says in another psalm: "Thou hast lost everyone who goes a-whoring from thee; but it is good for me to cleave to God" (Psalm 72:27, 28). For even a wife who bears an adulterous mind, although she does not commit

adultery for fear of her husband, yet what is lacking in the work is present in the will: but the chaste wife fears differently; for she also fears her husband, but chastely. In short, the former fears lest her husband come as an enemy; the latter, lest he depart offended: for to one not loving, the presence of the husband is troublesome; but to one loving, his absence. Therefore, with chaste fear, enduring for ever and ever, let all the seed of Israel fear God. Let them fear Him whom they love, not by minding high things, but by consenting to the humble; with fear and trembling let them work out their own salvation. For it is God who worketh in them both to will and to work, according to His good will (Philip. 2:12, 13).

CHAPTER XXII.

54. This is the justice of God, this is what God gives to man when He justifies the ungodly. Ignorant of this justice of God, the proud Jews, wanting to establish their own, have not submitted themselves to the justice of God (Rom. 10:3); by this pride they are cast down, so that the humble wild olive might be grafted in. And they shall go into outer darkness, concerning which among other things you inquired, while many come from the east and the west, who shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 8:12, 11). For they are now in outer darkness, whence correction is not to be despaired of; but if they despise it, they shall go into outer darkness, where there will be no place for correction: because God is light, and in Him

there is no darkness at all (1 John 1:5); but He is the light of the heart, not of these eyes which are in the flesh; nor is He at all such as the phantasy of this visible light is thought to be; although even there it is possible to see, but far otherwise, far differently. For what kind of light charity itself is, who can explain in words? Who can demonstrate by any example from those things which lie near to the senses of the flesh? Or is charity perhaps not light? Listen to the apostle John: for he himself said what I mentioned just now, "Because God is light, and in Him there is no darkness at all" (1 John 1:5); who again says, "God is charity" (1 John 4:8). And by this, if God is light, and God is charity, surely charity is light itself, which is poured forth in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us (Rom. 5:5). Likewise he says: "He who hateth his brother is in darkness even until now" (1 John 2:11). These are the darknesses into which the devil and his angels have advanced by much pride. For charity is not envious, is not puffed up (1 Cor. 13:4). Therefore it is not envious, because it is not puffed up: for where puffing up precedes, envy immediately follows; since pride is the mother of envy.

55. The devil, therefore, and his angels, turned away from the light and heat of charity, and having advanced too far into pride and envy, have grown numb as if with glacial hardness. And therefore, by a figure, they are placed as it were in the north: whence, since the devil was brooding over the human race, the coming grace of the Savior is described in the Song of Songs: "Arise,

O north wind, and come, O south wind; blow through my garden, and let the aromatics flow" (Cant. 4:16). Arise, you who have rushed in, you who brood over those subjected to you, you who press upon those you possess: arise, so that those relieved of your weight may be raised up, whose souls you have bent down by pressing upon them. "And come, O south wind," he says; invoking the spirit of grace, blowing from the south as if from a warm and luminous part, so that the aromatics may flow. Whence the Apostle says: "We are the good odor of Christ in every place" (2 Cor. 2:15). Hence also it is said in a certain psalm: "Turn again, O Lord, our captivity, as a torrent in the south" (Psalm 125:4); namely the captivity by which they were held under the devil as if under the north wind, where, iniquity abounding, they had grown cold, and in a certain way had frozen. For hence the Gospel also says: "Because iniquity shall abound, the charity of many shall grow cold" (Matt. 24:12). But indeed, when the south wind blows, the ice is melted and the torrents flow, that is, sins being remitted, the peoples run together to Christ in charity. Hence also it is written elsewhere: "As ice in the fair weather, so shall thy sins melt away" (Ecclus. 3:17).

CHAPTER XXIII.

56. Accordingly, the rational creature, whether in an angelic spirit or in a human soul, was so made that it cannot itself be the good by which it may become blessed; but if its mutability be turned to the incommutable good, it becomes

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

57. Accordingly, unbelieving men are darkness; who, being turned to God through faith, a certain illumination having gone before, become light. In which by progressing, if from faith they should arrive at the vision, so that they may merit even to behold that which they believe, as so great a good can be beheld, they will receive the perfect image of God: for to such the Apostle says: "You were sometimes darkness; but now light in

the Lord" (Eph. 5:8). Furthermore, the devil and his angels are the outer darkness to unbelieving men: for they are more turned away from that charity, and have advanced further into their own pride and obstinacy. And since in the final judgment Christ is going to say to those whom He shall set apart on the left hand: "Go into eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matt. 25:41); he says that those who are to be joined to these malignant spirits, and at the same time damned, will go into the outer darkness, that is, into the punitive society of the devil and his angels. To this punishment is contrary what is said to the good servant: "Enter into the joy of thy lord" (Ibid. 23); so that as much as this is outer darkness, so much is that an inner light. These things are not to be thought of through spatial intervals by a vain phantasm: local spaces are occupied only by the masses of bodies. This is not the spirit of life, this is not the rational soul, much less God, the most kind founder of all, and most just ordainer. By wills and affections these things are said either to approach or to be far off, either to enter or to go out.

58. But because they take delight in an evil work, that is, a dark one, in the doing of it, and the punishment which torments is to follow, therefore the Lord, where He said "outer darkness," added also: "There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth": lest they should insanely think that they would use such delights as the wicked enjoy here when they grow dark with unbelief and injustice, even in that punishment; for because they

willingly use good things unjustly, they shall be tormented justly by evil things against their will. Whence the outer darkness can also be understood as corporeal punishments—for the body is external to the soul—so that the evils of the soul, by which the mind, turned away from the light of charity, is delighted in sins, are outer darkness; but the evils of the body, by which it will be tormented in the end for eternity, are the outermost darkness, which alone they fear who are still held by servile fear. For if it were permitted them to be always rolled and involved with impunity in those outer things which are in sins, certainly they would never wish to approach God, and to be illuminated, and to cleave to Him through charity, where there is chaste fear, enduring for ever and ever: which fear does not torment, but makes the soul more tenacious of that good, which if it should let go, it will fall.

CHAPTER XXIV.

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

from the form of a servant, from which also He poured forth prayer: for in it He humbled Himself, being made obedient unto death (Philip. 2:8). See therefore what he says: "Because he hath not slighted nor despised the prayer of the poor, nor hath he turned away his face from me." Where is that "Why hast thou forsaken me," if He did not even turn away His face from Him? except because He who forsakes does not forsake, when He does not hear in temporal goods; and not for our foolishness, but so that we may know what He takes away and what He offers us. "He hath not," he says, "slighted nor despised the prayer of the poor, nor hath he turned away his face from me: and when I cried to him, he heard me." He did, therefore, what He was asked a little while ago, where he said in deprecation: "Depart not from me." For if He heard, He surely did it, and certainly did not depart. Therefore He did not forsake in this way, He who in another way did forsake, so that we might know how much more we ought to wish not to be forsaken by Him.

60. "With thee is my praise." How then do those harm me who insult me as if I were conquered, because thou hast forsaken me in temporal things? "In the great Church I will confess to thee": not as great as that Synagogue is, which mocks the death of the forsaken one, but in the great Church diffused through all nations, which believes in the resurrection of the one not forsaken. This is that unique one which he asks to be delivered from the hand of the dog, concerning which also he said a little while ago: "In the midst

of the Church I will sing to thee." And now that he says, "I will confess to thee," he surely means in those who will confess, in whom also He speaks. But confession is not only of sins, but also of the praise of God; as He Himself says in the Gospel: "I confess to thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to little ones" (Matt. 11:25). Therefore it follows and says: "I will pay my vows in the sight of them that fear him. The poor shall eat and shall be filled: and they shall praise the Lord that seek him." These are the little ones of whom He said, "and thou hast revealed them to little ones"; fearing Him, and being poor, that is, humble, who are not high-minded, but fear with that chaste fear, not by which punishment is dreaded, but by which grace is preserved.

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

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

CHAPTER XXV.

62. Whence charity, consulting the common good rather than the private, is said not to seek its own (1 Cor. 13:5). By this charity hearts live for ever and ever, as if filled with heavenly bread: of which the Filler Himself says: "Except you eat my flesh, and drink my blood, you shall not have life in you" (John 6:54). Meritedly, therefore, the hearts of those who are filled shall live for ever

and ever. For Christ is life, who dwells in their hearts, meanwhile through faith, afterwards also through vision. For they see now through a glass in a riddle, but then face to face (1 Cor. 13:12). Whence charity itself is now exercised in the good works of love, by which it reaches out wherever it can to help; and this is the breadth: now it endures adversity with long-suffering, and perseveres in that which it has truly held; and this is the length: but it does all this for the sake of attaining eternal life, which is promised to it on high; and this is the height. But this charity exists from what is hidden, where we are in a certain way founded and rooted (Ephes. 3:17); where the causes of God's will are not investigated, by whose grace we are saved, not by the works of justice which we have done, but according to His mercy (Tit. 3:5). For of His own will He hath begotten us by the word of truth (James 1:18): and this will of His is in secret. At the depth of which secret the Apostle, as it were trembling, cries out: "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! how incomprehensible are his judgments, and how unsearchable his ways! For who hath known the mind of the Lord" (Rom. 11:33, 34)? and this is the depth. For "altitudo" is a common name for what is high and what is deep: but when it is said of what is high, the eminence of sublimity is commended; but when of what is deep, the difficulty of investigation and knowledge. Whence also it is said to God: "How great are thy works, O Lord! thy thoughts are exceeding deep" (Psalm 91:6). And

again: "Thy judgments are a great abyss" (Psalm 35:7). Hence, therefore, is that saying of the Apostle, which among other things you proposed to be investigated: "For this cause," he says, "I bow my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom all paternity in heaven and earth is named; that he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened by his Spirit with might in the inner man, that Christ may dwell by faith in your hearts; that being rooted and founded in charity, you may be able to comprehend with all the saints, what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth; to know also the charity of Christ, which surpasseth all knowledge, that you may be filled unto all the fullness of God" (Eph. 3:14-19).

CHAPTER XXVI.

63. Attend to all things diligently. "For this cause," he says, "I bow my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom all paternity in heaven and on earth is named." You ask for what cause: he had said this above, "Wherefore I pray that I faint not in my tribulations for you." This, therefore, he wishes for them, that they may not faint in the Apostle's tribulations which he sustained for them, and for this reason he bowed his knees to the Father. Accordingly, that they might not faint, he follows and says: "That he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened by his Spirit with might." These are the riches of which he says: "O the depth of the riches!" For they have hidden causes, where,

with no preceding merits, what have we that we have not received? Then he follows, and adds what he wishes: "That Christ may dwell," he says, "by faith in your hearts, in the inner man." This is the life of hearts, by which we live for ever and ever, from the beginning of faith even to the end of vision. "That being rooted and founded in charity," he says, "you may be able to comprehend with all the saints." This is the communion of a certain divine and heavenly commonwealth; hence the poor are filled, not seeking their own, but the things that are Jesus Christ's; that is, not following private advantages, but consulting for the common good, where the salvation of all is: for of the very bread with which such are filled, the Apostle says in a certain place: "We, being many, are one bread, one body" (1 Cor. 10:17). What, then, are they to comprehend? "What is," he says, "the breadth," as I have already said, in good works, by which benevolence is extended even to the loving of enemies; and length, so that for this breadth, troubles may be endured with long-suffering; and height, so that for these an eternal reward which is in the heavens may be hoped for, and not some vain temporal thing; and depth, whence the free grace of God exists according to the secret and hidden will of His. For there we are rooted, there we are founded: rooted, because of the husbandry; founded, because of the building: which since it is not from man, the same apostle says in another place: "You are God's husbandry, you are God's building" (Ibid. 3:9). All this is done when in this our pilgrimage

faith worketh by love. But in the world to come there will be perfect and full charity without any endurance of evils; it does not believe by faith what it does not see, nor desire by hope what it does not hold; but it will contemplate for ever the incommutable vision of truth, whose quiet work without end will be to praise what it loves, and to love what it praises. Concerning this he says consequently: "To know also the charity of Christ, which surpasseth all knowledge, that you may be filled unto all the fullness of God."

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

said to them: "O man, who art thou that repliest against God?" (Rom. 9:20).

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

CHAPTER XXVII.

66. "All the ends of the earth," he says, "shall remember and shall be converted to the Lord; and all the kindreds of the nations shall adore in his sight: for the kingdom is the Lord's, and he shall have dominion over the nations." He who was mocked, he who was crucified, he who was forsaken, acquires this kingdom: and He shall deliver it at the end to God and the Father; not so that He Himself may lose it, but that what He sowed in faith, when He came as less than the Father, He may lead to the vision in which He, being equal, did not depart from the Father. "All the rich of the earth have eaten and adored": we ought to understand the proud by the rich of the earth, if we rightly understood the poor as the humble above, of whom He says in the Gospel: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven": for they are the meek, the mourning, those who hunger and thirst after justice, the merciful, the clean of heart, the peace-

makers, and those who suffer persecution for justice' sake, to which preachings He separately subjoined blessedness (Matt. 5:3-12). Contrariwise, therefore, the rich of the earth in this place are to be understood as the proud. For not in vain were they so distinguished, that of the poor it was said above, "The poor shall eat and shall be filled"; but here, "All the rich of the earth have eaten and adored." For they too have been brought to the table of Christ, and they receive of His body and blood; but they only adore, they are not also filled, because they do not imitate Him. For eating the Poor One, they disdain to be poor: because Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow His steps (1 Pet. 2:21). Nevertheless, because He humbled Himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross, the rich despise it, and refuse to suffer similar things, because of swelling, not because of greatness; therefore because of infirmity, not because of health. But because God raised Him from the dead, and gave Him a name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those in heaven, on earth, and under the earth (Philip. 2:8-10); moved by the fame of His loftiness and the glory of His name everywhere diffused in the Church, they too come to the table, they eat and adore; yet they are not filled, because they do not hunger and thirst after justice: for such shall be filled. Although perfect satiety will be in that eternal life, when from this pilgrimage we shall have come from faith to vision, from the glass to the

face, from the riddle to the clear truth; nevertheless, he is not inconveniently said to be filled with the poverty of Christ, who for His justice, that is, for the participation of the eternal Word which he has meanwhile begun by faith, not only temperately despises all temporal goods, but also patiently sustains evils.

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

3:1, 2): but rather the more happy they seem to themselves in earthly goods, the more they go down into the earth, that is, they are depressed into earthly things. And therefore they shall fall down in His sight, that is, where He Himself sees, not where men see who think them high and sublime.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

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

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

CHAPTER XXIX.

69. Furthermore, all these things that were said in this psalm, because they pertained not to the present time but to the prophecy of future things, as also appears from the things themselves; He wished to conclude it in such a way as to show that He was not demonstrating present things, nor narrating past things, but prophesying future things: "There shall be announced," he says, "to the Lord a generation to come, and the heavens shall announce his justice to a people that shall be born, whom the Lord hath made." He does not say, The Lord shall be announced to the generation to come; but, "There shall be announced to the Lord a generation to come": which is not to be understood as if something were announced to one who is ignorant so that He may know; but as the Angels announce, not

only the benefits of God to us, but also our prayers to Him. For it is written, where the angel says to men: "I offered the memory of your prayer" (Tobit 12:12): not that God then knew what we wished, or what we needed; "For your Father knoweth," says the Lord, "what is necessary for you before you ask him" (Matt. 6:8): but because it is necessary for the rational creature, obeying God, to refer temporal causes to eternal truth, whether by seeking what may be done toward it, or by consulting what it should do; which is a pious affect of the mind, so that the mind itself may be constructed, not so that God may be instructed. For this also is a certain contestation of the rational creature, that it is not for itself the good by which it may become happy, but that immutable good by the participation of which it is even made wise.

70. Or it was said in this way, "There shall be announced to the Lord a generation to come," as if it were said, They who shall announce not for themselves shall please the Lord; so that to announce to the Lord is the same as to live to the Lord: thus it is said: "He that eateth, eateth to the Lord; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not." For to this he added: "And he giveth thanks to God," so that it might be shown what "he doeth to the Lord" (Rom. 14:6) meant, that is, he doeth it to His praise. For then it is rightly, then justly, then piously done, when a good work is done to His praise by whose grace it is granted that it be done. And by this, even if someone should wish to understand these words

in such a way that their order is this, "There shall be announced to the Lord a generation to come," that is, that generation shall be announced which is to come to the Lord, namely, the generation of the pious and the holy, because the generation of the impious and the wicked is to come not to the Lord, but to themselves: one does not depart from the same signification, by which the participation of the soul in that same thing is understood; that is, that the rational creature, since it is mutable, does not become happy except from its own mutable state by turning to the immutable good, which is the same common good which is God, from whom it stood apart by proud impiety, and being converted by humble piety, it may subsist. Progressing in this affect, whatever good it does, it does to the Lord, that is, to His praise, whose grace it has received that it may do it; whence is the giving of thanks, which is celebrated in the intimate mystery of the faithful.

CHAPTER XXX.

71. Moreover, that which follows, "And they shall announce his justice to a people that shall be born, whom the Lord hath made," is a confirmation of the superior sense. For what was said there, "There shall be announced to the Lord a generation to come": this is said here, "they shall announce his justice." For that generation of the pious and holy which was prophesied as coming, is the justice of God, not their own: lest they be of those who, "ignorant of the justice of God, and wishing to establish their own, are not subject to

the justice of God" (Rom. 10:3). For that justice of God is commended in what is said, "ignorant of the justice of God," by which we are just from His grace: so that we ourselves may be His justice, when we live justly, believing in Him who justifies the ungodly (Ibid. 4:5); not that justice by which He Himself is just in His eternal and immutable justice. This justice, therefore, by which we are just by the gift of God, is signified in that psalm where it is written: "Thy justice is like the mountains of God" (Psalm 35:7). For the mountains of God are His saints; concerning whom it is said elsewhere: "Let the mountains receive peace for thy people" (Psalm 71:3). And many things are written about these mountains in figurative speech, which it is long to commemorate now. But because God does this very thing of justifying men by an exceedingly hidden judgment (since He doeth it by gratuitous grace; for if by grace, not of works, otherwise grace is now no more grace [Rom. 11:6]; for from this surely good works begin, from the point where we are justified; not because they preceded are we justified: and this is the deep, concerning which we have already said many things above), immediately in the same psalm when he had said, "Thy justice is as the mountains of God," he subjoined, "Thy judgments are like a great abyss." Thence he comes to the salvation common to men and beasts, because even that is from the mercy of God, and he says, "Thou shalt save men and beasts, O Lord; as thy mercy is multiplied, O God": so that from this we may understand that even that eternal and

immortal salvation of which the Apostle says, "For we are saved by hope" (Ibid. 8:24), similarly to this one which is common to men and beasts, we receive gratuitously, not from works, lest perchance any one should be extolled; because we work good works from His justification. "For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus in good works, which God hath prepared that we should walk in them" (Eph. 2:8-10). And that salvation therefore is gratuitous, concerning which it is said in another psalm: "Salvation is of the Lord, and thy blessing is upon thy people" (Psalm 3:9).

72. Just as therefore what is read, "Salvation is of the Lord," is not understood as that salvation by which the Lord is safe; but by which these are safe, whom He Himself makes safe: so when "God's justice" is read, in that which is written, "Ignorant of the justice of God, and wishing to establish their own"; it is not to be understood as that by which God is just, but that by which men are just whom He justifies by His grace. For they are saved from that from which they are just; since what he said, "The whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick," he explained in the consequences, saying: "I came not to call the just, but sinners" (Matt. 9:12, 13). Not therefore according to the works of justice which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us by the washing of regeneration (Tit. 3:5). In which grace we are saved by hope (Rom. 8:24). Whence in that psalm it is subjoined: "But the children of men shall hope under the cover of thy wings.

They shall be inebriated from the plenty of thy house, and thou shalt make them drink from the torrent of thy pleasure; because with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light we shall see light. Extend thy mercy to them that know thee, and thy justice to them that are of a right heart." To this justice of God, therefore, pride is contrary, by which trust is placed as if in one's own works; and therefore there follows: "Let not the foot of pride come to me" (Psalm 35:8-12).

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

that which they are as men, He who even created the cattle, from whom is all life, and every made and created nature? But "whom the Lord hath made" is to be understood in such a way, that not only in that they are men, but also in that they are just, they may be understood to have been made by Him; according to that which I have already commemorated not once as said by the Apostle: "For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus in good works, which God hath prepared that we should walk in them."

CHAPTER XXXI.

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

conscience, where God is a witness to them; but let it be among the wise virgins, where it may say what the Apostle says: "For our glory is this, the testimony of our conscience" (2 Cor. 1:12). For this is to carry oil with oneself, not to buy it from those who sell, that is, from flatterers. For flatterers vend their praise as oil to the foolish. Concerning this oil it is said in the Psalm: "The just shall correct me in mercy, and shall reprove me; but the oil of the sinner shall not fatten my head" (Psalm 140:5). It chose to be mercifully rebuked by the just, and as it were to be buffeted, rather than to be praised by the flattery of a sinner, so that its head might grow in pride.

75. Indeed, the response of those who mock seems to me to be given, when it is said to them by the wise virgins: "Go rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves": just as it is written in a certain book of Wisdom, where he says to despisers: "I also will laugh at your destruction" (Prov. 1:26). But by that response by which it was said to those seeking oil, "Lest perchance there be not enough for us and you," it was said not in despair, but in humility. For who would so presume concerning his own conscience, as to be certain that it could suffice for him in the judgment of God, unless He should judge the merciful with mercy? For judgment is without mercy to him who hath not done mercy (James 2:13). But those are the burning lamps, namely, good works, concerning which the Lord says: "Let your good works shine before men, and let them glorify your Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 5:16). The intention of the wise

virgins extends to this point, that they wish their good works to be seen by men for this reason, not that they themselves may be praised by them, but that God may be glorified, from whom they have it that they work well: and by this they rejoice in the interior good, which is before God, where alms are in secret, so that the Father, who seeth in secret, may repay. And therefore the lamps do not fail, because they are nourished by the interior oil, that is, by the intention of a good conscience, by which whatever shines in good works before men is done before God for His glory. But indeed, the lamps of the foolish virgins, not carrying this oil with them, fail; that is, the good works do not shine perseveringly when human praise has been withdrawn, for the sake of which they were doing them, carrying their intention thus far that they might be seen by men, not that the Father who is in heaven might be glorified. Which intention is of perennial glory, by which the soul knows that it owes to God that it was justified to do good works, and therefore it loves to be praised in Him, not in itself. Whence in another place the man of God sings: "In the Lord shall my soul be praised" (Psalm 33:2), so that "he who glorieth, let him glory in the Lord" (1 Cor. 1:31).

CHAPTER XXXII.

76. But what is it that is written in the same reading of the Gospel, that while the bridegroom tarried they all slept? If we understand this sleep as meaning that, while the judgment for which Christ is to come is tarrying, charity grows cold

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

because the Church itself will then appear more bright, so that the members may run together to the congregation of the whole body, which being joined together, its magnitude shall be shown.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

77. He called them virgins on account of continence. But ten, that is five and five, on account of the number by which the senses of the body are reckoned, in which continence dwells when one abstains from base and illicit pleasures. The lamps, as has been said, are good works, and especially those pertaining to mercy; and that very praiseworthy conduct which shines even before men: but it is of great importance with what intention of mind it is done; therefore he calls some wise, others foolish. But by this he distinguishes them, that the foolish took no oil with them, but the wise took oil in their vessels, that is, in their hearts, where that participation of the intimate and supernal good takes place. Whence in a certain psalm, when it had been said: "Offer the sacrifice of justice, and hope in the Lord"; he says: "Many say: Who showeth us good things?" Then, that he might manifest by the love of what good we ought to work justice, that is, to offer the sacrifice of justice: "The light of thy countenance, O Lord," he says, "is signed upon us: thou hast given gladness in my heart" (Psalm 4:6, 7). He who works well, and conducts himself praiseworthily even in the sight of men, with the intention of this good partially participated in, and to be more fully and perfectly participated in, has oil with

him, by which his good works, shining even in the sight of men, are not extinguished; because charity does not grow cold in him while iniquity abounds, but perseveres unto the end. The foolish virgins do not have this oil with them, because in ascribing to themselves whatever good work they do, they must necessarily be puffed up with pride, and on account of this vice they are so delighted with human praise that they seem to glow and shine with its joy if they do anything good.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

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

and they trim their lamps, that is, they prepare to give an account of their works.

79. But then, in the evidence of that cry and the resurrection of the dead, because there will be no doubt of the already instant and present judgment, all solace of human praise will be withdrawn. For there will be no leisure to dispute about another, or to judge about another, or to gratify and vote for another, when each one shall bear his own burden, and shall think of the account to be rendered of his own deeds: and by this the mind of the foolish virgins indeed will be carried along by its own custom, but not having found human praises, it will fail. For they did not say from the heart: "My praise is from thee"; or, "In the Lord shall my soul be praised"; or they did not glory in the Lord, when, being ignorant of the justice of God, they established their own justice. And by this they seek oil from the wise, that is, some consolation; nor do they find it nor receive it, those responding that they know not whether their own conscience may even suffice for themselves, by which they expect mercy under that judge, who when He shall sit upon His throne, who shall boast that he hath a chaste heart, or who shall boast that he is clean from sin, unless mercy superexsulteth judgment (James 2:13)? which will be upon those who have done those works of mercy with the intention that He might have mercy on them, from whom they knew they had received what they had; nor did they glory as if they had not received it, but had through themselves that by which they might please, like

the foolish who both please themselves as if from a good prepared by themselves for themselves, and are so praised by flatterers or those in error as if they themselves were something. "For if any man think himself to be something, whereas he is nothing," as the Apostle says, "he deceiveth himself. But let every man prove his own work; and then he shall have glory in himself only, and not in another" (Galat. 6:3, 4): this is to carry oil with oneself, not to depend on the praise of another. But what glory shall he have in himself, except Him to whom it is said: "My glory, and the lifter up of my head" (Psalm 3:4); so that, as must often be said, he who glorieth, let him glory in the Lord (1 Cor. 1:31)?

80. Accordingly, the wisdom which dwells in the wise virgins, according to that which he predicted before, when he said to the despisers and those refusing to receive sound doctrine: "I also will laugh at your destruction" (Prov. 1:26); says to the foolish virgins: "Go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves": as if she were saying: Where are they who were deceiving you with most mendacious praises, when you were also deceived by yourselves, because you gloried in yourselves, not in the Lord? But what he says, "And while they went to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him," this seems to me to be understood as meaning that with a vicious affect of the heart they will gape for vain glory, which they followed with a vain elation of mind. And that appetite itself was signified in what was said: "While they

went to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage": that is, they who carried true faith and true piety in their heart, by which they could be tempered to the number and society of the saints, glorying not in themselves, but in the Lord, so that they might enter with them into that joy of which it is said: "Enter thou into the joy of thy lord" (Matt. 25:23); where there will be the perfect participation of the immutable good, of which now a certain earnest is held through faith, so that we may live according to this grace, in as much as we live to God, not to ourselves.

CHAPTER XXXV.

81. Accordingly, as to that which follows, "Last of all come also the other virgins, saying: Lord, Lord, open to us"; it is not said that they had bought oil and so come, for there was now no longer a source from which to do so; but that they sought mercy too late, when it was already the time for judging, and for separating the upright from the reprobate. But it is rightly responded to them: "Amen I say to you, I know you not." He surely says this, from whom nothing is hidden: but "I know you not" is nothing else than, You know me not, since you choose to trust in yourselves rather than in me. For when it is said that God knows us, He bestows on us the knowledge of Himself, so that through this we may understand that not even this is to be attributed to ourselves, that we know God, but we should attribute that knowledge also to His mercy.

Whence when the Apostle said in a certain place, "But now knowing God," he corrected it and said, "Yea rather, being known by God" (Galat. 4:9): wishing nothing else to be understood, except that He Himself had made them knowers of Himself. But no one knows God, unless he who understands Him to be the supreme and immutable good, by the participation of which he is made good: which was placed in the conclusion of this psalm, "They shall announce his justice to a people that shall be born, whom the Lord hath made." Thence is also that which is in another psalm: "He hath made us, and not we ourselves" (Psalm 99:3). For this is to be referred not to that nature by which we are men, of which nature He Himself is the creator, as He is of heaven and earth, of the stars, and of all living things; but rather to that which the Apostle says: "For we are his workmanship, created in Jesus Christ in good works, which God hath prepared that we should walk in them" (Eph. 2:10).

CHAPTER XXXVI.

82. I think that your five questions have been sufficiently resolved for you, while I lingered in this sixth one, as it were, of my own, which I proposed to myself concerning the Grace of the New Testament, on account of which the Word was made flesh, that is, He who was the Son of God was made man, by receiving our nature, not by losing His own: through which also power might be given to us who receive Him, so that we who were men might become the

sons of God (John 1:14, 12) by the participation of the immutable good, changed for the better, not toward temporal happiness, but toward the adoption of eternal life, which alone is blessed. Whence it also pleased me to run through the prophetic Psalm, whose first verse He commemorated in His passion, showing how God leaves us, and in what other way He does not depart from us; gathering us to eternal goods, but sometimes usefully bestowing temporal ones, and sometimes usefully withdrawing them; so that we may learn not to adhere to them, lest having despised the interior light, which pertains to the new life (whence also this psalm itself received its name "for the morning reception," as if for the new light), we should dwell willingly in outer darkness, whence those are sent into the exterior darkness who do not turn themselves from these outer things to the interior ones; lest, associated with the devil and his angels, we should be punished with extreme damnation. Understanding therefore our pilgrimage in this life, let us be crucified to the world, extending our hands in the breadth of good works, and persevering with longanimity unto the end, and having our heart above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God (Coloss. 3:1, 2), and attributing all this not to ourselves, but to His mercy, whose profound judgments fatigue every scrutinizer. For this is the not vainly fabulous, but usefully true breadth, length, height, depth, whence we may arrive even to the supereminent knowledge of the char-

ity of Christ, and be filled unto all the fullness of God (Eph. 3:19).

CHAPTER XXXVII.

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

foolish, because the wise took oil in their vessels, but the foolish did not carry this with them; being equal in so many things, He demonstrates them to be unequal in this one thing alone, and for this alone He imposes different and contrary names upon them.

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

85. Therefore, when you find such persons, let them not persuade you of the emptiness of their vessels, but do you rather persuade them of the

fullness. Whence the Apostle says: "If any man think that he knoweth any thing, he hath not yet known as he ought to know." And soon showing what he meant, he says: "But if any man love God, the same is known by him" (1 Cor. 8:2, 3). Nor did he wish to say thus, He hath known him, but by saying, "is known by him," he wished more expressly to commend that even this is from Him to us, that we love Him. "For the charity of God is poured forth in our hearts," not by ourselves, but "by the Holy Spirit who is given to us" (Rom. 5:5). Moreover, it is necessary that he who thinks he was made good not by Him but by himself, should love God but little: for how can it be that such a one should glory not in himself, but in the Lord? For he who glories that he is good, ought to glory in Him by whom he was made good: and by this, it is consequent that he who thinks himself made good by himself, should glory in himself, not in the Lord. But the entire intention of the grace of the New Testament, by which we have our heart above (since "every best gift, and every perfect gift, is from above" [James 1:17]), does this, that we may not be ungrateful; and in that very giving of thanks nothing else is done, except that he who glories, let him glory in the Lord. You have a book, though prolix, yet, as I think, not superfluous. But love also to read ecclesiastical letters, and you will not find many things which you should require from me; but by reading and ruminating, if you also purely pray to the Lord, the giver of all good things, you will learn all things which are worthy of knowledge, or cer-

tainly very many, by Him inspiring you more than by any man admonishing you. Although by that very fact that we approve with an unerring judgment one admonishing well from without, what else do we testify than that we have an internal light as our master?

EPISTLE CXLI.

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

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

1. Since the fame was becoming frequent in our ears, that your bishops were saying this to you, that the Judge had been corrupted by a reward, so that a sentence might be pronounced against them, and that you easily believed these things, and therefore many of you were still unwilling to acquiesce to the truth; it pleased us, the charity of the Lord compelling us, to direct these writings to you from our council, by which you might first be admonished that they, being conquered and convicted, were boasting these lies to you: who even in their Mandate, which they made for that conference, and confirmed with their names and signatures, saying that we were there traditors and their persecutors, were detected and convicted in most manifest falsity and lie; so that wishing to glory in the multitude

of their co-bishops, they inserted among the names of some who were absent even the name of a dead man; and when it was asked where he was, being blinded by sudden perturbation, they themselves confessed that he had failed on the journey. And when they were asked how he could have signed at Carthage, who had already failed on the journey, being more vehemently perturbed, they bound themselves with another lie, responding that he had died returning from Carthage: from which lie they were by no means able to escape. Behold whom you believe either concerning ancient tradition, or concerning the corruption of the Judge, who were not able to write their own Mandate, where they objected to us the crime of tradition, without the crime of falsity. Accordingly, those things which we believed most necessary, we have inserted in these letters collected as if in a summary, lest perchance you might not be able easily to arrive at the great volumes of the Acts, or might think it laborious to read them.

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

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

3. Behold, the bishops of your party, whom all chose to speak for all, endeavored as much as they could that the cause itself, for which so great a number of bishops of both parties had come to Carthage from all Africa and from such distant places, should not be dealt with at all. And when every soul was waiting in suspense in so great a gathering for what was being done, they vehemently insisted that nothing should be done. Why this, unless because they knew their cause to be bad, and could not doubt that they could very easily be conquered if it were

dealt with? Therefore, their very mind, by which they feared lest the cause should be dealt with, already showed them to be conquered. For if they had extorted what they wanted, so that the conference itself should not take place, and the truth should not appear by our disputations: returning from Carthage, what would they have answered to you? what would they have shown? I believe they would have brought forth the Acts and said to you: "We were insisting that the cause should not be dealt with, they were insisting that it should be." You expect to see what we did: behold, read where we conquered them, by doing nothing. Perchance you also would answer, if you had a heart: "Will you then do nothing? why go to them? or rather, you who did nothing, why did you return?"

4. Finally, after they could not effect what they endeavored, that is, that the cause should not be dealt with, the action itself demonstrated what they feared, when they were conquered in all things. For they confessed that against the Catholic Church, which is spread throughout the whole world, they had nothing that they could say; because they were overwhelmed by the divine testimonies of the Holy Scriptures, by which the Church is designated as beginning from Jerusalem, growing through the places in which the Apostles preached and wrote the names of those same places in their Epistles and Acts, and from there being spread through the rest of the nations. Against this Church they professed with a manifest voice that they had no cause, wherein

is our most evident victory in the name of God. For when they confirm the Church, to which it is manifest that we communicate but they do not communicate, they testify that they were long ago conquered; and to you, if you be wise, they most clearly indicate what you ought to leave and what you ought to hold, not by that falsity with which they do not cease to lie to you even until now, but by that truth which, being conquered, they were compelled to confess.

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

have as a partner in crime in the consent to the evil work.

6. This also they themselves were compelled to confess with a most manifest voice; not then when we were saying these things, but afterward when something else was being dealt with. For when the cause of Caecilian also had been come to, which we distinguished from the cause of the Church, so that if perchance he should be found evil, we should anathematize him, yet we should not on his account leave the Church of Christ, which could not be prejudiced by his bad cause: when therefore they had come even to the cause of Caecilian himself, and they had read that council of Carthage, where they recited the sentences of seventy bishops, more or less, pronounced against the absent Caecilian; we answered them, that the council of bishops did not hinder the absent Caecilian, just as the council of more bishops of the party of Donatus did not hinder the absent Primian, when more or less a hundred bishops had condemned him in the cause of Maximian. Then they, the cause of Maximian being named, whence they know that they even received back in full honor those whom they had condemned, and confirmed and did not destroy the baptism given in the sacrilegious schism of Maximian; and in their Bagaitan sentence, by which they condemned them, they gave a delay to some who had been in that same schism, and said that the plantings of the sacrilegious shoots of Maximian did not pollute them: when this cause, therefore, struck their ears, being terrified

and perturbed, and forgetting where they were contending against us above, they immediately said: "Neither cause prejudices cause, nor person prejudices person": and they confirmed by their words what we were previously saying about the Church, that not only the transmarine Catholic Church, against which they confessed they had nothing to say, but even the African Catholic Church, which is joined to that one in the communion of unity, could not be prejudiced by the cause and person of Caecilian, whatever he might have been; if Maximian, who with his other associates condemned Primian, if even Felician, who together condemned Primian, and was afterward condemned by the party of Donatus in the cause of Primian, does not prejudice the party of Donatus, to which he is now joined, being received as a bishop as he had been before; if also Maximian does not prejudice those same associates of his, to whom they gave a delay, saying that they had not been polluted by him with whom they were, because "neither cause prejudices cause, nor person prejudices person."

7. What more do you seek? They indeed burdened the Acts (Gesta) with many superfluous words; and because they could not effect that the cause should not be dealt with, they did this by speaking much, so that what was done might be read with difficulty. But even these few words of theirs ought to suffice you, lest on account of I know not what crimes of I know not what men, you should hate the unity of the Catholic Church; because, as they themselves said, reread,

and signed: "Neither cause prejudices cause, nor person prejudices person." For even in the cause of Caecilian itself, which, although not pertaining to the cause of the Church, we nevertheless undertook to defend, so that even there their slanders (calumnies) might be made manifest, they were most clearly conquered, and were able to prove nothing of those things which they intended against Caecilian. Moreover, even concerning the crimes of tradition, we brought forth the episcopal Acts, whence we recited that some of those bishops who had pronounced sentences against the absent Caecilian had been most manifest traditors. Against these same Acts, because they had nothing to say, they said they were false; but in no way were they able to prove it.

8. Moreover, they even confessed, or rather professed for great glory, that Caecilian was accused by their predecessors before the Emperor Constantine. And they added a lie, that he was condemned by the Emperor at their accusation. Behold, from here also they are conquered, whence they are accustomed to pour forth clouds of error upon you, stirring up envy against us, and bringing us into your hatred, because we deal with the cause of the Church before the Emperors. Behold, their ancestors of whose names they glory, dealt with the cause of the Church before the Emperor; they persecuted by accusing Caecilian before the Emperor, they said he was condemned. Now let them not seduce you with most vain and lying words: return to your heart, fear the Lord, think of the truth, leave falsity.

For whatever you may now have suffered by the imperial laws, which you suffer not for justice but for iniquity, you will not be able to say that we are therefore unjust, because it ought not to have been dealt with thus with you, that the Emperor should restrain you from that iniquity. For your bishops confessed that their ancestors dealt thus with Caecilian as you do not wish it to be dealt with with you. And yet that they persecuted Caecilian before the Emperor was sufficiently established even by their own confessing and professing: but that Caecilian was condemned by the Emperor was not established at all; nay, it was even established that he, their ancestors accusing and persecuting him, was purged twice first by bishops, and afterward by the Emperor himself. This they themselves also confirmed, by bringing forth such things afterward, as if for their own cause, that they were found to be rather against themselves, and even those things which they brought forth were recited for the cause of Caecilian. Whomever, therefore, they wished to accuse, they could prove with no certain documents: but whatever we said both for the cause of the Church and for the cause of Caecilian, they themselves also confirmed both by their words and by the readings brought forth by themselves.

9. For they first brought forth a codex of Optatus, whence they might prove as it were that Caecilian was condemned by the Emperor: which codex, when it was read against them, and showed rather that Caecilian had been purged, they were laughed at by all. But because that

laughter could not be recorded by the secretaries, they testified by their own words in the Acts that they had been laughed at. Again they recited and brought forth a petition (libellum) given to the Emperor Constantine by their ancestors, where they complained that the mentioned Emperor was gravely persecuting them; and thus by the same petition they manifested that they had been overcome by Caecilian before the Emperor, and that what they had said, that he was condemned by the Emperor, was false. Thirdly, they brought forth letters of the same Constantine given to the vicar Verinus, where he gravely detests them, and therefore says they are to be released from exile and left to their own fury, because God had already begun to take vengeance upon them: and thus also by these letters of the Emperor they confirmed that they had said a falsehood, that Caecilian was condemned by the Emperor; when rather the Emperor showed that they were conquered by Caecilian, when he, vehemently execrating them, therefore commanded that they should be released from exile, so that with God as judge, as they had already begun, they might be punished.

10. Afterward they brought into the midst the cause of Felix of Aptungi, the ordainer of Caecilian, saying that the same Felix had been a traditor, by whom Caecilian had been ordained: and they brought forth letters of the same Emperor Constantine for Caecilian against themselves, where he wrote to the proconsul that Ingentius should be sent to his Court. But this Ingentius

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

11. Who would believe that they had recited these things against themselves for us, unless it had been done by the nod of Almighty God, so that not only their words should be held by

the Acts (Gesta), but also the hands of those signing should be read? For if anyone now diligently adverts to the order of the consuls and of the days, which is expressed in the Acts, he will find first that Caecilian was purged by an episcopal judgment. Then not much later the cause of Felix of Aptungi was examined by the proconsul Aelianus, where it was established that he was innocent: in which cause Ingentius was commanded to be sent to the Court. And long afterward the Emperor himself took cognition between the parties and finished the cause: in which cognition he judged Caecilian innocent, but them most slanderous (calumnious). In which order of consuls and days it is sufficiently shown that they said fallaciously and slanderously that the Emperor, Ingentius being sent to the Court, changed his judgment, and afterward condemned Caecilian whom he had first purged. For not only were they able to read nothing concerning this matter, and read so much against themselves; but also they are more evidently convicted by the order of consuls, that after the cause of Felix was terminated by a proconsular judgment, in which it was commanded that Ingentius be sent to the Court, not by a small interval, but long afterward by the judgment of the mentioned Emperor held between the parties, Caecilian was purged.

12. Therefore let them not say to you that we have corrupted the judge by a reward. For what else are conquered men accustomed to say? Or if we gave something to the judge, so that he might

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

13. But why do we burden the letters with more things? If you wish to believe us, believe; and let us hold together the unity which God commands and loves. But if you do not wish to believe us, read the Acts themselves, or allow them to be read to you, and do you yourselves prove whether those things which we have written to you are true. But if you wish to do none of these things, and desire still to follow the falsity of the party of Donatus convicted by most manifest truth, we are clean from your punishment, when you shall afterward repent too late. But if you shall not have contemned that which God has provided for you; and after a cause so diligently dealt with and so diligently manifested, leaving perverse custom, you shall have consented to the peace and unity of Christ, we shall rejoice in your correction: and the Sacraments of Christ, which you have for judgment in the sacrilege of schism, will be useful and salu-

tary to you when you shall have Christ as head in Catholic peace, where charity covers a multitude of sins (1 Pet. 4:8). We have written these things to you on the eighteenth day before the calends of July, in the ninth consulship of the most pious Honorius Augustus, so that these letters might reach whoever of you they can.

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

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

1. Your arrival has gladdened us: but let not our absence sadden you. For we are in that Church which, by the favor of God, although it be stretched out everywhere and spread through the whole world, is nevertheless one great body of one great head, which head is the Savior Himself, as the Apostle says (Eph. 5:23, and Coloss. 1:18). Concerning the glorification of this head, however, which was to be after His resurrection, the prophet predicted so long before: "Be thou exalted above the heavens, O God"; and because, He being exalted above the heavens, His Church was to fill the whole earth with copious fecundity, the same psalm consequently added: "And

thy glory above all the earth" (Psalm 56:12). Accordingly, most beloved, with a stable mind and a most firm heart, let us persist under so high a head in so glorious a body, in which we are members of one another. Whence even if my long absence were in most remote lands, we would be together in Him, from the unity of whose body we ought not to withdraw. For if one house held us, we should certainly be said to be together: how much more are we together when we are together in one body! Although even in one house the Truth Himself testifies that we are, since Holy Scripture, which says the Church is the body of Christ, says likewise that the same Church is the house of God.

2. But this house is not built in one corner of the earth, but through the whole earth. Whence that psalm, in the title of which is read, "When the house was being built after the captivity," thus begins: "Sing to the Lord a new song, sing to the Lord, all the earth" (Psalm 95:1). For in the oldness of the old man, the devil had made captive the world; after this captivity, when the house is being built, the renovation of the faithful is signified in the new man. Whence the Apostle says: "Put off the old man, and put on him who is created according to God" (Eph. 4:22, 24): and because this is done through the whole earth in Catholic unity; as it was said in another psalm, "And thy glory above all the earth," so in this one, when it had been said, "Sing to the Lord a new song," that it might be demonstrated when the house is being built in this new song, it was

immediately subjoined: "Sing to the Lord, all the earth." But the workmen, by whom this so great a house is being built, the same psalm exhorts, when it says consequently: "Bring good tidings of his salvation from day to day; declare his glory among the nations, his wonders among all peoples": and a little after it says: "Bring to the Lord, ye kindreds of the nations, bring to the Lord glory and honor." What this house is, that is, the Catholic Church, I have said in another place.

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

count of that chaff destined for the future fire, we should desert the threshing floor of the Lord.

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

EPISTLE CXLIII.

He answers in a few words to a question proposed from the divine Books by Marcellinus. Then he explains a passage censured from his books on Free Will; declaring in the first place how much he wishes to be attributed to his writings: and by the same occasion touching upon various questions concerning the origin of souls. Finally he rejects the doubt of someone (perhaps

Volusianus), who therefore did not believe that the Virgin Mary had given birth, because it was never done elsewhere.

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

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

2. But that letter of yours which the presbyter Urbanus brought, has a question proposed to me from books not divine, but mine, which I wrote on Free Will (Libero Arbitrio). In such questions, however, I do not labor much: because even if my sentence cannot be defended by clear reason, it is mine; not that of an author whose sense it is not lawful to disapprove, even when, it not being understood, that is felt from it which ought to be disapproved. I accordingly confess myself to be of the number of those who endeavor to write by profiting, and to profit by writing. Whence

if anything has been set down by me either more incautiously or more unlearnedly, which is deservedly reprehended not only by others who can see it, but even by myself, because I at least ought to see it afterward if I profit; it is neither to be wondered at nor to be grieved at: but rather to be forgiven and to be congratulated; not because there was an error, but because it was disapproved. For he loves himself too perversely who wishes others also to err, so that his own error may lie hidden. For how much better and more useful, that where he himself has erred, others should not err, by whose admonition he may be free from error! which if he should be unwilling, let him at least not have companions in error. For if God shall have provided for me what I wish, that I might collect and demonstrate all the things whatever in all my books which most rightly displease me, by some work instituted for this very purpose (Retractations); then men will see how I am not an acceptor of my own person.

3. But you who love me much, if you assert such a thing against those by whose malice, or unskilfulness, or intelligence I am reprehended, as to say that I have nowhere erred in my writings; you labor in vain, you have undertaken no good cause, you are easily overcome in it with me myself as judge. Since it does not please me, when I am thought such by my most dear friends as I am not. For truly they love not me, but instead of me another under my name, if they love not what I am, but what I am not. For in as much as they have known me, or believe true things about

me, I am loved by them: but in as much as they attribute to me what they do not know in me, they love another such as they think me to be, instead of me. Tullius, the greatest author of Roman eloquence, said of someone: "He never sent forth any word which he would wish to recall." Which praise indeed, although it may seem most distinguished, yet is more credible concerning one too fatuous, than concerning a perfect wise man. For those also whom they commonly call morons, the more they are dissonant from common sense, and the more absurd and insipid they are, the more they send forth no word which they would wish to recall; because to repent of a bad, or foolish, or inconvenient saying, is certainly the part of those with a heart. But if it be taken in a good part, so that we believe anyone to have been such, that since he spoke all things wisely, he never sent forth any word which he would wish to recall; this is rather to be believed with most salutary piety concerning the men of God, who spoke by the Holy Spirit, than concerning him whom Cicero thus praises. I am so far away from this excellence, that if I shall have brought forth no word which I would wish to recall, I am more similar to a fatuous man than to a wise man. For those writings are indeed most worthy of the highest authority, which sent forth no word, not which he would wish to recall, but which he ought to recall. Whoever has not yet attained this, let him have the second parts of modesty, since he could not have the first parts of wisdom: because he was not able to have said all things

diligently not to be repented of, let him repent of those things which he has known were not to be said.

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

first; so that only those things to be reprehended may reach them which could not at all be seen by me, although searching most sedulously.

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

6. For whether all souls are propagated from that one, or are made individually in individuals, or being created outside are sent in, or are merged into bodies of their own accord; without doubt that rational creature, that is, the nature of the

human soul, in inferior bodies, that is earthly ones, ordered after sin rules its own body, not in every way at its own choice, meanwhile because it is established that the sin of the first man [exists]. For it was not said, "After its own sin," or, "After it sinned"; but it was said, "After sin": so that whatever afterward, if it were possible, discussed reason should declare, whether its own sin or the sin of the parent of its flesh, what was said might be understood to have been rightly said: "After sin, ordered in inferior bodies, it rules its own body, not in every way at its own choice," because both the flesh lusts against the spirit (Gal. 5:17), and we groan being burdened (2 Cor. 5:4), and the body which is corrupted burdens the soul (Wisd. 9:15): and who could relate all the inconveniences of carnal infirmity? which indeed will not be, when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption (1 Cor. 15:53), so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life. Then therefore the spiritual body will rule in every way at its choice; but now indeed not in every way, but as the laws of the universe permit, through which it is established that bodies having arisen should die, and having increased should grow old. For the soul of that first man, before sin, although not yet a spiritual body but an animal one, nevertheless ruled at its choice. But after sin, that is after sin had been committed in that flesh from which henceforth the flesh of sin should be propagated, the rational soul was so ordered in inferior bodies that it does not rule its own body in every way at its choice. But if those who have not yet com-

mitted any sins of their own do not yet acquiesce in infants that there is already the flesh of sin, because even for the healing of this, when they are baptized, medicine is necessary, that likeness of the flesh of sin; not even so do they have anything to be angry at in these words of ours. For it is established, unless I am mistaken, that the same flesh, even if it is infirm not by vice but by nature, nevertheless began to be born after sin: because neither was Adam so created, nor did he beget anyone before sin.

7. Let them therefore seek other things which they may rightly reprehend, not only in others published more hastily, but even in these very books of mine on Free Will (Libero Arbitrio). Nor indeed do I deny that they will find whence they may confer a benefit upon me; since if those, because they have already gone out into the hands of many, cannot be corrected, I certainly can, since I still live. But these words were so cautiously set down by me, that I might not prescribe to any opinion or reason of those four concerning the origin of the soul, let only those reprehend them who think that this very hesitation of mine concerning so obscure a matter is to be reprehended: against whom I do not defend myself, that I do rightly to hesitate in this question, since I do not at all doubt both that the soul is immortal, not so as God, who alone has immortality (1 Tim. 6:16), but in a certain way of its own kind; and that it is a creature, not the substance of the Creator, and whatever else I hold as most certain concerning its nature. But because the obscurity

of the most dark question concerning the origin of the soul compels me to do this, let them rather stretch out a hand to one confessing and desiring to know whatever that is; and let them teach, if they can, or show, if they have learned anything concerning this matter either by certain reason or have believed by most open divine eloquence. For if reason is rendered against the authority of the divine Scriptures, however acute it may be, it deceives by a likeness of the truth; for it cannot be true. Again, if the authority of the holy Scriptures is as it were objected to most manifest and certain reason; he who does this does not understand, and objects not the sense of those Scriptures to which he could not penetrate, but rather his own sense to the truth, and opposes not what he finds in them, but what he finds in himself as if for them.

8. For example: diligently attend to what I shall say. It is written near the end of the book which is called Ecclesiastes, when the Scripture was speaking of the dissolution of man, which is made through that death by which the soul is separated from the body: "And the dust be turned into the earth as it was; and the spirit return to God who gave it" (Eccl. 12:7). The sentence of this authority is without doubt certain, nor does it deceive anyone with falsehood: but if anyone should wish so to interpret it, as to endeavor to build up from it the propagation of souls, that all the rest come from that one which God gave to the first man; it seems to favor him what was said there of the flesh under the name of dust;

(for indeed dust and spirit are understood in this place as nothing else than soul and flesh), so that in that way he may affirm that the soul returns to God, because it is from the lineage (tradux) of that soul which God gave to the first man, just as the flesh is turned into the earth, since it is also itself from the lineage of that flesh which was made of the earth in the first man: and thus he may contend from this which is most known of the flesh, that we ought to believe that which is hidden of the soul. For concerning the lineage of the flesh there is no doubt, but concerning that of the soul there is doubt. But both are so set down in this testimony, as if each were rendered to each by a like reason: namely, that the flesh be turned into the earth as it was; for thence was it taken when the first man was made: and the spirit return to God, who gave it when He breathed into the face of the man whom He had formed, the breath of life, and man was made into a living soul (Gen. 2:7), so that henceforth from both things the propagation of both things should flow down.

9. Nevertheless, if that is true, that God gives souls to individuals, not propagated from that one but created elsewhere, even with this sentence agrees what was said: "The spirit return to God who gave it." Only the remaining two opinions, therefore, seem to be excluded; because if proper souls were made in individual men when they are created, it is not thought that it ought to have been said, "The spirit return to God who gave it," but "to God who made it": for "Gave"

sounds as if it were already outside what could be given. Then as to what was said, "return to God," they urge and press with the word, saying: How shall it return where it never was before? For they assert that it ought rather to have been said, "And either let it go to God, or let it proceed to God," than "Let it return to God," if it is to be believed that this spirit was never there before. Likewise, how souls spontaneously slide into the body, when it is written, "He gave it," is not so ready to explain. And by this, as I said, those two opinions labor under the words of this testimony: one, by which individual souls are thought each to be made in their own bodies; the other, by which they are thought to be submerged into bodies of their own accord. But to those two, whether they come from the lineage of that one, or having been created before and established with God are given to individual bodies, these words are fitted without labor.

10. And yet if the assertors of that opinion by which souls are believed to be made in their own individual bodies, should affirm that it was so said of the spirit, which is put for the soul, "God gave it," just as it is rightly said that He gave us eyes, or ears, or hands, or anything else; which members indeed He had not already made outside, and had laid up somewhere, so that when there was need, He might give, that is, add and join them; but He made them there in the body to which He is said to have given them: I do not see what may be answered to him; unless perchance other testimonies be brought forward,

or certain reason whence that opinion may be refuted. And likewise those who think that souls spontaneously flow down into bodies, so take what was said, "God gave it," as it was said, "God gave them up into the lust of their hearts" (Rom. 1:24). Accordingly one word is left, which was said, "return to God," in what way it can be taken to return where it was not before, if souls are made each in their own bodies; by which word alone one of those four opinions is narrowed. But I do not think that opinion is to be rashly refuted because of this one word, lest perchance it could be shown by some kind of speech, which the holy Scripture is accustomed to use, that this also could have been rightly said, so that the created spirit may be understood to return to God as to the author by whom it was created, not as to him with whom it was originally.

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

held most demented. If anyone can provide this in that most obscure question which is concerning the soul, let him help my unskilfulness: but if he cannot, let him not blame my hesitation.

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

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

1. If that which in your city was greatly saddening us has been taken away, if the hardness of the human heart, resisting most manifest and in a certain way public truth, has been overcome by the power of the same truth, if the sweetness of peace is tasted, and the charity of unity no longer strikes wounded eyes but illuminates and

quickens healthy ones; these are not our works, but God's: I would not attribute these to human works at all, not even if while we were with you such a great conversion of the multitude had come about by our speaking and exhorting. He acts and effects this, who through His ministers admonishes by signs of things from without, but teaches concerning the things themselves by Himself from within. Nor ought we therefore to be moved more slowly to visit you, since whatever laudable thing has been done in you, was done not by us but by Him who alone does wonderful things (Ps. 71:18). For we ought to run much more eagerly to behold divine works than our own; because we also, if we are any good work, are His, not of men: whence the Apostle said, "Neither is he that plants anything, nor he that waters; but God who gives the increase" (1 Cor. 3:7).

2. Xenocrates, as you write, and as we recollect from those letters, by disputing of the fruit of temperance, suddenly converted Polemo to other manners, not only a drunkard, but even then drunk. Although therefore he, as you wisely and truly understood, was not acquired for God but only delivered from the dominion of luxury, nevertheless not even that which was done better in him would I attribute to human work, but to divine. For if there are any good things of the body itself, which is our lowest part, such as form and strength and health, and if there is anything of this kind, they are not except from God the creator and perfecter of nature; how much more

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

3. But if still the love of man secretly separates some, and the fear of man fallaciously gathers them; let those who are such observe, that as to God, to whom the human conscience is naked, they neither deceive a witness nor flee a judge. But if anything concerning the question of unity itself moves them, out of concern for their own salvation, let them extort this from themselves

as most just, as I suppose, that concerning the Catholic Church, that is, diffused throughout the whole world, they should rather believe that which the divine Scriptures say, not what human tongues slander. But concerning that dissension which has arisen among men (whoever they may have been, they certainly do not prejudice the promises of God, who said to Abraham, "In your seed shall all nations be blessed" [Gen. 26:4]; which was believed when it was heard predicted, and is denied when it is seen fulfilled), let them think only this briefest, and, unless I am mistaken, most invincible thing for the time being; that either this cause was acted in an ecclesiastical judgment across the sea, or it was not acted. If it was not acted there, the society of Christ through all nations across the sea is innocent, in the communion of which society we rejoice, and therefore they are separated from those innocent ones certainly by a sacrilegious disruption: but if indeed that cause was acted there, who would not understand, who would not feel, who would not see, that those were conquered in it whose communion is separated from it? Let them choose therefore whether they prefer to believe what the ecclesiastical judges (cognitores) pronounced, or what the conquered litigants murmur. Against this conclusion, most brief to say, most easy to understand, attend diligently according to your prudence, how nothing sober can be answered; and yet the bad Polemo is more overthrown by the drunkenness of inveterate error. Grant pardon to a letter perhaps more

prolix than pleasant; nevertheless, as I think, more useful than flattering, my honorable lords and brothers most worthy of being received, most dear and most longed for. But concerning our coming to you, may God fulfill the desire of both. For with how great an ardor of charity we are inflamed to visit you, we cannot explain in words; but we do not at all doubt that you kindly believe it.

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

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

2. But as to how it is with you, and whether the Lord has provided you any rest, as much as can be in this earth, we greatly desire to know: since "if one member is glorified, all the members rejoice with it" (1 Cor. 12:26); and so it often happens, that while we think of some of our brothers established in however small a rest, in the midst of our anxieties, we are refreshed in no small part, as if we also live more quietly and tranquilly in them. Although even when molestations increase in the fragility of this life, they compel us to desire eternal rest. For this world is more perilous when flattering than when troublesome, and more to be avoided when it entices itself to be loved, than when it admonishes and compels itself to be despised. For since all things which are in it are the "concupiscence of the flesh, and the concupiscence of the eyes, and the ambition of the world" (1 John 2:16); often even to those who prefer spiritual, invisible, eternal things to such, the affect of earthly sweetness inserts itself, and accompanies our duties with its delights. For as much as future things are better to charity, so much are present things more violent to infirmity. And would that those who have known how to see and groan over them, might deserve to conquer and escape! which the human will in no way fulfills without the grace of God; which indeed is not to be called free, as long as it is subject to conquering and binding lusts. "For by whom one is overcome, to him also he is assigned as a slave" (2 Pet. 2:19): and, "If the Son shall

have made you free," says the Son of God Himself, "then shall you be free indeed" (John 8:36).

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

because the law is an evil, but because "sin," as it is written, "through what is good works death" to such (Rom. 7:13). For through the mandate he offends more gravely, who through the mandate knows how evil is that which he admits.

4. But in vain does he think himself to be a victor over sin, who does not sin from fear of punishment; because even if the business of evil concupiscence is not fulfilled outwardly, nevertheless evil concupiscence itself is an enemy within. And who is found innocent before God, who wishes that to be done which is forbidden, if you should withdraw what is feared? And by this he is guilty in his very will, who wishes to do what it is not allowed to be done, but does not do it for this reason, because it cannot be done with impunity. For as much as is in him, he would prefer that there were no justice forbidding and punishing sins. And certainly if he should prefer that there were no justice, who would doubt that he would take it away if he could? And by this, how is he just, an enemy of such justice, so that if power were given, he would take it away as commanding, lest he should bear it as threatening or judging? He therefore is an enemy of justice, who does not sin from fear of punishment: but he will be a friend, if he does not sin from love of it; for then he will truly fear to sin. For he who fears Gehenna, does not fear to sin, but to burn. But he fears to sin, who hates sin itself as he hates Gehenna. This is the "chaste fear of the Lord, remaining for ever and ever" (Ps. 18:10). For that fear of punishment has torment, and is not

in charity, and perfect charity casts it out (1 John 4:18).

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

men, so that those to whom they can please may glorify our Father who is in heaven (Matt. 5:16).

6. Hence it is that that most strong lover of justice exclaims: "Who shall separate us from the charity of Christ? shall tribulation? or distress? or persecution? or famine? or nakedness? or danger? or the sword? as it is written, For thy sake we are put to death all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter" (Ps. 43:22). "But in all these things we overcome because of Him who loved us. For I am certain that neither death, nor life, nor angel, nor principality, nor things present, nor things to come, nor virtue, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the charity of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 8:35-39). See how he did not say in any way, "Who shall separate us from Christ"; but showing whence we cohere to Christ, he said, "Who shall separate us from the charity of Christ?" By charity therefore we cohere to Christ, not by fear of punishment. Then, having commemorated those things which seem to have violence, and yet have not the power of separating, he so concluded that he called the same charity of God which he had called of Christ. And what is "from the charity of Christ," except from the charity of justice? for of Him indeed it was said: "Who was made unto us wisdom from God, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption; that, as it is written, He who glories, let him glory in the Lord" (1 Cor. 1:30, 31, and Jer. 9:24). As therefore he is most iniquitous, whom not even corporal punishments deter from the unclean

works of sordid pleasure; so he is most just, who is not recalled from the holy works of most luminous charity even by the terror of corporal punishments.

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

8. It has delighted me to speak these things with you at least through letters, which I could not with you present: and this not because of you, who "not minding high things consent to the humble" (Rom. 12:16); but because of some who arrogate too much to the human will, which they think can be sufficient for itself for fulfilling the law when it has been given, aided by no grace of holy inspiration above the doctrine of the law: by

whose disputation it is persuaded to the miserable and indigent infirmity of men, that we ought not even to pray lest we enter into temptation. Not because they dare to say this openly; but this indeed follows their sentence, whether they will or no. For why is it said to us, "Watch and pray lest you enter into temptation" (Matt. 26:41)? why also according to this exhortation, when He was teaching to pray, did He command that we say, "Lead us not into temptation" (Matt. 6:13); if this is not fulfilled from the help of divine grace, but all that is in the choice of the human will? Why more? Salute the brothers who are with you, and pray for us, that we may be safe according to that salvation of which it is said: "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick; I came not to call the just, but sinners" (Matt. 9:12, 13). Pray therefore for us, that we may be just; which indeed man cannot be unless he should know and will, and he will immediately be who shall have fully willed: but this very thing will not be in him, unless he be healed by the grace of the Spirit, and aided so that he may be able.

EPISTLE CXLVI.

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

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

I give very many thanks that you have deigned to exhilarate me with your letters, and

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

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

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

1. Mindful of the debt which has been made from your petition and my promise, religious servant of God Paulina, I ought not to be negligent of its payment. For when you had petitioned that I should write something at length and copiously to you concerning the invisible God, whether He can be seen through corporal eyes, I could not deny it, lest I should offend your holy zeal; but I deferred the promise, either because of my other occupations, or because that was demanded of me, concerning which it was necessary to think somewhat longer. But when it was such a great matter which, by thinking not so much what was to be felt or said about it as in what way it was to be persuaded to those who felt differently, became more difficult; I thought a limit should at length be applied to the delay, hoping that divine help would rather be present to me writing than to me deferring. Wherefore first it seems to me that the mode of living prevails more in this inquiry than the mode of speaking. For those who have learned from the Lord Jesus Christ to be "meek and humble of heart" (Matt. 11:29), profit more by thinking and praying than by reading and hearing. Nor yet therefore should speech cease to act its parts, but when the planter and the waterer shall have done the duty of their office, they leave the rest to Him who gives the

increase: for He indeed formed the planter and waterer himself.

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

3. For example, I will say something by which you may be more certainly prepared for these things, and especially from that source whence the labor of disputing was proposed to us in this very work. We believe that God is seen, not because we see Him either through the eyes of the body, as we see this sun, or by the intuition of the

mind, as everyone sees himself interiorly living, sees himself willing, sees himself seeking, sees himself knowing, sees himself being ignorant. You, therefore, having read these very letters, recollect that you have indeed seen the sun through the eyes of the body; you can even see it immediately, if it is at that time, and you are in that place where the sky is open to your eyes for beholding the sun from that part. But for seeing those things which I said are perceived by the mind—that is, that you live, that you wish to see God, that you seek that, that you know that you live and wish and seek, but you do not know how God is seen—for seeing all these things, I say, you do not employ the eyes of the body, nor do you feel or seek a distance of space through which the gaze may be stretched so that it may reach to discerning them: thus you see your life, your will, your inquiry, your knowledge, your ignorance, because that vision is not to be despised, to see what you do not know. Thus, I say, you see all these things, so that you see them in yourself, have them with you, and without any outlines of figures and brightness of colors, you behold them so much more clearly and certainly as you behold them more simply and interiorly. Since, therefore, we do not now see God either with the eyes of the body, as we see bodies whether celestial or terrestrial, nor with the gaze of the mind, as those things are which I have mentioned some of, which you intuit most certainly within yourself; why do we believe that He is seen, except because we accommodate faith to the Scripture

where it is read: "Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God" (Matt. 5:8); and if there are any other things written to this effect by the same divine authority, which we judge it a nefas not to believe, but we do not at all doubt that to believe is an act of piety?

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

shall have weighed how much weight they have or do not have for creating faith.

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

the senses of the body nor by the intuition of the mind in the evidence of the very thing which is to be known, nor learned that it is to be believed by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, even if it was not present to the senses of either your mind or your body.

CHAPTER 1.

6. Have we then already come to the cause? or is the reader still to be instructed? For some think that very thing which we call believing, when a true thing is believed, is this alone: to behold with the mind. But if it is so, that former preface of ours is deceived, in which we distinguished that it is one thing to feel something through the body, as the sun in the sky, and a mountain, a tree, or any body whatever on the earth; and another thing to see by the intuition of the mind a thing nevertheless evident, as our will is seen within by ourselves when we will something, or thought when we think, or memory while we remember, or any such thing in the mind without the body: but another thing to believe what is neither present to the sight of the body or mind, nor is recollected to have been present; as that Adam was created without parents, and that Christ was born of a Virgin and having suffered rose again. For these things were even done corporally, and could certainly have been seen through the body if we had been present then: but now they are not present, as this light is present which is discerned by the eyes, or the will by which we now will something, which is perceived by the mind. But because this

distinction is not false, surely that preparation was deficient, because it had been distinguished with too little clear elocution between believing and beholding something present with the mind, lest they should be thought altogether one and the same thing.

CHAPTER 2.

7. What then do we say? Is it enough that we say this distance exists between seeing and believing, because present things are seen, and absent things are believed? Plainly perhaps it is enough, if we understand those things to be called present in this place which are ready to the senses either of the mind or of the body, whence also by a word derived from being ready (*praesto*) they are called present (*praesentia*). For thus I plainly see this light by the sense of the body, and thus also my own will, because it is ready to the senses of the mind, and is interiorly present to me. But if anyone should indicate to me his will, whose mouth and voice are present to me; yet because the will itself which he indicates to me lies hid from the sense of my body and mind, I believe, I do not see: or if I think him to be lying, I do not believe, even if perhaps it be so as he says. Those things therefore are believed which are absent from our senses, if that which is offered as testimony to them seems suitable. But those things are seen which are ready, whence also they are called present either to the senses of the mind or of the body. For although there are five senses of the body—of

discerning, hearing, smelling, tasting, touching —sight indeed is chiefly attributed to the eyes in them, nevertheless we use this word also in the others. For we do not only say, "See what shines"; but also, "See what sounds," "See what smells," "See what tastes," "See what is hot." Nor because I said those things are believed which are absent from our senses, let it be so taken as if among them were reckoned those things which we once saw, and retain that we have seen them and are certain of it, although they are not then ready when they are recollected by us. For they are not reckoned among things believed, but among things seen; and therefore they are known, not because we have had faith in other witnesses, but because we remember and know without doubt that we have seen them.

CHAPTER 3.

8. It is certain therefore that our knowledge consists of things seen and things believed: but in those things which we have seen or do see, we ourselves are witnesses; but in those things which we believe, we are moved to faith by other witnesses, when signs are given, either in voices, or in letters, or in any documents whatever, of those things which we neither recollect to have seen nor do see, by which signs being seen the things not seen are believed. But not without merit do we say that we know not only those things which we have seen or do see, but also those which we believe, being moved by suitable testimonies or witnesses to each thing. Further-

more, if we are not incongruously said to know even that which we most certainly believe, hence it has come to pass that we are also said to see with the mind things rightly believed, even if they are not present to our senses. For knowledge is attributed to the mind, whether it retains anything perceived and known through the senses of the body or through the mind itself: and faith itself is certainly seen by the mind, although that is believed by faith which is not seen. Whence also the apostle Peter says, "In whom now not seeing you believe" (1 Pet. 1:8): and the Lord himself, "Blessed are they who have not seen, and have believed" (John 20:29).

9. When therefore it is said to a man, "Believe that Christ has risen from the dead"; if he believes, attend to what he sees, attend to what he believes, and discern both. He sees the man whose voice he hears; and that voice itself is reckoned among corporal things seen, according to those things which we said above. These two are the witness and the testimony: of which one pertains to the eyes, the other to the ears. But perhaps the authority of other testimonies confirms this witness, namely of the divine Scriptures, or of any others whatever, by which he is moved to faith. The Scriptures pertain to the things seen of the eyes of the body, if he reads them; or of the ears, if he has heard them. But he sees with the mind whatever he has understood to be signified by the figures of letters or sounds. He sees his own faith, by which he answers without hesitation that he believes. He sees the thought

by which he thinks what may profit him that which he believes. He sees the will by which he has approached to receiving religion. He sees also a certain image of the resurrection itself made in his mind, without which whatever is said to have been done corporally cannot be understood, whether it be believed or not believed.

CHAPTER 4.

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

10. All these things, therefore, he sees, partly with the body, partly with the mind. But he does not see the will of him from whom he hears that he may believe, and the resurrection of Christ itself, but believes them; and yet he is said to see it with a certain gaze of the mind, rather according to the faith of testimonies than by the presence of the things believed. For those things which he sees are present to the senses either of the mind or of the body; but those things which he believes are absent from the senses both of the mind and of the body. Although the will of him from whom he hears that he may believe is not past, but remains in the speaker: which the same one who speaks sees in himself; but he who hears does not see it, but believes it. But the resurrection of Christ is past, which even those men who were then did not see. For those who saw the living Christ whom they had seen dying, yet did not

see the resurrection itself when it happened, but believed it most certainly, by seeing and touching the living one whom they had known dead. We believe the whole: both that He rose again, and that He was then seen and handled by men, and that He now lives in the heavens, and dies no more, and death no longer has dominion over Him. But the thing itself is not present to the senses of our body, as this heaven and earth are present, nor to the gazes of our mind, as faith itself is present by which we believe this.

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

except the spirit of the man which is in him, according to what we see in ourselves: for according to that which we believe and do not see, we both know many to be faithful, and we are known to many.

CHAPTER 5.

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

13. What therefore is it that the same authority says, "No one has ever seen God" (John 1:18, and 1 John 4:12)? Or perhaps it is answered that those testimonies are concerning the seeing of God, not concerning His having been seen? For it was said, "They shall see God"; not, "They have seen": and

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

14. By what rule of understanding therefore shall we prove that these things, as if contrary and repugnant, are not contrary and do not repugn? For it can in no way happen that this authority of the Scriptures should lie in any part. If we say that in that which is written, "No one has ever seen God," only men are to be understood, just as it was also said, "No one knows what is done in a man, except the spirit of the man which

is in him" (1 Cor. 2:11); no one indeed, but of men: for this cannot be taken of God, since it is written of Christ that there was no need that anyone should bear witness to Him of man, because He Himself knew what was in man (John 2:25). For the Apostle explaining this more plainly says, "Whom no one of men has seen, nor can see" (1 Tim. 6:16). If therefore it was so said, "No one has ever seen God," as if it were said, "No one of men"; so far that question will seem solved, so that what the Lord says is not contrary to this sentence, "Their angels always see the face of my Father": that we may believe namely that angels see God, whom no one has ever seen, but of men. How then did Abraham see God (Gen. 18:1), Isaac (Id. 26:2), Jacob (Id. 32:30), Job (Job 38:1), Moses (Exod. 33:11), Micaiah (1 Kings 22:19), Isaiah (Isa. 6:1), and if there are any others of whom the most true Scripture testifies that they saw God, if no one of men has ever seen God nor can see Him?

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

heart, and follow peace and sanctification with all men.

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

CHAPTER 6.

17. But it is a great question, how it is not contrary that so many ancients saw God, if no one has ever seen God, whom no one of men has seen, nor can see? You see how difficult a question you have proposed to me, concerning which you wished me to write something at great length and copiously on the occasion of a short letter of mine, which seemed to you to need to be explained more diligently and abundantly. Do you wish therefore to attend to what I have found

meanwhile in other excellent tractators of the divine Scriptures, what they have thought concerning the vision of God, lest perhaps they may suffice for your desire, although perhaps you may know them? Attend therefore to these few things, if you please. When the blessed Ambrose, bishop of Milan, expounding the Gospel, had come to that place where the Angel appeared in the temple to Zechariah the priest, on this occasion, see how many and what kind of things he discussed concerning the vision of God also.

18. "Not without merit," he says, "is the Angel seen in the temple; because the advent of the true priest was already being announced, and the celestial sacrifice was being prepared, in which Angels should minister. And it is well said to have appeared to him who suddenly beheld him. Divine Scripture has been accustomed to hold this specifically, either concerning Angels or concerning God, so that what cannot be foreseen is said to appear. For thus you have: 'God appeared to Abraham at the oak of Mamre' (Gen. 18:1). For because He is not perceived beforehand, but is seen by a sudden look, He is mentioned to appear. For sensible things are not seen in the same way as He in whose will it is placed to be seen, and whose nature it is not to be seen, but whose will it is to be seen. For if He does not wish, He is not seen; if He wishes, He is seen. For God appeared to Abraham because He wished; to others, because He did not wish, He did not appear. It was also seen by Stephen, when he was being stoned by the people, that heaven was opened: Jesus also was

seen standing at the right hand of God (Acts 7:55), and He was not seen by the people. Isaiah saw the God of sabaoth (Isa. 6:1); but another could not see, because He appeared to whom it pleased Him. And why do we speak of men, when we have read even of the celestial Virtues and Powers themselves that 'no one has ever seen God'? and he adds what is beyond the celestial Powers, 'The only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He has declared Him.' Either therefore it is necessary to acquiesce, if no one has ever seen God the Father, that the Son was seen in the Old Testament; and let the heretics cease to give Him a beginning from the Virgin, who was seen before He was born of the Virgin. Or certainly it cannot be refuted that either the Father, or the Son, or certainly the Holy Spirit, if yet there is a vision of the Holy Spirit, is seen in that species which the will shall have chosen, not nature formed; since we have received that the Spirit also was seen in a dove (Matt. 3:16). And therefore 'no one has ever seen God,' because no one has beheld, no one has comprehended with mind or eyes, that fullness of divinity which dwells in God: for 'He has seen' is to be referred to both. Finally, when it is added, 'The only-begotten Son Himself has declared Him,' a vision of minds rather than of eyes is declared. For the species is seen; but the power is declared: the former is comprehended by the eyes, the latter by the mind. But what shall I say of the Trinity? A Seraph appeared when he wished: and Isaiah alone heard his voice. An angel appeared, and is now ready, but is not seen.

For it is not in our power to see, but in his power to appear. Yet even if there is not the power of seeing, there is the grace of meriting so that we may be able to see. And therefore he who had grace, merited the abundance: we do not merit the abundance, because we do not have the grace of seeing God. And what wonder if in the present world, except when He wishes, the Lord is not seen? In the resurrection itself also it is not easy to see God, except for those who are pure in heart: and therefore 'blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God' (Matt. 5:8). How many blessed ones had He already numbered, and yet He had not promised them the faculty of seeing God! If therefore those who are pure in heart shall see God, surely others shall not see Him. For neither shall the unworthy see God; nor can he who shall have been unwilling to see God, see God. Nor is God seen in a place, but with a pure heart; nor is God sought with corporal eyes, nor circumscribed by sight, nor held by touch, nor heard by address, nor felt by walking. And when He is thought absent, He is seen; and when He is present, He is not seen. Finally, not even all the Apostles saw Christ; and therefore He says, 'So long a time have I been with you, and yet you have not known me' (John 14:9)! For he who has known what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth, and the supereminent charity of the knowledge of Christ, has seen also Christ, has seen also the Father. For we no longer know Christ according to the flesh (2 Cor. 5:16), but according to the spirit. For 'the Spirit before our face

is Christ the Lord' (Lam. 4:20) who may deign by His mercy to fill us unto all the fullness of God (Eph. 3:18, 19) so that He may be able to be seen by us" (Ambrose, on Luke, book 1, c. 1, 11).

CHAPTER 7.

19. If you understand these words, what remains that is further required from me, since that question which seemed difficult has already been solved? For it has been distinguished how it was said, "No one has ever seen God," and how the just ancients saw God. But the former was said because God is invisible by nature. But those saw Him, whoever saw God, because He appears to whom He shall have willed, as He shall have willed, in that species which the will shall have chosen, even while nature lies hid. For if, when the fathers saw God, His nature itself appeared to them, although if He had been unwilling it would certainly not have appeared: how is it that "no one has ever seen God," since when He willed it His nature itself was beheld by so many fathers? But if it is said that the Son was seen by the fathers, so that it may be taken as said of God the Father that no one has ever seen Him; Ambrose indeed did not lose the occasion to refute certain heretics from here, that is the Photinians, who attribute a beginning to the Son of God from the womb of the Virgin, and do not wish to believe that He also was before. But because he saw others, that is the Arians, more pernicously lying in wait, whose error is undoubtedly established if the nature of the Father is believed invisible,

but the nature of the Son visible; he asserted that the nature of both is one and equally invisible, adding also that of the Holy Spirit. Which indeed he intimated briefly, but admirably, where he followed and said: "Or certainly it cannot be refuted that either the Father, or the Son, or certainly the Holy Spirit, if yet there is a vision of the Holy Spirit, is seen in that species which the will shall have chosen, not nature formed." He could have said, "nature showed"; but he preferred to say, "formed," lest He should be thought to form from His own nature the very species in which God chose to appear, and from this He should certainly be convicted of being of a changeable and mutable substance: which may God Himself, merciful and benign, avert from the faith of the pious!

CHAPTER 8.

20. God is therefore invisible in nature, not only the Father, but also the Trinity itself, one God. And because He is not only invisible, but also unchangeable; He so appears to whom He has willed, in whatever species He has willed, that His invisible and unchangeable nature remains integral with Him. But the desire of the truly pious, by which they wish to see God, and burn with longing, does not, I think, flare up for the beholding of that species by which He appears as He wills, which He Himself is not; but for that substance by which He is what He is. For holy Moses, His faithful servant, showed the flame of this desire of his, where he said to God,

with whom he spoke as a friend face to face: "If I have found grace before thee, show me thyself" (Exod. 33:13, according to LXX). What then? was that not He Himself? If it were not He Himself, he would not say to Him, "show me thyself"; but, "Show me God": and yet if he beheld His nature and substance, much less would he say, "show me thyself." He was therefore Himself in that species in which He had willed to appear; but He Himself was not appearing in His own nature, which Moses desired to see. For that is promised to the saints in another life. Whence what was answered to Moses is true, because no one can see the face of God and live; that is, no one living can see Him in this life as He is. For many have seen; but what the will chose, not what nature formed. And that which John says, if it is rightly understood: "Dearly beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it hath not yet appeared what we shall be. We know that when he shall appear, we shall be like to him; because we shall see him as he is" (1 John 3:2): not as men saw Him, when He willed, in the species in which He willed, not in the nature in which He lay hid in Himself, even when He was seen; but "as he is," which was asked of Him when it was said to Him, "show me thyself," by him who spoke with Him face to face.

21. Not because anyone has ever comprehended the fullness of God, not only with the eyes of the body, but even with the mind itself.

CHAPTER 9.

For it is one thing to see, another thing to comprehend the whole by seeing. For that is seen which is in some way felt as present: but the whole is comprehended by seeing, which is so seen that nothing of it lies hid from the viewer, or whose limits can be looked around; just as nothing of your present will lies hid from you, but you can look around the limits of your ring. For the sake of example I have put two things, of which one pertains to the gaze of the mind, the other to the corporal eyes: for vision, as he says, is to be referred to both, that is both to the eyes and to the mind.

22. Furthermore, if "no one has ever seen God" because, as the disputant whose words we are considering says, "no one has beheld the fullness of His divinity, no one has comprehended it with mind or eyes"; for "seen" is to be referred to both: it remains to inquire how the Angels see God, on account of that which I have commemorated from the Gospel: "Their angels always see the face of my Father" (Matt. 18:10). For if He appears also to them not as He is, but with His nature lying hid, in the species in which He has willed; it must be inquired more and more how we shall see Him as He is, and as Moses desired, when he asked that God, who was in his sight, should show him Himself. For this highest reward is promised to us in the resurrection, that "we shall be equal to the angels of God" (Luke 20:36): and by this, if they themselves do not see Him as He is, how are we so to see Him, when we shall have been made equal to them in the resurrection? But see

what our Ambrose says consequently: "Finally," he says, "when it is added, 'The only-begotten Son himself hath declared it;' the vision of minds rather than of eyes is declared. For the species is seen; but power is declared: the former is comprehended by the eyes, the latter by the mind." He who a little before had said vision was to be referred to both, now gave it not to the mind, but to the eyes: not, I think, carelessly looking back at his own words; but because more usually in speaking we are accustomed to attribute vision to the eyes, just as species to the body. For also this manner of speaking is more frequently used in things which are contained in places, and are varied with colors. But if there were no species to be contemplated by the mind, he would not be called "beautiful in form above the sons of men" (Psalm 44:3). For neither was this said according to the flesh, and not according to the spiritual species. Species is therefore also said pertaining to the gaze of the mind; but because it is more usually said in bodies, or in the similitudes of bodies, therefore he said: "The species is seen; but power is declared: the former is comprehended by the eyes, the latter by the mind." Therefore, the Only-begotten narrating, who is in the bosom of the Father, with an ineffable narration, the rational creature, clean and holy, is filled with the ineffable vision of God, which we shall then obtain when we shall have been made equal to the Angels. Because just as these visible things are seen, known to the senses of the body, no one has ever seen God: since if sometimes He was

seen in that way, He is not seen by nature, as these things are, but was seen by will; appearing in the species in which He willed, with His nature lying hid and remaining incommutably in itself. But in that way in which He is seen as He is, now perhaps He is seen by certain Angels: but by us He will then be so seen, when we shall have been made equal to them.

CHAPTER 10.

23. Then when he had added that neither the Powers of the heavens, such as the Seraphim, are seen except when they will and in what manner they will, so that from this also might be conjectured how great is the invisibility of the Trinity, "Nevertheless," he says, "although there is not the power of seeing, there is the grace of deserving that we may be able to see. And therefore he who had the grace, deserved the abundance: we do not deserve the abundance, because we do not have the grace of seeing God." Therefore by these words, because he does not teach his own, but expounds the Gospel, he did not wish this to be understood, that some of them will see God, but others will not see Him, to whom believing He gave power to become the sons of God; since to all of them belongs what was said, "We shall see him as he is:" but by saying, "we do not deserve the abundance, because we do not have the grace of seeing God," he signified that he was speaking of this world, where to some God, although not in His own nature, but in the species in which He willed, has deigned to

appear, as to Abraham, as to Isaiah, and to others like them; but to the innumerable rest, although belonging to His people and eternal inheritance, He demonstrates Himself in no such species. But in the future world, those who are to receive the kingdom which has been prepared for them from the beginning, all shall see Him with a pure heart; nor in that kingdom shall there be any but such.

CHAPTER 10.

24. Attend therefore to what he subjoins, already beginning to speak of that world: "And what wonder," he says, "if in the present world, unless when He wills, the Lord is not seen? In the resurrection itself also it is not easy to see God, except for those who are pure in heart: and therefore 'blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God.'" How many blessed ones had he already numbered, and yet to these he had not promised the faculty of seeing God! If therefore those who are pure in heart shall see God; certainly others shall not see Him. For neither shall the unworthy see God; nor can he who shall have been unwilling to see God, see God. You perceive how circumspectly he already speaks of those who in the future world shall see God: for neither all, but those who are worthy. For both the worthy and the unworthy shall rise for that kingdom where God shall be seen: since "all who are in the monuments shall hear his voice and shall come forth;" but with a great difference: for "they who have done well, unto the resurrection of life; but they who have done evil, unto the resurrection

of judgment" (John 5:28, 29). Here judgment signifies eternal punishment: just as that also was said, "He who believeth not is already judged" (John 3:18).

25. That therefore which holy Ambrose said, "nor can he who shall have been unwilling to see God, see God," what else did he wish to be understood, except that he who does not wish to expend upon cleansing the heart a care worthy of so great a thing, does not wish to see God? See therefore what he subjoins: "Nor in a place," he says, "is God seen, but by a pure heart." What could be said more evidently, what more expressly? From this vision therefore the devil and his angels, and all the impious with them, are excluded without any cloud of doubt; since they are not of a pure heart: and by this, that which is written in the book of Job, that the Angels came into the sight of God, and the devil came with them (Job 1:6, and 2:1), the devil is not therefore to be believed to have seen God. For they themselves are said to have come into the sight of God, not God into their sight. For those things come into our sight which we see, not by which we are seen. They came therefore, as it is read in many codices, to stand before God, not that God was before them. Nor is there need to linger in this place, that we should endeavor according to our powers to show how even this is done temporally, since in God's sight all things are always.

26. For now it is inquired how God is seen; not in that species in which also in this world He willed to appear to some, when not only with

Abraham and other just men, but even with Cain the fratricide He spoke (Gen. 18:1, and 4:6-15): but how He is seen in that kingdom, where His sons shall see Him as He is. For then indeed their desire shall be satisfied with good things: with which desire Moses was burning, to whom to speak to God face to face was not sufficient, and he said, "Show me thyself manifestly, that I may see thee" (Exod. 33:13); as if he were saying, what is sung in the Psalm from the same desire, "I shall be satisfied when thy glory shall be manifested" (Psalm 16:15). With which desire Philip also was burning, and so desired to be satisfied, saying: "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us" (John 14:8). Speaking of this vision, its very lover and desiderer Ambrose: "Not in a place," he says, "is God seen," as at the oak of Mamre, as on mount Sinai; "but by a pure heart." And he follows, knowing what he desires, and what he seethes with, and what he hopes for: "Neither with corporal eyes," he says, "is God sought," with which He showed Himself to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and others in this world; "nor is he circumscribed by sight," on account of that which was said, "Thou shalt see my back parts" (Exod. 33:23); "nor is he held by touch," as he even wrestled with Jacob (Gen. 32:24-30); "nor is he heard by speech," as he was heard not only by so many saints, but even by the devil; "nor is he felt by walking," as once when he was walking in paradise at evening (Gen. 3:8).

27. You see how the holy man strives to call away our minds from all the senses of the flesh, that he may make them apt for seeing God. And

yet what does such an external planter and waterer do, unless God who gives the increase works within (1 Cor. 3:7)? For who without the help of the Spirit of God can think that something is, and more so is than all things which are felt through the body, which is neither seen in a place, nor is to be sought with eyes, nor is heard by speech, nor is held by touch, nor is felt by walking, and yet is seen, but by a pure heart? For he was not speaking of this life when he said this; since from this world, in which God appeared, not as He is, but in the species in which He willed, to whom He willed, he sufficiently distinguished the life of the future world, with a most open distinction, where he says: "And what wonder if in the present world, unless when He wills, the Lord is not seen? In the resurrection itself also it is not easy to see God, except for those who are pure in heart: and therefore 'blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God.'" From here he has already begun to speak of that world, where those shall see God, not all who rise, but who rise to eternal life: not the unworthy, of whom it was said, "Let the impious be taken away, lest he see the brightness of the Lord" (Isa. 26:10, according to LXX); but the worthy, of such as the Lord Himself said, when He was present and not seen, "He who loveth me, keepeth my commandments;" and, "He who loveth me shall be loved by my Father, and I will love him, and will show myself to him" (John 14:21, 23): nor those to whom it shall be said, "Go ye into eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels;" but those to whom

it shall be said, "Come, ye blessed of my Father; perceive the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world. For those shall go into eternal burning; but the just into eternal life" (Matt. 25:41, 34, 46). And what is eternal life, except what Life itself says elsewhere, "And this is life eternal, that they may know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent" (John 17:3)? but in that way how He promised He would show Himself to His lovers with the Father as one God, not in that way how in this world He was seen in the body by the good and by the evil.

28. For also in the future judgment, in which He is so to come as He was seen going into heaven, that is in the same form of the son of man, those shall see that same form to whom He is to say, "I was hungry, and ye gave me not to eat" (Matt. 25:42) (because even the Jews shall see him whom they pierced (Zech. 12:10); not that form of God, in which He thought it not robbery to be equal to God (Phil. 2:6). In that form of God then those shall see Him who shall see Him as He is. Nor therefore shall they see Him because they were poor in spirit in this life, because meek, because mourning, because hungering and thirsting for justice, because merciful, because peaceful, because they suffered persecution for justice's sake, although all these same ones are those same; but because they are pure in heart. For therefore among those beatitudes, though those who have a pure heart do all things, yet it is nowhere placed, "They shall see God," except where it was said, "Blessed are the pure

in heart;" since by a pure heart He shall be seen who is neither seen in a place, nor is sought with corporal eyes, nor is circumscribed by sight, nor is held by touch, nor is heard by speech, nor is felt by walking. For "no one has ever seen God," either in this life, as He is, or even in the life of the Angels, as these visible things which are beheld by corporal vision; because "the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared it." Whence it was said that what He declares pertains not to the vision of corporal eyes, but of minds.

CHAPTER XII.

29. But again, lest our desire should migrate from one sense of the body to another sense of the body, that is, from the eyes to the ears; therefore when he had said, "God is neither sought with corporal eyes, nor is circumscribed by sight, nor is held by touch," he added also, "nor is heard by speech": so that, if we can, we may understand the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, so declaring as He is also the Word, not a sound clattering in the ears, but an image becoming known to minds, so that there may shine forth in that internal and ineffable light what was said, "He who has seen me, has seen also the Father" (John 14:9); which was said here to Philip, when he saw, and did not see. For Ambrose, that eminent desirer of this vision, follows, saying: "And when He is thought absent, He is seen; and when He is present, He is not seen." He did not say, "When He is absent"; but, "when

He is thought absent": for He is nowhere absent who fills heaven and earth; nor is He included in small spaces, or diffused in large ones, but is everywhere whole, and is contained in no place. He who understands this with an exceeding mind, sees God, even when He is thought absent. But he who cannot do this, let him pray and act that he may deserve to be able; nor let him knock at a human disputer, that he may read what he does not read, but at God the Savior, that he may be able what he is not able. But whence he said, "and when He is present He is not seen," he subsequently opened, saying: "Finally, not even all the Apostles saw Christ; and therefore He says, 'So long a time am I with you, and yet you have not known me!'" Behold how God was present and was not seen.

30. But why did he not dare to say, "Finally, not even the Apostles saw Christ," but said, "nor all the Apostles," as if some then saw by that vision in which He and the Father are one? Or perhaps he attended to that which, when Peter had said, "Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God," he received the answer, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven"? although whether that revelation was made in his mind through faith in so great a thing believed, or through vision of it beheld, does not seem to me to be clear; since Peter himself showed himself yet so little to Him, that he feared lest he should lose Him dying, whom he had a little before confessed as the Son of the living

God, that is, the fountain of life (Matt. 16:16, 17, 21, 22).

CHAPTER XIII.

31. Then it can move [one to ask] how the very substance of God could already be seen by some placed in this life, on account of that which was said to Moses, "No one can see my face and live" (Exod. 33:20): unless because the human mind can be divinely snatched from this life to the angelic life, before it is released from the flesh by this common death. For so was he snatched who heard there ineffable words which it is not lawful for a man to speak: where a certain aversion of intention was made from the senses of this life to such an extent, that whether he was in the body, or out of the body, that is, whether, as is wont in a more vehement ecstasy, the mind was alienated from this life into that life, the bond of the body remaining, or an entire resolution was made, such as happens in full death, he said he did not know (2 Cor. 12:2-4). So it happens that that also is true, which was said, "No one can see my face and live"; because it is necessary that the mind be abstracted from this life, when it is assumed into the ineffability of that vision; and it is not incredible that to certain saints not yet so deceased, that corpses remained to be buried, even this excellence of revelation was granted. Which I think that man thought who did not want to say, "Nor did the Apostles see Christ"; but said, "nor all the Apostles saw Christ": believing that to certain of them the vision of the divinity

itself also, of which he was speaking, could even then be given; certainly on account of the blessed Paul, because even he, although the last, was certainly an apostle, who was not silent about that ineffable revelation of his.

32. Although even to that most faithful ancient servant of God, Moses—wonderful if he were not to labor on this earth, and still to rule that people—that which he asked was granted, that he might see the brightness of the Lord, who had said: "If I have found grace before thee, show me thyself manifestly." For he received in presence a congruous answer, that he could not see the face of God, which no one might see, and live; in this way God signifying that that vision belongs to another more powerful life. Then in the words of God, the mystery of the future Church of Christ was figured. For Moses bore the type of the people of the Jews, later to believe in Christ having suffered; therefore it was said to him, "When I shall have passed, thou shalt see my back parts": and the other things which are said there, by a wonderful sacrament foretell the Church to be after, concerning which it is now a long matter to dispute. But what I had begun to say, that to his desire even that which he had asked had been granted, was afterwards demonstrated in the book of Numbers; where the Lord rebukes the contumacy of his sister, and says that He appears to other Prophets in vision and in sleep, but to Moses by species, not by enigmas: where He also added, saying: "And he saw the glory of the Lord" (Num. 12:6-8). What therefore

is it that made him so excepted, unless perhaps because He held such a ruler of His people worthy even then of that contemplation, and a faithful minister in all His house, so that just as he had desired, he might see God as He is; which contemplation is promised to all the sons in the end?

CHAPTER XIV.

33. Considering these things, I believe, that holy man whose words we are treating, says, "nor all the Apostles saw Christ," because perhaps some of them had seen even at that time, according to these things which I have said. But that he might prove what he said, because not all were seeing, he immediately subjoined: "And therefore He says, 'So long a time am I with you and yet you have not known me.'" Then subjoining by what kind of people God is seen by that contemplation as He is: "For he who has known," he says, "what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth, and the supereminent charity of the knowledge of Christ, has seen both Christ, and has seen the Father."

34. I am accustomed thus to understand these words of the apostle Paul: in the breadth, the good works of charity; in the length, perseverance even unto the end; in the height, the hope of celestial rewards; in the depth, the inscrutable judgments of God, whence this grace comes into men: and to fit this understanding also to the sacrament of the cross; so that in the breadth may be received the transverse wood on which the hands are extended, on account of the significa-

tion of works; in the length, from the transverse itself even to the earth, where the whole crucified body is seen to stand, which signifies to persist, that is, to remain longanimously; in the height, from that same transverse wood upwards toward what stands out at the head, on account of the expectation of supernal things, lest those good works and perseverance in them should be believed to be done on account of the earthly and temporal benefits of God, but rather on account of that which faith, which works through love, hopes for from above as everlasting; but in the depth, that part of the wood which lies hidden fixed in the secret of the earth, but from there rises all that which stands out, just as from the occult will of God a man is called to the participation of so great a grace, one thus, but another thus: but the supereminent charity of the knowledge of Christ, that indeed where that peace is which surpasses all understanding. But whether that evangelical disputer also felt this in those apostolic words, or some other thing perhaps more congruous; yet you see also this, if I am not mistaken, not to be abhorrent from the rule of faith.

35. But whence we are now treating on account of spiritual intuition, when he had said, "He who has known what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth, and the supereminent charity of the knowledge of Christ, has seen both Christ, and has seen the Father"; lest he should seem to speak of corporal vision to any very slow person, he says, "For we now

know Christ no longer according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. For Christ the Lord is the Spirit before our face." What he said in this place, "we know," he said according to faith, which is now; not according to contemplation, which will be then: because we know even that whatever by unfeigned faith, although not yet by beholding through species, yet now by holding with unshaken believing we retain. Finally, when he had said, that he no longer knew Christ according to the flesh, as the Apostle says; and had added testimony from the prophet, "For Christ the Lord is the Spirit before our face," he immediately subjoined: "Who by His mercy may deign to fill us into all the fullness of God, so that He may be able to be seen by us." Certainly it is manifest that that knowledge, where he had said, "we know," he placed from faith, from which the just now lives (Heb. 10:38); not from contemplation, by which we shall see God as He is. For he subsequently desired this for himself and for us, and signified it to be future, by saying: "Who by His mercy may deign to fill us into all the fullness of God, so that He may be able to be seen by us."

CHAPTER XV.

36. This fullness of God some have so understood in the discourse of the Apostle, as to think that we shall be altogether this which God is. For these words, as you recognize, the Apostle placed speaking thus: "To know also the supereminent charity of the knowledge of Christ, that you may be filled into all the fullness of God" (Eph. 3:19).

Wherefore, they say, if we shall have anything less than God, and shall be in anything less, how shall we be filled into all the fullness of God? but since we shall be filled, certainly we shall be equal. You certainly averse and detest this error of the human mind, I know, and you do rightly. But how this fullness is to be understood, by which it was said we are to be filled into all the fullness of God, we shall afterwards, if God wills, according to the powers which He shall give, discuss.

37. Now, however, that which you had proposed to me, and which seemed difficult to explain, whether it has been explained, attend diligently by recollecting what has been said. For if you ask whether God can be seen; I respond: He can. If you ask whence I know; I respond: because it is read in the most true Scripture, "Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God;" and other such things. If you ask how He is said to be invisible, if He can be seen; I respond that He is invisible by nature, but is seen when He wills, as He wills: for He was seen by very many, not as He is, but in what species it pleased Him to appear. If you ask how even the wicked Cain saw Him, when he was interrogated and judged by Him concerning his crime (Gen. 4:6); or even the devil himself, when he came with the Angels, that he might assist before Him, if "blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God"; I respond that it is indeed not a consequence that they also see God, who sometimes hear voices made by Him; for neither did they see Him, who heard when He said to the Son, "And I have glorified, and will

glorify again" (John 12:28): nevertheless it is not to be wondered at, if some even not pure in heart see God in a species which His will has made, the invisible and in itself incommutable nature remaining hidden. If you ask whether He can also sometimes be seen as He is; I respond, that this is promised to the sons, of whom it was said: "We know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; because we shall see Him as He is." If you ask whence we shall see Him; I respond: whence the Angels see, to whom we shall then be equal. For as these things which are named visible are seen, no one has ever seen God, nor can see, since He inhabits inaccessible light, and is by nature invisible as He is incorruptible: which things the Apostle placed in context saying, "But to the King of ages invisible, incorruptible" (1 Tim. 1:17, and 6:16); because as now He is incorruptible, nor afterwards corruptible, so He is not only now, but even always invisible. For He is not seen in a place, but by a pure heart: nor is He sought with corporal eyes, nor is He circumscribed by sight, nor is He held by touch, nor is He heard by speech, nor is He felt by walking. But the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, declares the nature and substance of the deity without sound, and therefore shows it even invisibly to eyes worthy and fit for so great a sight. For they are the eyes, of which the Apostle says, "the eyes of your heart being enlightened" (Eph. 1:18). And of which it is said, "Enlighten my eyes, lest I ever sleep in death" (Ps. 12:4). For the Lord is a spirit (2 Cor. 3:17): whence he who adheres to the Lord is

one spirit (1 Cor. 6:17). Therefore he who can see God invisibly, he can adhere to God incorporally.

CHAPTER XVI.

38. I think there is now nothing more in the question which you proposed that you should require. But in this whole disputation of ours, consider what you have seen, what you have believed; what you as yet do not know, either because I have not said it, or because you have not understood it, or because you have not judged it to be believed. And those things which you have seen to be true, distinguish yet whence you see them: whether by recollecting that you have seen them through the body, as celestial or terrestrial bodies; or whether you have never touched them with corporal visions, but beholding with the mind alone, you have perceived them to be true and certain, as your will, concerning which I can believe you speaking, but that itself, as it is seen by you, I cannot see myself. And when you have distinguished both of these, attend also to that whence you distinguish them. For although we see some things with the body, others with the mind; yet the distinction itself of these two kinds is seen by the mind, not by the body; and those things which are discerned by the mind, do not need any sense of the body, that we may know them to be true. But those things which are seen through the body, unless the mind be present which may receive such things reported, can be contained by no knowledge; and that which it is said to receive as reported, it leaves outside. But it

incorporates their images, that is, the incorporeal similitudes of bodies, into the memory; whence when it wills and can, it may judge them as if produced from custody and exhibited in the sight of thought. And when it is able, it also distinguishes these two, what it left outside in corporal species, what it looks upon within like it; and it discerns that to be absent, this to be present: just as when I am absent you think of the face of my body, and that image is present to you, but the face of which it is the image is absent; and this is a body, but that is an incorporeal similitude of a body.

39. These things, therefore, which you see, being diligently and confidently perceived and distinguished, attend to what you believe in this whole discourse itself, from which I began to speak to you by these letters; and in those same things to which, not seen, you accommodate faith, weigh the very weights of the witnesses by distinguishing them. For neither do you believe me in the same way as Ambrose, from whose books I have placed those so great testimonies. Or if you think we both are to be believed with an equal balance, will you in any way compare us to the Gospel, or equal our writings to the canonical Scriptures? Certainly if you are rightly wise in judging, you see us to stand far below that authority. And me indeed further off, but however much you believe each of us, you by no means compare either to that excellence. Wherefore, that which is written, "No one has ever seen God"; and, "He inhabits inaccessible light; whom no man has seen, nor can see"; and, "Blessed are

the pure in heart, for they shall see God"; and whatever else I have commemorated from those holy Books, you believe more firmly than that which Ambrose said: "God is neither seen in a place, nor sought with corporal eyes, nor circumscribed by sight, nor held by touch, nor heard by speech, nor felt by walking." For he indeed either understood or believed God to be such, who is discerned by a pure heart: but I confess this to be my opinion also.

40. Differently therefore you receive those [words of ours], and differently those divine words in faith. For concerning us there underlies you perhaps some scruple, lest in these divine elocutions we understand something less clearly, and they be expounded by us not as they were said, but as we suspect. For perhaps you say within yourself: What if God is both seen with a pure heart, and yet is seen in a place? or, What if those who are pure in heart shall see God even with corporal eyes, when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, when we shall be equal to the Angels of God? How much therefore you ought to believe us, or ought not, perhaps you do not know; and by believing us either more or less than you ought, you attend lest you be deceived: but you do not doubt that the divine Scriptures are to be believed, even those not yet clearly understood. But this consideration of believing or not believing, and the difficulty of knowledge, and the surges of doubt, and the pious faith which is owed to divine speeches, you attend to and see in your mind, just as they are:

nor concerning these at all do you hesitate, that they are so with you, whether as I have said, or as you yourself rather know. You see therefore your faith, you see your doubt, you see your study and will of learning; and when you are moved by divine authority to believe things which you do not see, you nevertheless see yourself to believe these without hesitation: you distribute and distinguish all these things.

CHAPTER XVII.

Will you therefore in any way compare corporal eyes to those eyes of your heart, with which you behold all these things to be true and certain, and invisibly discern and distinguish them as present to you? when even concerning those visible things themselves which are in some way irradiated by the sharp edge of corporal eyes, and concerning those corporal eyes themselves and their sharp edge, whatever and however great it be, how much it differs from invisible things —not from more excellent ones, to which even not seen you owe faith, but from these which I have commemorated, which you do not believe as absent, but behold with the mind as present —you judge not by those same eyes of the flesh, but by those interior ones. Since therefore the interior eyes are the judges of the exterior eyes, and these latter serve the former by a certain office of reporting and by ministry, and the former see many things which the latter do not see, while the latter see nothing whence the former do not

judge as presidents; who would not prefer those to these by an incomparable estimation?

Since these things are so, I beseech you, when this so great business is transacted in yourself; when you distinguish interior things from exterior things, and ineffably prefer those to these; and when, these being left outside, you dwell in those within, and judge them by measuring them by certain incorporeal limits of theirs, do you think yourself to be conversant in no light, or in some light? For I think that so many and such things, so true, so clear, so certain, cannot be seen without light. Behold therefore that very light in which you perceive all those things; and see whether any ray of corporal eyes can approach to it: certainly it cannot. Attend also; and respond whether you see in it any spaces or intervals of places. You find nothing such there, as I suppose, if you vigilantly drive away from the intimate aspect whatever images of corporal things the sense of the exterior man has brought in: but perhaps it is difficult. For there rushes in from the custom of carnal life, even into the interior eyes themselves, a crowd of phantasms in the similitudes of bodies: to resist which endeavoring, I at least exclaimed by divine authority, grieving in that short epistle, and said: "Let the flesh drunk with carnal thoughts hear, 'God is a Spirit'" (Epistle 92, n. 5). For neither did I restrain the mind of anyone else more than even my own from vanity of this kind by that rebuke. For we are more easily inclined to accustomed things, and it is friendly to the infirmity of the human soul

either to send or to admit corporal conversation within, not where it may consist as healthy, but where as languid it may in some way either lean or lie.

Therefore if you cannot clearly serene the sharp edge of your mind from the cloud as it were of corporal similitudes, attend to those same things vigilantly within yourself: behold heaven and earth by thinking, as you have been accustomed by perceiving with corporal eyes; and see those images of heaven and earth which have been produced before the eyes of thought to be similitudes of bodies, not bodies. So therefore judge against yourself for yourself, if you cannot in every way drive away the imaginary forms of corporal qualities from the sharp edge of your mind; and whence you are conquered, from there convince [yourself]. For neither is there, as I suppose, anyone so given even to such imaginations, as to believe that there are thus in his memory, or in the very sight of his thought, the sun, moon, stars, rivers, seas, mountains, hills, cities, finally the walls of his own house, or even of his own bedroom, and whatever such thing he has known and holds through the eyes of the body, so that by spaces and intervals of places they either stand or are moved. Furthermore if those things which are in our soul most like to bodies and places, are nevertheless not contained by spaces and limits of places, nor are they laid up in our memory in local intervals; how much more those things which bear no similitude of bodies, charity, joy, longanimity, peace, benignity, goodness, faith,

mildness, continence, hold no spaces of places, are separated by no interval, nor do they seek any intervals of the eye of the heart, whither they may send their rays and see them! Are not all things in one without narrowness, and are known by their own limits, without the circuit of regions? Or say in what place you see charity; which nevertheless is so far known to you, as much as you can behold it with the sharp edge of the mind: which you do not know to be great for this reason, because you have surveyed some huge mass by beholding; nor when it speaks to you within, that you may live according to it, does it clatter with any sounds; nor that you may discern it, do you raise the light of corporal eyes; nor that you may hold it strongly, do you prepare the strengths of corporal arms; nor when it comes into your mind, do you feel its walking.

Behold even charity, however small it consists in our will, and is conspicuous to us, is neither seen in a place, nor sought with corporal eyes, nor circumscribed by sight, nor held by touch, nor heard by speech, nor felt by walking: how much more God Himself, whose pledge this is in us!

For if our interior man, however small His image, not begotten of Him, but created by Him, although it is still renewed from day to day, yet now inhabits in such light, whither no sense of corporal eyes reaches; if those things which we behold in that light with the eyes of the heart, are both distinguished among themselves, and are separated by no spaces of places: how much more God, who inhabits inaccessible light, to

the senses of the body, whither there can be no access even of Himself except of a pure heart! When therefore we shall have preferred this light to all corporal light, not only by the judgment of reason, but also by the appetite of love; the more we shall be able to do this, the better we shall be able, until all the languors of our soul are healed by Him who becomes propitious to all our iniquities. For in this more lively life having been made spiritual, we shall be able to judge all things; but ourselves to be judged by no one. But the animal man does not perceive the things which are of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness to him; and he cannot know, since he is spiritually judged (1 Cor. 2:14, 15).

CHAPTER XVIII.

But if we cannot yet prefer the judging light to that light concerning which it is judged, prefer the intelligent life to the life only sensing, prefer the nature not having this in one place and another in another, but having all things which it has together in one, just as is our own intelligence itself, to that nature which so consists of parts, that the half is less than the whole, as is every body; we dispute in vain concerning so great and such things. But if we can now do this; let us believe God to be something better than our intellect, so that His peace which surpasses all understanding, may guard our hearts and our intelligences in Christ Jesus (Phil. 4:7). That peace itself which surpasses all understanding, is certainly not less than our intellect, so that

when the latter is invisible to corporal eyes, that should be thought to be visible. Or is the peace of God one thing, the splendor of God another? when the only-begotten Son is the same Himself, whose also that charity which supereminates knowledge, by the cognition of which we shall be filled into all the fullness of God, is not inferior to the light of our mind, which is given by that light illuminating. Furthermore if that is inaccessible to the eyes of the flesh; how much more this, incomparably supereminating that! and through this since there is something of ours visible, as this body, but something invisible, as the interior man; and since our best part, that is the mind and intelligence, is invisible to the eyes of the body; how shall that which is better than our best, be visible to our inferior part?

CHAPTER XX.

48. Indeed, for that vision by which we shall see God as He is, he reminded that hearts must be cleansed. For because bodies are called visible by the custom of speaking, therefore God is called invisible, lest He be believed to be a body: not because He will defraud pure hearts of the contemplation of His substance; since this great and highest reward is promised to those who worship and love God, the Lord Himself saying, when He appeared visibly to corporal eyes, and promised that He would be beheld as invisible by pure hearts, He who loves me, shall be loved by my Father; and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him (John 14:21). For this nature of His

is equally invisible with the Father, just as it is equally incorruptible: which, as was said above, the Apostle placed continuously; commending the divine substance to men by preaching as much as he could (1 Tim. 1:17). Which if corporal eyes shall behold in the resurrection, the quality of bodies having been changed, let those see who can assert this: I am more moved by the opinion of him who assigns this neither in the resurrection itself to corporal eyes, but to pure hearts.

CHAPTER XXI.

49. And indeed concerning the quality of the spiritual body, which is promised to those who shall rise again, I do not refuse either to learn something still, or to inquire: if only in disputing about this thing we can be free from those vices which for the most part are excited by human zeal and contentions, while one is puffed up for another against another beyond what is written: lest while by wrangling we seek to investigate how God can be seen, we lose that peace and sanctification itself, without which no one shall be able to see God; which may He Himself avert from our hearts, that He may render them pure for His contemplation and guard them. Yet that because I do not doubt, I do not require, that the nature of God is never seen in a place. Now whether there can be seen by the eyes of this body something which is not seen in a place, I am prepared to hear from those who are able to show this by discoursing, with the peace of love, and to contribute in common what moves me. For

there are some who presume that God Himself is altogether a body, thinking that whatever is not a body is no substance at all: these I judge must be turned away from in every way. But there are others, doubting not at all indeed that God Himself is not a body; but therefore they think that those who shall rise to eternal life will see God even through the body, because they hope for such a quality of the spiritual body, that even that very thing which had been flesh may become spirit. Which if it be so, how much it differs from the former opinion, and how much more tolerable this is, even if it be not true, I think is very easily judged. First, because it matters much whether concerning the Creator or concerning a creature something is felt otherwise than the truth has. Then, because the endeavor of the mind is somehow to be borne, wishing to convert the body into spirit, not God into a body. Lastly, because that which I said in that letter of mine concerning these eyes of our flesh, that neither now can they, nor then will they be able to see God (Epist. 92, n. 3), is true even thus: for it was not said except of corporal eyes, which then will not be if the body itself shall be spirit; and through this corporeal eyes will never see God, because when He shall be seen, the spirit will see Him, not the body.

50. The whole question therefore has now remained concerning the spiritual body, how far this corruptible and mortal thing may put on incorruption and immortality, and how far it may be changed from animal into spiritual. Which must be treated more diligently and more

carefully; especially on account of the body of the Lord Himself, who transfigures the body of our humility, conformed to the body of His glory (Phil. 3:21), that He may be able to subject all things to Himself. For since both God the Father sees the Son, and the Son the Father; without doubt those are not to be heard who wish to attribute vision only to bodies. For it is not lawful to be said that the Father does not see the Son; or, that he himself may see, he is clothed with a body, if sight belongs only to the body. What of the fact that in the very beginning of the world, before any form of a servant was taken by the Son, God saw the light because it is good; and the firmament, and the sea, and the dry land, and all grass, and every tree, the sun, moon, stars, creeping things of living souls, the fowls of heaven, the living soul: lastly God saw all things which He made; and behold they were very good (Gen. 1:4-31)? Which when Scripture had repeated so often through each of the creatures, I wonder whence that opinion was born by which it was thought that vision belongs only to bodies. From whatever manner of speaking that opinion arose, yet the holy Scriptures are not accustomed to speak thus; which unless they attributed vision not only to the body, but truly also to the spirit, and more to the spirit than to the body, they would not have properly called the Prophets Seers (1 Sam. 9:9), who saw even future things not with the body but with the spirit.

CHAPTER XXII.

51. But it must be considered lest we dare anything insolently, if we should say that the body loses not only mortality and corruptibility, but truly also this very thing which is a body through the glory of the resurrection, and becomes spirit. In that way indeed, either the substance of the spirit will be doubled, if the body also shall be spirit; or if there shall be one spirit of man, so that the body having been changed and converted into spirit, it be doubled neither by gemination nor by increase, nor be increased at all by the access of any quantity; it is to be feared lest nothing else seem to be said, than that bodies will remain immortal not by that change, but rather will be nothing and altogether perish. Wherefore until by diligent inquiry, if the Lord shall help, it be found what according to the Scriptures is to be more probably thought concerning the spiritual body which is promised in the resurrection, in the meantime let it suffice us that the only-begotten Son, and the same mediator of God and men the man Christ Jesus (1 Tim. 2:5) so sees the Father, as He is seen by the Father. But let us not endeavor to transfer that concupiscence of the eyes from this world to that vision of God which is promised to us in the resurrection, but let us study with pious affection to cleanse our hearts: nor let us think of a corporal face, when the Apostle says, We see now through a glass in a riddle; but then face to face; especially because the Apostle said more expressly, Now I know in part; but then I shall know just as I also have been known (1 Cor. 13:12). If therefore then we shall know God

by a corporal face, we have been known by His corporal face now: for Then, he says, I shall know, just as I also have been known. Whence who would not understand that he wished in that place to signify even that face of ours, concerning which he says in another place, But we beholding with revealed face the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory into glory, as by the spirit of the Lord (ibid. 3:18); from the glory namely of faith into the glory of eternal contemplation? For this transformation effectuates this, by which the interior man is renewed from day to day (2 Cor. 4:16): concerning whom also the apostle Peter, when he advised him to be adorned, says, Not those things which are without, let them be adorned with crispings of hair, or gold, or pearls, or precious garment; but that hidden man of the heart, who is rich before God (1 Pet. 3:3). For in which face the Jews have a veil by not passing over to Christ, since when each one shall have passed over to Christ the veil shall be taken away, in that face revealed we are transformed into the same image. But most clearly he says, The veil is placed upon their heart (2 Cor. 3:15-18). There therefore is the face, which being revealed, now in faith, although through a glass and in a riddle, we behold; but then face to face.

CHAPTER XXIII.

52. Which things if you approve, hold with me the opinion of the holy man Ambrose, now not by his authority, but confirmed by the truth itself. For neither does it please me on this account,

because through his mouth chiefly the Lord freed me from error, and through his ministry indulged me with the grace of salutary baptism, as if I should favor too much my planter and waterer; but because concerning this thing he himself said this, which also He who gives the increase, God, speaks to one thinking piously and understanding rightly (1 Cor. 3:7). In the resurrection itself therefore it is not easy to see God, except for those who are pure in heart: and therefore "blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God." How many blessed ones he had already numbered, and yet to them he had not promised the faculty of seeing God! If therefore those who are pure in heart shall see God, certainly others shall not see Him. For neither shall the unworthy see God; nor can he who would not wish to see God, see Him. Nor is God seen in a place, but with a pure heart; nor is God sought with corporal eyes, nor is He circumscribed by sight, nor held by touch, nor heard by speech, nor felt by approach. And when He is thought to be absent, He is seen; and when He is present, He is not seen. Finally, not even all the Apostles saw Christ: and therefore He says, "So long time am I with you, and yet you have not known me!" For he who has known what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth, and the supereminent charity of the knowledge of Christ, has seen both Christ and has seen the Father. For we now know Christ not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. For the spirit before our face is Christ the Lord, who may deign

to fill us into all the fullness of God by His mercy, that He may be able to be seen by us.

53. These words of the holy man, which are not carnal but spiritual, in so far as you understand, you recognize both to be true, not because he himself said them, but because truth cries out without noise; in so far as you understand whence you may adhere to the Lord, and you prepare yourself intrinsically as an incorporeal place of His dwelling for hearing the silence of His narration, and seeing His invisible form. For "blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God." He will not appear to them, as a body, from some interval of place; but when He shall have come to them, and shall have made His dwelling with them: since thus they shall be filled into all the fullness of God, not when they themselves shall be full God, but when they shall have been perfectly full of God. But if we think nothing but bodies, and cannot even think that worthily, whence we may think even the bodies themselves; let us not seek what we may speak against ourselves, but rather by praying from this carnal custom, and extending ourselves to the things before, let us cleanse our hearts. For that I may say not only what the blessed Ambrose, but truly also what the holy Jerome says (Book 3 on Isaiah 6): Not only the divinity of the Father, but truly not even of the Son, nor of the Holy Spirit, because there is one nature in the Trinity, can the eyes of the flesh behold, but the eyes of the mind; concerning which the Savior Himself says, "Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see

God." For as elsewhere the same Jerome briefly and truly defined, an incorporeal thing is not seen with corporal eyes.

54. I did not wish to interpose these opinions of such great men on so great a matter for this reason, that you should think the judgment of any man is to be followed as the authority of canonical Scripture; but that those who think otherwise may strive to see with the mind what is true, and to seek God in simplicity of heart, lest they rashly reprehend such learned expositors of the divine words. Nor let it move you what is said by some less carefully: What then will the bodily eyes see, if they will not see God? Or will they perhaps be blind, or exist without purpose? For those who say these things do not consider that if there will not be bodies, then indeed those eyes will not be bodily either; but if there will be bodies, there will be something that bodily eyes can see. But let these things now be said sufficiently, which, considering them diligently read and reread from the beginning of this little work of mine, you will perceive perhaps without any doubt, that you ought to prepare a clean heart, through his help, for seeing God. But concerning the spiritual body, if the Lord shall help, we shall try in another work what we may be able to discuss (Of the City of God, book 22, chapter 29).

LETTER CXLVIII.

Augustine to Fortunatianus, bishop of Sicca, that he may reconcile to him a certain bishop, whom he had offended by rather harsh letters,

especially by this statement which he had written, that we shall not see God with these bodily eyes: meanwhile explaining diligently how God is seen, and to what extent. It appears, moreover, that that bishop, whom he does not name, had favored the Anthropomorphites.

Commonitory to the holy brother Fortunatianus.

CHAPTER I.

1. As I asked when present, so now I urge you to deign to see our brother, of whom we have spoken, and to ask him to forgive me if he has taken anything said about him too harshly and severely in that letter which I do not now regret having written, because I said that the eyes of this body neither see God, nor will see him. For I added the reason why I said this: namely, lest God himself be believed to be corporeal, and visible in the space and interval of place—for the eye of this body cannot see anything otherwise—and lest that which is said, "Face to face" (I Cor. XIII, 12), be so understood as though God were bounded by the members of a body. Therefore I do not regret having said that, lest we think so impiously of God himself as to suppose him not wholly everywhere, but divisible through spatial locations: for such things we know by these eyes.

2. But, thinking nothing of the sort about God, but believing him to be an unchangeable and incorporeal spirit, wholly present everywhere, if anyone supposes that so great a change of this body is to come, when from animal it shall

have become spiritual, that we shall be able to see through such a body even an incorporeal substance, not divisible by intervals or spaces of places, nor even bounded by the outlines and limits of members, but wholly present everywhere—I wish him to teach me, if he holds what is true; but if in this he holds something false, it is far more tolerable to ascribe too much to the body than to detract from God. And if that opinion is true, it will not be contrary to the words which I set down in that letter. For I said that the eyes of this body will not see God; considering this, that the eyes of this body can perceive nothing at all except bodies which are separated from them by some interval of place: for if there is no interval, we do not even see bodies themselves through them.

3. Furthermore, if our bodies will be changed into so great an unlikeness to themselves, that they will have eyes through which that substance may be seen which is neither diffused nor bounded through spaces of places—having one part here, another there, smaller in a smaller place, larger in a larger place, but everywhere incorporeally whole—these bodies will be something far different, and will not be themselves; nor will they be something else merely by the removal of mortality and corruption and the heaviness of weight, but they will be converted in a certain manner into the power of the mind itself, if they shall be able to see in the way in which it has been granted to the mind then, though not now even to the mind itself, to see.

For if, when the character has changed, we say that a man is not what he was; if finally, when the ages have changed, we say that the body itself is not what it was: how much more will it not be itself, changed by so great a transformation, that it may not only live immortally, but also see the invisible? Wherefore, if they shall see God, it will not be the eyes of this body that see him; because in this respect too the body will not be itself, changed as it will be into that power and faculty: and this opinion is not contrary to those words of my letter. But if it will not be itself only to this extent, that whereas now it is mortal, then it will be immortal; whereas now it weighs down the soul, then, with no weight, it will be most easy for every movement—yet for seeing those things which are discerned by the spaces and intervals of places, if it will be nothing other than itself, it will in no way see an incorporeal substance that is wholly present everywhere. Whether, therefore, this or that be true, according to either it is true that the eyes of this body will not see God. For either they will belong to this body, and will not see; or they will not belong to this body, if they see, since by so great a transformation they will belong to a body far different.

4. But I am ready, if this brother knows something better about this matter, to learn it either from him or from the one from whom he learned it. But if I were speaking mockingly, I would also say that I am ready to learn that about a corporeal God, divisible in his members through places; which I do not say, because I am not

speaking mockingly, and I do not at all doubt that God is not such, and it was in order that he might not be believed to be such that I wrote that letter. In writing which — a letter which I composed with the names suppressed — while I was solicitous in admonishing, I was excessive and imprudent in reproving, and I did not, as would have been fitting, consider the fraternal and episcopal person as a brother and bishop should: this I do not defend, but reprehend; this I do not excuse, but accuse. Let it be forgiven, I ask; let him remember our former affection, and forget the recent offense. Let him certainly do what he was indignant that I did not do; let him have the gentleness in granting pardon which I did not have in composing that letter. This I ask through your charity, which, present, I had wished to ask of him present, if I had the opportunity. When I attempted this, a venerable man, to be preferred in honor to all of us, writing to him, he was unwilling to come, suspecting perhaps — as most human things are — some deceit on my part, as far as I can judge; that I am far from any such thing, do you make him believe as much as you can, since, being present, you can more easily do so. Show him with how great and how sincere a sorrow I have spoken with you about the offense to his mind. Let him know how far I am from despising him, and how greatly I fear God in him, and think of our head, in whose body we are brothers. I thought I should not go to the place where he lives, lest we should make a spectacle to be laughed at by outsiders, to

be grieved over by our own, and to be shameful to ourselves. Through your holiness and charity everything can be rightly done: for indeed it is he who acts, who through his faith dwells in your heart; whom I believe does not spurn in you what he recognizes in himself.

5. As for me, in this matter I found nothing better to do than to ask pardon of a brother who complained that he had been wounded by the harshness of my letter. He too, I hope, will do what he knows is commanded of him by him who, speaking through the Apostle, says: Forgiving one another, if any have a complaint against another, even as God in Christ forgave you (Coloss. III, 13). Be therefore imitators of God, as most beloved sons, and walk in charity, as Christ also loved us (Eph. V, 1, 2). Walking in this charity, let us inquire together, as diligently as we can, concerning the spiritual body which we shall have in the resurrection: for if in anything we think otherwise, God will reveal this also to us, if we remain in him (Philipp. III, 15, 16). But he who abides in charity abides in God, and God abides in him: because God is charity (I Joan. IV, 16); whether by ineffably existing as its fount, or by bestowing it upon us through his Spirit. If, therefore, it can be taught that charity will at some time be seen with bodily eyes, then perhaps God too can be seen; but if this can never be, much less can its very fount, or whatever more excellent and fitting term can be used of so great a matter.

CHAPTER II.

6. Certain great men, most learned in the sacred Scriptures, who greatly aided the Church and the good pursuits of the faithful by their writings, said, wherever the occasion was given them, that the invisible God is seen invisibly; that is, through that nature which in us too is invisible, namely, a pure mind or heart. Blessed Ambrose, when speaking of Christ according to that which he is the Word, said: "For Jesus is seen not with bodily but with spiritual eyes." And a little after he says: "The Jews did not see him; for their foolish heart was blinded" (Lib. I in Luc. 1), showing thereby whence he is seen. Likewise, when he was speaking of the Holy Spirit, he inserted the words of the Lord, who says: "I will ask the Father, and he will give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you forever; the Spirit of truth, whom this world cannot receive, because it does not see him, nor know him" (John XIV, 16, 17). Rightly, therefore, he says, he showed himself in a body, since he is not seen in the substance of his divinity. We have seen the Spirit, but in bodily form: let us see the Father also; but since we cannot see him, let us hear him. And a little after he says: "Let us, then, hear the Father; for the Father is invisible; but the Son too is invisible according to his divinity; for no one has ever seen God" (I John IV, 12): since, therefore, the Son is God, in that very respect in which the Son is God, he is not seen (Lib. 2 in Luc. III, 22).

7. But Saint Jerome says: "The eye of man cannot see God as he is in his nature: not man alone, nor Angels, nor Thrones, nor Powers, nor

Dominions, nor every name that is named; for no creature can behold its Creator." By these words that most learned man sufficiently showed what he thought even concerning the future age, so far as this matter is concerned. For however much the eyes of our body may be changed for the better, they will be made equal to the eyes of the Angels. But here he said that the nature of the Creator is invisible both to them and to the whole heavenly creation altogether. Or if a question also arises here, and some doubt is raised, as to whether we shall not in the future be superior to the Angels, on this point there is the clear statement of the Lord himself, where he says of those who are to rise again into the kingdom: "They will be equal to the Angels of God" (Luke XX, 36). Whence that same Saint Jerome says elsewhere as follows: "Man, therefore, cannot see the face of God; but the Angels even of the least ones in the Church always see the face of God" (Matth. XVIII, 10). And now we see in a mirror, in a riddle; but then face to face (I Cor. XIII, 12), when we shall have advanced from men into Angels, and shall be able to say with the Apostle, "But we all, beholding the glory of the Lord with unveiled face, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord" (II Cor. III, 18); although according to the property of his nature no creature sees the face of God, and he is then discerned by the mind when he is believed to be invisible (Lib. 1 in Isai. 1).

8. In these words of the man of God, many things are to be considered. First, because in ac-

cordance with the most manifest sentence of the Lord, he too holds that we shall then see the face of God, when we shall have advanced into the Angels, that is, when we shall have been made equal to the Angels; which will certainly be at the resurrection of the dead. Then, by apostolic testimony, he sufficiently showed that it is not the face of the outer but of the inner man that is to be understood when we shall see face to face: for the Apostle was speaking of the face of the heart, when he said what he here recalled, "But we, beholding the glory of the Lord with unveiled face, are transformed into the same image." But if anyone doubts this, let him examine that same passage, and consider from what point the Apostle was speaking; namely, of the veil which remains in the reading of the Old Testament, until each one passes over to Christ, so that the veil may be taken away. For there he says, "But we, beholding the glory of the Lord with unveiled face"; which face was not unveiled in the Jews: of whom he says, "A veil is placed over their heart," so as to show that the face of the heart has been unveiled for us, the veil having been removed. Finally, lest anyone, considering these things less attentively and discerning them less carefully, should believe God to be visible either to Angels or to men, whether now or in the future when we shall have been made equal to the Angels, he expressed most clearly what he thought, saying that no creature sees the face of God according to the property of His nature, and that He is then discerned by the mind when He is believed to

be invisible. Hence he sufficiently indicated that, when He was seen by men through the eyes of the body, as though He himself were corporeal, He was not seen according to the property of His nature, in which He is then discerned by the mind when He is believed to be invisible. Invisible to what, if not to bodily sight, even the heavenly kind, as he said above concerning the Angels and Powers and Dominions? How much more, then, to earthly sight!

9. Hence in another place he says more evidently: "Not only can the eyes of the flesh not behold the divinity of the Father, but not even that of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, which is one nature in the Trinity, but only the eyes of the mind; concerning which the Savior himself says, 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God'" (Lib. 3 in Isai. 1). What could be clearer than this manifestation? For if he had said only, "Neither can the eyes of the flesh behold the divinity of the Father, nor of the Son, nor of the Holy Spirit," and had not further added, "but the eyes of the mind," perhaps it might be said that flesh should no longer be so called, once the body had become spiritual: therefore, by adding and saying, "but the eyes of the mind," he excluded a vision of this kind from every kind of body. But lest anyone should suppose that he was speaking only of the present time, he also added the Lord's testimony, wishing to show what he had meant by the eyes of the mind; by which testimony the promise of a vision is declared, not of the present,

but of the future: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Matth. V, 8).

10. The most blessed Athanasius also, bishop of Alexandria, when he was arguing against the Arians, who say that only God the Father is invisible, but think the Son and the Holy Spirit to be visible, asserted the equal invisibility of the Trinity by the testimonies of the sacred Scriptures and by the diligence of his disputation, most earnestly persuading that God was not seen except by the assumption of a creature: but that, according to the property of His Deity, God is altogether invisible, that is, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, except insofar as He can be known by mind and spirit. Gregory also, a holy bishop of the East, most openly says that God, invisible by nature, when He was seen by the fathers, as by Moses, with whom He spoke face to face, was able to be seen—His invisibility being preserved—through the assumption of a disposition of some visible matter. This is also what our Ambrose says, that both the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are seen in that form which the will has chosen, not which nature has formed (In Luc. c. I, 11): so that this too may be true, that no one has ever seen God (Joan. I, 18), which is the utterance of the Lord Christ Himself; and, Whom no man has seen, nor can see (I Tim. VI, 16), which is the utterance of the Apostle, or rather of Christ Himself through the Apostle; and that those testimonies of the Scriptures in which God is narrated to have been seen may not be rejected, because He is both invisible by the

proper nature of His Deity, and, when He wills, can be seen through an assumed creature, as it has pleased Him.

CHAPTER III.

11. Furthermore, if invisibility is of His nature itself just as incorruptibility is, that nature will surely not be changed in the future world, so that from invisible it should become visible; because neither will it be able from incorruptible to become corruptible: for at the same time it is also incommutable. And surely the Apostle commended His nature, when he placed those two together, saying: Now to the King of ages, invisible, incorruptible, the only God, be honor and glory forever and ever (1 Tim. 1:17). Whence I do not dare so to distinguish, as to say: Incorruptible indeed forever and ever; but invisible not forever and ever, but only in this age. But because neither can those testimonies be false, Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God; and, We know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is (1 John 3:2): we cannot deny that the sons of God shall see God, but just as invisible things are seen, just as He who appeared visible in the flesh to men was promising that He would show Himself, when He said, And I will love him, and will show myself to him (John 14:21), when He was speaking as one conspicuous before the eyes of men. Whence, however, are invisible things seen, except by the eyes of the heart? concerning which a little before I said what Jerome felt for seeing God.

12. Hence it is also that the mentioned bishop of Milan said that in the resurrection itself it is not easy to see God, except for those who are pure in heart; and therefore it is written: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. How many blessed ones, he says, had he already numbered, and yet to them he had not promised the faculty of seeing God! Then he joins and says: If therefore those who are pure in heart shall see God, surely others shall not see Him. And lest we should take those others, concerning whom it was said, Blessed are the poor, Blessed are the meek, he immediately subjoined: For neither shall the unworthy see God. Wishing surely those to be understood as unworthy, who although they rise again, will not be able to see God; because they shall rise again to damnation, because through true faith which works by love (Gal. 5:6), they would not cleanse the heart. And therefore he follows and says: Neither can he who shall have been unwilling to see God, see God. Then because it occurred that even all the impious wish to see God, immediately that he might show why he said, who shall have been unwilling to see God, because surely the impious man does not wish to see God in that way, because he does not wish to cleanse the heart, by which He can be seen, having followed he joined and said: Nor is God seen in a place, but by the pure heart; nor is God sought by corporeal eyes, nor is He circumscribed by sight, nor held by touch, nor heard by speech, nor felt by gait (In Luc. c. I, 11). By which words the blessed Ambrose wished to admonish what

men ought to prepare who wish to see God; this is, to cleanse the heart through faith which works by love, by the gift of the Holy Spirit, whence we have received a pledge, by which we may know how to desire that vision (2 Cor. 5:4-8).

CHAPTER IV.

13. For concerning the members of God, which Scripture assidue commemorates, lest anyone should believe us to be like God according to the form and figure of this flesh, therefore the same Scripture also said that God has wings (Psalm 16:8), which we surely do not have. Just as therefore when we hear wings, we understand protection: so also when we hear hands, we ought to understand operation; and when we hear feet, presentation; and when we hear eyes, the vision by which He knows; and when we hear face, the notice by which He becomes known; and if the same Scripture commemorates anything else of such a kind, I think it is to be understood spiritually. Neither do I alone, or I first, but all who by any spiritual intelligence resist those who on this account are named Anthropomorphites. From whose letters, lest by commemorating many things I should make greater delays, I interpose this one of saint Jerome, that this brother may know, that he ought to deal concerning this matter not with me more than with the ancients, if anything moves him to the contrary.

14. When therefore that man most learned in the Scriptures, was expounding the psalm where it is said, Understand therefore you who

are senseless among the people, and you fools at length be wise. He who planted the ear, shall he not hear? or he who formed the eye, does he not consider? among other things, This place, he says, makes most against those, who are Anthropomorphites, who say that God has members which we also have. For example, God is said to have eyes, because the eyes of the Lord look upon all things; the hand of the Lord makes all things: "And he heard," he says, "Adam the sound of the feet of the Lord walking in paradise" (Gen. 3:8): these they hear simply, and refer human weaknesses to the magnificence of God. But I say that God is all eye, all hand, all foot. He is all eye, because He sees all things. He is all hand, because He works all things. He is all foot, because He is everywhere. Therefore see what he says. "He who planted the ear, shall he not hear? or he who formed the eyes, does he not consider?" And he did not say, He who planted the ear, therefore he himself does not have an ear; he did not say, Therefore he himself does not have eyes: but what did he say? "He who planted the ear, shall he not hear? he who formed the eyes, does he not consider?" he took away members, he gave efficiencies (In Psal. 93:8, 9).

15. All these things from the letters of those both Latin and Greek, who living before us in the catholic Church treated the divine elocutions, I have thought therefore to be commemorated, so that this brother may know, if he feels anything otherwise than they do, having laid aside the bitterness of dissension, and the sweetness of

fraternal charity having been preserved and restored into the whole, it is to be sought or learned or taught by diligent and tranquil consideration. For neither ought we to have the disputations of anyone, although of catholic and praised men, as canonical Scriptures, so that it may not be permitted to us, the honorificence being saved which is owed to those men, to improbate and reject something in their writings, if perhaps we shall have found that they felt otherwise than the truth has it, understood by divine help either by others, or by us. Such I am in the writings of others; such I wish to be the understanders of mine. Finally in all those things which I have commemorated from the opuscules of the saints and doctors, of Ambrose, Jerome, Athanasius, Gregory, and if I have been able to read any such things of others which I thought long to commemorate, that God is not a body, nor has members of human form, nor is He divisible through spaces of places, and is by nature incommutably invisible, nor through the same nature and substance, but a visible species having been assumed just as He willed did He appear to those to whom He appeared, when He is narrated in the holy Scriptures to have been seen through the eyes of the body, in the help of the Lord I believe unshakenly, and as much as He Himself grants I understand.

CHAPTER V.

16. But concerning the spiritual body, which we shall have in the resurrection, how much commutation into better it may take: whether

it yields into the simplicity of spirit, so that the whole man may now be spirit; or what I rather think, but do not yet confirm with full confidence, the spiritual body will be so, that on account of a certain ineffable facility it may be called spiritual, yet it may preserve the corporeal substance, which through itself cannot live and feel, but through that spirit which uses it; for neither now, because the body is called animal, is the same the nature of the soul which is of the body: and whether if the nature of the body, although now immortal and incorruptible, shall be preserved, it may then help the spirit somewhat for seeing those visible, that is corporeal things, just as now we cannot see any such thing except through the body; or truly even then without the organ of the body our spirit may be able to know corporeal things (for neither does God know such things through the senses of the body); and many other things which can move in this question, I confess that I have not yet read anywhere, what I might think to suffice me either for learning or for teaching.

17. And by this if my caution of whatever kind does not displease this brother, meanwhile for that which is written, Because we shall see Him as He is (1 John 3:2), as much as we can, let us prepare a pure heart for that vision He Himself helping. But concerning the spiritual body let us inquire more peacefully and diligently, lest perhaps God should deign to demonstrate something certain and liquid, if He knows this to be useful to us, according to His Scriptures. For if a

more diligent inquiry shall find this, so great a future mutation of the body, that it can see invisible things; not, as I opine, such power of the body will take away vision from the mind, so that the exterior man can then see God, and the interior cannot: as if God were only outside to man, and were not inside in man, when it is most openly written, that God may be all in all (1 Cor. 15:28); or He who is everywhere whole without any spaces of places be so inside, that He can be seen only from the outside by the exterior man, but cannot be seen inside by the interior man. Which things if they are felt most absurdly: for rather the saints will be full of God; they will not be surrounded from the outside being empty from within by Him; nor being filled from within will they not see Him with whom they shall be full, and only being eyed from without see Him by whom they shall be surrounded: it remains that meanwhile we be most certain concerning the vision of God according to the interior man. If however also the body by a wonderful commutation shall have been able for this, another thing will be added, that thing will not depart.

18. Better therefore we affirm that whence we doubt least, that the interior man will see God, who now alone can see charity, which when it was praised it was said, God is charity (1 John 4:8): alone can see peace and sanctification, without which no one can see God (Hebr. 12:14). For neither does any eye of the flesh now see charity, peace, sanctification, and if there are any similar things; all which however the eye of the

mind now sees, as much as it can, by so much more purely as it is purer: so that without doubt we may believe that we shall see God, whether we find, or we do not find what we seek concerning the quality of the future body; when nevertheless we do not doubt that the body will rise again and will be immortal and incorruptible, since from here we retain the most open and firm sentences of the holy Scriptures. If however this brother what I still require concerning the spiritual body, already firms to himself to be most certain, unless I shall have heard him teaching placidly, so that he also may hear me inquiring placidly, he will have whence he may justly be incensed. Now nevertheless through Christ I beseech that concerning that asperity of my letters, by which I have learned him to have been not undeservedly offended, you may impetrate pardon for me from him, and you may gladden me with rescripts the Lord helping.

LETTER CXLIX. He responds to questions from the Psalms, from the Apostle, and from the Gospel proposed by Paulinus above, in the hundred and twenty-first letter. To the most blessed and venerably desirable and desirably venerable, holy and holily most dear brother and co-bishop, PAULINUS, AUGUSTINE, sends greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER I.

1. Because the Lord has quickly gladdened us concerning the arrival so prosperous of our brother and fellow-presbyter Quintus, and those

who sailed with him, your Holiness's letters announcing it, giving thanks to Him who recreates the afflicted, and consoles the humble, to the sincerity of your heart, on the occasion of our son and fellow-deacon Ruffinus which occurred most recently, I now pay back rescripts: for he set out from the shore of Hippo. And I approve the counsel of mercy which the Lord inspired in you, and you have deigned to insinuate to me. May He Himself help this also, may He Himself prosper it, who has already eased our care in great part, because that most dear man has been conveyed and commended, not only by good works, but also by your holy prayers.

2. Indeed the letters of your Veneration, where you sought many things, and admonished things to be sought, and by seeking taught, reached me. But those which I myself immediately rescrit through the men of those same holy solaces of ours, as I have found by these more recent of yours, have not been returned to your Veneration. In which indeed, how far I responded to the things asked, I have not been able to recall; nor when I had sought the example of them, where I could recognize this, did I find it. To some things nevertheless I am altogether certain that I responded, and therefore not to all, because that I might finish quickly, the haste of the bearer was urging. At the same time also I had sent, as you had ordered, also the example of that letter, which I had rescript to your Charity at Carthage concerning the resurrection of bodies, where a question had arisen concerning the use

of members. Now therefore both I have sent this, and another of the other, because I conjectured that neither itself had reached into your hands, for the reason that you asked again certain things which I read and recognize that I have already responded in it. But through whom I directed that one I do not know. Indeed the writings of your Charity by which I returned it, as itself also indicates, were sent to me from Hippo by our people, when I was with our holy brother and co-bishop Boniface (for I did not see the bearer of them), and immediately I did not defer rescripts.

3. Because therefore then, as I wrote, I had not been able to inspect the Greek codices on account of certain things of the sixteenth psalm, I inspected afterwards those which I found. And one had, what also our Latins have, Lord, destroying from the earth disperse them: another just as you yourself put it, From a few from the earth. And that indeed has an open sense, destroying from the earth which you gave to them, disperse them among the nations: which also was done to them, when they were fought and subverted in a grave war. But how that other is to be taken, does not occur to me; except because in comparison of their lost multitude, a remnant was made safe, surely in a few from whom Scripture foreannounced they were to be dispersed, that is divided and separated, saying, Lord, from a few, that is, from the remnant whom you made safe from that nation, from the earth disperse them: so that we may understand the earth to be the Church and the inheritance of the faithful and

the saints, which is also called the land of the living, and which also in that place can be rightly understood, Blessed are the meek; for they shall possess the land by inheritance (Matt. 5:4). But when it had been said, From a few from the earth divide them, it was added, in their life; so that it might be understood to be future in the manifest, while they live here. For many are separated from the Church, but when they die, who nevertheless while they live, seem joined to the Church through the communion of the Sacraments and of catholic unity. These therefore are divided from the few who believed from among them, from the land which the father husbandman cultivates just as his own field: but divided in their life, that is here in the manifest, as we see. But it follows, And with your hidden things their belly is filled; that is, besides this that they are divided in the manifest, also with your hidden things which in secret you render to the conscience of the evil, their belly is filled: he put belly for the secrets of internal and latent things.

4. But that which follows, They are saturated with pork; already I have opened what seemed to me from this. But because other codices have, and are perhibited to have more truly, because more diligent exemplars, through the note of accent of the same Greek word dissolve the ambiguity in the Greek manner of writing, it is indeed more obscure, but seems to fit more aptly to a more select opinion. For because he had said, And with your hidden things their belly is filled, by which words the hidden judgments of God are signified;

for hiddenly they are wretched, even those who rejoice in evil, whom God delivered into the concupiscences of their heart (Rom. 1:24): as if it were asked whence they can be known who in the hidden are filled with the wrath of God, and it were responded what was said in the Gospel, From their fruits you shall know them (Matt. 7:16), immediately was subjoined, They are saturated with children, that is with fruits, which is more evidently said, with their works. Whence elsewhere it is read, Behold he has travailed with injustice, conceived sorrow, and brought forth iniquity (Psalm 7:15): and elsewhere, Then concupiscence, when it has conceived, brings forth sin (James 1:15). Evil children, therefore, are evil works, by which they are known, and they who from the hidden judgments of God are filled in the internal of their thoughts as if in the belly. Good works are good children. Whence it is said to the spouse Church: Your teeth are as a flock of shorn sheep coming up from the washing, which all create twins, and there is not a sterile one among them (Cant. 4:2). In which twin offspring is recognized the twin work of charity, namely of the Lord God, and of the neighbor: on which two precepts the whole Law hangs and the Prophets (Matt. 22:40).

5. This sense, however, by which that which is written, They are saturated with children, is thus expounded, had not occurred to me, when I rescript before; but I reviewed a certain very brief exposition of the same psalm, which I had dictated already long ago, and I found this placed

by me briefly enough. I inspected also the Greek codices, whether it was the dative case, that which was said, with children, or the genitive, which that language uses for the ablative, and I found the genitive: which if it were interpreted to the word, would be written, They are saturated of children; but rightly the interpreter followed the sense, and in the Latin manner said, They are saturated with children. But that which follows, And they left the remnants to their little ones, I think little ones are to be taken as manifest children of the flesh. Whence also according to that exposition, not of pork, but of children, remains that sentence by which they said, His blood be upon us and upon our children (Matt. 27:25): for so they left the remnants of their works to their little ones.

6. In the fifteenth psalm, however, that which is written, He has made wonderful, or, Let Him make wonderful all His wills among them, nothing prohibits it to be understood, indeed it seems also more convenient, not, among them, but, in them. For so the Greek codices have: but often what that language has, in them, our people interpret, among them, where it seems to fit the opinion. Let us therefore take, To the saints who are in His land, He has made wonderful all His wills in them; which most codices have: and let us understand, His wills, the gifts of grace, which was given freely, that is, because He willed, not because it was owed. Whence is, With the shield of your good will you have crowned us (Psalm 5:13); and, In your will you have led me (Psalm

72:24); and, Voluntarily he begot us by the word of truth (James 1:18); and, Separating a voluntary rain, O God, for your inheritance (Psalm 67:10); and, Dividing proper things to each one as He wills (1 Cor. 12:11); and innumerable others. Therefore, He has made wonderful all His wills in them, in whom except in the saints who are in His land? For if land, as we showed above, can be taken in the good, even where His is not added; how much more where it is said, His land! Wonderful therefore He made all His wills in them: wonderful altogether He made them, because He wonderfully delivered them from desperation.

7. From this admiration the Apostle exclaims, O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! for above indeed he had said, For God has concluded all in infidelity, that He might have mercy on all (Rom. 11:33, 32). For this also here follows: Their infirmities are multiplied; afterwards they accelerated. He put infirmities for sins, just as the Apostle says to the Romans, For if Christ, when we were still infirm according to the time died for the impious: he said those infirm whom he said impious. Then a little after repeating the same opinion, God commends, he says, his charity in us, because when we were still sinners, Christ died for us: those whom he called infirm above, he here called sinners. Likewise in the following turning this same thing in other words, For if when we were enemies, he says, we were reconciled to God through the death of His Son (Id. 5:6, 8, 10). And by this in that which was said, Their infirmities are multiplied,

are understood their multiplied sins. For the Law entered in, that the delict might abound: but because where the delict abounded, grace superabounded (Ibid. 20), therefore afterwards they accelerated. For He did not come to call the just, but sinners: because the physician is not necessary to the healthy, but to the sick (Matt. 9:13, 12); of whom surely their infirmities were multiplied, so that for healing them there might be necessary the medicine of so great grace, and to whom many sins are forgiven, he would love much.

8. This the ash of the heifer and the sprinkling of blood, and the multiplication of bloody victims was signifying, not effecting. Therefore subsequently he says, I will not gather their conventicles from bloods, that is of those sacrifices which were immolated in the figure of the blood of Christ. Neither will I be mindful of their names through my lips. For their names were in the multiplication of infirmities; fornicators, serving idols, adulterers, soft, those who lie with males, thieves, covetous, robbers, drunkards, railers, and whoever others shall not possess the kingdom of God. But where sin abounding, grace superabounded, afterwards they accelerated. These indeed they were, but they are washed, but they are sanctified, but they are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God (1 Cor. 6:9-11): therefore He will not be mindful of their names through His lips. Indeed the more emended codices and of more select authority, do not have, His wills, but, my wills; which is worth just as much, because it is said from the person

of the Son. For He Himself speaks, whom those words evidently show, which also the Apostles used: You will not leave my soul in hell, nor will you give your holy one to see corruption (Acts 2:31, and 13:35). The same are surely the gifts of the grace of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; and therefore most rightly also the Son can call them His wills.

9. But that which in the fifty-eighth psalm is understood concerning the Jews, saying, Do not kill them, lest they should ever forget your Law, it seems to me conveniently to be understood to be thus foreannounced: that the same nation even fought and subverted, would not have yielded into the superstitions of the victor people, but would remain in the old Law, so that with it there might be a testimony of the Scriptures in the whole world, whence the Church was to be called out. For by no more evident document is it shown to the nations, what is most healthily adverted, that it was not an unexpected and sudden thing instituted by the spirit of human presumption, so that the name of Christ should so much prevail in authority in the hope of eternal salvation, but was of old prophesied and written. For the prophecy itself, what else would it be thought but to have been feigned by our people, if it were not proved from the codices of enemies? Therefore, Do not kill them; do not extinguish the name of the nation itself, lest they should ever forget your Law: which surely would happen, if being compelled to worship the rites and sacred things of the Gentiles altogether, they should least retain

any kind of name of their religion. Which in their figure also was written concerning Cain, that the Lord set a mark in him, lest anyone should kill him (Gen. 4:15). Finally when he had said, Do not kill them, lest they should ever forget your Law; as if it were asked what was to be done concerning them, so that for some uses of the testimony of truth they may not be killed, that is, may not be consumed, nor forget the Law of God; immediately he subjoined: Disperse them in your power. For if they were in one place of the earth, they would not help by testimony the preaching of the Gospel, which fructifies in the whole world. Therefore disperse them in your power, so that of that same one whose deniers, persecutors, killers they were, they may everywhere be witnesses through the Law itself, which they do not forget, in which He is prophesied, whom they do not follow. For it does not profit them anything, that they do not forget it: for it is one thing to have the law of God in memory, another in understanding and effect.

10. In the sixty-seventh psalm, however, what you ask what it is, Nevertheless God shall crush the heads of his enemies, the hairy crown of those walking in their delicts; it does not seem to me anything else said than, God shall crush the heads of his enemies too much proud, too much extolling themselves in their delicts. For through hyperbole he signified pride so much extolling itself, and walking with so much elation, as if by walking it should trample the hairy crown. Likewise in the same psalm what is written, The

tongue of your dogs from the enemies from Him; dogs are not always to be taken in the evil. Otherwise there would not be reprehended with the prophet dumb dogs not knowing how to bark, and loving to slumber (Isai. 56:10): for truly they would be laudable dogs, if they both knew how to bark, and loved to watch. And certainly those three hundred in number through the letter of the cross most sacred would not be elected for making victory, who just as dogs should lap the water (Judg. 7:7), unless they signified something great. For good dogs watch and bark, both for the house and for the master, and for the flock and for the shepherd. Finally also here in the praises of the Church, when the prophecy was exerted, the tongue of dogs was commemorated, not teeth. Of your however dogs, he said, from the enemies, that is, so that those who were your enemies might become your dogs, and might bark for you, who were raging against you. But he added, from Him, so that they should not understand this done by themselves, but from Him, that is by His mercy and grace.

CHAPTER II.

11. Concerning the prophets of whom the Apostle says, God has given some indeed in the Church apostles, some however prophets (Eph. 4:11), I understand this what you yourself wrote, that they were called prophets in this place, from whom Agabus was (Acts 11:27, 28), not those who prophesied the Lord about to come in the flesh. Truly we find evangelists, whom we do not

read to have been apostles; just as were Luke and Mark. But pastors and doctors, whom you willed especially that I should discern, I think to be the same, just as it also seemed to you, so that we should not understand some to be pastors, others doctors; but therefore when he had foretold pastors, he subjoined doctors, that they might understand that doctrine pertains to the office of pastors. For therefore he does not say, Some however pastors, some truly doctors; when he distinguished the superior ones by that very genus of elocution saying, Some indeed apostles, some however prophets, some truly evangelists: but he embraced this as if one certain thing by two names, some however pastors and doctors.

12. Those truly are discerned with the greatest difficulty, where writing to Timothy he says, I beseech therefore first of all that there be made obsecrations, orations, interpellations, thanksgivings (1 Tim. 2:1). For they are to be discerned according to the Greek elocution: for our interpreters are scarcely found, who have taken care to transfer them diligently and knowingly. For behold just as you yourself put them, I beseech that there be made obsecrations, the Apostle did not say both by the same word, who surely wrote that epistle in Greek; but for that which is in Latin, I beseech, he said in Greek, parakalo. For that truly which your Latin has, obsecrations, he put, deeseis. Therefore other codices in which also ours are, do not have, obsecrations, but, deprecations. Furthermore the three which follow, orations, in-

terpellations, thanksgivings, most Latin codices have thus.

Whence if we should wish according to the properties of the Latin tongue to discern those by the manner of speaking, we shall perhaps hold our own or whatever opinion; but it is a wonder if we shall obtain the opinion of the Greek speech or custom. Precation, and deprecation, many of ours think this same thing, and this by daily use has already altogether prevailed. But those who have spoken more distinctly in Latin, used precations in desiring good things, but deprecations in avoiding evil things. For they said that to pray was to desire good things by praying; to imprecate evil things, which is now commonly said, to curse: but to deprecate, to drive away evil things by praying. But let us follow the already accustomed mode of speaking; and whether we shall find precations or deprecations, which the Greeks call deeseis, let us not think it is to be emended. Truly orations, which the Greek has proseuchas, to distinguish from prayers or precations is altogether difficult. But that which certain codices do not have, orations, but, adorationes, because it was not said in the Greek euchas, but proseuchas: I do not judge to have been interpreted knowingly; for that proseuchas are called orations by the Greeks is most known. And surely it is one thing to pray, another to adore. Finally not by this word, but by another is read in the Greek, The Lord your God you shall adore (Matt. 4:10); and, I will adore at your holy

temple (Psalm 5:8); and if there are any similar things.

14. But for interpellations that which ours have, according to your codices, I believe, you put postulations. These meanwhile two, that is what some interpreted postulations, others interpellations, they willed to transfer one word which the Greek has, enteuxeis. And surely you advert, and you know it is one thing to interpellate, another to postulate. For we are not accustomed to say, They postulate being about to interpellate, but, They interpellate being about to postulate: nevertheless from vicinity the word used, to which the proximity itself impetrates understanding, is not to be culled as if by censorial notation. For also concerning the Lord Jesus Christ Himself it was said that He interpellates for us (Rom. 8:34): does He then interpellate, and not also postulate? Nay truly because He postulates, for it is put, He interpellates. Evidently elsewhere it is said concerning Him: And if anyone shall have sinned, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the just, and He Himself is the exoration for our sins (1 John 2:1, 2). Although perhaps the codices with you even in that place concerning the Lord Jesus Christ do not have, He interpellates for us, but, He postulates for us: for in Greek, by which word here are placed interpellations, which you yourself put postulations, it is the same word also there, where it is written, He interpellates for us.

15. When therefore both he who beseeches prays, and he who prays beseeches, and he who interpellates God, interpellates for this that he

may pray and beseech; what does it want for itself that the Apostle thus placed those things, so that their distinction is not to be neglected? Therefore the general name being excepted, and the custom of speaking being saved, according to which whether you say precation, or oration, or interpellation, or postulation, one and the same thing is understood; some property also of each of these is to be inquired; but to arrive at it liquidly is difficult: for many things can be said from here which are not to be improbated.

16. But I elect to understand in these words this, which all or almost all the Church frequents, so that we take precations as said, which we make in the celebration of the Sacraments, before that which is on the Lord's table begins to be blessed: orations, when it is blessed and sanctified, and is broken for distributing; which whole petition almost all the Church concludes with the Lord's prayer. To which understanding also the origin of the Greek word helps us. For that which they call euchen, rarely Scripture thus places so that oration is understood: but mostly and much more customarily it calls a vow euchen, but proseuchen, which word thus is placed whence we treat, it always calls oration. Whence this origin of the word, as I said above, some beholding less eruditely, willed proseuchen to say not oration, but adoration, which rather is called proskynesis: but because oration is sometimes called euche, proseuche was thought adoration. Furthermore if more customarily, as I said, in the Scriptures a vow is called euche, the general

name of oration being excepted, that is properly to be understood oration, which we make to a vow, that is pros euchen. But all things are vowed which are offered to God, especially the oblation of the holy altar; by which Sacrament that greatest vow of ours is preached, by which we vowed that we would remain in Christ, surely in the structure of the body of Christ. Of which thing it is a sacrament, that being one bread, one body we many are (1 Cor. 10:17). Therefore in the preparation of this sanctification, I think the Apostle to have ordered properly proseuchas to be made, that is orations, or, as some less skillfully interpreted, adorationes; for this is to a vow, which more customarily in the Scriptures is named euche. But interpellations, or, as your codices have, postulations, are made when the people is blessed: for then the bishops, as if advocates, offer their suscepted ones through the imposition of hands to the most merciful power. Which having been performed, and so great a Sacrament having been participated, thanksgiving concludes all things, which in these words also the Apostle commended last.

17. But this was the chief cause of saying those things, so that these briefly having been touched upon and signified, it should not be thought that what follows is to be neglected, for all men, for kings, and those who are in sublimity, so that we may lead a quiet and tranquil life in all piety and charity: lest anyone, just as the infirmity of human thought has itself, should think that those things were not to be performed for those from

whom the Church was suffering persecution, when the members of Christ were to be gathered from every genus of men. Whence he joins and says: For this is good and acceptable before our Savior God, who wills all men to be made safe, and to come into the recognition of truth. And lest anyone should say that there could be a way of salvation in good conduct and the worship of one God omnipotent, without the participation of the body and blood of Christ; For one God, he says, and one mediator of God and of men the man Christ Jesus: so that that which he had said, who wills all men to be made safe, should be understood to be provided in no other way, except through the mediator, not God, which always the Word was, but the man Christ Jesus, when the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us (John 1:14).

18. Whence neither let that move you, what the same apostle says concerning the Jews: According to the Gospel indeed enemies on account of you; but according to election beloved on account of the fathers (Rom. 11:28). For surely that depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God, and those inscrutable judgments of His, and His unsearchable ways, bring this great admiration to faithful hearts, who concerning His wisdom reaching from end even to end strongly, and disposing all things sweetly (Wisd. 8:1) do not doubt, what it is that pleases Him so that they are born, grow and are multiplied, those whom although He Himself did not make evil, nevertheless He foreknew would be evil. For His counsel is too much in the hidden, by

which also He uses evil things well for the profit of good things, even in this making wonderful the omnipotence of His goodness: because just as it is of the iniquity of those to use His good works badly, so it is of His wisdom to use their evil works well.

19. This depth therefore of the sacrament the Apostle thus commends: I do not will you to be ignorant, brethren, of this sacrament, so that you be not wise to yourselves, because blindness in part was made in Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles should enter, and so all Israel should be made safe (Rom. 11:25, 26). In part, he said, because not all were blinded: for there were from among them who recognized Christ. But the fullness of the Gentiles enters in those, who are called according to the purpose; and so all Israel will be made safe, because both from the Jews and from the Gentiles, who are called according to the purpose, they themselves are the true Israel, concerning whom the same Apostle says, And upon the Israel of God (Gal. 6:16): but those he calls Israel according to the flesh; See, he says, Israel according to the flesh (1 Cor. 10:18). Then he interposes the testimony of the prophet, There shall come from Sion, He who may rescue and turn away impiety from Jacob; and this is my testament to them, when I shall have taken away their sins (Isai. 59:20): not surely of all Jews, but of the beloved.

20. Hence he joins those things, which you set forth to be inquired into, According to the Gospel indeed enemies on account of you. For surely the

price of our redemption is the blood of Christ, which certainly could not be slain except by enemies. This is that use of evil things for the profit of good things. But what he joins, but according to election beloved on account of the fathers, from here he shows that those are not enemies, but the elect are beloved. But it is the custom of Scripture thus to speak of the part as if of the whole: just as in the first parts of his Epistle he so praises the Corinthians as if all were such, when some of them were laudable; and afterwards in several places of the same Epistle, he so reproves as if all were blameworthy, on account of certain ones who were such. This custom of the divine Scriptures, very frequently scattered through the whole body of its Letters, whoever diligently observes, dissolves many things which seem to be contrary to each other. Therefore he calls some enemies, others beloved: but because they were in one people, he seems to speak as if of the same ones themselves. Although also from those same enemies who crucified the Lord, many were converted, and appeared as elect. Then elect, when converted, as much as pertains to the beginning of salvation: but as much as pertains to the foreknowledge of God, not then elect, but before the constitution of the world, just as the same apostle says, that He chose us before the constitution of the world (Eph. 1:4). In two ways therefore, the enemies themselves are the beloved: whether because both had been in one people; or because from the enemies raging even to the blood of Christ, certain of them had been made beloved

according to the election which lay hidden in the foreknowledge of God. For to this he added, on account of the fathers; because it was fitting that that which was promised to the fathers be fulfilled, just as near the end of the Epistle to the Romans he says: For I say that Christ was a minister of the circumcision on account of the truth of God, to confirm the promises of the fathers. But the Gentiles to glorify God upon mercy (Rom. 15:8, 9). According to that mercy it was said, enemies on account of you: which he had also said above, By their offense salvation is to the Gentiles.

21. But when he had said, according to election beloved on account of the fathers, he added, For without repentance are the gifts and the vocation of God. You surely see that those are signified, who belong to the number of the predestined. Concerning whom in another place he says, We know that for those who love God all things work together for good, for those who are called according to the purpose. For many are called, but few are elect (Matth. 22:14): but those who are elect, they themselves are called according to the purpose; in whom without doubt the foreknowledge of God cannot be deceived. These He foreknew and predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son, so that He might be the firstborn among many brothers. But those whom He predestined, those He also called. This vocation is according to the purpose; this is without repentance. But those whom He called, those He also justified: but those whom He justified, those He

also glorified. If God is for us, who is against us (Rom. 8:28-31)?

22. They are not in that vocation, who in the faith which works through love (Gal. 5:6), even if for a little while they walk, do not persevere until the end. And surely they could have been snatched away, lest malice should change their understanding (Wisd. 4:11), if they pertained to that predestination and vocation, which is according to the purpose and without repentance. But lest any presumptuous person should so judge concerning the hidden things of others, as to say, Therefore they were not snatched from this life before they were deserters of the faith, because in the same life they were not walking faithfully, and this the Lord knew in their hearts, although it appeared otherwise to men: what is he going to say concerning little infants, many of whom having received in that age the Sacrament of Christian grace, when without doubt they would pertain to eternal life and the kingdom of heaven if they should immediately depart from this life, are permitted to grow, and some even become apostates? Whence, unless because they do not pertain to that predestination, and the vocation according to the purpose and without repentance? But why some should pertain to it, and others not pertain to it, there can be a hidden cause, but there cannot be an unjust one. For is there iniquity with God? Far be it (Rom. 9:14). For this also pertains to that depth of judgments, which the Apostle admiring as if was struck with awe. For therefore indeed he calls

those judgments, lest anyone should think such things to happen, either by the iniquity or by the rashness of the one doing them, or by chance and fortuitously with any parts of the ages arranged under such great wisdom of God slipping away.

23. Furthermore, in the Epistle to the Colossians what is written, Let no one seduce you willing in humility (Coloss. 2:18), and the rest which follow, as far as you have said they are obscure to you, neither do I yet understand them without darkness. And would that being present you had sought those things of me: for in that sense which I seem to have in these words, there is to be applied a certain pronunciation in the countenance and the manner of the voice, which cannot be expressed by letters, so that from some part it may be opened; which for this reason becomes more obscure, because it is not rightly, as I think, pronounced. For what is written, Do not touch, do not taste, do not handle; is thought as a precept of the Apostle, prohibiting to touch, taste, handle I know not what. But it is on the contrary, if nevertheless in such great obscurity I am not deceived in these things. For surely he put the words in mockery of those by whom he did not wish them to be deceived and seduced, who discerning foods according to the worship of Angels, and thus decreeing concerning this world, say, Do not touch, do not taste, do not handle; when all things are clean to the clean (Tit. 1:15), and every creature of God is good (1 Tim. 4:4): which in another place he himself evidently commends.

24. Let us therefore see the whole circumstance of the sentence itself: for thus the intention of the Apostle having been perceived, we shall perhaps hold his sense, as much as we are able. For to those whom he writes these things, he was fearing they would be seduced by the shadows of things, under the sweet name of knowledge, and be turned away from the light of truth which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. But this care of vain or superfluous observations under the name of wisdom or knowledge, and concerning the superstition of gentility, and especially by those who are called Philosophers, and from Judaism, he was discerning to be guarded against, where the shadows of future things were to be removed, since Christ their light had already come. When therefore he had commemorated and commended how great a contest he had for them, and for those who had been at Laodicea, and whoever had not seen his face in the flesh, so that they might be consoled in their hearts joined in charity, and in all the riches of the fullness of understanding, for the recognition of the mystery of God, which is Christ, in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden; This I say, he says, so that no one may circumvent you in a plausible speech: because they were being led by the love of truth, he feared for them a plausibility, lest they be deceived. And therefore he commended in Christ what they had as a most sweet treasure, namely of wisdom and knowledge, in whose name and promise they could be led into error.

25. For although in body, he says, I am absent, in spirit I am with you; rejoicing, and seeing your order, and that which is lacking to your faith in Christ. Therefore he was fearing for them, because he was seeing what was still lacking to them. Just as therefore you have received, he says, Jesus Christ our Lord, walk in Him; rooted and built up in Him, and confirmed in the faith, just as also you have learned, abounding in it in the giving of thanks. He wills them to be nourished by faith, so that they may become capable of participating in the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, which are hidden in Christ; lest before they are fit for these, they be caught by a plausible speech, and deviate from the path of truth. Then more openly showing what he fears for them: See, he says, lest anyone deceive you through philosophy, and vain seduction, according to the tradition of men, according to the elements of the world, and not according to Christ: because in Him dwells all the fullness of the divinity bodily. He said bodily for this reason, because those were seducing through shadows; using a transferred word, just as also the name of shadow in these things is certainly not a proper word, but transferred by a certain reason of similitude. And you are in Him, he says, filled, who is the head of every principality and power. For through principalities and powers the superstition of the Gentiles or the Philosophers were seducing, preaching that which they call theology through the elements of this world. But he willed Christ to be understood as the head of all, the principle of all,

just as He Himself, when it had been said to Him, Who are you? responded: The principle, who also speak to you (John 8:25). For all things were made through Him, and without Him was made nothing (John 1:3). But wonderfully he wills them to be as it were contemners of these wonderful things, when he shows them made the body of that head, by saying: And you are in Him filled, who is the head of every principality and power.

26. From here now lest they be seduced by the shadows of Judaism, he joins: In whom also you are circumcised, with a circumcision not made by hand in the despoiling of the body of the flesh; or, just as some have, in the despoiling of the body of the sins of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ; buried together with Him in Baptism, in which also you have risen together through the faith of the operation of God, who raised Him from the dead. See in what manner also here he shows them to be the body of Christ, so that they may contemn those things, cohering to so great a head of theirs, the mediator of God and of men Christ Jesus, and requiring no false or invalid medium through which they may cohere to God. And you, he says, when you were dead in offenses and the uncircumcision of your flesh; he called uncircumcision what is signified by uncircumcision, that is carnal offenses from which we are to be despoiled: He has vivified, he says, together with Him, giving to you all offenses, blotting out the handwriting which was against us in decrees, which was contrary to us; because the Law was making them guilty, which had entered so that

offense might abound. Taking, he says, that from the midst and affixing it to the cross, stripping Himself of the flesh, He made an example of principalities and powers, confidently triumphing over them in Himself: certainly not good, but evil principalities and evil powers, namely diabolical and demoniacal He made an example of; that is, He gave an example concerning them, so that just as He Himself stripped Himself of the flesh, so He might show His own were to be stripped of carnal vices, through which those were dominating over them.

27. Now here diligently attend in what manner he may introduce that on account of which we have commemorated all those things. Therefore let no one, he says, judge you in food: as if for this reason he said all those things, because these were being seduced from the truth by observations of this kind, by which they were being made free; concerning which it was said in the Gospel, And the truth has liberated you (John 8:32), that is, will make you free. Therefore let no one, he says, judge you in food, or in drink, or in part of a feast day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbaths; which is a shadow of future things: this on account of Judaism. Then follows on account of the superstitions of the Gentiles, But the body of Christ, he says, let no one convict you: it is base, he says, and too incongruous, and alien from the generosity of your liberty, that since you are the body of Christ, you should be seduced by shadows, and seem to be convicted as if sinning, if you neglect to observe these things.

Therefore the body of Christ, let no one convict you willing in humility of heart. If this were said through a Greek word, it would sound more customary even in popular Latin usage. For so also it is commonly said of one who affects being rich, thelodives, and of one who affects being wise, thelosapiens, and other things of this kind: therefore here also thelohumilis, which is more fully said thelon humilis, that is, willing humble, affecting humility; which is understood as, willing to seem humble, affecting humility. For by such observations this is done, so that the heart of man as if by religion may be rendered humble. But he added also the worship of Angels, or just as your codices have, the religion of Angels, which in Greek is called thrēskeia; willing Angels to be understood as the Principalities, whom they think are set over the elements of this world, to be worshiped in these observations.

Therefore let no one, he says, convict you since you are the body of Christ, willing to seem humble in heart in the worship of Angels, insisting on things which he has not seen: or, just as certain codices have, insisting on things which he has seen. For either he willed thus to say, insisting on things which he has not seen: because men do those things by suspicions and opinions; not that they have seen those things are to be done. Or certainly, insisting on things which he has seen: that is, thinking them great, because he saw them observed in certain places elsewhere by men in whose authority he would have faith even without a reason being rendered; and for this reason

he seems great to himself, because it happened to him to see the secrets of certain sacred things. But the fuller sense is, insisting on things which he has not seen, in vain puffed up by the mind of his flesh. Wonderfully he said him there puffed up by the mind of his flesh, where he had said thelohumilis above: for it happens in wonderful ways in the soul of man, that he is more puffed up by a false humility, than if he were more openly proud. And not holding, he says, the head, which he wills Christ to be understood, from whom the whole body compacted and connected, subministered and joined grows into the increase of God. If therefore you have died with Christ from the elements of this world: why do you still as if living from this world decree?

29. These things having been said, he inserts the words of those who decree concerning this world through these observations as if reasonable, puffed up with an affected vanity of humility: Do not touch, do not taste, do not handle. Let us recall what was said above, so that we may understand this. For he does not will them to be judged in these observations, where it is said, Do not touch, do not taste, do not handle: which are all, he says, unto corruption by use. All these things, he says, are rather valid for corruption, when they are superstitiously abstained from, so that a man abuses them, that is, does not use them according to the precepts and doctrines of men. This is plain; but what follows you inquire into much: Which things indeed have a reason of wisdom in observation, and humility of heart,

and vexation of the body; or, just as others have interpreted, to the not sparing of the body, not in any honor to the saturation of the flesh. Why, you ask, does he say these have a reason of wisdom, which he thus reproves?

30. I will say, what you also in the Scriptures are able to observe, that wisdom is often placed even in the seats of this world, which he calls more expressly the wisdom of this world. Nor let it move you that here he did not add, Of the world. For did he not in another place also, when he says, Where is the wise? where is the scribe (1 Cor. 1:20), add, Of this world; so that he might say, Where is the wise of this world: and nevertheless this is understood. So also is that reason of wisdom. For nothing is said by them in superstitious observations of this kind, where some reason of wisdom does not seem to be rendered according to the elements and the natures of the things of this world. For also when he says, Beware lest anyone deceive you through philosophy; he does not say, Of this world: and what is philosophy in Latin, but the study of wisdom? They are therefore, he says, those things having indeed a reason of wisdom, that is, concerning which some reason is rendered according to the elements of this world, and principalities and powers. In observation and humility of heart: for those things do this, so that the heart may be humbled by the vice of superstition. To the not sparing of the body: while it is defrauded of those foods from which it is compelled to abstain. Not in any honor to the saturation of the flesh: not

that the flesh is saturated more honorably by that food than by this food, since to its necessity it does not pertain except to be refreshed and supported by any food fit for health.

CHAPTER III.

31. Concerning the Gospel your inquiry is accustomed to move many, how the Lord after the resurrection, when He rose in the same body, was both not recognized and recognized by certain ones who had known Him, humans of each sex. Where first it is accustomed to be asked whether in His body, or rather in their eyes, something was done by which He could not be recognized. For when it is read, Their eyes were held lest they should recognize Him (Luke 24:16); a certain impediment of recognizing seems to have been made in the lights of the beholders: but when it is openly said elsewhere, He appeared to them in another effigy (Mark 16:12), certainly in the body itself whose effigy was another, something had been done, by which impediment they were being held, that is, the eyes of those were suffering a delay of recognizing. But I wonder, since there are two things in the body by which the species of anyone is recognized, lineaments and color, why before the resurrection, because He was so transfigured on the mountain that His face became most splendid as the sun (Matth. 17:2), it moves no one that He was able to change the color of His body even to such great excellence of brightness and light; and after the resurrection it moves some that the lineaments were changed, so that

He could not be recognized, and again by the same faculty of power, just as then the pristine color, so also after the resurrection He recalled the pristine lineaments. For also those three disciples, before whose eyes He was transfigured on the mountain, would not have recognized Him, if He had come to them such from elsewhere: but because they were with Him, they most certainly held that it was He. But indeed it was the body itself, in which He rose. What is this to the matter? For that was certainly the body itself in which He was transfigured on the mountain; and it was the youth itself in which He was born: and nevertheless if anyone had suddenly seen Him a youth, who had known Him only as an infant, he certainly would not have recognized Him. Or truly to the changing of lineaments is not the power of God quickly able, which the age of man is able through the delays of years?

32. But as to what He said to Mary, Do not touch me, for I have not yet ascended to the Father (John 20:17), you should know that I have understood nothing else than you. For thus He willed to signify a spiritual touch, that is, that He requires an approach of faith, by which it is believed that He is exalted with the Father. And that He was recognized by those two in the breaking of bread (Luke 24:30, 31), no one ought to doubt that it is the Sacrament which gathers us into the recognition of Him.

33. Concerning the words of Simeon, where he says to the Virgin mother of the Lord, And a sword shall pass through your own soul, in another

epistle of which I have just now sent an example, I said what seems to me; which also seemed to you among the rest. And as to what he joined, That the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed (Luke 2:35), I think this is to be understood, because through the passion of the Lord, both the snares of the Jews and the infirmity of the disciples were made patent. It is credible therefore that tribulation was signified by the name of the sword, by which the maternal soul was wounded with an affection of grief. It was the sword itself in the mouth of the persecutors, concerning whom it is said in the Psalm: And a sword in their mouth (Psalm 58:8). For they themselves were the sons of men, whose teeth are arms and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword (Psalm 56:5). For also the iron which passed through the soul of Joseph seems to me placed for a hard tribulation: for it is openly said indeed, Iron passed through his soul, until his word should come; that is, he was for so long in hard tribulation, until that should happen which he foretold. For from here he was held as great, and liberated from that tribulation. But lest it should be attributed to human wisdom that his word came, that is, that what he foretold was done, in its custom the holy Scripture gives glory to God from there, and immediately subjoins: The eloquence of the Lord set him on fire (Psalm 104:18, 19).

4. This would be even now the cause of my silence with you, which was then the cause of my departure, if I believed that you had acted with him so that he might avenge such nefarious

injuries. Those believe these things who do not know how, and how often, and what things you said to us, when we were acting with anxious care so that, as much as you clung to him more familiarly, as much as you went to him more frequently, as much as you conversed with him alone more often, so much the more he might care for your reputation; lest he should give such an end to those who were called your enemies, that you might be thought to have done nothing else with him. Which indeed neither I believe, nor my brothers who heard you in your speeches, and saw by hearing and every nod the signs of your benign heart. But, I beseech you, pardon those who believe: for they are men, and in the souls of men there are such hiding places, and such recesses, that when all suspicious men are deservedly blamed, they even think they ought to be praised, because they are cautious. The causes were standing; we knew that you had suffered a very grave injury from one of those whom he had suddenly commanded to be held. His brother also, in whom he especially persecuted the Church, was said to have answered you somewhat harshly as if preferring something. Both were thought to be suspect to you. When they had gone away having been summoned, while you remained there, and were speaking with him more secretly, as it was reported, they were suddenly ordered to be detained. Men were speaking of your friendship not as recent, but old. Such a conjunction confirmed the rumor, and such assiduous conversation of one alone

with the other alone. His power was great then. The facility of calumny was radiant. It was not a great business for someone to be procured, who would say what he had commanded to be said with safety promised. All things in this time favored, so that even with one witness, as if by an invidious and credible crime, anyone might be removed from the midst without the danger of the one commanding.

5. We meanwhile, since there was a rumor that an ecclesiastical hand could rescue them, were played with by false promises; so that while he was not only as if willing, but even insistent, a bishop was sent for them to the Court, that promise having been interposed to episcopal ears, that until something was done for them there, no examination of their cause would be excited. Finally, the day before they were struck, your Excellence came to us; you gave hope, such as you had never given before, that he could grant them to you as you were about to set out, since you had said to him gravely and prudently, that all that he spoke with you so assiduously more familiarly and more secretly, did not honor you so much as weigh you down, and availed to this, that the counsel of their death having been communicated and treated between you, no one would doubt what would follow after all these things. Which when you indicated to us that you had said, for while narrating you were tending toward that place where the sacraments of the faithful are celebrated, to our amazement you swore that you had said these things, so that

not only then, but even now after such a horrendous and unexpected end, when I recall all your nods, I seem to myself too impudent if I believe anything evil concerning you. By which words of yours you were saying that he was so moved, that as a familiar viaticum he was about to give their safety to you.

6. Whence I testify to your Charity, on the next day, on which the nefarious fetus of that labor was born, when it was suddenly announced to us that they had been led from the prison to that judge, although we were perturbed, nevertheless I, considering both what you had said to us the day before, and what day was about to arise after that, since it was the eve of the solemnity of blessed Cyprian, thought that he even chose the day on which he might grant your requests to you, and suddenly gladdening the whole Church of Christ, might wish to ascend to the place of so great a martyr, more sublime by the benignity of sparing than by the power of killing; when behold a messenger rushed upon us, by whom we knew that they had been struck before we could seek how they were heard. For a nearby place had been provided, not deputed for the punishments of men, but rather for the ornament of the city, where it is deservedly believed that for this reason he had ordered some to be slaughtered a few days before, lest there should be an invidious novelty in these: whom the counsel was that they could thus be snatched from the Church, if they were not only suddenly ordered to be struck, but also were struck in a nearby place. He sufficiently

indicated, therefore, that he did not fear to bring torture to that mother whose intervention he feared: namely, the holy Church, among whose faithful baptized in her bosom we also knew him to be. After this end, then, of so great an effort, when it had been so diligently acted with us, that even through you, although you were unaware, we were made almost secure and almost certain of their safety the day before; who of such as the multitude of men is, would not hold it undoubted, that even words were given by you to us, and life taken from them? Therefore, as I said, good man, even if we do not believe this, pardon those who believe.

7. Far be it, however, from my heart, and from whatever life of mine, that I should intercede with you for anyone, or ask a benefit from you for anyone, if I believed you were the author of this so great an evil, and of such conselerated cruelty. But I plainly confess, if even after this you are in that familiarity in which you were before, by your leave may my grief be free; you compel us much to believe what we did not wish. It is consistent, however, that I should not believe this either, who do not believe those things about you. Your friend by the unexpected success of sudden power did not more persecute their life than your reputation. Nor speaking these things do I inflame your hatreds against him, forgetful of my mind and profession; but I provoke you to a more faithful charity. For he who acts thus with the evil, that they may repent of their malice, knows how to consult even by indignation: for as

the evil hinder by flattering, so the good profit by opposing. For his own soul with the same iron, with which he most insolently killed others, he struck more gravely and more deeply: which after this life, if he does not correct it by repenting, and uses the patience of God well, he will be compelled to find and feel. Often, however, the present life even of the good, by the judgment of God, has been permitted to be snatched by the evil, lest to suffer such things should be thought an evil. For what can dying in the flesh hinder those who are to die? or what do they do who fear to die, except that they die a little later? Whatever hinders the dying, happens from life, not from death; in which if they have had such souls, as are helped by Christian grace, certainly their death was not the setting of a good life, but the occasion of a better one.

8. And the manners of the elder indeed appeared to be more friendly to this world than to Christ: although he himself also had corrected in no small part his earlier youthful and secular life after taking a wife. Yet perhaps the merciful God did not wish him to be a companion in death to his brother unless by pitying. But that other one lived religiously, and much in Christian heart and life. This rumor preceded him, as he came thus in the cause of the Church: this followed when he had come. What probity truly was in his manners, what faith in friendship, what zeal in doctrine, what sincerity in religion, what modesty in marriage, what continence in judgment; what patience toward enemies, what affability toward

friends, what humility toward the saints, what charity toward all; what facility in bestowing benefits, what shame in seeking them, what love in right deeds, what grief in sins! What ornament of honesty, what splendor of grace, what care of piety; what mercy in succoring, what benevolence in pardoning, what confidence in praying! With what modesty he spoke what he knew healthfully! with what diligence he scrutinized what he did not know uselessly! How great in him was the contempt for present things! how great the hope and desire for eternal goods! Lest, having left all secular actions, he should take the belt of Christian warfare, the marriage bond hindered him, by which already entwined he had begun to desire better things, when it was no longer permitted to break those, however inferior.

9. One day his brother, when they were already held equally in custody, said to him: If I suffer these things for the merits of my sins; you, whose life we have known as so attentively and fervently Christian, by what evil merits have you been led to these things? But he said: Do you think it a small benefit conferred on me divinely, if however this testimony of yours concerning my life is true, that this which I suffer, even if I suffer even to the shedding of blood, my sins may be punished there, nor reserved for me for the future judgment? Here perhaps someone may believe that he was conscious to himself of some hidden sins of impudicity. I will say therefore what the Lord God willed that I should hear from his mouth, and plainly know, for my great conso-

lation. When, solicitous about this very thing, as human things are, I acted one on one with him already constituted in that same custody, lest there should be anything whence he ought to appease God for himself by a greater and more signal repentance; he, as he was of singular shame, although he blushed at my suspicion, however false, but received the admonition most gratefully, smiling modestly and gravely, and apprehending my right hand with both of his: I testify, he said, by the Sacraments which are brought through this hand, that I have experienced no intercourse except with my wife, neither before, nor afterward.

10. What evil therefore happened to this one in death, and not rather much good, since he migrated from this life having these gifts to Christ, without whom they are held in vain? Which things I would not commemorate with you, if I believed you were offended by his praises. But since I do not believe this, neither surely that, that by your instance, I do not say, but at least by your willing or desiring he could be killed. Accordingly you judge with us so much more sincerely, as more innocently, what he acted more cruelly with his own soul than with the body of that one; when having contempt for us, contempt for his own promises, contempt for so many and so great petitions and admonitions of yours, finally contempt for the Church of Christ (and in her for whom, if not for Christ?), he arrived at the end of his machination by the death of this one. Or truly is his honor to be compared even

to the prison of that one, when he was raging while exalted, and that one was rejoicing while enclosed? By horrendous and penal darkness, the conscience of a wicked man overcomes not only all prisons, but even the lower worlds. To you also what did it harm, whose reputation although he gravely wounded, yet he did not destroy your innocence? Although reputation itself also may be safe, both among those who knew you better than we, and among us ourselves, who were inspecting with such expressed affection your cares with us, lest so monstrous a crime should be perpetrated, that we almost discerned with our eyes the invisible things of your heart. To himself therefore he harmed, whatever he harmed; he transfixed his own soul, his own life, his own conscience; finally he devastated his own reputation itself, which good reputation even the worst are wont to desire, by that blind cruelty. For he is so much more odious to all good men, as much more he tried to please the impious, or rejoiced to have pleased them.

11. Where, however, could it better appear that he did not have the necessity which he feigned he had, so that by its pretext as if good he might do so much evil, than that it did not even please him by whose precept he dared to excuse himself? Let the holy deacon relate to your Excellence, who was joined to the bishop whom we had sent for them, in what manner neither indulgence seemed to be given to them, lest even thus they should be noted by some crime; but only a commonitory by which he should be commanded to

dismiss them free from all molestation. By gratuitous cruelty therefore, by no necessity (although there were also other causes, which we suspect, and it is not necessary to commit to letters, perhaps), he atrociously saddened the Church. To the bosom of which Church his brother, fearing to perish, had fled, that he might find him as a living counselor of so great a crime: of which Church even he himself, when he had offended his patron, sought asylum, nor could it be denied to him. If you love him, detest him; if you do not wish that he be punished eternally, abhor him. Thus your reputation, thus his life is to be consulted: for he who loves in him what God hates, not only hates him, but also himself.

12. Since these things are so, I neither believe of your benignity that you were the author or participant of so great a crime, nor that you deceived by malicious cruelty: which be far from your life and manners! Nor do I wish your friendships to be such, in which both he may glory in evil to his own destruction, and human suspicion may be confirmed; but such rather, in which he may be disposed to repentance, and such and so great a repentance, as horrendous wounds demand as medicine: for you will be so much more a friend, as you are more an enemy to his crimes. It is of interest for your Excellence to know by rescripts, where you were on that day on which that was admitted; how you received it, what you did afterward, or when you saw him what you said to him, what you heard from him. For I, from the time I suddenly departed from there the next day,

have been able to hear nothing which pertains to this matter, concerning you.

13. But as to what I read in your letter, that you are now compelled to believe, lest you should seem to me, even that I was denied at Carthage, you rather compel by these words that I should not be silent about the causes of my absence. Of which one is, because the labor which it is necessary to endure in that city, and which if I should wish to set forth, just as much more is to be spoken, I am now no longer able to sustain, because to my own infirmity, which is known to all who have known me more familiarly, old age has also been added, which is a common infirmity of the human race. The other cause is, because I have determined, if the Lord wills, as much time as is given to me from those occupations, which the necessity of the Church, which I serve by my own office, demands, to spend that whole time on the labor of studies pertaining to ecclesiastical sciences; where I judge, if it pleases the mercy of God, that I will also be of some benefit to posterity.

14. There is one thing, however, if you seek to hear the truth, which I bear most annoyingly in you, that although you are both of this age now, and of this life and probity, you still wish to be a catechumen; as if the faithful could not, the more faithful and better they are, so much the more faithfully and better administer the republic. For what good do you act in these so great cares and labors of yours, except that it may be well for men? For if you do not act for this, it is even better

to sleep nights and days, than to watch in public labors, about to benefit no utility of men. Nor surely do I doubt your Excellence . . . .

EPISTLE CLII.

Macedonius to Augustine, asking whether it is from religion that bishops intercede before judges for the guilty.

To the Lord deservedly venerable, and uniquely to be cherished father AUGUSTINE, MACEDONIUS.

1. I received the much desired letters of your Holiness through Boniface the prelate of the venerable law; whom I loved more for having been received because he had brought the things desired by me, the speech of your Holiness and your health, lord deservedly venerable, and uniquely to be cherished father. Therefore without delay he obtained what he was seeking. Truly since the occasion exists, this very thing, however small it is, which having been admonished I granted, I do not wish to remain without reward. For I desire to receive that which may accommodate me without the inconvenience of the one hanging, nay rather which may accommodate me with the glory of the one paying back.

2. You say it is the office of your priesthood to intervene for the guilty, and unless you obtain it, you are offended, as if you did not report back at all what was of your office. Here I vehemently doubt whether that descends from religion. For if sins are so prohibited by the Lord, that not even an abundance of repenting is granted after

the first; how can we contend from religion that whatever that crime was, it should be dismissed for us? Which certainly, when we wish it unpunished, we approve. And if it is certain that the author is held no less than the approver in all things which are sinned, it is certain that we are bound by the society of fault, as often as we desire him to be unpunished, who is held obnoxious to fault. Then besides this happens which is more grave. For all sins seem more venial, when he who is guilty promises correction: but now, as our manners are, men both desire the punishment of the crime to be relaxed for them, and to possess that on account of which the crime was admitted. For these also your priesthood thinks it must intervene, concerning whom there is no hope of the future, so that even in the present the same reason of crime perseveres. For he who so pertinaciously holds that on account of which he admitted the crime, shows that he, where there shall be license, will sin similarly.

3. On account of these things, therefore, I consult your prudence, and I desire to be absolved from this ambiguity by which I labor: nor should you think you are consulted for any other cause. Moreover, this is my purpose, that to intercessors, especially of such merit as you are, I should even give thanks. For many things which I do not wish to be seen to do spontaneously, lest the remission of severity should arm others for crimes, I choose to relax for good intercessors, so that what I grant willingly, with the severity of judgment preserved, may seem indulged by the merit

of another. You had promised me something from the writings of your Holiness, and I have not received it; I ask that you send it even now, and answer this letter of mine, so that because it is not granted to see your Holiness meanwhile, at least I may be fed by your speeches. May the eternal divinity protect your Holiness in safety for a most large age, lord deservedly venerable, and truly to be cherished father.

EPISTLE CLIII. Augustine responds to the inquiry; discussing many things by the way concerning the restitution of things which were taken from a neighbor or evilly acquired. AUGUSTINE bishop, servant of Christ and of his family, to his beloved son MACEDONIUS, greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER I.

1. A man most busy in the republic, and most attentive not to his own, but to the utilities of others, such as we congratulate both you and human affairs that you are, we ought neither to desert by speech, nor to occupy by a prooemium. Receive therefore what you willed either to know through me, or to experience whether I myself knew. Which if you judged small or superfluous, in no way would you have censured that it should be cared for among your so great and so necessary cares. You ask from me why we say it is the office of our priesthood to intervene for the guilty, and unless we obtain it, we are offended as if we did not report back at all what was of our office. Where you say you vehemently doubt whether

that descends from religion. Then you add by what reason you are so moved: For if sins are so prohibited by the Lord, you say, that not even an abundance of repenting is granted after the first; how can we contend from religion that whatever that crime was, it should be dismissed? Still more gravely you urge, and say, that we approve what we wish unpunished; and if it is certain that the author is held no less than the approver in all things which are sinned, it is certain that we are bound by the society of fault, as often as we desire him to be unpunished, who is held obnoxious to fault.

2. By these words whom would you not terrify, being ignorant of your lenity and humanity? Whence we who know you, and do not doubt at all that you wrote these things for the sake of inquiring, not of decreeing, answer those things more quickly by your other words. For as if you did not wish us to hesitate in this question, you either foresaw what we were about to say, or admonished what we ought to say; and you said: Then besides this happens which is more grave. For all sins seem more venial, when he who is guilty promises correction. Before therefore I discuss what that more grave thing is which follows in your letter, I will receive this meanwhile which you gave, and use it to remove this mass, by which our intercessions seemed able to be repressed. Therefore indeed, as much as faculty is given, we intercede for all sins, because all sins seem more venial, when he who is guilty

promises correction. This is your opinion, this also is ours.

3. In no way, therefore, do we approve the faults which we wish to be corrected, nor do we wish what is wrongly committed to be unpunished for this reason, because it pleases; but pitying the man, but detesting the deed or the disgrace, as much as the vice displeases us more, so much less do we wish the vicious man to perish uncorrected. For it is easy and inclined to hate the evil, because they are evil: but rare and pious to love those same ones, because they are men; so that in one you at once disapprove the fault and approve the nature, and therefore you hate the fault more justly, because by it that nature which you love is defiled. He is not therefore bound by the society of iniquity, but rather of humanity, who is a persecutor of the crime for this reason, that he may be a liberator of the man. Furthermore, there is no other place for correcting manners than in this life; for after this, each one will have that which he has sought for himself in this one. Therefore we are compelled by the charity of the human race to intervene for the guilty, lest they should so end this life through punishment, that it being finished they cannot finish punishment.

CHAPTER II.

4. Do not therefore doubt that this office of ours descends from religion, since God with whom there is no iniquity, whose power is supreme, who not only sees of what sort each

one is, but truly even foresees of what sort he will be, who alone can not slip in judging, because he cannot be deceived in knowing, nevertheless makes, as the Gospel speaks, his sun to rise upon the good and the evil, and rains upon the just and the unjust. Of which wonderful goodness that we may be imitators, the Lord Christ exhorting, says: Love your enemies; do good to those who hate you; and pray for those who persecute you: that you may be children of your Father who is in heaven, who makes his sun to rise upon the good and the evil, and rains upon the just and the unjust (Matthew 5:44, 45). Who knows not that many abuse this divine indulgence and lenity to their own destruction? Whom the Apostle arguing and gravely rebuking says: But do you think, O every man who judges those who do such things, and do them, that you will escape the judgment of God? Or do you despise the riches of his benignity, and patience, and long-suffering? do you not know that the benignity of God leads you to repentance? But according to your hardness and impenitent heart you treasure up for yourself wrath in the day of wrath and revelation of the just judgment of God, who will render to each one according to his works (Romans 2:3-6). Is it because these persevere in their iniquity, therefore God does not persevere in his patience; punishing through few things in this world, lest divine providence be believed not to exist, and reserving many things for the last examination, that the future judgment may be commended?

5. Not, as I think, does that celestial master command us to love impiety, when he commands that we love our enemies, do good to those who hate us, pray for those who persecute us; when without doubt, if we piously worship God, we cannot have enemies and those incited by the sharpest hatreds against us and persecutors, except the impious. Must the impious therefore be loved? must good be done to the impious? must it even be prayed for the impious? Clearly so. For He who commands this is God; nor nevertheless does He by this pact join us to the society of the impious, to whom He Himself also by sparing, and by bestowing life and safety, certainly is not associated. Indeed His counsel, as much as it has been granted to a pious man to know, the Apostle sets forth saying: Do you not know that the patience of God leads you to repentance? To this we wish them to be led for whom we intervene; we neither spare nor favor their sins.

CHAPTER III.

6. For some whose crimes are manifest, having been liberated from your severity, we nevertheless remove from the society of the altar, so that by repenting they may be able to appease him whom they had contemned by sinning, and by punishing themselves. For he who truly repents acts for nothing else than that he may not allow what evil he has done to be unpunished: for in that way he who does not spare himself is spared by Him whose high and just judgment no contemner escapes. But if He, by sparing the

iniquitous and wicked, and by bestowing life and safety upon them, even on many of them whom He knows will not act in repentance, nevertheless exhibits patience; how much more ought we to be merciful toward those who promise correction, and we are uncertain whether they may do what they promise, so that we may bend your rigor by interceding for them, for whom we also pray to the Lord, from whom nothing of their manners even future is hidden, nevertheless not impudenter, because He himself commanded this!

7. Into so much, however, does the iniquity of men sometimes progress, that even after repentance has been acted, after the reconciliation of the altar, they commit either similar or more grave things: and nevertheless God makes His sun to rise even upon such; nor does He bestow less than He before bestowed the most large gifts of life and safety. And although a place of most humble repentance is not granted to them in the Church; God nevertheless does not forget His patience upon them. From whose number if anyone should say to us: Either give me that same place of repenting again, or permit me as one despaired of, that I may do whatever shall please me, as much as I am helped by my resources, and not prohibited by human laws, in harlots, and all luxury, damnable indeed before the Lord, but among many men even laudable: or if you recall me from this iniquity, say whether anything may benefit me for the future life, if in this life I shall have contemned the blandishments of most enticing pleasure, if I shall have curbed the incitements

of lusts, if for the sake of chastising my body I shall have subtracted from myself many things even licit and granted, if by repenting I shall have excruciated myself more vehemently than before, if I shall have groaned more miserably; if I shall have wept more abundantly, if I shall have lived better, if I shall have sustained the poor more largely, if I shall have burned more ardently with charity, which covers a multitude of sins (1 Peter 4:8); who of us is so foolish, that he should say to this man: These things will benefit you nothing for the future; go, at least enjoy the sweetness of this life? May God avert such a monstrous and sacrilegious madness! Although therefore it was cautiously and healthfully provided that a place of that most humble repentance be granted once in the Church, lest a cheap medicine should be less useful to the sick, which is so much more healthful, as it shall have been less contemptible; who nevertheless would dare to say to God: Why do you still again spare this man, who after the first repentance again binds himself in the snares of iniquity? Who would dare to say that toward those that is not acted which the Apostle says: Do you not know that the patience of God leads you to repentance? or that it is defined with these excepted what is written: Blessed are all who trust in him (Psalm 2:12)? or that what is said does not pertain to these: Act manfully, and let your heart be comforted, all you who hope in the Lord (Psalm 31:24)?

8. Since therefore there is such patience, such mercy of God over sinners, that their manners

having been emended in this temporal life, they may not be damned for eternity; who expects the mercy of no one to be offered to himself, since no one is more blessed than He, no one more powerful, no one more just: of what sort does it not behoove men to be toward men, who however much we may heap this life of ours with praise, do not say that it is without sin? because if we shall have said so, we deceive ourselves, as it is written, and the truth is not in us (1 John 1:8). Accordingly although the person of the accuser is one, another of the defender, another of the intercessor, another of the judge, concerning whose proper offices it is too long, and not necessary to discuss in this speech; nevertheless thus even the avengers of crimes themselves, and in this office not incited by their own wrath, but ministers of the laws, and vindicators of not their own, but of the examined injuries of others, of what sort judges ought to be, divine censure has terrified, so that they might think the mercy of God necessary for themselves on account of their own sins, nor think it pertained to the fault of their office, if they acted mercifully toward anything toward those, of whose life and death they had legitimate power.

CHAPTER IV.

9. For when the Jews had brought to the Lord Christ a woman caught in adultery, and tempting him said that she had been ordered by the Law to be stoned, and then asked what he himself would prescribe concerning her; he answered

them: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her" (John 8:7). Thus he neither disapproved of the Law, which ordered such guilty ones to be killed; and by terrifying them he recalled to mercy those by whose judgment she could be killed. I think that having heard this sentence of the Lord, if the husband himself was present who was demanding that the violated faith of his bed be vindicated, terrified he turned his mind to the will of sparing from the desire of avenging. For how was the accuser not admonished not to pursue his own injuries, when the judges themselves were thus prohibited from avenging, who in punishing the adulteress were compelled to serve not private grief, but the Law? Whence Joseph, to whom the Virgin Mary, the mother of the Lord, had been betrothed, when he had found her to be pregnant, with whom he knew he had not been mixed, and for this reason had believed nothing else than that she was an adulteress, nevertheless did not wish her to be punished; nor was he an approver of the disgrace. For this will of his is even deputed to justice: for thus it is written of him, "And since he was a just man, and did not wish to divulge her, he decided to dismiss her secretly." While he was thinking these things, an angel appeared to him who might teach that to be of divinity, which he had thought to be of crime (Matthew 1:18-20).

10. If therefore, by thinking of our common infirmity, both the grief of the accuser and the rigor of the judge are broken; what at length do you think ought to be for the defendants, either the

office of the defender or of the intercessor? since indeed both you good men who are now judges, and having sometimes been engaged in the forum have undertaken the causes of men, know how much more willingly you were accustomed to defend than to accuse. And yet the defender differs very much from the intercessor: for the former spends his effort mostly in washing away or covering over crimes; but the intercessor, even when the fault is certain, manages the care for removing or tempering the punishment. This the just are before God for sinners; this the sinners themselves for themselves are admonished to do in turn for one another: for it is written, "Confess your sins to one another, and pray for yourselves" (James 5:16). Every man vindicates for himself these parts of humanity, where he can, before another man. For what each one would punish as an offense in his own house, he wishes to be unpunished in another's house. For whether he be present with a friend, or if that friend should be angry in his presence with anyone over whom he has the power of avenging, or if he should happen upon one who is angry; he is judged not most just, but most inhuman, if he does not intervene. I know that you yourself with other friends of yours in the church of Carthage intervened for a cleric, with whom the bishop was deservedly angry; and certainly no danger of blood was feared there under the bloodless discipline: nor when you wished that to be unpunished which also displeased you, did we judge you as approvers of the fault, but we heard you as most humane

intercessors. If therefore it is lawful for you to mitigate ecclesiastical correction by intervening; how much more ought the bishop to intervene with your sword, since the former is unsheathed so that he against whom it is unsheathed may live well, but the latter so that he may not live!

11. Finally the Lord himself intervened before men, lest the adulteress be stoned, and in that way commended to us the office of intercession; except that he did by terrifying, what we do by petitioning. For he is the Lord, we are servants: nevertheless he thus terrified, so that we all ought to fear. For who of us is without sin? Which when he had said to those by whom the sinner was offered to him to be punished, so that he who knew himself to be without sin, might first cast a stone at her; their cruelty fell, their conscience trembling: for then having slipped away from that congregation, they left the wretched woman alone to the Merciful one. Let the piety of Christians yield to this sentence, to which the impiety of the Jews yielded: let the humility of the obedient yield, to which the pride of the persecutors yielded: let the faithful confession yield, to which the simulation of the tempter yielded. Spare the evil, good man: the better you are, the milder be; the higher you are in power, the humbler become in piety.

CHAPTER V.

12. I indeed, looking at your manners, have called you a good man; but you, looking at the words of Christ, say to yourself: "No one is good,

but one, God" (Mark 10:18). Which since it is true (for Truth has said this), yet I ought not to be thought to have said that by fallacious flattery, and to have stood as it were contrary to the Lord's words, so that when he says, "No one is good, but one, God," I should have called you a good man: for the Lord himself did not speak contrary to himself, where he says, "A good man out of the good treasure of his heart brings forth good things" (Luke 6:45). God therefore is singularly good, and cannot lose this; for he is good by the participation of no good, since the good by which he is good, he is to himself: but man when he is good, is good from Him; which he cannot be from himself. For by his spirit they become good, whoever become good; of which our nature was created capable through its own will. It pertains therefore to us, that we be good, to receive and to have what he gives who is good from his own: which each one neglecting, is evil from his own. Accordingly in as much as a man acts rightly, that is, knowingly and lovingly and piously works good, in so much he is good: but in as much as he sins, that is, deviates from truth and charity and piety, in so much he is evil. But who is in this life without some sin? But we call him good, whose good things prevail; and him the best, who sins the least.

13. Therefore the Lord himself, whom he calls good on account of the participation of divine grace, the same he also calls evil on account of the vices of human infirmity; until the whole of which we consist, healed from all viciousness,

passes into that life where nothing at all will be sinned. For certainly he was teaching the good to pray, not the evil, whom he commanded to say, "Our Father, who art in heaven." For from this they are good in as much as they are sons of God, not born by nature, but made by grace, as those to whom, receiving him, he gave power to become sons of God (John 1:12). Which spiritual generation, after the manner of the Scriptures, is also called adoption, so that it may be distinguished from that generation of God from God, of the coeternal from the eternal, whence it is written: "His generation who shall declare?" (Isaiah 53:8). Since therefore he has demonstrated that they are good, whom he wished to say truly to God, "Our Father, who art in heaven"; nevertheless he commanded that in the same prayer among other things they should say: "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." Which debts although it is manifest that they are sins, yet afterwards he declared more manifestly saying: "For if you shall forgive men their sins, your Father also will forgive you your sins" (Matthew 6:9, 12, 14). The baptized pray this prayer, nor is there at all any of past sins, which is not forgiven to those baptized in the holy Church. But afterwards living in this mortal frailty, unless they contracted what was to be forgiven, they would not say truly, "Forgive us our debts." They are good, therefore, in as much as they are sons of God; but in as much as they sin (which they testify by their own nonlying confession), they are certainly evil.

14. Unless perhaps someone should say that the sins of the good are of one kind, those of the evil of another; which is said not altogether improbably. Nevertheless the Lord Jesus without any ambiguity called those same ones evil whose father he said God was. For in the same speech, where he teaches that prayer, in another place exhorting to pray to God, he says: "Ask, and you shall receive; seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened to you. For every one that asks, receives; and he that seeks, finds; and to him that knocks, it shall be opened": and a little after, "If you then," he says, "being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children; how much more will your Father, who is in heaven, give good things to them that ask him" (Matthew 7:7, 8, 11)? Is God therefore the father of the evil? Far from it. How then is it said, "your heavenly Father," to those to whom it is said, "since you are evil": except because Truth shows both, what we are by God's good, and what by human vice; commending the former, emending the latter? Deservedly did Seneca say (who was in the times of the Apostles, of whom even some letters to the apostle Paul are read): "I hate all who hate the evil." And yet for this reason the evil are to be loved, so that they may not be evil; just as the sick are loved, not so that they may remain so, but that they may be healed.

15. But whatever sins we commit remaining in this life after that abolition of sins which occurs in Baptism, even if it be not such as to compel removal from the divine altars, is expiated not

by sterile grief, but by sacrifices of mercy. What therefore we do so that you may do it by our interceding, know that we offer it to God for you. For you stand in need of the mercy which you offer; and see who has said, "Forgive and you shall be forgiven, give and it shall be given to you" (Luke 6:37, 38). Although even if we lived so that there was no reason why we should say, "Forgive us our debts"; by how much the mind were purer from wickedness, by so much it ought to be fuller of clemency, so that if we were not pricked by the sentence of the Lord saying, "He of you who is without sin, let him first cast a stone at her," we might follow the example of him who said this, who since he was indeed without sin, said to the woman whom those terrified ones had left: "Neither will I condemn thee; go, from henceforth sin no more." For the shameful woman could fear lest, when those had departed who had thought upon their own sins so that they might spare another's sin, he who was without sin would now most justly condemn her. But he, not trembling in conscience, but full of clemency, when she had answered that she had been condemned by no one, said: "Neither will I condemn thee": as if he were saying, If malice could spare thee, what fearest thou innocence? And lest he should seem not a forgiver of faults, but an approver; "Go," he said, "from henceforth sin no more"; so that he might show that he had spared the human being, not that the human being's fault had pleased him. Now therefore you see that it descends from religion, nor are we bound by the society

of crimes, because we intervene for the most part even for the wicked, though not ourselves wicked, yet as sinners for sinners, and which you may accept as said truly rather than injuriously, I think that it is among sinners.

CHAPTER VI.

16. Nor for that reason indeed have the power of the king, the right of the sword of the judge, the hooks of the executioner, the arms of the soldier, the discipline of the master, and even the severity of a good father been instituted in vain. All these things have their own modes, causes, reasons, and utilities. When these are feared, the evil are coerced, and the good live more quietly among the evil: not because they are to be pronounced good who do not sin by fearing such things, for no one is good by fear of punishment, but by love of justice; nevertheless not uselessly is human audacity coerced even by fear of the laws, so that innocence may be safe among the wicked, and in the wicked themselves while the faculty is curbed by the dreaded punishment, the will may be healed by calling upon God. But the intercessions of bishops are not contrary to this ordering of human affairs; on the contrary, there would be no cause nor any place for interceding if these things did not exist. For the benefits of those interceding and sparing are the more grateful, as the punishments of those sinning are the more just. Nor for any other reason, as far as I understand, in the Old Testament, in the times of the ancient Prophets, did the more severe vengeance of the

Law boil, except that it might be shown that punishments were rightly established for the iniquitous: so that that we are admonished by the indulgence of the New Testament to spare them, may be either a remedy of salvation, by which our own sins also may be spared; or a commendation of mansuetude, so that through those who spare, the truth preached may not only be feared, but even loved.

17. But it interests very much with what mind each one spares. For just as there is sometimes a punishing mercy, so also there is a sparing cruelty. For, to put forward something manifest as an example, who would not more truly call him cruel who spared a boy most obstinately wishing to play with serpents? but who would not call him merciful who, prohibiting such things, emended the contemner of words even with stripes? and for this reason discipline is not to be extended even unto death, so that there may be one whom it can benefit. Although even when a man is killed by a man, it differs much whether it be done from a desire of harming, or of taking away something unjustly, as is done by an enemy or a robber; or by an order of avenging or of obeying, as by a judge or an executioner; or by a necessity of escaping or of helping, as a robber is slain by a traveler, or an enemy by a soldier. And sometimes he who was the cause of death is rather in fault than he who killed; as if anyone should deceive his own surety, and the latter should undergo the legitimate punishment for the former. Nor yet is everyone who is the

cause of another's death, a defendant. For what if anyone should seek debauchery, and should kill himself if he did not obtain it? what if a son, fearing the pious stripes of his father, should perish by a precipice? what if another, a man having been liberated, or lest another should be liberated, should bring death upon himself? Ought for these causes of the deaths of others either crime to be consented to, or the vengeance of sin, which is done not from a desire of harming but of correcting, even paternal, be taken away, or the works of mercy be restrained? When these things happen, we owe them human grief; we do not on account of those things, lest they happen, repress the will of things rightly done.

18. Thus also when we intercede for a sinner to be condemned, there sometimes follow things which we do not want; whether in him who is liberated by our intercession, so that his unpunished audacity might range even more monstrously, subjected to desire, ungrateful to lenity, and one snatched from death might kill very many; or he himself having been changed for the better by our benefit, and corrected in manners, another might perish by living badly, and having proposed to himself the impunity of this one, might commit such or more serious things. These evils are not, as I think, to be imputed to us, when we intercede with you: but rather those good things which, when we do that, we look upon and wish; that is, the commendation of mansuetude for conciliating love by the word of truth, and that those who are liberated from temporal

death, might so live, lest they incur eternal death, from whence they may never be liberated.

19. Therefore both your severity is profitable, by whose ministry our peace is aided; and our intercession is profitable, by whose ministry your severity is tempered. Let it not displease you that you are asked by the good; because it does not displease the good that you are feared by the evil. For the apostle Paul terrified the iniquity of men not only concerning the future judgment, but even concerning your present axes, asserting that even they pertain to the dispensation of divine providence. "Let every soul," he says, "be subject to higher powers: for there is no power but from God; and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore he that resists the power, resists the ordinance of God; and they that resist, purchase to themselves judgment: for princes are not a terror to the good work, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise from the same: for he is God's minister to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, fear; for he bears not the sword in vain: for he is God's minister, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that does evil. Wherefore be subject of necessity, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. For therefore also you pay tribute: for they are the ministers of God, serving unto this purpose. Render therefore to all their dues: tribute, to whom tribute is due; custom, to whom custom; fear, to whom fear; honor, to whom honor. Owe no man anything, but to love one another" (Romans 13:1-8). These

words of the Apostle show the utility of your severity. Accordingly just as those who fear are commanded to owe love to those terrifying them, so those who terrify are commanded to owe love to those fearing them. Let nothing be done from a desire of harming, but all from the charity of consulting; and let nothing be done monstrously, nothing inhumanly. Let the vengeance of the judge be thus dreaded, so that the religion of the intercessor be not contemned; because both by punishing and by forgiving this alone is well done, that the life of men be corrected. But if the perversity and impiety be so great that neither discipline nor pardon can profit for correcting it; nevertheless by the good in intention and conscience which God discerns, whether by severity or by lenity, only the office of love is fulfilled.

20. But as to what follows in your letter, where you say: "But now, as our manners are, men both desire the punishment of their crime to be relaxed for them, and to possess that on account of which the crime was committed"; you mention the worst kind of men, to whom the medicine of repenting is of no use at all. For if the property of another, on account of which the sin was committed, is not restored when it can be restored, repentance is not performed, but feigned: but if it is performed truly, the sin will not be forgiven unless that which was taken away be restored; but, as I said, when it can be restored. For for the most part he who takes away, loses; whether by suffering other evil men, or by living badly himself, nor has he anything else from which he

may restore. To such a one certainly we cannot say, "Restore what you took away," except when we believe him to have it and to deny it. Where indeed if he sustains some tortures from the one seeking recovery, while he is thought to have what he may restore, there is no iniquity; because even if he has not from where he may pay the taken money, nevertheless deservedly while he is compelled through corporal molestations to give it back, he pays the penalties of the sin by which it was badly taken away. But it is not inhuman even for such to intercede, as for those guilty of crimes; not to this end that the property of others be least of all restored, but lest a man rage against a man in vain, especially he who has already forgiven the fault, but seeks the money, and if he fears to be defrauded, does not seek to be vindicated. Finally in such causes, if we shall have been able to persuade those for whom we intervene, not to have what is demanded, continuously their molestations are relaxed for us. But sometimes the merciful even in doubt itself do not wish to inflict certain punishments on a man for uncertain money. To this mercy it becomes you also to provoke and exhort us: for it is better that you lose, even if he has it, than if he has it not, either to torture or kill him. But for these it is more fitting to intercede with those who seek recovery, than with those who judge; lest he himself should seem to take away, who since he has the power, does not compel to restore: although in compelling he ought so to apply integrity, that he lose not humanity.

21. But I would say most confidently, that he who intervenes for a man to this end that he may not restore things badly taken away, and who does not compel him fleeing to him, as far as he honestly can, to restore them, is an accomplice of the fraud and crime. For we more mercifully withdraw our aid from such, than spend it: for he does not bring aid who helps to sin, and does not rather subvert and oppress. But can we or ought we for that reason either to exact, or to deliver to be exacted? We act as much as episcopal faculty is given, threatening sometimes human, but mostly and always divine judgment. But those who are unwilling to restore, whom we know both to have taken away badly and to have that from which they may restore, we argue with, rebuke, and detest; some secretly, some openly, just as the diversity of persons seems to be able to receive a diverse medicine, lest they be incited to greater madness to the destruction of others. Sometimes also, if a thing more to be cared for does not impede, we deprive them of the communion of the holy altar.

22. But it often happens that they deceive us, either by denying that they took away, or by affirming that they have not that from which they may restore: often also you are deceived, thinking either that we do not act that they may restore, or that they have that from which they may restore; and all or almost all men we love either to call or to think our suspicions to be cognitions, when we are moved by credible signs of things, since some credible things are false, just as some incredible

things are true. Therefore mentioning some, who "both desire the punishment of their crime to be relaxed for them, and to possess that on account of which the crime was committed," you added and said: "For these also your priesthood thinks it must intervene." For it can happen that you know what I do not know, and therefore I think I must intervene for someone, because he could deceive me, when he could not deceive you, so that I may not believe him to possess what you know him to possess. Thus it happens that since our sentence concerning the defendant is not one, nevertheless it pleases neither of us that the property of another is not restored. Concerning the man, as men, we feel diverse things; but in justice itself we are together. In the same way also it can happen that what I know someone not to have, this you do not most certainly hold him to have, but credibly suspect; and on account of this I seem to you to intervene for him who both desires the punishment of his crime to be relaxed for him, and to possess that on account of which the crime was committed. To the sum therefore neither with you, nor with such, if any are found such as we rejoice you to be, nor with those themselves who with great study seek the property of others and things that will profit nothing, and things also much dangerous and pernicious, nor with my own heart to which God is witness, would I dare to say, to feel, to decree, that it must be intervened for anyone, so that what he took away by crime, he may possess by the impunity of the crime: but that the injury being forgiven,

he may restore what he took away injuriously; if however he has what he took away, or something else from which he may restore it.

23. Not indeed whatever is taken from one unwilling, is taken away injuriously. For most do not wish to return to the physician his honor, nor to the workman his wage; nevertheless those who receive these from one unwilling, do not receive them by injury, which rather would be given by injury if they were not given. But not for that reason ought a judge to sell a just judgment, or a witness a true testimony, because an advocate sells a just patronage and a jurisconsult true counsel: for those are applied to the examination between each party; these stand on one party. But when judgments and testimonies, which neither just nor true are to be sold, are sold iniquitous and false, much more wickedly certainly is money taken, because it is given wickedly even though by those willing. He however is accustomed to seek back money as badly taken away from him, who has bought a just judgment, since it ought not to have been venal: but he who gave for an iniquitous judgment, would indeed wish to seek it back, unless he feared or were ashamed to have bought it.

24. There are other persons of lower place, who receive from both sides not insolently, such as the official, and he by whom the office is applied, and to whom it is applied: from these things extorted through immoderate impropriety, they are accustomed to be sought back; given through tolerable custom, they are not:

and we rather reprehend those who have sought such things back unusually, than those who have taken them according to custom; since many necessary persons are either invited by advantages of this kind to human affairs, or are held by them. These, if they shall have changed the way of their life, or shall have ascended to a degree of more excellent sanctity, more easily bestow those things which they have acquired in this way as their own upon the poor, than they restore them as the property of others to those from whom they were received. But he who, against the right of human society, shall have taken away by thefts, robberies, calumnies, oppressions, invasions, we think that they are rather to be restored than given: by the evangelical example of Zacchaeus the publican, who when he had received the Lord into his house, suddenly changed into a holy life, said: "Half of my goods I give to the poor, and if I have taken anything from any man, I restore him fourfold" (Luke 19:8).

25. Nevertheless if justice be more sincerely consulted, it is more justly said to an advocate: "Restore what you have received," when you stood against the truth, were present for iniquity, deceived the judge, oppressed a just cause, and conquered by falsehood (which you see many most honest and most eloquent men seem to themselves to commit not only with impunity, but even gloriously); than to anyone militant in any office: "Restore what you have received," when at the command of the judge you held a man necessary for any cause, bound him lest

he resist, shut him up lest he flee, finally either exhibited him while the suit was pending, or dismissed him when it was finished. But the reason why it is not said to the advocate is at hand, because forsooth a man does not wish to seek back what he gave to a patron that he might win badly; just as he does not wish to restore what he received from his adversary, when he had won badly. What advocate at length, or what man so best is easily found from an advocate, who says to his client: "Receive back what you gave me when I was badly present for you; and restore to your adversary what you took away iniquitously, while I was acting for you"? And yet he whom it most rightly repents of a prior not right life, ought even to do this, so that if he who has litigated iniquitously, being admonished does not wish to correct the iniquity, nevertheless the former may not wish to have the reward of that iniquity: unless perhaps that which belongs to another is to be restored when it is taken away secretly by theft, and is not to be restored when it is obtained in the forum itself where sins are punished, the judge being deceived, and the laws circumvented! What shall I say concerning usuries, which even the laws themselves and judges command to be restored? Is he more cruel who withdraws something or snatches it from a rich man, than he who slaughters a poor man by interest? These and such like are certainly possessed badly, and I would wish them to be restored; but there is no judge by whom they may be sought back.

26. Now indeed if we prudently look upon what is written: "To the faithful man the whole world of riches belongs, but to the unfaithful not even a farthing"; do we not convict all who seem to themselves to rejoice in things licitly sought, and know not how to use them, of possessing the property of others? For this certainly is not the property of another, which is possessed by right; but this by right which is possessed justly, and this justly which is possessed well. Everything therefore which is possessed badly, is the property of another; but he possesses badly, who uses badly. You see therefore how many ought to restore the property of others, if even a few could be found to whom they might be restored: who nevertheless wherever they are, so much the more contemn these things, as they could more justly possess them. For justice, no one has badly, and he who has not loved it has it not. Money indeed is both badly had by the evil, and is so much the better had by the good, as it is less loved. But among these things the iniquity of those possessing badly is tolerated, and certain rights are established among them, which are called civil; not that from this it may happen that they be using well, but that those using badly be less troublesome: until the faithful and pious, to whom all things belong by right, who either become of them, or living among them for a while are not bound by their evils, but are exercised, arrive at that city where the inheritance of eternity is; where only the just has a place, only the wise the principality, where whoever shall be there

will possess truly their own. But nevertheless even here we do not intercede that the property of others be not restored according to earthly manners and laws: although we wish you to be placable to the evil, not that the evil may please or remain, but because from them whoever become good are made, and by the sacrifice of mercy God is placated, whom unless the evil had propitious, there would be no good. It is long since that by speaking I seem burdensome to your occupations, when what you were seeking could have been quickly solved to you, a sharp and learned man. But I ought to have finished long ago, if I knew that you were only going to read what you demanded that I should write back. May you live happy in Christ, most dear son.

LETTER CLIV. Macedonius to Augustine, signifying that he has performed what he had so modestly asked of him; and also that he has read his books with great pleasure and admiration. To the deservedly venerable Lord and truly to be looked up to father, Bishop AUGUSTINE, MACEDONIUS.

1. I am affected in a wonderful way by your wisdom, both in those things which you have published, and in these things which you do not grudge to send intervening for the wicked. For both the former have so much of sharpness, of science, of sanctity, that nothing is above them: and the latter so much of modesty, that unless I do what you command, I judge the fault to remain with me, not to be in the business, Lord deservedly venerable, and truly to be looked up

to father. For you do not insist (as most men of that place do) that you should extort whatever you might wish with solicitude; but you admonish with subservient modesty what has seemed to you to be petitionable from a judge bound by so many cares, which is the greatest efficacy of difficult things among the good. Accordingly I immediately granted the effect of your desire to those commended: for I had opened the way of hoping before.

2. I have unfolded your books; for neither were they so languid or inert, that they permitted me to care for anything else than themselves: they have laid hand upon me, and snatched from other causes of solicitudes, they have bound me with their chains (so may God be propitious to me), that I am in doubt what I may more admire in them, the perfection of the priesthood, the dogmas of philosophy, the full knowledge of history, or the pleasantness of eloquence, which can so entice even the unskillful, that until they unfold them they do not desist, and when they have unfolded them, they still require them. For those impudently pertinacious have been convicted, that since from those good ages which they mention, on account of the obscurity of the nature of things, worse things have happened, and all their false happinesses smeared with a certain sweetness, through which they were led not to beatitude, but to precipices: but these our precepts, and the mysteries of the simple and true God, besides the perpetual life which they promise to the purest virtues, even mitigate these

secular things which necessarily will happen to those of us who were born. And you used a most valid example of a recent calamity, by which although you have most firmly fortified the cause, yet if either had been allowed, I had not wished that to support you. But when from thence had arisen the complaint of the folly of those to be convicted, it was necessary from thence to fetch the arguments of truth.

3. These things in the meantime, occupied by other cares, which even if they are vain, when we think of the end of things, yet are as it were necessary for the condition of being born, I have written back. If there shall be leisure and life remaining, I will even write back from Italy, so that the work of so great doctrine might be remunerated with due, even if not satisfying, offices. May Almighty God protect your Sanctity safe and joyful for a most large age, Lord deservedly desirable, and truly to be looked up to father.

LETTER CLV.

Augustine to Macedonius, teaching that the happy life and true virtue are not except from God.

AUGUSTINE bishop, servant of Christ and of his family, to his beloved son MACEDONIUS, greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. Although I do not recognize in me the wisdom which you attribute to me, yet I give and owe

many thanks for your so great benevolence towards me and so sincere; and I am delighted that the labors of my studies have pleased such and so great a man: but much more, because I recognize your mind gasping after, I see approaching, and I embrace it burning to obtain that affection of charity of eternity and of truth, and of charity itself towards that divine and heavenly republic, of which Christ is the ruler, and in which alone one must live always and happily, if one lives here rightly and piously. For from thence also flows true friendship, not to be weighed by temporal advantages, but to be thought by gratuitous love. For no one can be truly a friend of a man, unless he has first been of Truth itself: which if it does not happen freely, it can happen in no way.

2. Concerning which matter even the philosophers have said many things; but among them true piety, that is, the true worship of the true God, from whence all the offices of living rightly ought to be led, is not found: for no other reason, as much as I understand, except because they wished to fabricate a happy life for themselves in a certain way, and thought it was rather to be performed than to be impetrated; since its giver is none but God. For no one makes a man happy, except he who made man. For he who bestows so great goods of his creature upon the good and the evil, that they be, that they be men, that they be vigorous in senses, strong in strengths, affluent in riches; will give himself to the good so that they may be happy, because this is even his gift that they be good. But those who in this laborious

life, in these dying members, under this burden of corruptible flesh, wished to be the authors of their own happy life and as it were the founders, seeking it as it were by their own virtues, and already retaining it, not seeking and hoping from that source of virtues, were least of all able to feel God resisting their pride. Whence they have slipped into a most absurd error; so that when they assert that even in the bull of Phalaris the wise man is happy, they are compelled to confess that the happy life is sometimes to be fled. For they yield to the exaggerated evils of the body, and in their most serious molestations they decree that one must depart from this life. Where I do not wish to say how great a nefas it is for a man to kill himself innocent, when he ought not at all even when guilty; concerning which in the first book of those three, which you have most kindly and most studiously read through, we have already said many things (Lib. 1 de Civit. Dei, cap. 17 et seqq). But certainly let it be considered, and let it be judged not proudly but soberly how the life is happy, which the wise man does not enjoy having retained, but is compelled to be without by hands laid upon himself.

3. There is in Cicero, in the last part, as you know, of the fifth book of the Tusculan Disputations, a passage which for the reason I say must be noted. For when he was treating of the blindness of the body, and was affirming that even a blind wise man can be happy, he said many things which he might rejoice in perceiving through the ears. And likewise if he were deaf,

he transferred those things by which he might be delighted to the eyes. But if he were deprived of both senses, and became both blind and deaf, he did not dare to bring forth a sentence from this, and to call him happy. But he added also the most serious pains of the body, which if they did not kill him, he himself might kill himself, and arrive at the port of non-feeling having been liberated by this virtue. The wise man therefore yields to the most immense disasters and succumbs, so much so that he is compelled by them even to perpetrate homicide upon himself. Whom may he now spare that he may be without those evils, who does not spare himself? Certainly he is always happy, certainly he can lose the happy life (beata vita) constituted in his own power by no force of any calamity. Behold in blindness and deafness and the most atrocious tortures of the body, either he has lost the happy life; or if even in these afflictions it is still happy, it happens through the disputations of such most learned men, that the happy life is sometimes that which the wise man cannot bear; or, what is more absurd, which the wise man ought not to bear, and he flees it, breaks it off, casts it away, and withdraws himself from it even by steel, or poison, or some other voluntary death; so that in the port of non-feeling either he is not at all, which the Epicureans and if any others by similar folly have thought; or he is happy for this reason, because he has been liberated from that happy life as if from some pestilence. O too proud a boast! If the happy life is in the tortures of the body, why does

the wise man not remain in it so that he may enjoy it? but if it is miserable, what, I beseech you, except pride (typhus) prevents him from confessing it, from praying to God, from supplicating the just and merciful one, who is powerful both to avert or mitigate the evils of this life, or to arm with fortitude for tolerating them, or to liberate from them in every way, and after these things to give a truly happy life, where no evil is admitted, and where the highest good is never lost?

4. This is the reward of the pious, for the sake of attaining which hope we lead this temporal and mortal life, not so much delectably as tolerably, and we bear its evils bravely then by good counsel and divine gift, when we rejoice in the faithful promise of God and our faithful expectation of eternal goods. To this the apostle Paul having exhorted us says: Rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation (Rom. 12:12): for he showed why patient in tribulation, by premising rejoicing in hope. To this hope I exhort through Jesus Christ our Lord. For this God himself as master, with the majesty of his divinity latent, and the infirmity of his flesh appearing, not only taught by the oracle of his speech, but also strengthened by the example of his passion and resurrection. For in the one he showed what things we ought to tolerate, in the other what things we ought to hope for. Of whom even they would merit grace, unless having been elated and puffed up with pride, they vainly attempted to make that happy life for themselves, which God alone truly promised that he would bestow upon his wor-

shipers after this life. For saner is that sentence of the same Cicero, where he says: For this life indeed is death, which I could lament, if it were free to do so (Cic. in Tusc. Quaest.). How therefore if it is rightly lamented, is it approved as happy; and not rather because it is rightly lamented, is it convinced of being miserable? Wherefore accustom yourself, I beseech you, good man, to be happy in the meantime in hope, so that you may be so also in reality, when the reward of eternal felicity shall be retributed to most persevering piety.

CHAPTER II.

5. If I am burdensome with a long letter (prolixa epistola), you have brought this upon yourself, who have called me wise. For hence I have dared to speak these things to you, not so that I might ostentate wisdom to you, such as it may be in me, but so that I might show of what sort it ought to be. But this is in the present world the true worship of the true God (verus veri Dei cultus), so that there may be of it in the future world a certain and whole fruit. Here most constant piety (pietas), there eternal felicity. From this wisdom, which alone is true, if I have anything, I have taken it from God, I have not presumed it from myself; and I faithfully hope for it to be perfected in me by him, by whom I humbly rejoice it to have been begun; not incredulous in that which he has not yet given, nor ungrateful in that which he has already given. For I am not by my own either genius or merit, but by his gift I am, if I am anything laudably. For certain most acute and

most excellent geniuses have gone into so much the greater errors, by how much more confidently they ran as if by their own strengths, nor did they suppliantly and truly seek God, so that he might show the way to them. But what are the merits of any men whatever; since indeed he, who came not with a due reward, but with gratuitous grace (gratia), found all sinners, himself alone free and the liberator from sins?

6. If therefore true virtue (virtus vera) delights us, let us say to him, what we read in his sacred Letters: I will love you, Lord, my virtue (Ps. 17:2): and if we wish to be truly happy (beati) (which we cannot not wish), let us hold with a faithful heart that which we have learned in the same Letters: Blessed is the man whose hope is the name of the Lord, and who has not looked upon vanities and lying insanities (Ps. 39:5). But how great is the vanity (vanitas), how great the insanity (insania), and how great the lie (mendacium), that a mortal man, leading a laborious life with a mutable spirit and flesh, burdened with so many sins, subjected to so many temptations, obnoxious to so many corruptions, and destined for most just punishments, should trust in himself so that he may be happy, when he cannot even claim for himself that which he has chief in the dignity of his nature, that is, mind and reason, from errors, unless God be present as the light of minds! Let us therefore cast away, I beseech you, the vanities and lying insanities of the false philosophers: because neither will virtue be in us, unless he himself be present by whom we may

be helped; nor happiness, unless he himself be present whom we may enjoy, and absorb all our mutable and corruptible part, which by itself is weak and a certain material of miseries, by the gift of immortality (immortalitas) and incorruption (incorruptio).

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

8. You see that by the exaggeration of earthly felicity a people is not called happy, except by alien sons, that is, those not pertaining to the regeneration by which we are made sons of God: from whose hand he prays that he be rescued, lest he be drawn by them into this opinion and into impious sins. For by speaking vanity, they called the people happy who have these things which he commemorated above, in which that felicity consists which alone the lovers of this world seek.

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

CHAPTER III.

9. You perceive therefore whence that is to be sought which all the learned and unlearned desire, and many by erring and being proud are ignorant whence it is sought and where it is received. But both are together reproved in a certain divine psalm, both those who trust in their

own virtue (virtus), and those who glory in the abundance of their riches (Ps. 48:7); that is, both the philosophers of this world, and those abhorring even such philosophy, and calling the people happy who are supplied with earthly opulence. And by this from the Lord our God by whom we have been made, let us seek both the virtue by which we may overcome the evils of this life, and the happy life with which we may enjoy his eternity after this life, so that both in virtue and in the reward of virtue, as the Apostle says: He who glories, let him glory in the Lord (2 Cor. 10:17). This let us wish for ourselves, this for the city of which we are citizens: for a happy city (beata civitas) is not from one source, and a man from another; since a city is nothing other than a concordant multitude of men (concors hominum multitudo).

10. And so if all your prudence (prudentia), by which you attempt to consult for human affairs; if all your fortitude (fortitudo), by which you are terrified by the adversity of no iniquity; if all your temperance (temperantia), by which you abstain from corruptions in so great a sink of the most wicked custom of men; if all your justice (justitia), by which by judging rightly you distribute to each his own, labors and strives for this, that these whom you wish to be well may be safe in body, and quiet and pacified from all impropriety of anyone, may have sons as established saplings, daughters adorned as the likeness of a temple, cellars full erupting from this into that, fertile sheep, fat oxen, nor may the ruin of a wall

deform the estate, nor the cry of litigants sound in their streets; so your virtues will not be true, just as neither will be the happiness of those men. For here for the sake of speaking the truth that modesty (verecundia) of mine, which you praised in your letter with kind speech, ought not to impede me. If any administration of yours, I say, instructed by those virtues which I commemorated, is determined by this end of intention, that men according to the flesh should suffer no iniquitous molestations; nor do you think it pertains to you, to what they should refer that quiet, which you strive to provide, that is (that I may not go about with words) how they should worship the true God, where all the fruit of a quiet life is, so great a labor profits you nothing for a truly happy life.

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

good, as you yourself have written; let it help me for you with you, so that I may enjoy you in him, who provided this door and confidence for me to you: especially because that which I suggest, I already think it to be easy for your mind assisted and instructed by so many divine gifts.

12. For if you, sensing from whom you have received the virtues which you have received, and giving thanks to him, should confer them to his worship even in those your secular honors, and should raise up and lead the men subject to your power to worship him by the example of your religious life, and by the very study of consulting, whether by cherishing or by terrifying, and should wish for nothing else in that they live more securely through you, except that they may hence merit him, with whom they shall live happily; both those will be true virtues, and by his assistance, by whose bounty they have been given, they will so increase and be perfected, that they will lead you without any doubt to the truly happy life, which is nothing but eternal: where now neither evils should be prudently discerned from goods, which will not be there; nor should adversities be bravely tolerated, because there will be nothing there except what we may love, not also what we may tolerate; nor should lust be temperately restrained, where we shall feel no incitements of it; nor should the indigent be justly succored with aid, where we shall not have the poor and the indigent. There will be one virtue there, and that same thing will be the virtue and the reward of virtue, which the man

who loves this says in the holy oracles: But for me to adhere to God is good (Ps. 72:28). This will be full and everlasting wisdom there, and the same truly a life already happy: for it is the arrival to the eternal and supreme good, to adhere to which forever is the end of our good. Let this be called also prudence, because it will most providently adhere to the good which may not be lost; and fortitude, because it will most firmly adhere to the good whence it may not be plucked away; and temperance, because it will most chastely adhere to the good where it may not be corrupted; and justice, because it will most rightly adhere to the good to which it may be deservedly subjected.

CHAPTER IV.

13. Although even in this life virtue is nothing else than to love what is to be loved: to choose that is prudence; to be turned away from it by no molestations is fortitude; by no allurements, temperance; by no pride, justice. But what should we choose that we should especially love, except that than which we find nothing better? This is God, to whom if in loving we either prefer or equal anything, we know not how to love ourselves. For it is so much the better for us, by how much more we go into him, than whom nothing is better. But we go not by walking, but by loving. Whom we shall have so much the more present, by how much the more we shall be able to have that same love by which we tend toward him purer: for he is neither extended nor included in corporal places. To him therefore who

is everywhere present and everywhere whole, it is permitted to go not with feet, but with morals (moribus). But our morals are wont to be judged not from that which each one knows, but from that which he loves: nor do good or bad loves make anything except good or bad morals. By our depravity, therefore, we are far from the rectitude of God: whence by loving what is right we are corrected, so that being right we may be able to adhere to the Right.

14. To him therefore with as much labor as we can, let us also act that they may arrive, whom we love as ourselves, if we already know how to love ourselves by loving him. For Christ, that is the Truth, says that in these two precepts all the Law and the Prophets depend, that we should love God with all our heart, with all our soul, with all our mind, and that we should love our neighbors as ourselves (Matt. 22:37-40). Surely in this place the neighbor is to be weighed not by proximity of blood, but by society of reason, in which all men are associates. For if the account of money makes associates, how much more the account of nature, common by the law not of trading, but of being born! Hence even that comic poet (as the resplendence of truth is not lacking to brilliant geniuses), when he composed what was said by one old man to another: Is there so much leisure for you from your own affair, that you care for those alien things which pertain nothing to you? rendered the response from the other: I am a man, I think nothing human alien to me. (Terence in Heaut. act 1, scen. 1.) To which sentence they say

even the whole theaters, full of the foolish and unlearned, applauded. For thus the society of human souls naturally touched the affection of all, that no man there should feel himself otherwise than as a neighbor to any man whatsoever.

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

of discipline; knowing that in these two precepts all the Law and the Prophets depend.

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

17. Piety (Pietas), therefore, that is the true worship of the true God, is profitable for all things; both that which may avert or alleviate the molestations of this life, and that which may lead to that life and salvation, where we may no longer suffer any evil, and may enjoy the supreme and everlasting good. To follow this more perfectly and to retain it most perseveringly I exhort you as myself: of which unless you were already a participant, and judged it to behove those your

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

LETTER CLVI.

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

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

The grace of your Holiness, which is known to all, persuaded my littleness that I should bestow these letters upon your Venerability to be praised, from your people returning from Syracuse to Hippo, asking the supreme Trinity that safe and vigorous by the favor of our God you may receive this my writing to be reviewed, holy lord, justly and deservedly venerable, and to be worshipped

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

LETTER CLVII.

Augustine to Hilary, responding to his questions.

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

CHAPTER I.

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

2. If therefore you ask whether in this life anyone so profits in the perfection of justice, that he lives here altogether without any sin; attend to what the apostle John said, whom the Lord especially loved among his disciples: If we say, he says, that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us (1 John 1:8). If therefore those of whom you wrote to me say that they are without sin; you see that they deceive themselves, and the truth is not in them. But if they confess themselves to be sinners, so that they may be able to merit the mercy of God, let them restrain themselves from deceiving others also, whom they attempt to persuade of this pride. For the Lord's Prayer is necessary for all, which the Lord gave even to the rams of the flock, that is to his Apostles, so that each one should say to God: Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors (Matt. 6:12). For to whom these words in prayer shall not have been necessary, he himself is to be pronounced to live here without sin. Of which kind if the Lord foresaw that some would

be, surely better than his Apostles were, he would teach them another prayer, by which they would not ask their sins to be forgiven them, to whom all had already been forgiven in Baptism. For if holy Daniel, not before men as if by a fallacious humility, but before God, that is in the prayer by which he was praying to God, was confessing not only the sins of his people, but also his own, as was expressed by his truthful mouth (Dan. 9:20); nothing else seems to me to be said to those men, except what the Lord mandates through the prophet Ezekiel to a certain proud man: Are you wiser than Daniel? (Ezek. 28:3).

3. But plainly he who assisted by the mercy and grace of God shall have abstained from those sins which are also called crimes (crimina), and shall not have neglected to cleanse those sins without which one does not live here by works of mercy and pious prayers, will merit to go hence without sin, although while he lived here he had some sins; because as these were not lacking, so also the remedies by which they were purged were present. But whosoever, this occasion as it were having been found, when he shall have heard that no one here by his own judgment lives without sin, shall have given himself to lusts, and shall have bound himself to nefarious crimes, and shall have endured in these criminal and wicked morals even until his last day, whatever alms he may do among these, he both leads his life unhappily, and finishes it more unhappily.

CHAPTER II.

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

5. Therefore free will is valid for good works, if it be divinely helped, which is done by humbly asking and doing: but deserted by divine help, by whatever knowledge of the law it may excel, in no way will it have the solidity of justice, but the inflation of impious pride and a destructive tumor. The same Lord's Prayer teaches this. For in vain do we say asking God: Lead us not into temptation (Matt. 6:13), if this is so placed in our power, that by no help of his we were able to fulfill it. For it was said: Lead us not into temptation, which is understood: Do not permit us to be led in by deserting us. For God is faithful, says the Apostle, who will not permit you to be tempted

above that which you are able, but will make with the temptation also an escape, that you may be able to sustain (1 Cor. 10:13): for what purpose did he say that God does this, if this without his help is in our power alone?

6. For even the law itself was given for help in this to those who use it lawfully, that through it they may know, either what justice they have already received, whence they may give thanks, or what still is lacking to them, which they may instantly ask. But those who so hear what the law says: You shall not covet (Exod. 20:17, and Rom. 7:7), that because they have learned this, they think it suffices for them, nor do they believe and ask that virtue be given to them by the help of the grace of God for doing what is commanded; for this purpose the law entered in to them, that sin might abound (Rom. 5:20); which was said concerning the Jews. For it is too little that they do not fulfill what the law commanded: You shall not covet; but besides they are proud, and ignorant of the justice of God, that is which God gives who justifies the impious, and wishing to establish their own as if made by the strengths of their own will, they are not subject to the justice of God. For Christ is the end of the law, for justice to everyone who believes (Id. 10:4); who surely came for this reason, that where sin abounded, grace might superabound. To which grace if the Jews were enemies, ignorant of the justice of God, and wishing to establish their own; why are these also enemies, if they have believed in him whom those men killed? Or is it that those men may re-

ceive a reward, who having killed Christ accused their own impiety, and subjected themselves to his grace having been known; and these men should carry judgment, who so wish to believe in Christ, that they attempt to kill his very grace?

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

that they have for this purpose, as much as they can, free will, not that by a proud will they should reject help, but that by a pious will they should invoke the Lord.

8. For this free will shall be so much the freer by how much the healthier: but so much the healthier, by how much the more subject to divine mercy and grace. For it itself faithfully prays and says: Direct my paths according to your word, and let not all iniquity have dominion over me (Ps. 118:133). For how is it free, over which iniquity has dominion? But that it may not have dominion over it, see who is invoked by it. For it does not say: Direct my paths according to free will, because all iniquity shall not have dominion over me; but, Direct my paths, it says, according to your word, and let not all iniquity have dominion over me. It prays, it does not promise; it confesses, it does not profess; it desires the fullest liberty, it does not boast of its own power. For not everyone who trusts in his own strengths, but everyone who invokes the name of the Lord, shall be saved. But how shall they invoke, he says, in whom they have not believed (Rom. 10:14). To this end therefore those believe who believe rightly, that they may invoke him in whom they have believed, and may be able to do what they have received in lawful precepts; since that which the law commands, faith impetrates (impetrat).

9. For that we may omit for the time the many precepts of the law, and may commemorate this from it which the Apostle chose to commemorate; when the law says: You shall not covet, what

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

10. For neither is the judgment of the will for this reason taken away, because it is helped; but for this reason it is helped, because it is not taken away. For he who says to God: Be my helper (Ps. 26:9), confesses that he wills to fulfill what he commanded, but from him who commanded, he asks help that he may be able. So even that man, since he knew that no one can be continent unless God gives it, approached the Lord and besought him: surely willing he approached, willing he besought, nor would he have asked unless there were a will. But unless he had asked, how much would the will have been able? Because even if it were able before it asks, what does it profit it, unless it should give thanks to him from whom it is able, from whom that is to be asked which it is not yet able? Whence even he who is already continent, surely does not have continence, unless the will be present; but unless he had received it, what would the will have? For what do you have, he says, which you have not received? But if you have received it, why do you glory as if you had not received it (1 Cor. 4:7)? that is, Why do you glory as if you have it from yourself, which if you had not received, you could not have from yourself? But this was said, that he who glories, should glory not in himself, but in the Lord (2 Cor. 10:17); and he who does not yet have whence he may glory, should not hope from himself, but should pray to the Lord. For it is better for each one to have less which he may ask from God, than to have more which he may attribute to himself; since it is expedient to rise

from the bottom, than to fall from the height: For God, it is written, resists the proud, but to the humble he gives grace (James 4:6). For the abundance therefore of sins the law teaches us what we ought to will, unless grace should help, that what we will we may be able, and what we shall have been able we may fulfill. But it will help, if not presuming concerning our own strengths we should not savor high things, but consenting to the humble (Rom. 12:16), and concerning those things which we already can, let us give thanks, and for those things which we cannot yet, let us ask God suppliantly with a gasping will; supporting our prayer with the fruitful works of mercy, by giving so that it may be given to us, by forgiving so that it may be forgiven to us.

CHAPTER III.

11. But as to what they say, that an infant prevented by death and not baptized, cannot perish, because he is born without sin: the Apostle does not say this; and I think it is better that we believe the Apostle rather than these men. For that teacher of the Gentiles, in whom Christ was speaking, says: Through one man sin entered into the world, and through sin death, and so it passed through into all men, in whom all have sinned: and a little after he says: For judgment indeed from one offense unto condemnation, but grace from many offenses unto justification (Rom. 5:12, 16). Accordingly, let these men say of whatever infant they may perhaps have found not procreated from the concupiscence of that one man,

that he is not liable to that damnation, nor to be delivered from that damnation through the grace of Christ. For what is, from one offense unto condemnation, except in that offense by which Adam offended? and what is, from many offenses unto justification, except because the grace of Christ solves not only that one offense, by which infants procreated from that one man are bound, but also many offenses, which when men have grown up, they add by their evil morals? Yet even that one, by which the carnal offspring which draws its origin from that first man is bound, he says to suffice for condemnation. Therefore the baptism of little ones is not superfluous, that those who through generation are bound to that condemnation, through regeneration may be loosed from the same condemnation: for as a man is not found who is generated carnally except from Adam; so a man is not found who is regenerated spiritually except from Christ. But carnal generation is liable to that one offense, and to its damnation; but spiritual regeneration makes not only that one to be abolished on account of which infants are baptized, but many offenses, which men by living badly, have added to that in which they were generated. Therefore he follows and says: For if on account of the offense of one death reigned through one, much more those who receive the abundance of grace and of justice, shall reign in life through the one Jesus Christ. And so as through the offense of one unto all men unto condemnation; so through the justification of one unto all men unto justification of life. For as

through the disobedience of one man many were constituted sinners: so through the obedience of one many are constituted just (Rom. 5:17-19).

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

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

one unto condemnation, but grace from many offenses unto justification.

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

14. See in what manner he commends one and one, that is Adam and Christ; the former to condemnation, the latter to justification, al-

though Christ came in the flesh so long after Adam: so that we may know even the ancient just, whoever could have been, to have been liberated not except through the same faith through which we also are liberated; the faith, namely, of the incarnation of Christ, which to them was preannounced, just as to us it is announced as having been done. For the same reason he calls Christ a man, since he is also God, lest anyone should think the ancient just were able to be liberated through God only as Christ, that is through the Word which was in the beginning, not also through the faith of his incarnation, by which also the man Christ is spoken of. For that sentence cannot be destroyed, concerning which also he says elsewhere: Through one man death, and through one man the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be vivified (1 Cor. 15:21). Surely he speaks of the resurrection of the just, where there is eternal life; not the resurrection of the iniquitous, where death shall be eternal: therefore he says, they shall be vivified; because those others shall be damned. Hence even in the ancient Sacraments the circumcision of little ones was commanded to be done on the eighth day (Lev. 12:3), since Christ, in whom is done the despoiling of carnal offense, which circumcision signifies, rose on the Lord's day, which after the seventh sabbath is the eighth. This therefore was the faith even of the ancient just. Whence also the Apostle says: But having the same spirit of faith, on account of which it is written, I have believed, on account

of which also I have spoken; and we believe, on account of which also we speak (2 Cor. 4:13): he would not say, the same spirit of faith, except admonishing that even the ancient just had the same spirit of faith, that is of the incarnation of Christ. But because to them it was preannounced as future, which now is announced to us as having been done; and in the time of the Old Testament it was veiled, which in the time of the New Testament is revealed; therefore its Sacraments were varied, so that some were in the Old Testament, others in the New; since the faith itself is not varied, but is one: because as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be vivified.

15. But as to what he adds and says to those words which we were treating: But the law entered in, that sin might abound, it no longer pertains to that offense which is drawn from Adam, concerning which he was saying above: Death reigned through one: for whether we understand the law as natural, which appears in their ages who already are able to use reason; or the written one, which was given through Moses, because neither was it able to vivify, and to liberate from the law of sin and of death, which was drawn from Adam, but rather added the increments of prevarication; For where the law is not, says the same apostle, neither is prevarication (Rom. 4:15). Accordingly since the law is also in the reason of the man who already uses the choice of liberty, naturally written in the heart, by which it is suggested that no one should do to another what he himself does not wish to suffer;

according to this law all are prevaricators, even those who did not receive the law given through Moses, concerning whom it is read in the Psalm: All the sinners of the earth accounted as prevaricators (Ps. 118:119). For not all the sinners of the earth prevaricated the law given through Moses; but yet unless they had prevaricated some law, they would not be called prevaricators: For where the law is not, neither is prevarication. The law having been prevaricated, therefore, which was given in paradise, man is born from Adam with the law of sin and of death, concerning which it is said: I see another law in my members repugning the law of my mind, and leading me captive in the law of sin, which is in my members (Rom. 7:23). Which however unless it be afterward strengthened by bad custom, is more easily conquered, not however except by the grace of God. But another law having been prevaricated, which is in the use of the reason of the rational soul in the age of the man already using reason, all the sinners of the earth become prevaricators. But that law also having been prevaricated which was given through Moses, sin abounds much more. For if a law had been given which could vivify, justice would altogether be from the Law. But Scripture has concluded all things under sin, that the promise from the faith of Jesus Christ might be given to those who believe: these words, if you recognize them, are apostolic. Concerning which law again he says: the law was placed for the sake of prevarication, until the seed should come to whom it was promised, disposed

through Angels in the hand of a Mediator (Gal. 3:19-21): commending Christ, by whose grace all are made safe, whether little ones from the law of sin and of death, with which we were born; or the older, who using badly the choice of the will prevaricated the natural law of reason itself; or those who received the law which was given through Moses, and prevaricating it were killed by the letter. But when a man prevaricates even evangelical precepts, let him be thought as one four days dead: yet not even concerning him is it to be despaired of on account of his grace, who did not speak slowly, but cried out with a great voice: Lazarus, come forth (John 11:43).

16. The Law, therefore, entered that sin might abound: either when men neglect what God commands; or when, presuming upon their own strength, they do not implore the help of grace, and add pride to their infirmity. But when by divine vocation they understand why they must groan, and invoke him in whom they rightly believe, saying: Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy (Ps. 50:1); and: I said, Lord, have mercy on me, heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee (Ps. 40:5); and: In thy justice quicken me (Ps. 30:2); and: Remove from me the way of iniquity, and out of thy law have mercy on me (Ps. 118:29); and: Let not the foot of pride come to me, and let not the hand of sinners move me (Ps. 35:12); and: Direct my goings according to thy word, and let no iniquity have dominion over me (Ps. 118:133) (for the steps of a man are directed by the Lord, and he shall like his way

[Ps. 36:23]); and many other things, which were written for this purpose, that they might admonish us that help is to be sought from him by whom the things commanded of us are to be fulfilled: when, therefore, a man has stretched himself out to him, and has so groaned, that which follows shall happen: Where sin abounded, grace did more abound (Rom. 5:20); and: Many sins are forgiven her, because she hath loved much (Luke 7:47): and the charity of God is poured forth in the heart, whence the fullness of the law may be accomplished; not by the strength of the will (arbitrium) which is in us, but by the Holy Spirit who is given to us. For he knew the Law well, who said: For I am delighted with the law of God, according to the interior man (homo interior); and yet he added: But I see another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind, and captivating me in the law of sin, that is in my members. Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God, by Jesus Christ our Lord. Why did he not rather say: By my free will (liberum arbitrium), except because liberty without grace is not liberty, but contumacy?

17. When, therefore, the Apostle had said: The law entered, that sin might abound: but where sin abounded, grace did more abound; he added in sequence: that as sin hath reigned in death, so also may grace reign by justice unto life everlasting, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Now when he had said: that as sin hath reigned in death; he did not say: By one man, or by the first man,

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

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

the law was not. He did not say: It was not; but: it was not imputed; because there was no law by which, as it rebuked, it might be demonstrated, whether the law of reason in the child, or the law of the letter in the people.

19. "But death reigned," he says, "from Adam unto Moses"; because not even the law given through Moses could take away the kingdom of death, which only the grace of Christ has removed. Now see over whom it reigned: "even over them," he says, "who have not sinned after the similitude of the transgression of Adam." Death, therefore, reigned even over those who have not sinned. But why it reigned, he shows when he says: "After the similitude of the transgression of Adam." For this is the better understanding of these words, that when he had said: "death reigned over them who have not sinned"; as if he were admonishing us why it reigned over them who have not sinned, he should add: "after the similitude of the transgression of Adam"; that is, because the similitude of the transgression of Adam was in their members. It can also be understood thus: "death reigned from Adam unto Moses, even over them who have not sinned after the similitude of the transgression of Adam": because in themselves, when they were already born, they did not yet use reason, which he used when he sinned, nor had they received a command which he transgressed, but were held bound by original vice alone, through which the kingdom of death is not in them alone, who, reborn by the grace of Christ, belong to his

kingdom; since temporal death, although it also is propagated from the original sin, destroys the body in them, but does not drag the soul to punishment, where he wished the kingdom of death to be understood: so that the soul reborn through grace may no longer die unto Gehenna, that is, not be alienated from the life of God, not be separated; but the temporal death of the body, even in those who are redeemed by the death of Christ, is left for a time for the exercise of faith, and the agony of the present struggle, in which even the martyrs have contended; but it shall be consumed also in the renovation of the body, which the resurrection promises. For there death shall be utterly swallowed up in victory (1 Cor. 15:54), from which now the grace of Christ takes away the kingdom, lest it drag the souls of its own to the punishments of hell (tartari). Some manuscripts indeed do not have, "over them who have not sinned"; but, "over them who have sinned, after the similitude of the transgression of Adam": by which words indeed this sense is in no way taken away. For according to this they are understood to have sinned "after the similitude of the transgression of Adam," according to what was said above, "in whom all have sinned." But yet the Greek manuscripts, from which the Scripture was translated into Latin, have more of that which we have said.

20. As to what he added concerning Adam, "who is a figure of him that was to come," this also is not understood in one way only. For either he is a figure of Christ by contrast, so that as in

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

tion of Christ dissolves even many sins, which the abundance of prevaricating iniquity added to that one; concerning which we have already disputed above.

21. Against these words of the Apostle and their sound understanding, do not yield to anyone, if you wish to live to Christ and in Christ. For if, as they say, the Apostle had commemorated these things for the purpose that we might understand that sinners belong to the first man for the reason that we did not draw sin from him by being born, but sin by imitating him; he would rather have put the devil, who both first sinned, and from whom the human race drew no progeny of substance, but followed him by imitation alone: whence he is called the father of the impious, just as Abraham is called our father because of the imitation of faith, not because of the origin of the flesh (John 8:38). For therefore it is said of the devil himself: "But they who are on his side imitate him" (Wisd. 2:25). Then if because of imitation the Apostle in this place had commemorated the first man, because he was the first sinner among men, so that he might therefore say that all men as sinners belong to him; why did he not put holy Abel, who was the first just man among men, to whom all the just would belong because of the imitation of justice? But he put Adam, against whom he put nothing except Christ; because just as that man by his sin vitiated his posterity, so that God-man by his justice saved his inheritance: the former by transmitting the uncleanness of the flesh, which the impious

devil could not do; the latter by giving the grace of the spirit, which the just Abel could not do.

22. We have said many things concerning these questions in our other works and ecclesiastical sermons: since there were even among us some who, wherever they could, would scatter these new seeds of their error; some of whom, through our ministry and that of our brethren, the mercy of the Lord has healed from that pestilence. Nor yet do I think some are lacking here, especially at Carthage: but they now murmur secretly, fearing the most well-founded faith of the Church. For one of them named Caelestius, in the church of that same city had already begun to creep into the honor of the presbyterate: but by the most faithful liberty of the brethren, because of these very disputations against the grace of Christ, he was brought even to an episcopal judgment. Yet he was forced to confess for the sake of infants to be baptized, that for them also redemption is necessary. In which, although he was unwilling to say anything more expressly concerning original sin, yet by the name of redemption itself he not a little prescribed for himself. For whence were they to be redeemed, unless from the power of the devil, in which they could not be, except by the obligation of original sin? Or by what price are they redeemed, except by the blood of Christ, of which it is most clearly written that it was shed for the remission of sins (Matt. 26:28)? But because he went away rather convicted and detested by the Church than corrected and pacified, I feared lest perhaps he

himself might be there who endeavors to disturb your faith: therefore I thought a commemoration of his name was to be made. But whether it be he himself, or other partners of his error: for they are more than we can hope; and where they are not refuted, they also seduce others to their sect, and thus they increase, so that I know not where they will break out: yet we prefer that they be healed in the structure of the Church, than be cut off from its body like incurable members, if yet necessity itself permits this. For it is to be feared lest more should rot, while the rotten are spared. But the mercy of our Lord is powerful, which may rather free them from this pestilence: which without doubt it will do, if they faithfully heed and hold that which is written: "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Joel 2:32).

CHAPTER IV.

23. Now hear a few things concerning the rich, which follows in your letter to be inquired into. For you have put this as their saying: "That a rich man remaining in his riches cannot enter the kingdom of God, unless he sells all his own, nor does it profit him if he happens to have done the commandments from those same riches." Our fathers Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, who migrated from this life so long ago, escaped the disputations of these men. For all these had not a few riches, as the most faithful Scripture testifies: yet he himself who was made poor for our sake when he was truly rich, predicted with a most true promise that many would come from

the east and the west, and would sit down not above them, or outside them, but with them in the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 8:11). And although the proud rich man, who was clothed in purple and fine linen, and feasted splendidly every day, was tormented in hell after he died: yet if he had had mercy on the ulcerous poor man, who lay despised before his gate, he himself would have merited mercy. And if for that poor man penury had been a merit, not justice; he certainly would not have been carried by the Angels into the bosom of Abraham, who had been rich here. But that it might be shown to us that in that one poverty was not honored by itself divinely, nor in that other were riches condemned, but in the former piety, in the latter impiety had its outcomes; so did the torment of fire receive the impious rich man, as yet the bosom of the rich man received the pious poor man (Luke 16:19-22). Who indeed when he lived here as a rich man, so held his riches, and so little valued them before the commands of God, that even by the immolation of his own son he was unwilling to offend God commanding, whom he both hoped and desired to be the heir of his riches (Gen. 22:1-10).

24. Here indeed they say, that the ancient fathers did not sell all that they had and give to the poor for this reason, because the Lord had not commanded this of them. For since the New Testament was not yet revealed, which it was not proper to happen except in the fullness of time, nor had their virtue been revealed; by which virtue God knew in their hearts that they

could very easily do this, he who bore so signal a testimony to them, that since he is the God of all saints, he deigned to speak of them as of his principal friends: "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob: this is my name forever" (Exod. 3:15). But after the great sacrament of piety was manifested in the flesh (1 Tim. 3:16), and the coming of Christ shone forth for the calling of all nations, in whom even those fathers had believed, but they kept the olive of this faith to be manifested in its own time, as in the root of that tree of which the Apostle speaks (Rom. 11:17), it was said to the rich man: "Go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me" (Matt. 19:21).

25. If they say these things, they seem to say something reasonable. But let them hear all, let them heed all; let them not open their ears in part, and be deaf in part. For to whom did the Lord command these things? Surely to that rich man who was seeking to receive counsel for attaining eternal life: for he had said this to the Lord: "What shall I do, that I may attain eternal life?" But he did not answer him: If thou wilt come unto life, go, sell all that thou hast; but: "If thou wilt come unto life, keep the commandments." Which when the youth, when they were commemorated to him by the Lord from the law, said that he had kept, and asked what was yet lacking to him, he received the answer: "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor." And lest he should think

that he would lose those things which he much loved in this way: "And thou shalt have," he said, "treasure in heaven." Then he added: "And come, follow me"; lest anyone, when he has done these things, should be thought to profit anything, if he does not follow Christ. But he indeed went away sad, who may have seen how he had kept those commands of the Law: for I think that he had answered that he had kept them more arrogantly than more truly. Nevertheless, the good master distinguished the commands of the law from that more excellent perfection: for there he said: "If thou wilt come unto life, keep the commandments"; but here: "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell all that thou hast," etc. Why then do we deny that the rich, although they are absent from that perfection, yet come unto life, if they have kept the commandments, and have given that it may be given to them, and have forgiven that it may be forgiven to them (Luke 6:37, 38)?

26. For we believe that the apostle Paul was a minister of the New Testament, when writing to Timothy he said: "Charge the rich of this world not to be high-minded (superbe sapere), nor to hope in the uncertainty of riches, but in the living God, who giveth us all things abundantly to enjoy. Let them do well, be rich in good works, give easily, communicate, lay up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may apprehend eternal life" (1 Tim. 6:17-19): concerning which it was also said to that youth: "If thou wilt come unto life." I think that in commanding these things, the

Apostle was instructing the rich, not deceiving them: who did not say: Charge the rich of this world to sell all that they have, give to the poor, and follow the Lord; but: "not to be high-minded, nor to hope in the uncertainty of riches." That pride led that rich man who despised the just poor man lying before his gate, and that hope in the uncertainty of riches, by which he thought himself happy because of his purple, fine linen, and splendid feasts, not the riches themselves, led him to the torments of hell.

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

28. But therefore, they say, was this said, because it was to come to pass that having heard the Gospel, the rich, having sold their patrimony

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

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

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

30. But if the Apostle had said: "Charge the rich of this world, not to be high-minded, nor to hope in the uncertainty of riches," so that they should sell all that they possess, and by distributing those prices to the indigent, should do what follows: "let them give easily, communicate, lay up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come," and does not believe that they can enter into the kingdom of heaven otherwise; he deceives those whose houses he so diligently composes with the soundness of doctrine, admonishing and commanding what sort

of persons wives (uxores) should show themselves to husbands (viri), husbands to wives, children (filii) to parents (parentes), parents to children, servants (servi) to masters (domini), masters to servants: for how can these things be done without a house, and without some domestic property?

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

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

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

and possessing all things [2 Cor. 6:10]), and in the future world they may possess eternal life; lest for the sake of these, having left Christ, they should be precipitated into eternal death.

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

34. For since everyone who renounces this world, without doubt renounces all things which are of it, so that he may be a disciple of Christ (for he himself, when he had premised similitudes concerning the costs necessary for building a tower, and concerning preparing for war against another king, added thus: "He who does not renounce all that is his, cannot be my disciple"

[Luke 14:33]); surely he renounces also his riches, if he has any, either so that, not loving them at all, he should distribute all of them to the indigent, and be unburdened of superfluous loads; or so that, loving Christ more, he should transfer his hope from them into him, and so use them, that giving easily and communicating, he should lay up treasure in heaven; and should be prepared, just as to relinquish parents and children and brothers and wife, in this way also to relinquish those things, if such a condition should be proposed, that unless having left Christ he could not have them. For if he renounces this world otherwise, when he comes to the sacrament of faith, he does what the blessed Cipher groans concerning the lapsed, saying: "Renouncing the world in words only, and not in deeds." Concerning this one indeed it is said, when coming temptation fears more to lose those things than to deny Christ: "Behold the man who began to build, and was not able to finish." He is also the one who, when his adversary was yet far off, sent legates seeking peace; that is, temptation not yet afflicting, but still imminent and threatening, so that he may not lack those things which he loves more, he consents to relinquish and deny Christ. And there are many such, who even think that the Christian religion ought to support them for increasing their wealth, and for multiplying earthly delights.

35. But such are not the rich Christians who, although they hold these things, are not yet so held by them that they prefer them to Christ; be-

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

36. Nor yet, because it is commanded them that they should hate even their own souls for Christ, do they have them to be sold, or to be poured out by hands brought upon themselves: but they are prepared to lose them, by dying for the name of Christ, lest having died they should live, by denying Christ. So also the riches, which they were not prepared to sell at the admonition of Christ, they ought to be prepared to lose for Christ, lest they perish with them having lost

Christ. We have from this rich men and most illustrious persons of both sexes sublimated by the glory of martyrdom. Thus many whom it had been irksome to be perfected before by the sale of their own things, have been suddenly perfected by the imitated passion of Christ; and they who had perfected some infirmity of flesh and blood by their riches, suddenly fought against sin for the faith even unto blood. But for those to whom the crown of martyrdom does not come, nor have they received so great and so illustrious a counsel of perfection concerning the selling of their things, and yet have been immune from damnable crimes and have fed the hungry Christ, given drink to the thirsty, clothed the naked, received the pilgrim; they shall not indeed sit sublimely with Christ as about to judge, but they shall stand at his right hand as about to be mercifully judged (Matt. 25:34-40). For blessed are the merciful, for God shall have mercy on them (Matt. 5:7). And judgment without mercy shall be done to him who has not done mercy: but mercy triumphs over judgment (James 2:13).

37. Therefore let these men cease to speak against the Scriptures, and in their exhortations let them so excite to greater things, that they do not condemn the lesser. For can they not otherwise persuade to holy virginity (virginitatem) by exhorting, unless they have condemned conjugal bonds, when as the Apostle teaches, everyone has his own proper gift from God, one thus, and another so (1 Cor. 7:7)? Let them walk, therefore, the way of perfection, having sold all their things

and mercifully bestowed them. But if they are truly the poor of Christ, and gather not for themselves, but for Christ, why do they punish his weaker members before they have received the judicial seats? For if they shall be such as those to whom the Lord says: "You shall sit upon twelve seats, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Matt. 19:28); and of such as those of whom the Apostle says: "Know you not that we shall judge Angels?" (1 Cor. 6:3); let them rather prepare themselves to receive not criminal but religious rich men into the eternal tabernacles, by whom they have been made friends from the mammon of iniquity (Luke 16:9). For I think that some of those who impudently and imprudently prate these things, are supported in their necessities by Christian and pious rich men. For the Church (Ecclesia) has in a certain way its soldiers (milites), and in a certain way provincials: whence the Apostle says: "Who ever serveth as a soldier at his own charges?" It has also a vineyard and planters, it has a flock and shepherds: whence consequently he says: "Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Who feedeth a flock, and perceiveth not of the milk thereof?" (1 Cor. 9:7). Although to dispute such things as these men dispute, is not to serve as a soldier, but to rebel; it is not to plant a vineyard, but to eradicate it; it is not to gather those to be fed, but to separate those to be lost from the flock.

38. But just as those who are fed and clothed by the religious services of the rich (for neither do they receive anything for their necessities

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

39. I who write these things, have vehemently loved the perfection of which the Lord spoke, when he said to the rich youth: "Go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me" (Matt. 19:21), and not by my own strengths, but by his grace helping I have so done. Nor indeed because I was not rich, shall it therefore be imputed to me less: for neither were the Apostles themselves, who first did this, rich. But he renounces the whole world who renounces both that which he has, and that which he desires to have. But how much I have progressed in this way of perfection, I indeed know better than any other man; but God more than I. And to

this purpose with what strengths I can I exhort others, and in the name of the Lord I have partners, who were persuaded of this through my ministry: yet so that primarily sound doctrine be held, nor should we judge those who do not do these things with vain contumacy, saying to them that it profits them nothing that they live chastely, although conjugally, that they rule their houses and families in a Christian way, that by works of mercy they lay up treasure for themselves for the future; lest by disputing these things, we be found not treaters of the holy Scriptures, but their accusers. Which therefore I have commemorated, because these men, when they are prohibited from saying such things by those who have not taken this counsel of the Lord, answer that they do not wish such things to be disputed, because they favor their own vices, and refuse to fulfill the Lord's precepts: as if—to say nothing of those who, although weaker, yet use riches religiously—even the covetous and avaricious themselves using these badly, and fixing a clayey heart in earthly treasure, since it is necessary that the Church carry them even until the end, like those nets carry bad fishes even unto the shore (Matt. 13:47, 48), were not more tolerable in it than these, who by so speaking and disseminating such things, wish themselves so to be seen as great, because they have sold their riches or whatever small patrimonies according to the precept of the Lord, that they endeavor to disturb and overturn his inheritance, which is dilated

and diffused even unto the ends of the earth, by this unsound doctrine.

CHAPTER V.

40. Whence because on this occasion, but yet briefly, I have already said what I feel also concerning the Church (Ecclesia) of Christ in this world, that is, because until the end of this world it is necessary that she carry both good and bad, since you also asked this among your questions, I will now at last conclude this long letter. Beware of swearing (jurationem) as much as you can. For it is better that it be not sworn even truly, than by the custom of swearing one should often fall into perjury (perjurium), and always be near to perjury. But those men, as much as I have heard some of them, are altogether ignorant of what it is to swear: for they think that they do not swear when they have in their mouth: "God knows" (2 Cor. 12:2); and: "God is witness" (Rom. 1:9, and Phil. 1:8); and: "I call God to witness upon my soul" (2 Cor. 1:23); because it is not said: "By God," and because such things are found in the apostle Paul. But even that was found there against them which they confess to be a swearing, where the Apostle says: "Daily I die, by your glory, brethren, which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord" (1 Cor. 15:31). For in the Greek manuscripts this is found to be altogether this swearing: lest anyone in the Latin language should understand it said: "by your glory," in the way it is said: "by my coming again to you"; and many similar things, where it is said "by" (per) something, and it is not a

swearing. But not therefore because the Apostle, a man most firm in the truth, swore in his Letters, ought swearing to be a game to us. For it is much safer, as I said, as far as pertains to us, that we never swear; that there be in our mouth: "It is, it is; No, no," as the Lord admonishes (Matt. 5:37). Not because it is a sin to swear truly: but because it is a most grave sin to swear falsely; into which he falls more quickly who has been accustomed to swear.

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

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

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

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

2. He also desired, which was granted to him, to be dissolved and to be with Christ (Phil. 1:23). For he was sick for sixteen days at his parents' house, and by the force of his memory he spoke

from the Scriptures through almost the whole sickness. But as he began to be near the end of his life, he sang psalms, all hearing him: "My soul longs and hastens for the courts of God" (Ps. 83:3); and after these things he sang again: "Thou hast anointed my head with oil; and how excellent is thy cup which inebriates (Ps. 22:5)!" There he was occupied; in this consolation he delighted himself. Then when he had begun to be loosed, he began to sign himself on the forehead, so that his hand descended to his mouth which he desired to sign for himself, when already the inner man, and well renewed from day to day, had dismissed the house of clay. To me so much joy accrued, that I think that, having dismissed his own body, he entered into my soul, and there provides me with a certain lucidity of his presence, because I rejoice too much in his liberation and security; it cannot be told. For I did not exhibit a light solicitude for him, fearing for the age of the youth. For I took care to ask from him, lest by chance he had been polluted by the contagion of a woman: he testified that he was free, the more so that our joy might be heaped up. He was loosed, therefore. We provided obsequies honorable enough, and worthy of such a soul; for during three days we praised the Lord together with hymns over his sepulcher, and on the third day we offered the Sacraments of redemption.

3. But behold, after two days a certain honorable widow, Urbica of Figentes, who said she had been a widow for twelve years, a handmaid of God (ancilla Dei), saw such a dream. She

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

4. I have narrated what was done. Now deign to hear the question, and teach what I seek. For the migration of that soul compels me to inquire into such things. When we are in the body, there is to us an interior sense skillful for the agility of our study; and the more vigilant and fervent, the more studious we have been, and yet it seems probable that we are retarded by the impediment of the body. But who will be able to narrate all the things which the soul suffers from the body? Amidst these crowds and troubles, coming from suggestions, from temptations, from necessities, and diverse calamities, the soul does not desert its fortitude: it resists, it conquers; sometimes it is

conquered. Yet because it remembers itself, being excited by such great labors, it is made more agile and more solicitous, and it breaks whatever knots of malice, and passes over to better things. What I say your Holiness deigns to understand. Therefore when we are in this life, we are impeded by such wants, and yet, as it is written, "we overconquer through him who loved us" (Rom. 8:37). Going out from the body, and escaping every burden and the agile sin, who are we?

5. And first I ask whether there is any body which does not desert an incorporeal thing, that is, the substance (substantia) of the soul itself, when it has dismissed this earthly body, lest by chance it be one of the four, either aerial or ethereal. For since the soul is incorporeal, if it lacks every body, it is now one of all. And where will that rich man clothed in purple be, and Lazarus full of sores? How also will they be discerned by merits, so that the one has punishment, the other joy, if one soul from all incorporeal ones should appear: if yet those things were not signified figuratively. Moreover, it is certain that those things which are held by places are held by bodies, as that rich man in the flame, and that poor man in the bosom of Abraham (Luke 16:19, 22). If there are places, there are bodies, and souls are in bodies; or if in a body punishments or rewards are in consciences. Should any one soul, made from many souls, be afflicted and rejoice in one, so that a substance (substantia) collected from many souls appears; or if this is said just as the incorporeal mind (animus) is one thing, and

in it is memory, and will, and intellect, and all these causes are incorporeal, and have a congruous portion of offices, nor yet does one impede the other. Somehow I think it can be answered, that both some punishments and some rewards accompany them in one substance collected from many souls.

6. Or if it is not so, what hinders if each soul, when it lacks this solid body, should have another body, so that the soul itself always animates some body; or to where does it make a transition, if there is any region to which necessity compels it to go? Since even the Angels (Angeli) themselves cannot be called many, if they are not numbered by bodies; as Truth itself says in the Gospel: "I could ask my Father that he should have sent me twelve legions of angels" (Matt. 26:53). Then since it is certain that Samuel was seen in a body, when he was excited at the petition of Saul (1 Sam. 28:14); and Moses, whose body was buried according to the Gospel, it is manifest that he came in a body to the Lord on the mountain (Matt. 17:3), when they had stood together. Although also in the apocrypha (apocryphis), and in the secrets of Moses himself, which scripture lacks authority, then when he ascended into the mountain that he might die, it was effected by the force of the body that there should be one thing which was committed to the earth, and another which was associated with the accompanying angel. But it does not press me enough to prefer the opinion of the apocrypha to those superior things defined. It must be seen

therefore, and tracked down either by authority or by reason, what is sought. But it is said that the future resurrection (resurrectio) shows that it lacked every body. Nor does it hinder enough, since those Angels, who are also invisible, when they wished to appear and be seen with bodies, and whatever that position of bodies may be, worthy of their spirits, yet they appeared to Abraham (Gen. 18:2) and to Tobit (Tobit 12:15). Thus it can happen that the resurrection of this flesh, which is rightly believed to be future, yet that soul is so rendered, that it is found never to have lacked some body. For since the body itself consists of four elements, it seems to lose one, namely the hot, when it seems to migrate from this body. For that which is earthy remains, and moisture is not lacking; nor is the element of cold matter absent: only the hot is taken away from it; which perhaps the soul itself draws with it, if it migrates from place to place. This meanwhile I would have said concerning the body.

7. It also seems to me that if, while placed in the body, as I have already said, he lives and uses a strenuous intention of mind, how much more unpedited, agile, vigorous, fervent, strenuous, and intent will he be, and he is made more capable and better, as he who while placed in the body tasted virtue! Which being laid aside, the cloud also being more wiped away, he is made entirely serene, placed in tranquility without temptation, may he see what he desired, may he embrace what he loved. May he also remember his friends, and recognize those whom he had already sent

before him, and those whom he left behind him: perhaps it is so; I do not know, I seek to learn. But it disturbs me enough if the soul itself receives a certain sleep (soporem), lest it be such as it is when it is constituted sleeping in the body, as if buried, and living only in hope: otherwise having nothing, knowing nothing; especially if it be pulsed by no dream. Which thing vehemently terrifies, and indicates the soul as if extinguished.

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

of this vision, who noticed a multitude of such persons coming out of the baptistery (baptisterio) in shining bodies, and afterwards prayers in the middle of the church itself. All these things, therefore, either favor our inquiry, or if they are fables (fabulae), it is a wonder: yet I would wish to know something of this matter, because they come, and visit, and are seen, dreams excepted.

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

10. The boy himself of whom we are treating, at the time when he was being loosed, proceeded as if exhibited in some way. For a certain classmate and fellow-excerptor (conlector) of his,

with whom he used to take dictation for me, who had already been taken from the body eight months before, is seen through a dream to have come. When he was asked by him who then discerned him why he had come, he said: "I have come to lead this friend of mine"; and so it was done. For also in that same house to a certain old man almost awake, a man appeared carrying in his hand a written laurel. But where that was seen, it is added still that after the exit of the boy, his father the priest (presbyter), together with the old man Theasius, had begun to be in the monastery (monasterio) for the sake of consoling themselves, but after the third day of the deceased boy, the same boy is seen to have entered the monastery, and he is asked by a certain brother through a certain dream whether he knew that he had been dead? He said he knew it. Whether he had been received by God? And this he related with great congratulation for himself. And when the cause was asked why he had come, he then said: "I am sent that I may fetch my father." He to whom these things were shown awakes and narrates them. It reaches even to the ear of the bishop Theasius. He, being moved, rebuked the one speaking, lest it should easily reach the ear of the priest and he be disturbed by such a message. Why more? After perhaps four days of the visitation, when he speaks, for he had felt a slight fever, there was no danger, the physician was away, who would testify that there was entirely no solicitude; but when he reclined himself on his bed, the same priest was loosed. Nor

do I keep silent, also on this very day on which the boy was being loosed, he asks his father for the peace, and asks a third time, and in each kiss he said to his father: "Father, let us give thanks to God"; and he compelled his father that he should have said it likewise with him, as if exhorting his companion to migrate from this life. For between both, seven days are numbered in the middle. What will come of such great things? Who will be the most faithful teacher of these hidden causes? The heat of my heart pours itself out to you in a time of distress. The dispensation of the exit of the boy and of his father is manifest, because "two sparrows do not fall to the ground without the will of the Father" (Matt. 10:29).

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

monastery, who said that we by reason labor to strive towards the intellect, but he and such as he remain in the very delight of contemplation.

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

LETTER CLIX.

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

To my most blessed Lord, and venerable and desirable brother and fellow-priest EVODIUS,

and to the brethren with you, AUGUSTINE, and the brethren with me, greeting in the Lord.

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

think that the soul goes out from the body with a body.

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

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

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

4. But on another night, behold that same youth appeared to him again, and asked of him whether he was recognized: he replied that he recognized him well and plainly. Then he asked where he had known him. Nor did memory fail what he replied likewise; and he narrated that whole vision, and the hymns of the saints to hear which he had come under his lead, with that facility with which he remembered most recent things. Here he inquired whether that which he had narrated, he had seen in dreams, or while awake: he replied, in dreams. But he said: "You recall well: it is true, you saw those things in dreams; but know that even now you see in dreams." When he had heard these things, he believed it to be so, and confirmed it by his response. Then he who was teaching the man added and said: "Where is your body now?" He replied: "In my bedroom." "Do you know," he said, "that in that same little body your eyes are now bound, and closed, and idle, and that you see nothing with those eyes?" He replied: "I know." Then he said: "What are therefore these eyes with which you see me?" To this he, not finding what he should reply, was silent. To him hesitating, he opened what he was striving to teach by these interrogations; and immediately: "Just as," he said, "those eyes of your flesh are certainly now vacant in one sleeping and lying in a little bed, nor do they work anything, and yet these are they with which you behold me, and you use this vision; so when you shall have died, while the eyes of your flesh act nothing, life will be in you by

which you live, and sense by which you perceive." Beware now henceforth lest you doubt that life remains after death." Thus the faithful man says the doubt of this matter was taken away from him: by whose teaching, if not by the providence (providentia) and mercy of God?

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

failed me. May you be strengthened in the mercy of the Lord, most blessed lord, and venerable and desirable brother.

LETTER CLX.

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

EVODIUS to Bishop AUGUSTINE, greeting.

1. That perfect reason (ratio) is that which provides the knowledge of all things, and especially of eternal things which are comprehended by the intellect: reason itself teaches and shows that this is eternal, and ought to have been eternal; that that is eternal which neither began, nor is changed, nor is varied: which reason must be eternal, not only because it teaches and demonstrates eternal things, but much more because eternity itself cannot be without reason; because, I think, there would be no eternity if reason itself had not been eternal. Then reason demonstrates that God is, or ought to have been, nor ought it to be otherwise than that God should be. Which certainly whether there were those who knew this, or were not, yet since God is eternal, it is not to be doubted that reason is eternal which would intend that God ought to have been, and so that it should demonstrate itself to be coeternal (coaeternam) with him.

2. Moreover, there are certain things which are compelled by reason that they should be, so that reason is prior, and the effect is posterior to that thing which reason shows will be: as for

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

3. What therefore is, if it can be said, first in God, reason, or God? But God will not be, unless there were reason which should teach that God ought to be. Reason also will not be, unless God shall be. Nothing therefore is there first, and last. Therefore this divine nature in some way has both reason and God together. Moreover, one

generates one, either reason God, or God reason. Moreover, subject, or in a subject perhaps reason and God may be said. God and reason, one in one. But well does God generate reason: because reason demonstrates that God is. Moreover, God is understood by reason as the Son (Filius) from the Father (Patre), and reason from God, as the Father from the Son. For also reason itself with God is God. For neither was God ever without reason, nor reason without God. For then he is God if there is reason, and then he is the Son if there is the Father; so that if reason be taken away, as it was said, which is not lawful to say, not even God himself is: for through his reason is the act and operation that he be God. Again let us say the same things. If reason was not, God was not; and if God is not, reason was not. Reason therefore and God are an everlasting thing: and God and reason in a similar way are an everlasting thing. Moreover, the connection and union of reason to God, and of God to reason, of the Father to the Son, of the Son to the Father, provide to themselves in some way principles and causes of existing; because the one cannot be without the other. Words fail, and whatever is said, is said to this end, lest there be silence. Whether moreover shall we call God the germ of reason, or reason the germ of God, because neither can the fruit be without the root, nor without the fruit is the root anything? (Let a likeness be drawn, so that something of understanding concerning God may be signified; for there lives also in a grain of wheat a fecundating reason, by which it is not permitted

to be sterile: but again if the grain of wheat were not, from what thing it should produce these, reason would not have.)

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

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

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

1. Through Jobinus who had been sent to the Marcianensian estate, I recently asked one question concerning reason and God by my sent letter; the response to which I have not yet merited. But because we have had in our hands reading the letters of your Holiness (Sanctitatis), one to the illustrious man Volusianus, and another to Italica, an illustrious woman in Christ; it occurred that in the former letter concerning the carnal conception of the Lord Jesus Christ our God in the Virgin, and the birth from her, you placed: "If reason is sought, it will not be wonderful; if an example is asked, it will not be singular:" and it seemed that something such could be said concerning every birth, both of a man or of any living creature or seed. For if the reason of it be sought, it will not be tracked down, and certainly it will be wonderful; and if an example be asked, because nothing such is in examples, it will be singular. For neither will the meeting of a man and a woman, or of any conception at any time, which is formed in secret, be able to be explained by reason: or truly

will any reason be found of seeds being born from the earth, first rotting, afterwards fructifying. For is this not also wonderful, that one worm without any parent, if something be required for singularity, should be found perfect within an apple formed by a virginal (virgineo) conception: whence I think it was said for an example: "I am a worm, and no man" (Ps. 21:7). Concerning conceptions therefore, whether of those joined together, or of singular ones, I know not what reason can be exhibited. Therefore not concerning the conception of the Virgin only is it not rendered, but I think that of no conception can the reason be paid.

2. If an example is asked: behold, even mares are said to bring forth from the wind, and hens from ashes, and ducks from water, and some other animals, to bring forth their own offspring without male seed. Certainly if they do not render them whole, yet they can conceive unviolated: how therefore is it placed, "If an example is asked, it will not be singular," when so many examples proceed? It is known to all that also in bodies, not only of females, but even of males, I say intrinsically, certain animals are born: does seed make the conception there also? Behold examples, behold miracles, of which reason is in no way rendered. Or if it is rendered to this, because in a human virgin nothing such ever happens; yet there are examples in other natures of things, because things born are also conceived without seeds, of which entirely a reason can in no way be rendered. Yet also in generation there is something

such to find which so brings forth births, that the integrity of nature is not violated. For I am accustomed to hear that the spider, without any male conception and corruption of birth, brings forth all those threads by which, being stretched out, it is accustomed to hang, according to the mode of its nature, wonderfully, and demonstrates it to have been granted to itself only as if singularly. Therefore if this also be sought, it is not only wonderful, but such examples of things can in no way be given. For I fear lest for this cause they themselves have preceded in examples, so that they who would not have believed that a virgin could conceive, might be convinced by these examples that it is indeed wonderful, but yet it will not be singular: for all the works of God are wonderful, because they were made in wisdom. If therefore this be objected to us, what shall we reply?

That also presses me most vehemently, which can be so said of the substance (substantia) of the clarified body of the Lord himself, because even it will be able to see the substance of God (for you said in the letter to Italica that it cannot; and it is certain): so that when we shall have begun to render a reason why it cannot, this be objected to us, because if that which was done by that conception and birth is wonderful and singular, neither the reason which they wish, nor an example is rendered, because it was granted to this one alone: just as a reason is not rendered to them concerning the conception and generation, but in that alone is found the singular; so concerning his vision a reason should not be

rendered, nor an example be required, but to him alone singularly is it allowed to see the substance of the divinity with a body. If it shall be replied that a reason can be rendered, because it may in no way be allowed for a corporeal thing to discern an incorporeal thing; I fear lest it be replied that even that conception can be explained by reason and be confirmed by examples. For either in men reason will fail, and examples will cease, and they will confirm that the Only-begotten (Unigenitum) can see God with his body: or if reason shall have been rendered here, it will follow that a reason can be rendered by some men too wise, both of that conception and of the consequent generation. What therefore should be replied to such, I inquire. For I do not sow strifes, but I ask how it should be replied to the insidious. I nevertheless so believe the conception and birth of the Virgin as I have always believed: and also that God cannot be seen by a clarified body, I gather somehow by reason. Yet I judge that those men should be met who either are accustomed to excite seditions from questions, or to wake up with fervent study to learning. Pray for us. May the peace and Charity of Christ make your Holiness perfect, mindful of us, holy lord and venerably most blessed brother.

LETTER CLXII.

Augustine replies to Evodius that the solution of the question proposed in Letter 160 is to be sought from other treatises published by himself. He confirms the opinion which he had

touched upon in Letter 159 concerning the soul loosed from the body, and concerning prodigious visions. Finally, he vindicates that sentence censured in the next preceding letter: "If reason is sought, it will not be wonderful," etc.

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

1. You ask many things from a man very much occupied; and, what is more serious, you think those things ought to be precipitated by dictating, which are so difficult that when dictated or written with great diligence, they can hardly be brought to the understanding even of such as you yourself are. To this is added that not only you and such as you are to be thought of as going to read what we write; but certainly also those who, endowed with less acute and less exercised genius, are yet carried by such study to know our letters, whether with a friendly or unfriendly mind, that they cannot be withdrawn from them at all. To one thinking these things you see how much care there ought to be in writing, especially concerning matters so great that even great men labor in them. But if, when I have something in my hands, it must be intermitted and deferred, that response may rather be made to those things which are required supervening; what will happen if, while response is being made even to them, others supervene? Does it please you that even these being omitted those should be taken up, and always those should be made

prior which arise posterior, and it should happen to terminate those alone while they are being written something should not supervene which is sought? Which that it should happen to me is most difficult; but I do not think this pleases you. I ought not therefore to have interrupted other things when yours had supervened, just as nor yours if others again should rush in; and yet I am not permitted to preserve this justice. For behold, that I might rewrite these very things to you, by which I might admonish you of this, I intermitted what I was doing, and turned my mind to this letter from another great intention.

2. Moreover, it was easy to send back to you this excuse, not unjust as I think, put into letters; but to answer your inquiries is not so easy: and I think in those very treatises which now hold me most intent, there will not be lacking certain places where I may expedite these very things which you require, if the Lord shall favor. Already even from those questions which you just now sent, many are solved in those books which I have not yet published, whether concerning the Trinity (Trinitate), or concerning Genesis (Genesi). Although if you re-read those things which have for a long time been known to you, or, unless I am deceived, were, because perhaps you have forgotten those things which I composed while you were conferring and conversing with me, whether concerning the Quantity of the Soul (Animae Quantitate), or concerning Free Will (Libero Arbitrio); you will find whence you may dissolve, even without my work, your doubts,

some labor of thought being applied, namely, so that consequences may be woven to those things which were there brought to a clear and certain understanding. You have also the book concerning True Religion (Vera Religione), which if you should recall and perceive, it would never seem to you that God is compelled by reason to be, or that it is effected by reasoning that God ought to be. Since in the ratio of numbers, which certainly we have in daily use, if we say: "Seven and three ought to be ten," we speak less considerately; for they ought not to be ten, but they are ten. Concerning which things therefore it may rightly be said that they ought to be, whether they now are, or that they may be, we have sufficiently discussed as much as I think in those books which I commemorated. For a man ought to be wise, if he is, that he may remain; if he is not yet, that he may become: but God ought not to be wise, but is.

3. Also those things concerning visions, which I wrote to you very recently, and which you mention were subtly expressed but have entangled you in greater questions, review again and again, and consider more diligently; let your consideration not merely pass through them, but dwell in them; and from there perhaps you will somehow conjecture how the soul is present or absent. For in those visions it lingers during dreams, when it is absent from the sense and the presence of perceiving which it provides to the eyes while awake: moreover, if a greater power should increase this absence from the eyes—that is, as if from the lights of the body—which occurs when we sleep,

so that all that is there is withdrawn, it is death. Just as, therefore, it departs from the sense of perceiving to the visions of dreams without any body, unless perhaps we think that those things seen in dreams are corporeal, and that we ourselves are carried and brought back among them with some body; which I think no longer seems so to you: so if it should be entirely withdrawn and absent, which happens in death, it must not be thought to take away some body from the body with itself. For if it did take one away, surely even when we sleep and it departs from the eyes, in as much as it leaves them, it would take the eyes away with it—however much more subtle, yet still corporeal; which it does not do. Nevertheless, it takes away with itself certain things most similar, but not corporeal, by which it perceives most similar visions in dreams, but not corporeal ones themselves.

4. Furthermore, if anyone should contend that even the visions of dreams which appear similar to bodies are nothing but corporeal, he seems to himself to be saying something, nor is that slowness of wit easily refuted; for indeed it belongs to many who are even not moderately sharp: because they attend too little to how much the images of bodies can do, which are formed in the spirit and are not bodies at all. But when they are compelled to gaze upon them, if they have correctly observed and discovered that they are not corporeal but most similar to bodies, they are nevertheless not immediately able to give a reason concerning these, by what causes and in

what manner they are formed, or finally by what nature of their own they subsist, or in what subject they are: whether they are formed in the mind as letters from ink on parchment, where each is a substance—namely, the parchment and the ink; or like a seal in wax, or any figure for which the wax is the subject, that thing being in the subject; or whether these things are formed in our spirit in both ways, sometimes in this way, and at other times in that way.

5. For not only are those things moved which are absent from the senses of the body and are found in our memory, or which we ourselves—as it pleases us—create, arrange, increase, diminish, and vary in position, appearance, motion, and in innumerable qualities and forms. Such things perhaps are even those by which we are deluded while sleeping, when we are not divinely admonished; except that we do these things willingly, whereas we suffer those things beyond our choice. Not only do these move, which someone might not absurdly think happen in the mind from the mind itself (although this too occurs through more hidden causes, by which it is brought about that this rather than that comes into the sight of the mind); but also what the prophet says: *And the Angel who spoke in me said to me* (Zech. 1:9). For it is not to be believed that voices came from without to the corporeal ears of the Prophet, when he says, *who spoke in me*, not, *to me*. Were they voices produced from the spirit, similar to corporeal ones, such as we produce when, silent within ourselves, we

run through many things from memory, often even singing, yet issued by the Angel suggesting them to him? And what is written in the Gospel: *Behold, the Angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, saying* (Matt. 1:20): For how did he appear? Was it an angelic body to closed eyes (for to Abraham while awake they appeared in such a way that he even felt them by touching, when he washed their feet [Gen. 18:4])? Or was it spirit to the spirit of the sleeper in some appearance similar to a body, just as we ourselves seem to move in such a figure even through places while dreaming, far differently than the limbs lying on the beds are moved?

6. These things are therefore wondrous because they have a reason more hidden than can be seen or rendered by man to man. For those are the causes of admiration, when either the reason for each thing is hidden, or the thing itself is not customary because it is either singular or rare. For that cause of hidden reason, I said in the letter which you mention you have read (Letter 137, to Volusianus), when I was answering those who deny that it is to be believed that a virgin gave birth to Christ and remained a virgin: *If a reason is sought, it will not be wonderful*; for this was said not because the thing lacks a reason, but because it is hidden from those for whom God wished this to be wonderful. From another cause of admiration, indeed, which is because something unusual occurs, it is written of the Lord that he wondered at the Centurion's faith; for no reason of any thing could be hidden

from him, but his wonder was put for the praise of one whose equal had not appeared among the Hebrew people: hence the wonder itself was sufficiently explained when the Lord said, *Amen I say to you, I have not found such great faith in Israel* (Luke 7:9).

7. But what I added in the same letter, *If an example is sought, it will not be singular*; in vain you seemed to yourself to have found examples in the little worm which is born in an apple, and the spider which brings forth the thread of its weaving with its body as if intact. For some things are said wittily for the sake of a certain similarity, others more remotely, others more fittingly; but Christ alone was born of a virgin: from which you already understand, as I think, why I said this was without example. Thus all things have their causes and their right and blameless reasons, which God works whether customary or uncustomary. But when these causes and reasons are hidden, we wonder at what is done; but when they are open, we consequently say that they are done appropriately or fittingly; and that it is not to be wondered at that those things were done which reason required should be done. Or, if we wonder, we wonder not by being stunned at the unexpected, but by praising the excellence: in which kind of admiration that Centurion was praised. Nor is the sentence to be rebuked in which it was said, *If a reason is sought, it will not be wonderful*; since there is another kind of wonder, even when the reason is manifest to the one wondering: for neither is the sentence

blamed in which it was said, *God tempts no one* (James 1:13), because there is another kind of temptation, on account of which it was likewise rightly said, *The Lord your God tempts you* (Deut. 13:3).

8. Nor let anyone think it can deservedly be said that the Father is seen by the Son with bodily eyes, and not rather as the Son by the Father, because those who think this, when they have failed in rendering a reason, can themselves say, *If a reason is sought, it will not be wonderful*; for this was said, not because there is no reason, but because it is hidden. But he who undertakes to refute those holding such opinions ought to demonstrate that there is no reason for that—not a miracle, but an error. For just as there is no reason by which the nature of God should die, or be corrupted, or sin; and when we say God cannot do this, we do not derogate from his power, but we praise his eternity and truth: so when we say he cannot be seen with bodily eyes, the reason is not hidden but open to those understanding well, by which it is clear that God is not a body, nor can anything be perceived with bodily eyes unless it be perceived by the interposition of some interval: but that this is nothing but a body, and that substance which is less in a part than in the whole; which it ought to be a crime to believe concerning God even for those who are not yet able to understand this.

9. The reason for various changes is hidden; and from here arises the forest of miracles of all visible things: yet does it for that reason remain

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

LETTER CLXIII.

Evodius proposes some questions to Augustine.

EVODIUS, bishop, to AUGUSTINE, bishop.

A while ago I sent questions to your Holiness: one concerning reason and God, I think through Jobinus who serves the handmaids of God; another concerning the body of the Savior, about which it is considered that he sees the substance of God. I now state the third: the rational soul which the Savior assumed with a body, is it in one of those opinions which are proposed when the origin of the soul is sought, if any there can be supported by truth; or although it is rational, is it nevertheless not of those species which are spoken of regarding the soul of animals, but held in another? I ask the fourth: who are those spirits, concerning whom Peter places a testimony in his Epistle about the Lord, saying: "Put to death in the flesh, but made alive by the spirit: in which also he came and preached to those spirits who were in prison" (1 Pet. 3:18, 19), and the rest; inserting this, that they were in hell, and Christ descending evangelized all, and liberated all from darkness and punishments through grace, so that from the time of the resurrection of the Lord, judgment is expected, with hell being emptied. Therefore, what may seem to your Holiness in this matter, I desire to know.

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

fellow bishop EVODIUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

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

2. Since he had said that Christ was put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit; he immediately added, *In which also he came and preached to those spirits who were shut up in prison, who were once incredulous, when the patience of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was being built, in which a few, that is eight souls, were saved through water:* then he added and said, *Which also now Baptism in a similar form has saved you* (1 Pet. 3:18, 21). It moves me therefore, if the Lord, when he died, preached to the spirits shut up in prison among those in hell, what good those alone deserved, who were then infidels when the ark was being built, so that the Lord should descend to the

lower regions for them. For after the times of Noah, many thousands of so many nations died until the passion of Christ, whom he could have found among those in hell: not certainly of those who had believed in God, like the Prophets and Patriarchs of the stock of Abraham, like Noah himself of old and all his house, which was saved through water, except perhaps one son, who was afterwards reproved; just as also besides the progeny of Jacob, there were others who believed in God, like Job, like the city of Nineveh, and if there are any others, who either appear in the Scriptures or are hidden in the human race: but I speak of those many thousands of men who, being ignorant of God and given to the worship of demons or idols, departed from this life from the times of Noah until the passion of Christ; whom Christ finding among those in hell, how did he not preach to them, but only to those who were incredulous in the days of Noah while the ark was being built? Or if he preached to all, why did Peter mention only those, passing over the so innumerable multitude of the rest?

CHAPTER II.

3. And that the Lord indeed, being put to death in the flesh, came into hell, is sufficiently clear. For neither can it be contradicted, either by the prophecy which said, *Because you will not leave my soul in hell;* which, lest anyone should dare to understand otherwise, in the Acts of the Apostles the same Peter explains: or by those words of the same Peter, in which he asserts that

he *loosed the sorrows of hell, in which it was impossible for him to be held* (Ps. 15:10, and Acts 2:24, 27). Who therefore but an infidel would deny that Christ was among those in hell? But if it moves one how it is to be understood that the sorrows of hell were loosed by him (for he had not begun to be in them as if in chains, and thus loosed them as if he had loosed the chains with which he had been bound); it is easy to understand that they were loosed in the same way as the snares of hunters can be loosed, so that they do not hold; not because they did hold. It can also be thus, that we believe he loosed those sorrows by which he himself could not be held, but by which others were held, whom he knew were to be liberated.

4. But who these may be, it is rash to define. For if we should say that all those without exception who were found there were then liberated, who would not rejoice if we could show this? especially on account of certain ones who have become familiarly known to us through their literary labor, whose eloquence and genius we admire; not only the poets and orators, who in many places of their small works showed that those same false gods of the nations were to be despised and laughed at, and sometimes even confessed one and the true God, although they worshipped those superstitious things with the rest; but even those who said these things not by singing or declaiming, but by philosophizing: many also whose writings we do not have, but in whose writings we have learned of lives praise-

worthy in a certain manner, so that, except for the worship of God, in which they erred worshipping vain things which had been publicly established to be worshipped, and serving the creature rather than the Creator, in other morals of parsimony, continence, chastity, sobriety, contempt of death for the safety of the fatherland, and faith kept not only to citizens but even to enemies, they are deservedly proposed to be imitated. All of which things indeed, when they are not referred to the end of right and true piety, but to the empty pride of human praise and glory, even they themselves become empty in a certain way, and are rendered sterile: nevertheless, by a certain natural quality of mind they so delight, that we would wish those in whom these things were to be liberated from the torments of hell either especially or with the rest, unless human sense were one thing, and the justice of the Creator another.

5. Since these things are so, if the Savior loosed all from there, and, as you wrote inquiring, *emptied hell, so that henceforth the final judgment should already be expected:* these are the things which in this matter not undeservedly move me, which are accustomed to occur to me while thinking in the meantime. First, by what authority is that opinion confirmed. For what is written, that in the death of Christ it was done with the *sorrows of hell loosed:* can be understood to pertain to himself, that he loosed them thus far—that is, made them void—lest he himself should be held by them, especially because it follows, *in which it was impossible for him to be held.* Or if

the cause is sought why he wished to come into hell, where those sorrows were by which he could not at all be held, because he was, as it is written, *free among the dead* (Ps. 87:6), in whom the prince and ruler of death found nothing that was due to punishment: this namely, what is written, *with the sorrows of hell loosed,* can be understood not in all, but in certain ones, whom he judged worthy of that liberation; so that it should neither be thought that he descended there in vain, to profit none of those who were held shut up there, nor yet is it consequent that what divine mercy and justice granted to certain ones, should be thought to have been granted to all.

CHAPTER III.

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

so that when the Lord had come into hell, they might be loosed from those sorrows.

7. But in what way it may be understood that Abraham, into whose bosom also that pious poor man was received, was in those sorrows, I indeed do not see: perhaps those who are able can explain. But that only two, that is, Abraham and Lazarus, were in that bosom of memorable rest before the Lord descended into hell, and that of these two only it was said to that rich man, *Between you and us a great chaos is fixed, so that those who wish to pass from here to you cannot, nor pass from there to here* (Luke 16:26), I know not whether there is anyone to whom it would not seem absurd. Furthermore, if more than two were there, who would dare to say that the Patriarchs and Prophets were not there, to whom such notable testimony of justice and piety is given in the Scripture of God? What then he performed for these by loosing the sorrows of hell, in which they were not, I do not yet understand; especially because I have not been able to find the lower world (inferi) itself anywhere in the Scriptures called in a good sense. But if it is nowhere read in the divine authorities, that bosom of Abraham, that is, the habitation of a certain secret rest, is surely not to be believed to be any part of hell. Although in these very words of so great a master, where he says Abraham said, *Between you and us a great chaos is fixed,* it sufficiently appears, as I think, that the bosom of so great happiness is not some part, and as it were a member of hell. For what is the great chaos, unless some gulf, greatly sep-

arating those things between which it not only is, but also is fixed? Wherefore if holy Scripture had said that the dead Christ had come into that bosom of Abraham, without naming hell and its sorrows, I wonder if anyone would dare to assert that he descended to the lower world.

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

ficiently explained by apostolic understanding, by which it was said: *You will not leave my soul in hell* (Ps. 15:10).

9. I know that it seems to certain ones, that by the death of the Lord Christ such a resurrection was already granted to the just, as is promised to us in the end; because it is written, that by that earthquake in which at his passion the rocks were rent and the monuments were opened, many bodies of the just arose, and were seen with him when he arose in the holy city (Matt. 27:51-53). Who surely, if they did not sleep again with their bodies laid back, it must be seen how Christ is understood as the *firstborn from the dead* (Rev. 1:5), if so many preceded him in that resurrection. But if it is answered that this was said by anticipation, so that the monuments indeed should be understood to have been opened by that earthquake, while Christ was hanging on the cross, but that the bodies of the just arose not then, but when he first had arisen: although then, as I said, it would have been added by anticipation, so that both Christ may be believed without ambiguity to be the firstborn from the dead, and it was immediately granted to those just ones that he going before they should rise into eternal incorruption and immortality; that yet remains which may move me, how it could be said by Peter, which surely was most truly said, when by that prophecy he asserted that it was predicted not of David, but of Christ, that his flesh should not see corruption; and what he added concerning David, that his monument was among them

(Acts 2:27, 29): whence he surely would not convince them, if his body were not there already; because if even before in his recent death he had arisen, and his flesh had not seen corruption, that monument could nonetheless remain. But it seems hard that David should not have been in that resurrection of the just, if eternal things were already given to them, from whose seed Christ is so often, and with such evidence, and with such honor commended. That also will be endangered which is said to the Hebrews concerning the ancient just, *Because they provided better things for us, lest without us they should be made perfect* (Heb. 11:40); if they are already established in that incorruption of the resurrection, which is promised for our perfecting in the end.

CHAPTER IV.

10. Why therefore Peter wished to mention those only, who being shut up in prison the Gospel was preached to them, who in the days of Noah while the ark was being built were incredulous, you see how obscure it is, and what things move me lest I should dare to affirm anything from here. Hither it is added, that when the apostle had said, *Because also baptism now in a like form saves you; not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the interrogation of a good conscience toward God by the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who is at the right hand of God, swallowing up death, that we might be made heirs of eternal life, having gone into heaven, with Angels and Powers and Virtues subjected

to him;* immediately he added, *Christ therefore having suffered in the flesh, be you also armed with the same knowledge; because he who has suffered in the flesh, has ceased from sins, that now he may live the rest of the time in the flesh, not by the desires of men, but by the will of God:* then he says, *For the time past is sufficient to have fulfilled the will of men for those walking in lusts, and concupiscences, and drunkenness, revelings, drinkings, and unlawful services of idols, in which they wonder that you do not run together into the same confusion of luxury, blaspheming.* Who shall render an account to him who is ready to judge the living and the dead: these things being said he subjoins, *For on this account also it was preached to the dead, that they might indeed be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.*

11. Whom would that depth not move? To the dead he says it was preached: whom surely if we shall have understood as those who have gone out of the body, those I think will be they of whom he said above, *Who were incredulous in the days of Noah;* or certainly all whom Christ found in the lower world. What therefore does it mean, *that they might indeed be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit?* how are they judged in the flesh, which they have not, if they are in the lower world; or which they have not yet received, if they have even been loosed from the sorrows of hell? For neither if, as you say in inquiring, *hell was emptied,* are all even who were then there to be

believed to have risen in the flesh; or those who arising appeared with the Lord, did they for this receive the flesh, that in it they might be judged according to man: which I do not see how it can be accepted even concerning those who were incredulous in the days of Noah; for it is not written that they lived in the flesh, nor can it be believed that therefore the sorrows of hell were loosed, so that those who were liberated from there should receive the flesh to pay the penalty. What is it therefore, *that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit?* or was this perhaps performed for those whom Christ found in the lower world, that through the Gospel they might be quickened in the spirit, although in the future resurrection they are to be judged in the flesh, so that through some punishment of the flesh they might pass into the kingdom of God? But if it is so, why is this said only of those who formerly did not believe in the days of Noah, and not also of the rest whom the visitation of Christ found there, who lived again in the spirit through the preaching of the Gospel, afterwards to be judged in the flesh by a transitory punishment? But if we shall have accepted it concerning all, the question remains, why Peter mentioned those only, who were then incredulous when the ark was being built.

12. That also moves me, because those who attempt to render a reason concerning this matter, say that for this cause Christ descended to the lower world, that for those who were found there, those penal places should be emptied as it were

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

13. Unless perhaps it should be said that also those who after the Lord's resurrection died, or are dying, before the Gospel was announced to them, could have been able or are able to hear there in the lower world, that they may believe there what is to be believed concerning the truth of Christ, and they themselves also may have remission and salvation, which those merited to whom Christ announced it there. For neither

because Christ ascended again from the lower world, for that reason was his fame extinguished there; for from here also he ascended into heaven, and yet by his announcement, those who shall believe in him will be saved. For on that account indeed he was exalted, and a name was given to him which is above every name, that in his name every knee should bow, not only of those in heaven and on earth, but also of those in the lower world (Phil. 2:9, 10). But if we admit this opinion, by which it can be thought that men, who when they were living believed not at all, can believe in Christ in the lower world, who will bear the consequences of such absurdities, and things contrary to the faith? First, lest we should seem to grieve in vain for those who have gone out of the body without this grace, and in vain to take care, and instantly to exhort that men should perceive it before they die, lest they be punished with eternal death. Or if they only believe uselessly and fruitlessly in the lower world, who when the Gospel was announced to them refused to believe here; but it will profit those to believe, who here did not despise what they were not at all able to hear; another more absurd thing follows, that the Gospel is not to be preached here, since surely all are about to die, and without any guilt of a despised Gospel they ought to come to the lower world, that it may be able to profit them, when they shall have believed there: to think which is of impious vanity.

CHAPTER V.

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

15. Consider however lest perhaps that whole matter which the apostle Peter says concerning the spirits shut up in prison, who in the days of Noah did not believe, should not at all pertain to the lower world; but rather to those times whose form he translated to these times. For that thing performed was a form of things to come, so that those who now do not believe the Gospel, while the Church is being built among all nations, should be understood to be like those who then did not believe when the ark was being built: but those who believed, and are saved by Baptism, should be compared to those who then in the

same ark were saved by water; whence he says, *So also baptism in a like form saves you.* To this likeness of form, therefore, let us also adapt the rest concerning the incredulous, and let us not suspect that the Gospel was preached in the lower world for making and liberating the faithful, or even is still preached, as if the Church were established there also.

16. To that sense therefore which moves you, those seem to have been drawn who believed that Peter thought this, because he said, *preached to the spirits shut up in prison,* as if the spirits cannot be understood as the souls, which then were in the flesh, and were shut up in the darkness of ignorance as if in a prison; from what kind of prison he desires himself to be liberated who says, *Bring my soul out of prison, that it may confess to your name* (Ps. 141:8); which elsewhere is called the shadow of death: from which they were surely liberated not in the lower world, but here, concerning whom it is written, *To those who sat in the shadow of death, light has arisen to them* (Isa. 9:2). But it was preached in vain in those days of Noah to them, because they did not believe, when the patience of God waited for them through the time of so many years in which that same ark was built (for its very building was in a certain way a preaching); even as now those like them do not believe, who under the same form are shut up in the darkness of ignorance as if in a prison, looking in vain at the Church being constructed in the whole world, while judgment is imminent, as if a deluge by

which then all the incredulous perished: for the Lord says, *As in the days of Noah, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man. They ate, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage, until Noah entered into the ark; the deluge came, and destroyed all* (Luke 17:26). But because that thing performed also signified a future thing, therefore the deluge there signified both Baptism to the faithful, and punishment to the infidels: even as in a figure not of a thing performed, but only of a thing said, what is written concerning the stone (Ps. 117:22; Isa. 8:14, and 28:16; Dan. 2:34, 45; Matt. 21:44; Luke 20:17; Acts 4:11; Rom. 9:33, etc.), by which Christ was signified, two certain things were foretold, both a stumbling-block to the infidels, and a building to the faithful. But sometimes in the same figure either performed or said, also two things signify some one thing; as the faithful were signified by the wood which was adapted into the building of the ark, and the same also by the eight souls which were liberated in the same ark: as in that evangelical similitude concerning the sheepfold, the same Christ is both the shepherd and the door (John 10:1, 2).

CHAPTER VI.

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

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

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

before came in the spirit to whom he wished, admonishing them by visions, as he wished, surely in the spirit, by which spirit also he was quickened, when in his passion he was put to death in the flesh. For what is it that he was quickened by the spirit, unless that the same flesh, in which alone he had been put to death, rose again by the quickening spirit?

CHAPTER VII.

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

for the rest, which however he mixed not with the flesh of sin, but with the likeness of the flesh of sin (Rom. 8:3). For he took from the Virgin the true substance indeed of flesh; yet not the flesh of sin, because not from carnal concupiscence, either sown or conceived; mortal surely, and changeable through ages, as most like to the flesh of sin without sin.

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

Hence also that which was afterwards said concerning the incredulous, *Who shall render an account to him who is ready to judge the

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

22. He to whom this exposition of the words of Peter is displeasing, or to whom although it is not displeasing, yet it does not suffice, let him seek to understand them according to the lower

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

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

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

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. At last I have received from Africa the letters of your Unanimity; and I do not repent of the impudence with which, while you were silent, I frequently pressed my epistles, that I might merit a reply, and might know that you are safe, not by others announcing it, but by your own speech especially. Concerning the state of the soul, I remember your little question, or rather the greatest ecclesiastical question: Whether it has fallen from heaven, as Pythagoras the philosopher and all the Platonists and Origen think; or from God's own substance, as the Stoics, Mani, and the Spanish heresy of Priscillian suspect; or whether they are kept in the treasury of God, founded of old, as certain Ecclesiastics confide with foolish persuasion; or whether they are made daily by God and sent into bodies, according to that which is written in the Gospel, 'My Father works until now, and I work (John 5:17)'; or surely from a source (ex traduce), as Tertullian, Apollinaris, and the greatest part of the Westerners assert; so that just as body is born from body, so soul is born from soul, and subsists in a similar condition with the brute animals. Concerning which, what seemed right to me, I know that I have written in the booklets against Rufinus, against that book which he gave to Anastasius of holy memory, bishop of the Roman Church; in which by a slippery and subtle, or rather foolish confession, while he strives to mock the simplicity of the auditors, he mocked his own faith, or rather perfidy: which books I think your holy parent Oceanus has; for they were published long ago,

responding to many books of Rufinus against calumnies. Certainly you have there the holy and erudite man, Bishop Augustine, who will be able to teach you with a living voice, as they say, and to explain his own, or rather through himself our opinion.

CHAP. II.

2. I wished long ago to approach the volume of Ezekiel, and to return the most frequent promise to studious readers; but in the very beginning of dictating, my mind was so confused by the devastation of the western provinces, and especially of the city of Rome, that according to the common proverb, I was ignorant also of my own name: and for a long time I was silent, knowing it was a time of tears. But in this year, when I had explained three books, a sudden incursion of barbarians, of whom your Virgil says, 'And the widely wandering Barcaei' (Virg. Aeneid IV), and holy Scripture of Ishmael, 'He shall dwell against the face of all his brethren' (Gen. 16:12), so overran the limit of Egypt, Palestine, Phoenicia, and Syria, like a torrent dragging all things with it, that we could scarcely escape their hands by the mercy of Christ. But if, according to the renowned orator, 'laws are silent among arms' (Cic. pro Milone); how much more the studies of the Scriptures, which require both a multitude of books, and silence, and the diligence of copyists, and what is proper, the security and leisure of those dictating! I have therefore sent two books to my holy daughter Fabiola, whose copies you will be able

to borrow from her if you wish. For on account of the narrows of time, I could not transcribe others: which when you have read and seen the vestibules, the conjecture will be easy, of what kind the future house itself will be. But I believe in the mercy of God who helped us in the most difficult beginning of the aforementioned work, that he himself may help also in the penultimate parts of the Prophet, in which the wars of Gog and Magog are narrated (Ezek. 38, and 39); and in the last parts, in which the building, variety, and measure of the most sacred and inexplicable temple is described (Id. 40-43).

CHAP. III.

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

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

I wrote also two books to Jerome the presbyter dwelling in Bethlehem: one concerning the Origin of the Soul of man; the other concerning the Sentence of the apostle James, where he says,

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

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

Augustine to Jerome, reviewing various opinions on the origin of the soul, desires to be taught which is especially to be held; and how that can

be defended against the dogma of the Pelagians which he almost insinuated to be his own in the former epistle, that individual new souls are made for those being born.

CHAPTER I.

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

2. Behold, there has come to me a religious youth, a brother in Catholic peace, a son in age, our fellow-priest (compresbyter) in honor, Orosius, vigilant in genius, ready in speech, burning in zeal, desiring to be a useful vessel in the house

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

CHAPTER II.

3. Receive therefore those things which I ask you not to be reluctant to open and discuss. The question concerning the soul moves many, among whom I also confess myself to be. For

what I most firmly hold concerning the soul, I will not keep silent: then I will subjoin what I wish to be still explained to me. The soul of man is immortal, according to a certain manner of its own. For it is not in every way like God, of whom it is said that He alone has immortality (1 Tim. 6:16). For the holy Scripture commemorates many deaths of the soul; whence is that saying, 'Let the dead bury their dead' (Matt. 8:22): but because it thus dies, alienated from the life of God, so that it nevertheless does not altogether cease to live in its own nature; thus it is found mortal for some cause, so that it is also said to be immortal not without reason. The soul is not a part of God. For if it were this, it would be in every way unchangeable and incorruptible. Which if it were, it would neither fail for the worse, nor progress for the better; nor would it begin to have in itself anything which it did not have, or cease to have what it had, as far as pertains to its own affections: but how otherwise it is, there is no need of testimony from without; whoever observes himself, acknowledges it. But it is said in vain by those who wish the soul to be a part of God, that this its blemish and baseness which we see in the most wicked men, this finally its infirmity and sickness which we feel in all men, is not in it from itself, but from the body: what does it matter whence it is sick, since if it were unchangeable, it could not be sick from anywhere? For what is truly unchangeable and incorruptible can be changed or corrupted by the approach of no thing: otherwise not only Achilles, as the

fables report, but all flesh would be invulnerable, if no accident could happen to it. It is not therefore a nature unchangeable, which in some way, for some cause, in some part is changeable: but it is a sin to believe God to be anything but truly and supremely unchangeable. Therefore the soul is not a part of God.

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

ertheless feels as a whole: for when something is touched in the living flesh with a tiny point, although that place is not only not of the whole body, but scarcely seen in the body, it nevertheless does not escape the whole soul; nor does that which is felt run through all parts of the body, but is felt only there where it happens. Whence therefore does that which does not happen in the whole soon reach the whole, unless because it is whole also there where it happens, and it does not desert the other parts so that it may be whole there? For those also live by its presence, where nothing such has happened. Which if it should happen, and both should happen at once, both would equally not escape the whole at the same time. Therefore, both in all parts at once, and in individual particles of its own body, it could not be whole at once, if it were so diffused through them, as we see bodies diffused through spaces of places, occupying smaller spaces with their smaller parts, and larger with larger. Wherefore, if the soul is to be called a body, it is certainly not such a body as a terrestrial one is, nor such as a liquid, or aerial, or ethereal one. For all such things are larger in larger places, and smaller in smaller, and none of them is present whole in any part of itself; but as they are parts of places, so they are occupied by parts of bodies. Whence it is understood that the soul, whether it is to be called a body or incorporeal, has a certain proper nature, created with a substance more excellent than all these elements of the worldly mass, which cannot truly be thought of in any phan-

tasy (phantasia) of corporal images, which we perceive through the senses of the flesh, but is to be understood by the mind and felt by life. Nor do I speak these things for the purpose of teaching you those things which are known to you: but so that I may open what I most firmly hold concerning the soul, lest anyone, when I come to those things which I require, should think that I hold nothing concerning the soul either by knowledge or by faith.

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

CHAPTER III.

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

7. Indeed, some years ago, when I was writing some books concerning Free Will, which went

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

was corrupted and oppressed, and led to the necessity of sinning. This error of heretical opinion having been excepted therefore, I desire to know which of the remaining four opinions is to be chosen. For whichever is to be chosen, far be it that it should impugn this faith of which we are certain, that for every soul, even of a tiny infant, liberation from the obligation of sin is necessary, and that it is none unless through Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.

CHAPTER IV.

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

respond: I believe lest you should labor superfluously, where I was, whom you thought to know best what he had asked. Behold, I wish that that opinion were also mine, but I do not yet confirm that it is.

You have sent disciples to me so that I may teach them those things which I myself have not yet learned. Teach therefore what I may teach: for many demand from me that I teach them, and to them, as many other things, I confess that I also am ignorant of this: and perhaps although they are ashamed before my face, yet among themselves they say, 'Art thou a teacher in Israel, and knowest not these things?' (John 3:10)! which indeed the Lord said to him who was one of those who delighted to be called Rabbi: whence also he had come to the true teacher by night, because perhaps he was ashamed to learn, who had been accustomed to teach. But it delights me rather to hear a teacher than to be heard as a teacher. For I recall what He said to those whom He chose before the rest: 'But you,' He said, 'be not called by men Rabbi; for one is your master, Christ' (Matt. 23:8). Nor did another teach Moses even through Jethro (Exod. 18:14-23), nor another Cornelius even through the former Peter (Acts 10:25-48), nor another Peter even through the latter Paul (Gal. 2:11-21): for by whomsoever the truth is spoken, it is spoken by His gift, who is the Truth itself. What if we therefore do not yet know these things, and have been able to find them neither by praying, nor by reading, nor by thinking and reasoning, so that we may be proved

with what great charity we teach the unlearned, but also with what great humility we learn from the learned?

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

how is this opinion defended, by which souls are believed not to be made all from that one of the first man, but individual ones for individuals, just as that one for one?

CHAPTER V.

11. Those things, indeed, which are said by others against this opinion, I think I can easily refute; such as that by which some seem to press it upon themselves, how God completed all His works on the sixth day, and rested on the seventh (Gen. 2:2), if He still creates new souls? To whom if we should say what you have placed from the Gospel in the aforementioned epistle, "My Father worketh until now"; they respond, "worketh" was said by administering established things, not by establishing new natures, lest the Scripture of Genesis be contradicted, where it is most clearly read that God completed all His works. For also that which is written of Him having rested, is certainly to be understood as resting from creating new creatures, not from governing them; because then He made those things which were not, from the making of which He rested: because He had completed all things which, before they were, He saw were to be made, so that henceforth He should create and make whatever He might make, not of those things which were not, but from those things which already were. Thus both are shown to be true, both that which was said, "He rested from His works"; and that which was said, "He worketh until now": since the Gospel cannot be contrary to Genesis.

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

He made, but also by creating more numerously something, not which He had not yet, but which He had already created, He worketh until now. Either thus, therefore, or in any other way, we escape from that which is objected to us concerning the rest of God from His works, lest on that account we should not believe that new souls are made even until now, not from that one, but like that one.

13. For as to what is said, "Why does He make souls for those whom He knows will soon die?" we can respond that the sins of the parents are hereby either convicted or scourged. We can also rightly leave these things to the moderation of Him whom we know gives a most ornate and most orderly course to all things passing temporally, where there are also the births and deaths of animals; but that we cannot perceive these things, which if we did perceive, we would be soothed with ineffable delight. For not in vain was it said of God by the prophet, who had learned these things divinely inspired: "Who bringeth forth the age numerously." Whence music, that is, the science or sense of modulating well, was granted by the bounty of God even to mortals having rational souls, for the admonition of a great thing. Whence if man, the artisan of making a song, knows what pauses he should attribute to which voices, so that that which is sung should run and pass most beautifully with departing and succeeding sounds; how much more God, whose wisdom, through which He made all things, is to be preferred far above all arts,

permits no spaces of times in natures being born and dying—which pertain to the particles of this age like syllables and words—to pass in this kind of wonderful song of gliding things, either more briefly or more lengthily than the pre-known and pre-defined modulation requires! Since I have said this even of the leaf of a tree, and of the number of our hairs; how much more of the birth and death of man, whose temporal life is not extended more briefly or more lengthily than God, the disposer of times, knows to harmonize with the governance of the universe!

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

But that which you placed in the book against Ruffinus, that some calumniate this opinion because it seems unworthy for God to give souls to adulterous conceptions, whence they strive to assert that by the merits of a life spent before the flesh, souls can justly be brought as if to workhouses of this kind (Adv. Ruffinum, lib. 3); it does not move me, thinking many things by which this calumny can be refuted. And what you yourself responded, that there is no vice of

the seed in the wheat which is said to have been taken by theft, but in him who stole the grain; nor on that account ought the earth not to have cherished the seeds in its bosom, because the sower cast them with an unclean hand; it is a most elegant similitude. Which even before I read it, that objection concerning adulterous offspring caused me no straits in this question, generally beholding that God does many good things even from our evils and our sins. Moreover, the creation of any animal whatever, if it have a pious and prudent considerer, excites ineffable praise for the Creator; how much more the creation not of just any animal, but of man! But if the cause of creating is sought, none is responded more quickly and better than because every creature of God is good. And what is more worthy than that the good God should make good things, which no one can make except God?

CHAPTER VI.

16. These and other things which I can, as I can, I say against those who strive to undermine this opinion by which souls are believed to be made for individuals just as that one. But when it comes to the punishments of infants, believe me, I am straitened by great difficulties, nor do I find at all what I should respond: I do not only mean those punishments which that condemnation has after this life, whither it is necessary they be drawn if they depart from the body without the Sacrament of Christian grace; but those very things which are turned before our eyes in

this life with us grieving, which if I should wish to enumerate, time would fail before examples. They languish with sicknesses, they are racked with pains, they are tortured with hunger and thirst, they are debilitated in their members, they are deprived of their senses, they are vexed by unclean spirits. It must certainly be demonstrated how they suffer these things justly without any evil cause of their own. For it is not lawful to be said, either that these things are done while God is ignorant, or that He cannot resist those doing them, or that He either does or permits these things unjustly. Is it forsooth as we rightly say that irrational animals are given for the uses of higher natures, even if faulty ones, as we most clearly see in the Gospel that swine were granted to demons for their desired use (Matt. 8:32); can we rightly say this also of man? For he is an animal, but a rational one, even if mortal. There is a rational soul in those members, which pays the penalty with such great afflictions; God is good, God is just, God is almighty: to doubt this is entirely the part of a madman. Of such great evils therefore which are done in infants, let a just cause be said. Surely when older people suffer these things, we are accustomed to say either that merits are examined as in Job, or that sins are punished as in Herod: and from certain examples which God wished to be manifest, it is permitted to conjecture other things which are obscure to man; but this in older people. But as to infants, declare what we should respond, if there are no sins to be punished in them with such great pun-

ishments: for certainly there is no justice to be examined in those ages.

17. But of the diversity of talents, or rather the absurdity, what shall I say? which indeed is hidden in infants, but being drawn from the very natural beginnings, appears in adults, some of whom are so slow and forgetful that they have not been able to learn even the first elements of letters: some indeed are of such great fatuity that they differ not much from cattle; whom the common people call morons (moriones). It is responded perhaps, "Bodies do this." But did the soul, according to this opinion which we wish to be defended, choose a body for itself, and while it was deceived in choosing, did it err? Or when it was compelled to enter a body by the necessity of being born, while crowds of souls were preoccupying other bodies, did it not find another, and as a place in some spectacle, so did it occupy the flesh not which it wished, but which it could? Can we either say or feel these and such things? Teach therefore what we ought to feel, what we ought to say, so that the reason of new souls and those made individually for individual bodies may be established for us.

CHAPTER VII.

18. I indeed said something concerning not the talents, but at least the punishments of infants, which they suffer in this life, in those books on Free Will. What sort of thing it is, and why it does not suffice me in this question which we have in hand, I will intimate, and I will insert that very

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

having been received into the honor of martyrs (De Libero Arbitrio, lib. 3, c. 23, n. 67).

These things I said then, when I wished to fortify this very opinion of which we are now treating. For as I commemorated a little before, whichever of those four opinions concerning the incarnation of the soul were true, I was striving to show the substance of the Creator as unblamable, and most remote from the society of our sins. And therefore whichever of them could be convicted of truth and repudiated, did not pertain to the care of my intention which I had then; since all of them having been discussed with a more diligent disputation, whichever of them should rightly conquer the others, it would happen to me most secure, when even according to all I was demonstrating that which I was doing to persist unconquered. But now I wish, if I can, to choose one from all by right reason; and therefore looking more attentively at the defense of this very one of which we are now treating, in those words of mine which I commemorated from that book, I do not see it as valid and firm.

For it is as if its firmament is that which I said there: "But who knows what God reserves of good compensation in the secret of His judgments for those infants themselves, by whose tortures the hardness of older people is bruised, or faith is exercised, or mercy is proved?" But I see that this is said not undeservedly of those who either for the name of Christ and true religion suffer such a thing even while not knowing, or have already been imbued with the Sacrament

of Christ; because without the society of the one Mediator they cannot be liberated from condemnation, so that this compensation can be provided to them, even for those evils which they have endured here in diverse afflictions. But now since this question cannot be resolved, unless it be responded also concerning those infants who after the gravest tortures expire without the Sacrament of Christian society; what compensation is to be thought of concerning them, for whom in addition even condemnation is prepared? For also concerning the baptism of infants in the same book, not indeed sufficiently, but as much as seemed enough for that work, I responded in whatever way, that it profits even those not knowing and not yet having their own faith: nevertheless I did not think that something was to be said then concerning the condemnation of those infants who emigrate from this life without it, because that which is now being treated was not then being treated.

21. But that we may omit and despise those things which they suffer for a brief time, and being passed are not recalled, can we similarly despise that "by one man death, and by one man the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive" (1 Cor. 15:21 and 22)? For through this apostolic, divine, and clear sentence, it shines forth evidently enough, that no one goes into death except through Adam; no one goes into eternal life, except through Christ. For this is "all," and "all," because as all men through the first, that is

through carnal generation, pertain to Adam; so all men come to the second, that is spiritual generation, whosoever come to Christ. Therefore it was said both here "all," and there "all": because as all who die, die in no one but Adam: so all who shall be made alive, shall be made alive in no one but Christ. And through this, whosoever shall say to us that anyone can be made alive in the resurrection of the dead except in Christ; he is to be detested as a plague of the common faith. Likewise whosoever shall say that even infants who depart from life without participation in His Sacrament shall be made alive in Christ, he truly both comes against the apostolic preaching, and condemns the whole Church, where therefore there is hastening and running with infants to be baptized, because it is believed without doubt that they can by no means be made alive in Christ otherwise. But he who is not made alive in Christ, it remains that he remains in that condemnation of which the Apostle says: "By the offense of one unto all men unto condemnation" (Rom. 5:18). That infants are born obnoxious to this offense, both the whole Church believes, and you yourself now disputing against Jovinian, and expounding the prophet Jonah, as I commemorated a little before, defined with most true faith; I believe also in other places of your works which I have either not read, or do not remember at present. I require therefore the cause of this condemnation in infants; because neither of souls, if they are made new individual ones for individual ones, do

I see any sin in that age, nor do I believe any to be condemned by God, which He sees has no sin.

CHAPTER VIII.

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

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

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

24. But against any opinion of Cyprian, where perhaps he did not see what was to be seen, let each feel what he pleases; only let no one feel against the most manifest apostolic faith, which preaches that from the offense of one all are led into condemnation: from which condemnation none liberates, except the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord, in whom alone all are made

alive whosoever are made alive. Against the most founded custom of the Church let no one feel, where if it were run to Baptism for the sake of the bodies of infants alone, the dead would also be offered to be baptized.

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

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

and the spirit shall return to God who gave it" (Eccl. 12:7), confirm that opinion which we wish to be ours: for this favors more those who think all souls are from one. For as the dust returns to the earth, they say, as it was; and yet the flesh, concerning which this was said, does not return to the man from whom it was propagated, but to the earth, whence the first man was made: so also the spirit propagated from that one spirit of his, nevertheless does not return to him, but to the Lord by whom it was given to him. But because this testimony sounds so for those ones, that it does not seem to be contrary in every way to this opinion which I wish to be defended, I believed your prudence was only to be admonished, lest you should strive to rescue me from these straits by such testimonies. For although no one makes by desiring that what is not true should be true: yet if it could be done, I would desire that this opinion were true; just as I desire that, if it is true, it may be defended by you most clearly and most unconquerably.

CHAPTER IX.

27. But this difficulty also follows those who think that souls, already existing elsewhere and prepared from the beginning of divine works, are sent by God into bodies. For from these also the same thing is asked: if unblamable souls come obediently whither they are sent; why are they punished in infants, if they finish this life unbaptized? There is exactly the same difficulty in both opinions. Those ones seem to themselves to go

out from this question more easily, who assert that individual souls are entangled in individual bodies for the merits of a prior life. For they think this is to die in Adam, to wit, to pay penalties in the flesh which was propagated from Adam: from which guilt, they say, the grace of Christ liberates the small with the great. This indeed is rightly, truly, and most excellently said, that the grace of Christ liberates the small with the great from the guilt of sins. But that souls sin in another higher life, and from there are precipitated into fleshly prisons, I do not believe, I do not acquiesce, I do not consent. First, because they say this is done through I know not what circuits, so that after I know not how many volumes of ages, one must again return to this burden of corruptible flesh and pay penalties: than which opinion I know not what more horrible thing could be thought. Then, who at length is a just man deceased, concerning whom we ought not to be solicitous (if those ones say true things), lest sinning in the bosom of Abraham, he be cast down into the flames of that rich man (Luke 16:22, 23)? for why should he not be able to sin even after this body, if he could even before? Lastly, it is far another thing to have sinned in Adam, whence the Apostle says, "in whom all have sinned"; and another thing to have sinned I know not where outside of Adam, and therefore to be thrust into Adam, that is into the flesh which is propagated from Adam as if into a prison. But that opinion, that all souls are made from one, I do not wish even to discuss, unless it be necessary; and would that this one,

of which we are now treating, if it is true, might be so defended by you, that this may no longer be necessary.

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

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

CHAPTER ONE.

1. That which I wrote to you, my brother Jerome to be honored in Christ, inquiring concerning the human soul, if for each one being born a new individual one is made even until now, where they contract the bond of sin, which we do not doubt is to be dissolved even in recently born infants through the Sacrament of the grace of Christ, since it was proceeding into a not small volume, I was unwilling to burden it with any other question: but that which urges more sharply, is much less to be neglected. Therefore I pray, and through God I beseech that you explain to me, which I think will profit many, or if you already have it explained either by yourself or by some other, that you direct it to us, how it is to be accepted what is written in the Epistle of the apostle James, "For whosoever shall keep the whole law, but shall offend in one, is made guilty of all." Which matter is such and so great, that I repent much that I did not already write to you concerning this long ago.

2. For this question is turned concerning the acting of the present life, how we may come to eternal life, not concerning the past which is

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

to themselves to know what they know not, we are more safe in this, that we are not ignorant of this our ignorance. For it is one thing which it is an evil not to know; another which either cannot be known, or is not needed, or is indifferent to the life which we seek: but this indeed which I now require from the Letters of the apostle James, is turned in action, in this very life which we live and in which we study to please God so that we may live forever.

3. How therefore is it to be understood, I beseech you, "Whosoever shall keep the whole Law, but shall offend in one, is made guilty of all"? Is it so that he who shall have committed theft, or rather who shall have said to the rich man, "Sit here," but to the poor man, "Stand thou there," is guilty both of homicide, and of adultery, and of sacrilege? Which if it is not, how is he who offends in one made guilty of all? Or does that which he said concerning the rich and the poor man not pertain to those things, in any one of which if someone should offend, he will become guilty of all? But it is to be recalled whence that sentence came, and what superior things brought it forth, and to which connected it depends. "My brothers," he says, "do not have the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ of glory in the acceptance of persons. For if there should enter into your assembly a man having a gold ring in a white garment, and there should enter also a poor man in a dirty habit, and you should intend unto him who is clothed in a brilliant garment, and should say to him, 'Sit thou here well'; but

should say to the poor man, 'Stand thou there,' or, 'Sit under the footstool of my feet': do you not judge among yourselves, and are made judges of iniquitous thoughts? Hear, my most beloved brothers; has not God chosen the poor in this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which God has promised to those loving Him? But you have dishonored the poor": on account of him namely to whom it was said, "Stand thou there"; when to him having the gold ring it had been said, "Sit thou here well." And then it follows, turning and explaining that same sentence more broadly: "Do not," he says, "the rich oppress you by power, and draw you to judgments? do they not themselves blaspheme the good name, which has been invoked over you? If indeed you perform the royal law, according to the Scripture, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' you do well: but if you accept persons, you work sin, being redargued by the law as transgressors." See in what manner he calls transgressors of the law those who say to the rich man, "Sit here," and to the poor man, "Stand there." See, lest they should think it to be a contemptible sin to transgress the law in this one thing, he added following, "But whosoever shall keep the whole law, but shall offend in one, is made guilty of all. For He who said, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' said also, 'Thou shalt not kill.' But if thou shalt not kill, but shalt commit adultery, thou art made a transgressor of the law": on account of that which he had said, "redargued by the law, as transgressors." Since these things are so, it seems consequent (unless

it be shown to be understood in another way) that he who shall have said to the rich man, "Sit here," and to the poor man, "Stand there," deferring this honor to him not for his sake, should be judged guilty of all crimes, both an idolater, and a blasphemer, and an adulterer, and a homicide, and not to commemorate all, which is long: for offending in one, he is made guilty of all.

CHAPTER II.

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

through them, that all sins are equal. Moreover, how it may be done that even if this concerning virtues is true, yet we are not therefore forced to confess the equality of all sins, as much as I can, with the Lord helping, I shall try to open: which if I shall have effected, you will approve; but where I shall have failed the cause, you will supply.

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

6. For there are, as you know, certain vices contrary to virtues by an open discretion, as imprudence to prudence. But there are certain ones only because they are vices, therefore contrary, yet similar by a certain deceptive appearance, as to the same prudence, not imprudence, but astuteness. For now I call that astuteness which is more usually accustomed to be understood and called in the malicious; not as our Scripture is

accustomed to speak, which often places astuteness in good: whence, "Be astute as serpents" (Matth. X, 16); and that, "That it may give astuteness also to the innocent" (Prov. I, 4). Although even among those most eloquent of the Roman tongue he said, "Neither however were deceit or astuteness lacking to him for taking care" (Sallust., de Bello Catilin.), placing astuteness in good: but among them it is most rare, among ours it is most frequent. And likewise in the parts of temperance, the effusion of parsimony is most openly contrary: but that which is commonly called tenacity is indeed a vice, yet similar to parsimony, not in nature, but in a most deceptive appearance. Likewise by a manifest dissimilarity injustice is contrary to justice: but the lust of avenging oneself is accustomed as if to imitate justice, but it is a vice. Sloth is clearly contrary to fortitude: but hardness differs in nature, deceives in similarity. Constancy is a certain part of virtue; from this, inconstancy is far abhorrent, and undoubtedly stands contrary: but pertinacity affects to be called constancy, and is not; because that is a virtue, this a vice.

7. Therefore, so that it may not be necessary to commemorate the same things again, let us place something as an example whence the rest can be understood. Catiline, as those who were able to know wrote of him, was able to bear cold, thirst, hunger, and was patient of lack of food, of chill, of wakefulness, beyond what is credible to anyone, and through this he seemed both to himself and to his own to be endowed with great fortitude

(Sallust., de Bello Catilin.). But this fortitude was not prudent; for he chose evil things instead of good: it was not temperate; for it was defiled by most base corruptions: it was not just; for he had conspired against the fatherland. And therefore it was not fortitude; but hardness imposed on itself the name of fortitude, so that it might deceive the foolish: for if it were fortitude, it would be not a vice, but a virtue; but if it were a virtue, it would never be left by the other virtues as by inseparable companions.

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

unadvisedly; we are forced to confess that vices are more numerous than virtues.

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

CHAPTER III.

10. Whether these things are so, must be more diligently inquired. For that sentence is not also divine, by which it is said, "He who shall have one virtue, has all; and none is in him, to whom one shall have been lacking": but this seemed so to men, very ingenious indeed, and studious, but yet to men. But I do not know in what manner I may say, I do not say a man, from whom virtue (virtus) is said to be named, but even a woman who keeps the faith of the bed to her husband, if she should do this because of the precept and promise of God, and be primarily faithful to Him, does not have chastity, or that chastity is no virtue or a small one; so also a husband who keeps this same to his wife: and yet there are very many such, of whom I would say that no one is

without some sin, and surely that sin of whatever kind comes from some vice. Whence conjugal chastity in religious men and women, since it is without doubt a virtue, for it is not either nothing or a vice, yet it does not have all virtues with it. For if all were there, there would be no vice; if no vice, no sin at all: but who is without some sin? who therefore without some vice, that is, a certain tinder, or as it were the root of sin, when he cries out who reclined upon the breast of the Lord, "If we shall have said that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (I John 1, 8)? Nor is this to be further argued with you; but for the sake of others who perhaps shall read this, I speak. For you indeed in that same splendid work against Jovinian (Lib. II) also proved this diligently from the holy Scriptures: where also from this very Epistle, whose words are those whose understanding we now require, you placed what is written, "For in many things we all offend" (James III, 2). For he does not say, "You offend," but "we offend," when the apostle of Christ was speaking: and when in this place he says, "But whosoever shall have kept the whole law, but should offend in one, is made guilty of all"; there not in one, but "in many"; nor some, but "all" he says offend.

11. But far be it that any faithful person should think so many thousands of servants of Christ, who truly say that they have sin, lest they should deceive themselves and the truth be not in them, have no virtue, since great virtue is wisdom: moreover, Wisdom itself said to man, "Behold,

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

less virtue is in him, so much more is vice? Where therefore that shall be full and perfect, nothing of vice will remain.

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

13. This similarity, where folly is placed as it were water, and wisdom as it were air, so that the mind as if emerging from the suffocation of folly, should suddenly breathe into wisdom, does not seem to me sufficiently accommodated to the authority of our Scriptures: but that rather, so that vice or folly should be compared to darkness, but virtue or wisdom to light, as much as these similar things can be led from corporals to intelligibles. Therefore not as if rising from waters into the air, where when he shall have passed the

top of them, he is suddenly inspired as much as suffices; but as if proceeding from darkness into light, by progressing little by little he is illuminated. Until this be done most fully, yet we now say he is as if going out from a most hidden cave, breathed upon by the neighborhood of light, so much the more, as much as more he approaches the exit: so that that which shines in him, should be surely from the light toward which he proceeds; but that which is still obscure, should be from the darkness whence he goes out. Therefore also "not every living thing shall be justified in the sight of God" (Psal. CXLII, 2); and yet "the just lives from faith" (Habac. II, 4). And the saints are "clothed with justice" (Job. XXIX, 14), one more, another less: and no one here lives without sin, and this one more, another less; but the best is he who has the least.

CHAPTER IV.

14. But why have I, as if forgetting to whom I speak, become like a teacher, when I proposed what I wish to learn from you? But because concerning the equality of sins, whence into that which I was acting a question fell, I had determined to bring forth my sentence to be examined by you, now I shall at length conclude it. For even if it is true, that he who has one, has all virtues; and he who does not have one, has none: yet not thus are sins equal. Because where virtue is none, nothing indeed is right; yet not therefore is that which is crooked not more crooked than another crooked thing, and more distorted than the dis-

torted. But if, which I think to be more true, and more congruent to the sacred Letters, the intentions of the soul are so as the members of the body, not that they are seen in places, but that they are felt in affections; and one is illuminated more, another less, another altogether lacks light and is shadowed by a dark obstacle: surely, just as each one is affected by the illustration of pious charity, in one act more, in another less, in some nothing; so it can be said to have one, and not to have another, to have one virtue more, another less. For both, "Charity is greater in this one than in that one," we can rightly say; and, "Some in this one, none in that one," as much as pertains to charity which is piety: and in the one man himself that he has greater chastity than patience, and greater today than yesterday, if he progresses; and still does not have continence, and has not small mercy.

15. And to embrace generally and briefly what notion I have concerning virtue, as far as pertains to living rightly, virtue is charity, by which that which is to be loved is loved. This in some is greater, in others less, in others none, but most full which cannot now be increased, as long as this man lives, is in no one; but as long as it can be increased, surely that which is less than it ought to be, is from vice. From which vice there is not a just man on earth, who does good, and does not sin (III Kings VIII, 46): from which vice not every living thing shall be justified in the sight of God. On account of which vice, if we shall have said that we have no sin, we seduce

ourselves, and the truth is not in us (I John I, 8): on account of which also however much we shall have progressed, it is necessary for us to say, "Forgive us our debts" (Matth. VI, 12); when already all things said, done, thought in Baptism, have been forgiven. He therefore sees, who sees rightly, whence, and when, and where that perfection is to be hoped for to which there may not be what could be added. But if precepts were not, there would surely not be where a man might more certainly inspect himself, and see whence he was turned away, whither he should strive, for what he should congratulate, what he should pray for. Great therefore is the utility of precepts, if so much be given to free will, that the grace of God may be more amply honored.

CHAPTER V.

16. If these things are so, whence shall he be made guilty of all, if he should offend in one, who shall have kept the whole law? Or perhaps, because the fullness of the law is charity by which God and neighbor are loved, on which precepts of charity the whole law and the Prophets hang (Matth. XXII, 40), he is meritoriously made guilty of all, who acts against that, in which all hang? But no one sins, except by acting against that: because, "Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not commit homicide, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not covet," and if there is any other command, it is recapitulated in this word, in that which is, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Love of neighbor works no evil. But

the fullness of the law is charity (Rom. XIII, 9, 10). But no one loves his neighbor, except loving God, and this, as much as he can, let him bestow upon his neighbor, whom he loves as himself, so that he also may love God: whom if he himself does not love, he loves neither himself, nor his neighbor. And through this he who shall have kept the whole law, if he shall have offended in one, becomes guilty of all; because he acts against charity, whence the whole law hangs. He therefore becomes guilty of all, by acting against her in whom all hang.

Why therefore should sins not be called equal? Or perhaps because he acts more against charity, who sins more gravely; less, who more lightly? and by this very thing which he admits, he becomes indeed guilty of all: but sinning more gravely, or sinning in more things, more guilty; but sinning more lightly or in fewer things, less guilty: namely by so much greater guilt, by how much more; by so much less, by how much less he shall have sinned: yet even if he shall have offended in one, he is guilty of all, because he acts against her in whom all hang? Which if they are true, in that way also that is absolved which a man even of apostolic grace says, "For in many things we all offend" (James III, 2). For we all offend, but one more gravely, another more lightly, as much as each one shall have sinned more gravely or more lightly: so much greater in committing sin, as much as less in loving God and neighbor; and again, so much less in the perpetration of sin, as much as greater in the love

of God and neighbor. So much therefore more full of iniquity, as much as more empty of charity. And then we are perfect in charity, when nothing remains from infirmity.

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

CHAPTER VI.

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

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

20. And this is surely just, that it should be forgiven to them, because they have forgiven; and it should be given to them, because they have given. For in God there is both mercy in judging, and judgment in having mercy. On account of which it is said to Him, "Mercy and judgment I will sing to Thee, O Lord" (Psal. C, 1): for whosoever as if too just expects judgment without mercy as if secure, provokes most just wrath, which he fearing said, "Do not enter into judgment with Thy servant" (Psal. CXLII, 2). Whence it is said to the contumacious people, "Why do you wish to contend with me in judgment" (Jer. II, 29)? For when the just king shall have sat on the throne, who will glory that he has a chaste heart? or who will glory that he is clean from sin? What hope is there, therefore, unless mercy triumphs over judgment? But toward those who have done mercy, by truly saying, "Forgive us our

debts, as we also forgive"; and by giving without murmuring; for God loves a cheerful giver (II Cor. IX, 7). Finally, Saint James already from that place speaks concerning works of mercy, so that he may console those whom that sentence had vehemently terrified; when he admonishes in what way even daily sins, without which one does not live here, may be expiated by daily remedies: lest a man, who when he shall have offended in one becomes guilty of all, by offending in many (because in many things we all offend) on account of the great heap of his guilt collected little by little, should come to the tribunal of so great a judge, and not find that mercy which he did not do; but rather by forgiving and giving should merit that sins be forgiven to him, and the promises be rendered.

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

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

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

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

So much the grace of God has refreshed and recreated us, administered through your word, that we may altogether say as brothers, "He sent His word, and healed them" (Psal. CVI, 20), most blessed Lord, and meritoriously venerable father. Indeed we have found that your Holiness has sifted the text of that same booklet with such diligence, that we are amazed at the responses rendered to individual points, whether in those things which it becomes a Christian to refute, detest, or flee; or in those in which he is not found to have erred enough, although by I know not what craftiness, in those also he believed the grace of God should be suppressed. But there is

one thing which affects us in so great a benefit, because this so excellent gift of the grace of God has shone forth late: if indeed it happened that certain ones were absent, to whose blindness this so perspicuous illustration of truth was due; to whom, even if later, we do not distrust the same grace to come through God's propitiousness, who wants all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of truth (I Tim. II, 4). But we, even if formerly taught by the spirit of clarity which is in you, shall have cast off the subjection of that error, in this also now we give thanks, that these things which we believed before, now we have learned to open to others, the more abundant speech of your Holiness laying open the way of facility. And in another hand: May the mercy of our God glorify your Beatitude, unharmed and mindful of us, for eternity.

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

AUGUSTINE the bishop, to EVODIUS the bishop.

CHAPTER I.

1. If your Holiness considers it so much to know those things which occupy me more, from which I do not wish to be turned away into another thing, send someone who may describe them for you. For already more things have been

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

2. For not, as you write, "He who is ignorant, shall be ignored" (I Cor. XIV, 38), did the Apostle say concerning this thing, as if he were to be punished with that penalty who is not able by intelligence thus to discern the ineffable unity of the Trinity, as memory, intellect, will are

discerned in our soul: from another place the Apostle was saying this. Read, and you will see that he was speaking those things which would build up the faith or morals of many, not which would scarcely come to the understanding of few, and that an exiguous one, as small as can be in this life concerning so great a matter; that is, that prophecy should be preferred to tongues, that those things should not be done confusedly, as if the spirit of prophecy forced even the unwilling to speak, that women should be silent in the church, that all things should be done honestly and according to order. While he was doing these things, he said, "If anyone seems to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him know what things I write to you, because it is the Lord's command. But if anyone is ignorant, he shall be ignored": by these words coercing, and recalling to peaceful order the restless ones, by so much more easy to sedition, as much as they seemed to themselves to excel in spirit, when by being proud they disturbed all things. "If anyone" therefore "seems to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him know," he says, "what things I write to you, because it is the Lord's command." If anyone seems to be, and surely is not: for he who is, knows without doubt, nor has need of admonition and exhortation, because he judges all things, and is judged by no one (Id. II, 15). Those therefore were making seditions and disturbances in the Church, who seemed to be in the Church what they were not. These he teaches to know that it is the Lord's command, because He is not a God of sedition, but of peace.

"But if anyone is ignorant, he shall be ignored," that is, he shall be disapproved. For God, if you refer to knowledge, is not ignorant of those to whom He is about to say, "I know you not" (Luke XIII, 27); but their disapproval has been insinuated by this word.

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

4. For if on account of those alone Christ died, who can discern these things by certain intelligence, we labor almost in vain in the Church. But if, which truth has, the weak peoples of believers run to the physician, to be healed through Christ,

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

CHAPTER II.

5. Therefore let us believe with firm piety in one God, Father and Son and Holy Spirit; so that neither should the Son be believed to be He who is the Father, nor the Father He who is the Son, nor Father nor Son He who is the Spirit of both. Let nothing in this Trinity be thought to differ in times or places; but that these three are equal and co-eternal, and altogether are one nature: not that one creature was founded by the Father, and another by the Son, and another by the Holy Spirit; but that all and individual things which have been created or are created, consist by the creating Trinity, nor is anyone liberated by the

Father without the Son and Holy Spirit, or by the Son without the Father and Holy Spirit, or by the Holy Spirit without the Father and Son; but by the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, one, true, and truly immortal, that is, only God in every way incommutable. But that many things also are said separately in the Scriptures concerning individual ones, so that it may be insinuated that, although the Trinity is inseparable, yet it is a Trinity: so that in what manner they cannot be said together when they are commemorated with corporal sounds, although they are together inseparably; so also in certain places of the Scriptures, and through certain creatures they are shown individually and in turn, as the Father in the voice by which it sounded, "Thou art my Son" (Luke III, 22); and the Son in the man whom He took from the Virgin (Id. II, 7); and the Holy Spirit in the corporal species of a dove (Matth. III, 16): these indeed separately, but in no way do those demonstrate those three separate.

6. For understanding this in some way we assume memory, intelligence, will. For although we enounce these individually each in its own and separate times, yet we do or say nothing of these without the other two. Nor therefore are these three to be thought so compared to the Trinity, that they agree from every part: for to what similarity in disputing is so much agreement conceded, that it should be coadapted from every part to that thing to which it is to be applied? or when from a creature something similar is assumed to the Creator? First therefore

in this is that similarity found dissimilar, because these three, memory, intelligence, will, are in the soul; not these same three are the soul: but that Trinity is not in, but is God Himself. Therefore there a wonderful simplicity is commended; because there it is not one thing to be, another to understand, or if anything else is said concerning the nature of God: but the soul because it is, even while it does not understand, that which it is is one thing, that which it understands another. Then who would dare to say that the Father does not understand through Himself, but through the Son, as memory does not understand through itself, but through the intellect, or rather the soul itself, in which these are, understands through the intellect only; as it remembers through memory only, and wills through the will only? Therefore to this is that similarity applied, so that it may be understood in whatever way, in what manner of these three in the soul when individual names are enounced, by which the same individuals are demonstrated, yet each name is enounced with these three cooperating, since it is said both by remembering, and by understanding, and by willing; so there is no creature, by which either the Father alone, or the Son alone, or the Holy Spirit alone may be demonstrated, which the Trinity does not work together, which works inseparably: and through this neither the voice of the Father, nor the soul and flesh of the Son, nor the dove of the Holy Spirit were made, except with the same Trinity cooperating.

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

8. Accordingly, when words are spoken concerning the Son of God, it must be seen according to what they are said. For the number of persons was not increased by the man being assumed, but the same Trinity remained. For just as in any man, besides that one who was singularly assumed, the soul (anima) and body (corpus) are one person; so in Christ the Word and the man are one person. And just as a man, for example, is certainly not called a philosopher except according to the soul, and yet we do not therefore speak absurdly, but by a most congruent and customary expression we say that the philosopher was beaten, the philosopher died, the philosopher was buried, though all these things happen according to the flesh, not according to that which makes him a philosopher: so Christ is God, the Son of God, the Lord of glory, and if anything of this kind is said according to the Word; and yet it is rightly said that God was crucified, since it is not held as uncertain that he suffered this according to the flesh, not according to that by which he is the Lord of glory.

9. But that sound of the voice, and the corporal appearance of the dove, and the divided tongues as if of fire which sat upon each of them, like those things on Mount Sinai which were made with a terrible appearance (Exod. XIX, 18), and like that pillar of cloud by day, and of flames by night (Exod. XIII, 21), were enacted and passed away by a significative operation. In these things, this is most especially to be guarded against: lest the nature of God, whether of the Father, or of the

Son, or of the Holy Spirit, be believed by anyone to be changeable and convertible. Nor let it move anyone that sometimes the thing which signifies receives the name of that thing which it signifies. The Holy Spirit was said to have descended in a corporal appearance like a dove and to have remained upon him. For in this way the rock also was Christ (I Cor. X, 4), because it signifies Christ.

CHAPTER III.

10. But I wonder that it seems to you that the sound of that voice by which it was said, "Thou art my son," could have been made thus by a divine nod by the corporal nature alone, without the mediation of a soul; and that it does not seem to you that in the same way the corporal appearance and motion similar to a living thing of any animal could have been made by a divine nod, with no animal spirit interposed. For if a corporeal creature obeys God without the ministry of a vivifying soul, so that sounds such as are accustomed to be produced from an animated body are brought forth, so that the form of articulated speech is brought to the ears; why should it not obey, so that without the ministry of a vivifying soul the figure and motion of a bird, by the same power of the Creator, might be brought to the sights? Or can the sense of hearing deserve this, while the sense of seeing cannot, since from adjacent matter each body is formed, both that which sounds in the ears and that which appears to the sights, and the articulations of the voice and the lineaments of the members, and audible and

visible motion, so that it is both a true body which is perceived by the sense of the body, and it is nothing more than what is perceived by the sense of the body? For the soul is perceived in no living thing by any sense of the body. Therefore it is not necessary to seek how the corporal appearance of the dove appeared, just as we do not seek how the voices of an articulated body sounded. For if it was possible for the soul not to be a mediator where a voice, not as if a voice, is said to have been made; how much more was it possible where it is said "as a dove," by this word being signified only the corporal appearance rendered to the eyes, not the nature of a living animal expressed? In this way also that is said: "Suddenly there was made from heaven a sound, as if a vehement wind were being carried, and there were seen by them divided tongues as if of fire:" where a certain appearance as if of wind, and as if of sensible fire similar to usual and known natures, not those very usual and known natures made for the time, seem to be signified.

11. But if a subtler reason, or a more excellent investigation of the matter, demonstrates that that nature which is moved neither temporally nor locally is not moved except through that which can be moved temporally only, not locally; it will follow that all those things were effected through the ministry of a living creature, as they are done through Angels: whence to discuss more diligently is both long and not necessary. To this is added that there are visions which appear to the spirit as if to the senses of the body, not only

to those sleeping or raving, but sometimes to those of sound mind who are awake; not by the fallacy of deluding demons, but by some spiritual revelation, which is made through incorporeal forms similar to bodies; which can by no means be discerned, unless they are more fully revealed by divine help, and adjudicated by the intelligence of the mind, hardly sometimes when they happen, but for the most part afterwards when they have passed. These things being so, whether in corporeal natures, or by corporal appearance alone, but by a spiritual nature, they seem to appear to our spirit as if to the senses of the body, when the sacred Scripture commemorates these things, we ought not to judge rashly of which of these two kinds they are, and whether they are made through a mediating living creature if they are made in a body: as long as we either believe without any doubt, or also grasp by whatever intelligence, that the invisible and inchangeable nature of the Creator, that is, of the supreme and ineffable Trinity, is remote and discrete both from the carnal senses of mortals and from all convertibility, whether into better, or into worse, or into any other thing.

CHAPTER IV.

12. These things concerning the two questions, that is, concerning the Trinity and the dove, in which the Holy Spirit was demonstrated not by his own nature, but by a significative appearance; just as also the Son of God not by his own nativity, concerning which the Father said, "Before the

day star have I begotten thee" (Psal. CIX, 3), but in the man assumed from the womb of the Virgin, was crucified by the Jews; you see how I, though most occupied, have been able to write at leisure. Nor did I think that all things which you placed in your letters were to be thoroughly discussed; but I think that I have responded to those two things which you wished to hear from me, if not sufficiently for your greed, yet obediently for your charity.

13. But besides those two books, which I commemorated above that I have added to the three, and the exposition of the three psalms (Above, chap. 1, n. 1), I also wrote a book to the holy priest (presbyter) Jerome concerning the Origin of the Soul, consulting him how that opinion can be defended which he wrote to Marcellinus of religious memory was his own, "that individual new souls are made for those being born," so that the most well-founded faith of the Church be not weakened, by which we believe unshakenly that in Adam all die (I Cor. XV, 22), and unless they are liberated through the grace of Christ, which He works through His Sacrament even in infants (parvuli), they are drawn into condemnation. I wrote another also to the same, how it seems to him that which is written in the Epistle of James is to be taken: "Whosoever shall keep the whole Law, but offend in one point, is made guilty of all" (James II, 10). But in this I also said what seems to me: in that other, however, concerning the origin of the soul only, I sought by a certain consultative disputation what seems to him. For I did not wish

to lose the occasion of a certain most holy and most studious young priest (presbyter) Orosius, who came to us from furthest Spain, that is, from the shore of the ocean, inflamed only by the ardor of the holy Scriptures; whom I persuaded to proceed to him also. To this Orosius himself also, to certain interrogations which moved him concerning the heresy of the Priscillianists and certain opinions of Origen which the Church has not received, I responded in one book, not large, with as much brevity and perspicuity as I could. I also wrote a certain large book against the heresy of Pelagius, at the compulsion of some brothers, whom he had persuaded of a most pernicious opinion against the grace of Christ. All these things, if you wish to have them, send someone who may describe them all for you. But permit me to be vacant for seeking and dictating these things which, since they are necessary for many, I think are to be preferred to your inquiries pertaining to very few.

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

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

2. Accordingly, saluting your Charity in the peace of the Lord, we both command and ask that you do not delay to teach them what you have learned; namely, that there is one God alone, to whom that service is due which is called latreia (λατρεία) by the Greek word. For the same word is in the law, where it is written: "Thou shalt adore the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve" (Deut. VI, 13): whom if we say is the Father only, the response will be: therefore latreia is not due to the Son; which it is a nefas (unspeakable sin) to say. But if it is due, how then is it due to one God only, if it is due to both the Father and the Son, unless because the one God, whom only we are commanded to serve through latreia, is so called "alone God" that both the Father is understood and the Son, and indeed also the Holy Spirit (Spiritus sanctus)? Concerning Him indeed the Apostle says: "Know you not that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Spirit, whom you have from God, and you are not your own? For you are bought with a great price. Glorify God, and bear

him in your body" (I Cor. VI, 19, 20): which "God," if not the Holy Spirit whose temple he had said our bodies were? Therefore latreia is due to the Holy Spirit. For if we were commanded to make a temple for Him, as Solomon did of wood and stones, certainly by making the temple we would be convinced of exhibiting latreia: how much more do we owe latreia to Him for whom we do not make a temple, but are one!

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

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

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

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

6. Who since in things which are born in time, has effected by His goodness that any thing should beget offspring of its own substance, as a man begets a man, not of another nature but of that of which he himself is; see how impiously it is said that He Himself did not beget that which He Himself is. For these are names of kinship, not of nature, and therefore are spoken relative to something, or as relatives, which sometimes are the same, sometimes diverse. The same, of course, when a brother is referred to a brother, a friend to a friend, a neighbor to a neighbor, a kinsman to a kinsman, and if there are any similar things, of which it is infinite to wish to run through all. For in these, what this one is to that one, that the other is to this one. But they are diverse, just as father to son, son to father, father-in-law to son-in-law, son-in-law to father-in-law, master to servant, servant to master. This one is indeed not that to the other, which the

other is to him; but yet both are men: the relation is diverse, not the nature. Since if you attend to what one is to the other, this one is not that to him which the other is to this one: because this one is father, that one son; or this one father-in-law, that one son-in-law; or this one master, that one servant. But if you attend to what each is to himself, or in himself, that one is what this one is; because he is a man just as this one. Whence your prudence understands that it is not rationally said by those from whose error the Lord has liberated you, that therefore the nature of God the Father and God the Son is diverse because this one is Father, that one Son; and that God the Father did not beget that which He Himself is, because He did not beget the Father of His Son, which He Himself is toward him: for who may not see that these words do not demonstrate natures in themselves, but signify persons of one to another?

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

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

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

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

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

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

LETTER CLXXI

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

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

We have given letters to our honorable brother Maximus, believing that he will receive

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

FRAGMENT OF A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF AUGUSTINE TO MAXIMUS.

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

Conform your life and habits to the precepts of God which we have received so that we may act well, beginning from religious fear. For the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord (Psalm CX, 10), where human pride is broken and weakened. Then that, being gentle and mild through piety, even as to those things which you do not yet understand, and which seem absurd and contrary to themselves to the unskilled in the Holy Scriptures, you should not struggle with spirited contention, nor superimpose your sense upon the senses of the divine Books; but rather yield, and being mild, defer the understanding, than being harsh, accuse the secret. Thirdly, when hu-

man weakness begins to be opened to you for the knowledge of yourself, and you know where you lie, what penal bonds of mortality propagated from Adam you drag with you, and how far you wander as a pilgrim from the Lord; and you see clearly another law in your members resisting the law of your mind, and leading you captive in the law of sin, which is in your members; you may exclaim, Wretched man that I am, who will deliver me from the body of this death (Rom. VII, 24)? that He may console you in your mourning, promising that liberation itself by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord. Fourthly, already desire that you should fulfill righteousness much more vehemently and fervently than the pleasures of the flesh are wont to be desired by the most wicked men; except that in the hope of divine help there is in that appetite a tranquil ardor, and a more secure flame. But in this fourth degree of life, one applies oneself instantly to prayers, so that to those hungering and thirsting the satiety of righteousness may be granted; so that it may not only not be burdensome, but even delight to abstain from the pleasure of all corruption, whether one's own or another's, even by struggling. That this may be easily granted from God, a fifth is added, the counsel of exhibiting mercy, so that in that which you can you may help the needy; because in that which you cannot yet do, you desire to be helped by the Almighty. But the gift of mercy is twofold; when vengeance is forgiven, and when humanity is exhibited. Which two the Lord briefly embraced thus: For-

give, and you shall be forgiven; give, and it shall be given to you (Luke VI, 37 and 38). But this work also avails for the cleansing of the heart, so that as much as is allowed in this life, we may be able to discern the immutable substance of God with pure intelligence. For something is held against us, which must be relaxed, so that our gaze may break through into the light: whence the Lord Himself says, But give alms, and behold all things are clean to you (Luke XI, 41). Wherefore the sixth, the cleansing of the heart itself, follows. But so that a right and pure look may be directed toward the true light, neither those things which we do well and laudably, nor those things which we discern acutely and sagaciously, are to be referred to the end of pleasing men, or of relieving the necessities of the body. For God wishes to be worshipped freely; because neither is there anything for which He Himself is to be desired. When we shall have come to that purity of intelligence by the degrees of a good life, whether more slowly or more quickly, then let us dare to say that we are able in some measure to reach with the mind the unity of the highest and ineffable Trinity: where there will be highest peace; because there is nothing beyond what is expected, when, reformed to the image of their own kind, the sons of God made from men enjoy paternal immutability. For first, Blessed are the poor in spirit; where the fear of God is. Then, Blessed are the meek; where there is a teachable piety. Thirdly, Blessed are they that mourn; where there is the knowledge of one's own weakness. Fourthly, Blessed are

they who hunger and thirst after righteousness; where there is the fortitude of endeavoring to have the lusts tamed. Fifthly, Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy; where there is the counsel of helping, so that you may deserve to be helped. Then one arrives at the sixth degree, in which it is said, Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God (Matth. V, 3-8); where the pure intellect, able to understand even in some small part, cannot discern the Trinity unless we also do not desire human praise, although we do things worthy of praise. Accordingly, in the seventh degree we arrive at the tranquillity of [?] peace which the world cannot give. For even in those four virtues, which the philosophers also were able to investigate with memorable industry long ago, that is, prudence, fortitude, temperance, and justice, if we add these three joined to the perfect worship of religion, that is, faith, hope, and charity, we surely find the septenary number. For rightly these three are not omitted, without which we know that no one can either worship God or please Him.

LETTER CLXXII

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

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

1. I have received the honorable man my brother, the son of your Dignation, the priest Orosius, both by his own merit and by your command. But a most difficult time occurred, when it was better for me to be silent than to speak, so that our studies ceased, and, according to Appius, canine eloquence was exercised. Therefore I have not been able to respond in time to your two small books, which you dedicated to my name, most learned and shining with all the splendor of eloquence: not that I think anything is to be reproved in them; but because according to the blessed Apostle, 'Let every man abound in his own sense; one indeed so, but another so' (Rom. XIV, 5). Certainly, whatever could be said, and drawn with sublime genius from the fountains of the Holy Scriptures, has been set forth and discussed by you. But, I beseech your Reverence, suffer me for a little to praise your genius. For we discuss among ourselves for the sake of learning. Otherwise rivals, and especially heretics, if they see diverse sentences between us, will calumniate that they descend from rancor of soul. But for me it is decreed to love you, to look up to you, to cherish, to admire, and to defend your sayings as if they were mine. Certainly also in the dialogue which I recently published (Book 3 against the Pelagians), I remembered your Beatitude, as was worthy: and let us rather give labor that the most pernicious heresy may be taken away from the churches, which always feigns penitence, that it may have the faculty of teaching in the churches;

lest, if it produces itself in the open light, it should die having been expelled outside.

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

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

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

1. If you could see the sorrow of my heart, and the solicitude for your salvation, perhaps you would have mercy on your soul, pleasing God (Ecclus. XXX, 24) in hearing the word, not ours, but His own; nor would you so fix His Scriptures in your memory that you would close your heart against them. It displeases you that you are drawn to salvation, when you have drawn so many of ours to perdition. For what did we wish, except that you should be seized, and presented, and kept lest you should perish? But as to your being hurt in body, you did it to yourself, who did not wish to use the beast of burden soon moved to you, and dashed yourself heavily to the ground: for certainly another who was brought with you, your colleague, came unhurt, who did not do such things to himself.

2. But neither do you think this ought to have been done to you, because you think no one is to be compelled to good. Attend to what the Apostle said, He who desires the episcopate, desires a good work (I Tim. III, 1); and yet so many, so that they might receive the episcopate, are held against their will, are brought, are shut up, are guarded, suffer so many things which they do not wish, until the will for receiving the good work is present to them: how much more are you to be drawn from pernicious error, in which you are enemies to yourselves, and led to the truth to be either known or chosen, not only so that you may have the honor healthfully, but also lest you perish most evilly! You say God has given free will; therefore a man ought not to be compelled

even to good. Why then are those of whom I spoke above compelled to good? Attend therefore to what you do not wish to consider. Therefore a good will is mercifully bestowed, so that a man's bad will may be directed. For who may not know that a man is neither condemned except by the merit of a bad will, nor delivered unless he has a good will? Yet not therefore are those who are loved to be permitted with impunity and cruelly to their bad will; but where power is given, both of prohibiting from evil and of compelling to good.

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

and it is said to them: You have not brought back the straying sheep, you have not sought the lost one (Ezek. XXXIV, 4)? And you are the sheep of Christ, you bear the Lord's character in the Sacrament which you have received; but you stray and perish. Let us not therefore displease you because we bring back the straying, and seek the lost. For we do better the will of the Lord warning that we should compel you to return to His fold, than we consent to the will of the straying sheep, that we should permit you to perish. Therefore do not already say what I assiduously hear you say: So I wish to err, so I wish to perish. For it is better that we do not permit this at all, as much as we can.

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

to the peace of the Church, not to the unity of the body of Christ, not to holy and undivided charity, but to some evils, not even so ought you to have inflicted death on yourself.

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

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

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

7. Therefore the mercy of God granted that both we and your bishops should come to Carthage in such a frequent and numerous assembly, and should confer among ourselves most

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

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

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

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

dissension, for the party of Donatus, for a sacrilegious division, to endure longer the importunity of our love toward you.

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

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

LETTER CLXXIV.

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

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

Concerning the Trinity, which is the highest and true God, I began the books as a young man and published them as an old man. For I had

omitted this work after I found that they had been snatched from me or stolen before I could finish them and polish them with corrections, as had been my plan. For I had decreed to publish all of them not one by one, but all at once, since the subsequent ones are linked to the preceding ones as the inquiry progresses. When, therefore, through those men (because before I wished, they were able to reach some of them), my plan could not be fulfilled, I had left the dictation interrupted, thinking to complain of this very thing in some of my writings, so that those who could might know that the same books were not published by me, but taken away before they seemed worthy of publication by me. But compelled by the most vehement demand of many brothers, and especially by your command, I took care to finish such a laborious work, the Lord helping; and I sent them, corrected not as I wished, but as I could, lest they should differ very much from those which, already stolen, had gone out into the hands of men, to your Veneration through our son, our most dear fellow-deacon, and I permitted them to be heard, copied, and read by anyone: in which, if my plan could have been preserved, they would certainly be, although having the same sentences, yet much more unfolded and clearer, as much as the difficulty of explaining such great things and our ability would allow. There are, however, some who have the first four or rather five even without the prefaces, and the twelfth without a not small final part: but if this edition can become known to them, they will

correct all things if they wish and are able. I ask indeed that you order this letter to be placed before, separately indeed, but yet at the head of the same books. Farewell. Pray for me.

LETTER CLXXV.

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

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

1. When according to custom we had come solemnly to the church of Carthage, and a synod gathered from us for various causes was being held, our fellow-priest Orosius gave us the letters of our holy brothers and fellow-priests Heros and Lazarus, the form of which we have determined to be subjoined here. These therefore being read, we perceived that Pelagius and Celestius were accused as authors of an altogether wicked error, to be anathematized by all of us. Whence it happened that we asked to review what had been agitated here at Carthage concerning the name of Celestius almost five years ago. Which being recited, as your Holiness will be able to perceive from the subjoined things, although a manifest judgment also stood, by which at that time by episcopal judgment this so great a wound seemed to have been cut out from the Church: nevertheless we judged it by common deliberation that the authors of a persuasion of this kind, although the same Celestius is said to have afterwards reached the priesthood, unless they most openly anathematize these things, they themselves ought to be anathematized, so that if their own sanity cannot be procured, at least that of those who have been deceived by them or can be deceived may be procured, the sentence which was brought against them being known.

2. This therefore having been done, lord brother, we have thought that it ought to be intimated to your holy Charity, so that to the statutes of our mediocrity the authority of the Apostolic See may also be applied, for protecting the salva-

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

3. But that grace by which, as has been said, we are Christians, of which the Apostle is the preacher, saying: For I delight in the law of God according to the inner man: but I see another law in my members repugnant to the law of my mind, and captivating me under the law of sin, which is in my members. Wretched man that I am! who shall liberate me from the body of this death? The grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord (Romans VII, 22-25), they are altogether unwilling to recognize; but they do not even dare to oppose it openly: but what else do they do, when they do not cease to persuade animal men not perceiving

the things which are of the Spirit of God (I Cor. II, 14) that human nature alone can suffice for itself to work and perfect justice and to fulfill the commands of God? not attending to what is written: The Spirit helps our infirmity (Romans VIII, 26); and: It is not of him who wills, nor of him who runs, but of God who has mercy (Id. IX, 16); and that we are one body in Christ, but individually members of one another; having diverse gifts according to the grace which is given to us (Id. XII, 5, 6); and: By the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace in me was not void, but I labored more abundantly than all those; yet not I, but the grace of God with me; and: Thanks be to God, who gave us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ (I Cor. XV, 10, 57); and: Not because we are sufficient to think anything as if from ourselves; but our sufficiency is from God (II Cor. III, 5); and: We have this treasure in earthen vessels, so that the eminence of virtue may be of God, and not from us (II Cor. IV, 7); and innumerable such things, which if we wished to collect from all the Scriptures, time does not suffice. And we fear lest in commemorating these very things to you, which you preach with greater grace from the Apostolic See, we may seem to act inconveniently: but we do it for this reason, because by that by which we are weaker, wherever each of us is thought more attentive in preaching the word of God, the more frequently and more audaciously we suffer them rising up against us.

4. If therefore Pelagius has seemed to your Veneration to be justly absolved by the episcopal

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

5. It is also contradicted by the contention of these men to our blessings, so that we may seem to say in vain over the people whatever we pray for them from the Lord, that by living rightly and piously they may please him; or those things which the Apostle prays for the faithful, saying: I bend my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus

Christ, from whom all paternity in heaven and on earth is named, that he may give to you according to the riches of his glory to be corroborated with virtue through his Spirit (Eph. III, 14-16). If therefore we should wish by blessing over the people to say: Give to them, Lord, to be corroborated with virtue through your Spirit; the disputation of these men contradicts us, affirming that free will is denied if this is asked from God which is in our power: For if we wish to be corroborated with virtue, they say, we can by that possibility of nature, which we do not receive now, but received when we were created.

6. They also deny that infants are to be baptized on account of the salvation which is given through Christ the Savior, and thus they kill them eternally by this deadly doctrine, promising that even if they are not baptized, they will have eternal life, and that they do not pertain to those of whom the Lord says: For the Son of man came to seek and save what had perished (Luc. XIX, 10); because these, they say, had not perished, nor is there anything in them to be saved, or to be redeemed at so great a price: because nothing in them is vitiated, nothing is held captive under the power of the devil, nor for them was that blood shed which is read to have been shed for the remission of sins (Matth. XXVI, 28). Although Celestius has already confessed in the church of Carthage in his booklet that the redemption even of infants is made through the baptism of Christ: but many who are held to be or to have been their disciples do not cease to affirm, wherever they

can, these evils by which they try to overturn the foundations of the Christian faith. Whence even if Pelagius and Celestius are corrected, or say that they never felt these things, and deny that whatever writings brought forward against them are theirs, nor is there any way they can be convicted of a lie: yet generally whoever dogmatizes and affirms that human nature alone can suffice for itself to avoid sins and to do the commands of God, and in that way is found an adversary of the grace of God, which is more evidently declared by the prayers of the saints; and whoever denies that infants are liberated from perdition through the baptism of Christ, and perceive eternal salvation, let him be anathema. But whatever other things are objected to them, we do not doubt that your Veneration, when you have perceived the episcopal Acts which are said to have been finished in the East in the same cause, will judge that from which we all may rejoice in the mercy of God. Pray for us, most blessed Lord Pope.

LETTER CLXXVI.

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

To the most blessed lord and deservedly venerable, and to be honored in Christ Pope INNOCENT, SILVANUS, VALENTINUS, AURELIUS, DONATUS, RESTITUTUS, LUCIANUS, ALYPIUS, AUGUSTINUS, PLACENTIUS, SEVERUS, FORTUNATUS, POSSIDIUS, NOVATUS, SECUNDUS, MAURENTIUS, LEO, FAUSTINIANUS, CRESCO-

NIUS, MALCUS, LITTORIUS, FORTUNATUS, DONATUS, PONTICANUS, SATURNINUS, CHRISTONIUS, HONORIUS, LUCIUS, ADEODATUS, PROCESSUS, CRESCONIUS, SECUNDUS, FELIX, ASIATICUS, RUFINIANUS, FAUSTINUS, SERVUS, TERENTIUS, CRESCONIUS, SPERANTIUS, QUADRATUS, LUCILLUS, SABINUS, FAUSTINUS, CRESCONIUS, VICTOR, GIGNANTIUS, POSSIDONIUS, ANTONINUS, INNOCENTIUS, PRAESIDIUS, CRESCENTIUS, FELIX, ANTONIUS, VICTOR, HONORATUS, DONATUS, PETRUS, PRAESIDIUS, CRESCONIUS, LAMPADIUS, DELPHINUS, from the council of Milevis, health in the Lord.

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

2. For a new and too pernicious heresy tries to rise up of the enemies of the grace of Christ, who even try to take away from us the Lord's prayer by impious disputations. For when the Lord taught that we should say: Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors; these men say that a man can in this life, the precepts of God being known, reach such great perfection of justice without the help of the Savior's grace,

through the sole free choice of the will, that it is no longer necessary for him to say: Forgive us our debts. But that which follows: Lead us not into temptation (Matt. VI, 12, 13), is not so to be understood, as if we ought to ask for divine help lest having been tempted we fall into sin; but that this is placed in our power, and for fulfilling this the sole will of man suffices: as if the Apostle said in vain: It is not of him who wills nor of him who runs, but of God who has mercy (Romans IX, 16); and: God is faithful, who will not permit you to be tempted above that which you can; but will make with the temptation also an exit, that you may be able to sustain (I Cor. X, 13). In vain also would the Lord have said to the apostle Peter: I have asked for you, lest your faith fail (Luke XXII, 32); and to all his own: Watch, and pray, lest you enter into temptation (Matt. XXVI, 41); if all this is of human power. They also contend by a wicked presumption that small children, even if they are not innovated by any Sacraments of Christian grace, will have eternal life, evacuating what the Apostle says: Through one man sin entered into the world, and through sin death, and so it passed through into all men, in whom all have sinned (Romans V, 12); and in another place: As in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive (I Cor. XV, 22).

3. That we may therefore omit other things which they discuss very many things against the holy Scriptures; these two in the meantime, by which they try altogether to overturn the whole of what we are as Christians, which faithful

hearts may sustain, that God is not to be asked that he may be our helper against the evil of sin and for working justice, and that the Sacrament of Christian grace does not help small children for attaining eternal life: insinuating these things to your apostolic breast, we have no need to say many things, and to exaggerate such great impiety with words, since without doubt they so move you, that you cannot altogether dissimulate from correcting them, lest they creep more widely, and contaminate many, or rather kill them, while under the name of Christ, they alienate them entirely from the grace of Christ.

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

5. But we think, the mercy of our Lord God helping, who may deign both to rule you consulting and to hear you praying, that they who feel

such perverse and pernicious things will more easily yield to the authority of your Holiness, drawn from the authority of the holy Scriptures, so that we may rather congratulate concerning their correction, than be saddened by their destruction. But whatever they themselves choose, certainly your Veneration sees that it is to be provided instantly and quickly, lest they involve very many others in their snares, as they can if they are dissimulated by you. These things we have directed written to your Holiness from the council of Numidia, imitating our fellow-bishops of the Church of Carthage and of the province of Carthage, whom we have learned to have written concerning this cause to the Apostolic See, which you, blessed, illustrate. And by another hand: Mindful of us, may you be increased in the grace of God, most blessed lord deservedly venerable, and in Christ to be honored holy Father.

LETTER CLXXVII.

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

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

1. Concerning the two councils of the province of Carthage and of Numidia we have sent letters subscribed by no small number of bishops to your Holiness against the enemies of the grace of

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

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

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

It is not a question of one man, Pelagius, who perhaps has already been corrected—and would that it were so!—but of so many who, contending talkatively and dragging weak and unlearned souls along as if bound, and exhausting those who are firm and stable in the faith by that very contention, have now filled everything everywhere. Therefore, he must either be summoned to Rome by your Veneration and diligently questioned as to what grace he means

when he confesses—if indeed he now confesses —that men are helped toward not sinning and living justly; or this very matter must be dealt with him through letters. And when he is found to speak of this grace which the ecclesiastical and apostolic truth teaches, then he is to be absolved without any scruple of the Church, without any hiding-place of ambiguity; then is there truly cause to rejoice in his clearance.

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

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

A distinction must be made between the law and grace. The law knows how to command, grace how to help. Neither would the law command unless there were a will, nor would grace help if the will were sufficient. It is commanded that we have understanding, where it is said: "Be not as the horse and the mule, which have no understanding" (Psalm XXXI, 9); and yet we pray that we may have understanding, where it is said: "Give me understanding that I may learn your commandments" (Psalm CXVIII, 125). It is commanded that we have wisdom, where it is said: "Ye fools, be wise at last" (Psalm XCIII, 8); and yet it is prayed that we may have wisdom, where it is said: "But if any of you want wisdom, let him ask of God, who gives to all abundantly and upbraids not; and it shall be given him" (James I, 5). It is commanded that we have continence, where it is said: "Let your loins be girt" (Luke XII, 35); and yet we pray that we may have continence, where it is said: "Since I knew that no one can be conti-

nent unless God gives it, and this very thing was of wisdom, to know whose gift this was; I went to the Lord and besought Him" (Wisdom VIII, 21). Finally, lest it be too long to run through everything, it is commanded that we do not do evil, where it is said: "Decline from evil"; and yet it is prayed that we do not do evil, where it is said: "But we pray to the Lord that you do nothing evil." It is commanded that we do good, where it is said: "Decline from evil and do good" (Psalm XXXVI, 27); and yet it is prayed that we do good, where it is said: "We cease not praying and asking for you"; and among other things which he prays for them, he says: "That you may walk worthily of God in all pleasing, in every good work and word" (Coloss. I, 9, 10). Therefore, as we recognize the will when these things are prescribed, so let him recognize grace when they are requested.

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

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

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

us, who is against us? He who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all" (Rom. VIII, 31, 32).

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

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

Or perhaps was the commandment of God lacking, and therefore Christ died? Nay, already that was holy and just and good (Id. VII, 12): already it had been said: "You shall not covet" (Exod. XX, 17): already it had been said: "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Levit. XIX, 18), in which word the Apostle says all the law is fulfilled (Rom. XIII, 9). And since unless he love God, no one loves himself, therefore the Lord says that in these two precepts the whole Law and the Prophets depend (Matth. XXII, 37-40): which two precepts had already been given to men by God. Or was the eternal reward of justice not

yet promised? He himself does not say this, who placed in his own Letters that even in the Old Testament the kingdom of heaven was promised (Hebr. XI). If therefore for performing and perfecting justice, there was already the possibility of nature through free choice, there was already the holy and just and good commandment of the Law of God, there was already promised the everlasting reward; then Christ died in vain.

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

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

Now, the Law having been given in the Letters, which the Apostle says entered in that offense might abound, and of which he says: "If therefore the inheritance is from the Law, it is no more from the promise. But God gave it to Abraham by promise." What then is the law? It was set for the sake of transgression, until the seed should come to whom the promise was made, ordained by Angels in the hand of a Mediator. Now a mediator is not of one; but God is one. Is the Law then against the promises of God? God forbid. For if a law had been given which could give life, justice would be entirely from the Law. But the Scripture has concluded all under sin, that the promise by the faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them

that believe (Galat. III, 18-22); is it not sufficiently shown that this was done through the Law, that sin might be recognized and increased by transgression (For where there is no law, there is no transgression (Rom. IV, 15); and thus against the victory of sin, one might flee to divine grace, which is in the promises: and so the Law would not be against the promises of God; because for this reason the knowledge of sin is made through it, and from the transgression of the Law the abundance of sin, so that for deliverance the promises of God may be sought, which is the grace of God; and justice may begin to be in man, not his own, but God's, that is, given by the gift of God?

Which even now some, being ignorant of God's justice, as was also said then of the Jews, and wanting to establish their own, are not subject to the justice of God (Id. X, 3). For they also think they are justified by the Law, free choice being sufficient for them to keep it, that is, their own justice brought forth from human nature; not given from divine grace, on which account it is called the justice of God. Whence also it is written: "For through the Law is the knowledge of sin. But now without the Law the justice of God is manifested, being witnessed by the Law and the Prophets" (Id. III, 20, 21). When he says: "it is manifested," he shows that even then it was, but like that rain which Gideon obtained, then as if hidden in the fleece, but now as if in the floor, manifest (Judges VI, 36-40). Since therefore the Law without grace could not have been the death

of sin, but its strength; for so it was said: "The sting of death is sin, but the strength of sin is the Law" (I Cor. XV, 56): as many flee from the face of reigning sin to grace as if now open in the floor, so few fled to it then as if latent in the fleece. This distribution of times indeed is referred to the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God, of which it is said: "How inscrutable are His judgments, and His ways unsearchable" (Rom. XI, 33)!

Wherefore if both before the time of the Law, and in the time of the Law itself, not the possibility of weak and needy and vitiated nature and sold under sin, but the grace of God through faith justified the just fathers living from faith; and now the same coming into the open, having been revealed, justifies: let Pelagius therefore anathematize his writings, where he disputes against it, even if not through contumacy, yet through ignorance, by defending the possibility of nature for overcoming sins and fulfilling the commandments; or if he denies those things are his, or says that things which he denies are his were put into his writings by his enemies, let him nevertheless anathematize and condemn them by the paternal exhortation and authority of your Holiness. If he wishes, therefore, let him learn to take away a scandal burdensome to himself and pernicious to the Church; which scandal his hearers and perverse lovers do not cease to scatter everywhere. For if they should know that the same book, which they either think to be his or know to be so, by the authority of Catholic bishops, and

especially of your Holiness, which we do not at all doubt to be of greater weight with him, has been anathematized and condemned by himself, we do not think they will further dare, by speaking against the grace of God which was revealed through the passion and resurrection of Christ, to disturb faithful and simply Christian hearts; but rather by the help of the mercy of the Lord, your prayers for charity and piety flagrantly contending with us, they will trust, not in their own virtue, but in the same grace, that they may be not only eternally blessed, but also just and holy. Whence also a letter written to him by one of us, to whom he transmitted through a certain oriental deacon, a citizen however of Hippo, certain writings as if of his clearance, we believed should rather be directed to your Beatitude, judging it better and asking that you yourself deign to send it to him: for so he will rather not disdain to read it, attending more in it to him who sent it than to him who wrote it.

But that which they say, that a man can be without sin and easily keep the commandments of God if he wishes, although this is said with the help of grace, which however was revealed and given through the incarnation of His Only-begotten, seems to be said more tolerably: yet since it can not undeservedly move us, where and when by the same grace it is effected in us that we are altogether without any sin; whether in this life, when the flesh lusts against the spirit (Galat. V, 17), or indeed in that life when the word which is written shall come to pass:

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

But if the matter is so, that by the grace of the Savior we indeed make progress in this life, cupidity failing, charity increasing; but are perfected in that life, cupidity being extinguished,

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

But in whatever way that question may hold itself, because even if a man is not found in this life without sin, yet it is said to be able to be done through the help of grace and the Spirit of God, which that it may be done must be striven for and asked, everyone is tolerably deceived in it; nor is it diabolical impiety, but human error to affirm things that must be labored for and hoped for, even if he cannot show what he affirms: for he believes that can be done which certainly it is laudable to will. But it suffices us that no one of the faithful is found in the Church of God in any progress and excellence of justice, who dares to say to himself that the petition of the Lord's prayer is not necessary: "Forgive us our debts"; and says that he has no sin, lest he deceive himself, and the truth be not in him (I John I, 8), although he already lives without complaint. For not any sort of even human temptation, but a grave sin is that which comes into complaint.

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

LETTER CLXXVIII.

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

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

Our honorable son Palladius, when he sailed from our shore, gave rather than asked a benefit, that I might commend not only him to your Kindness, but also myself to your prayers, most blessed lord and venerable brother in the charity of Christ. When I do this, your Holiness will surely do what we both presume concerning the matter. But as to what things are around us, since I know your love to be solicitous for us, as

ours is for you, your Holiness will hear from the mentioned bearer. Nevertheless, I will briefly say what is most necessary. A certain new heresy, an enemy to the grace of Christ, is attempting to rise up against the Church of Christ; but it is not yet evidently separated from the Church: namely, of men who dare to attribute so much power to human infirmity, that they contend this alone belongs to the grace of God, that we were created with free choice and the possibility of not sinning, and that we received the commandments of God which were to be fulfilled by us; but for the rest, for keeping and fulfilling the same commandments, we need no divine help. But that the remission of sins is necessary for us, because those things which have been evilly done by us in the past, we are not able to make undone. But for avoiding future sins and overcoming them, and for surmounting all temptations by virtue, the human will suffices by its natural possibility without any further help of the grace of God. And that infants do not need the grace of the Savior, by which through His baptism they may be delivered from perdition, because they have drawn no contagion of damnation from Adam.

How much these things are enemies to the grace of God, which was granted to the human race through Jesus Christ our Lord, and in what manner they strive to overthrow the foundations of the whole Christian faith, your Veneration sees with us. Nor ought we to have been silent among you, so that you may beware with pastoral care of men of this sort, whom we wish and desire to

be healed in the Church rather than cut off from it. For already when I was writing these things, we had known that in the church of Carthage a decree of an episcopal council had been made against them, to be directed by a letter to the holy and venerable Pope Innocent; and we from the council of Numidia had already similarly written to the same Apostolic See.

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

silent concerning so great an evil, to be avoided with all vigilance, by the Lord's help.

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

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

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

2. For some of his disciples, young men most honorably born and erudite in liberal studies, at his exhortation dismissed the hope which they had in the world, and betook themselves to the service of God. In whom nevertheless, when

certain things had appeared opposing sound doctrine, which is contained in the Gospel of the Savior and is declared by apostolic discourses, that is, when they were found to dispute against the grace of God, because of which we are Christians, and in which in spirit from faith we expect the hope of justice, and began to be amended by our admonitions; they gave me a book, which they said was of the same Pelagius, asking that I rather respond to it: which after I saw that I ought to do, so that in that way the nefarious error itself might be more perfectly taken away from their hearts, I read and responded.

3. In this book he calls the grace of God nothing but nature, by which we were created with free will. But that grace which the holy Scripture commends with innumerable testimonies, teaching that we are justified by it, that is, made just, and are helped in every good work, whether in acting or in perfecting, by the mercy of God; which also the prayers of the saints most openly show, by which those things are asked from the Lord which are commanded by the Lord: this grace, therefore, he not only passes over in silence, but speaks many things contrary to it. For he affirms, and vehemently contends, that by free will alone human nature can suffice for itself to work justice and to keep all the commandments of God. Whence who may not see, when he shall have read the same book, in what manner the grace of God is attacked, concerning which the Apostle says: Wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace

of God through our Lord Jesus Christ (Rom VII, 24, 25); and no place is left for divine help, because of which praying we ought to say: Lead us not into temptation (Matth. VI, 13); and the Lord may even seem to have said without cause to the apostle Peter: I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not (Luc. XXII, 32), if all this is fulfilled in us by no help of God, but by the power of the will?

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

by the Spirit for the works of justice? For what purpose is it written: But God is faithful, who will not permit you to be tempted above that which you are able, but will make with the temptation also an issue, that you may be able to bear it (I Cor. X, 13); if we were already so created, that by the strength of free will we could overcome all temptations by bearing them?

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

so that the infirmity of the will might be helped by Him who had commanded.

6. Let him be openly asked whether it pleases him that we ought to pray to the Lord that we may not sin. For if it displeases him, let the Apostle be read in his ears saying: Now we pray to God, that you do no evil (II Cor. XIII, 7): but if it pleases him, let him openly preach the grace by which we are helped, lest he himself do much evil. For by this grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord all are delivered, whoever are delivered: since no one, besides it, can be delivered in any other way. For this reason it is written: As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive (I Cor. XV, 22): not because no one will be condemned; but because no one will be delivered otherwise. Because as no sons of man are except through Adam, so no sons of God are except through Christ. All sons of man, therefore, only through Adam, and all from them sons of God only through Christ can be made. Let him openly therefore also here express what he thinks; whether it pleases him that even infants, who are not yet able to will or not will justice, yet because of one man, through whom sin entered into the world, and through sin death, and so passed unto all men, in whom all have sinned (Rom. V, 12), are delivered through the grace of Christ: whether he also believes that the blood of Christ was shed for them because of original sin, which surely was shed for the remission of sins (Matth. XVI, 28). Concerning these things we especially wish to know from him what he believes,

what he holds, what he certainly confesses and preaches. But in other things which are objected to him, even if he is convicted of error, yet until he is corrected, he is sustained more tolerably.

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

8. In this response of Pelagius your Reverence sees that he confessed this, that the prior life of man, which is from infancy, is not without sin, but that he can be converted to a life which is without sin, by his own labor and helped through the grace of God. Why then in this book, to which I responded, does he say that they lived here even

so, that they sinned nothing at all? For these are his words concerning this matter: "This," he says, "can rightly be said of those of whose neither good nor evil deeds Scripture is mindful: but of those whose justice it mentions, it would without doubt also have mentioned their sins, if it had perceived that they had sinned any. But let it be," he says, "in other times by the numerousness of the crowd it may have dissembled to weave together the sins of all; in the very beginning of the world, where there were only four men, why," he says, "do we say, why would it not have wished to mention the deeds of all? Whether because of the immense multitude, which was not yet? or because it mentioned only those who had committed them, but of him who had committed none, it could not mention? Certainly," he says, "in the first time Adam and Eve, from whom Cain and Abel were born, are reported to have been only four men. Eve sinned; Scripture has produced this: Adam also failed; the same Scripture was not silent: but also Cain sinned, the same Scripture also testified. Whose not only sins, but even the quality of the sins it indicates. But if Abel also had sinned," he says, "without doubt Scripture would also have said this: if it did not say so, therefore neither did he sin."

9. These words I have plucked from his book, which your Holiness will also be able to find in the volume itself; that you may understand in what manner you ought to believe him in other things which he denies. Unless perhaps he says that Abel himself sinned in nothing; but for this

reason was not without sin, and for this reason cannot be compared to the Lord, who in mortal flesh alone was without sin, because there was in Abel original sin, which he had drawn from Adam, not that he himself had committed in himself: would that he might at least say this, so that meanwhile we might hold his certain opinion concerning the baptism of infants! Or if perhaps, because he said "from infancy even to old age," he therefore says that Abel did not sin, because he is not shown to have grown old. His words do not indicate this: from the beginning he said the prior life was sinful; but that the latter can be without sin. For he says that he did not say, "that anyone is found from infancy even to old age, who has not sinned; but that converted from sins by his own labor, and helped by the grace of God, he can be without sin." For when he says, "converted from sins," he shows that the prior life is spent in sins. Let him confess therefore that Abel sinned, whose first life was in the world, which he confesses is not lacking in sins, and let him look back at his book, where it is certain that he said what he says in this defense, "We did not say."

10. But if he shall deny that even this book, or this place in that book, is his; I indeed have suitable witnesses, honest and faithful men, and without doubt lovers of him, by whose attestation I can clear myself, that they gave me the same book, and that this is read there, and that they said it was of Pelagius, so that at least this may suffice for me, lest he say it was either

composed or falsified by me. Now let each one choose among those whom he may believe; it is not mine to dispute further concerning this matter. We ask that you certainly transmit to him, if he shall deny that he thinks those things which are objected to him as enemies to the grace of Christ. For his defense is so covered, that if it shall have deceived your holy prudence, who do not know his other writings, with no ambiguity of words, we shall congratulate with great joy; not caring much whether he never thought those perverse and impious things, or has at some time corrected himself from them.

LETTER CLXXX.

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

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

1. I received two letters of your Love at the same time, in one of which you make mention of a third, and record that you sent it before; which I do not recall having received, indeed I seem to myself well to recall that I did not receive it. Nevertheless concerning those which I received, I give rich thanks to your kindness toward us. To which that I might not immediately respond, I was snatched away in one and another tempest of diverse occupations. Whence now having ob-

tained a drop of vacant time, I preferred to respond something, rather than to have long silence toward your most sincere charity, and to become more troublesome by silence than by loquacity.

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

3. But that which you thought was to be solved concerning the official and useful lie, by the

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

4. Furthermore, by your genius and erudition you most easily perceive how much what the Apostle says differs from these: When I saw that they did not walk uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, I said to Peter before all: If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the

Gentiles and not as do the Jews, how compellest thou the Gentiles to judaize? (Galat. II, 14)? There is no tropical obscurity here, the words are proper to open locution. This surely the Teacher of the Gentiles, to those for whom he was in labor until Christ was formed in them (Id. IV, 19), and to whom he had predicted under divine attestation: But the things which I write to you, behold before God, I lie not (Id. I, 20), either said what was true or false: if false, which far be it, you notice what things follow; and the evidence of truth admonishes you to dread both these things, and the example of wonderful humility in the apostle Peter.

5. But why more of this? since we have dealt enough with this question by letters between us, I and the aforesaid venerable brother Jerome; and in this most recent work, which he just published under the name of Critobulus against Pelagius (Lib. 1 against Pelag.), he held the same opinion concerning that deed and the apostolic words, which we also have followed after most blessed Cyprian (Epist. 71 to Quintus). That other matter rather concerning the origin of souls, not because of adulterous births, but because of the damnation, which far be it, of the innocent, which I think is not foolishly asked; if you have learned anything from such and so great a man, which can be rightly answered to those doubting, I ask that you not refuse to communicate it with us. For so erudite and sweet have you appeared to me in your letters, that it is worth the effort to converse with you by letters. Indeed I ask that you no

longer delay to send us a certain book of the same man of God, which the priest Orosius brought, and gave to your Love to be transcribed, where he is praised for having disputed excellently concerning the resurrection of the flesh. For therefore we did not ask for it quickly, because we surely thought it was to be both transcribed and amended; for both of which works we think a most large time has now been granted. Mindful of us, live unto God.

LETTER CLXXXI.

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

INNOCENT to AURELIUS, NUMIDIUS, RUSTICIANUS, RIDENTIANUS, EVAGRIUS, ANTONIUS, PALATINUS, ADEODATUS, VINCENTIUS, PUBLIANO, THEASIUS, TUTUS, PANNONIUS, VICTOR, RESTITUTUS, the other RESTITUTUS, RUSTICUS, FORTUNATIANUS, AMPELIUS, AMBIVIUS, FELIX, DONATIANUS, ADEODATUS, OCTAVIUS, SEROTINUS, MAJORINUS, POSTHUMIANO, CRISPULUS, VICTOR, the other VICTOR, LEUCIUS, MARIANUS, FRUCTUOSUS, FAUSTINIANUS, QUODVULTDEUS, CANDORIUS, MAXIMUS, MEGASIUS, RUSTICUS, RUFINIANUS, PROCULUS, SEVERUS, THOMAS, JANUARIUS, OCTAVIANUS, PRAETEXTATUS, SIXTUS, QUODVULTDEUS, PENTADIUS, QUODVULTDEUS, CYPRIANUS, SERVILIUS, PELAGIANUS, MARCELLUS, VENANTIUS, DIDYMUS, SATURNINUS, BIZACENUS, GERMANUS, GER-

MANIANUS, INVENTIUS, MAJORINUS, INVENTIUS, CANDIDUS, CYPRIANUS, ROMANIANO, EMILIANO, AFRICANUS, MARCELLINO and the rest of the most dear brothers who were present in the Council of Carthage, greeting in the Lord.

1. In inquiring about these things, which it becomes priests to treat with all solicitude, and especially by a true, just, and catholic council, observing the examples of ancient tradition and mindful of ecclesiastical discipline, you have strengthened the vigor of our religion with true reason no less now in consulting than before when you were pronouncing, who have approved that the judgment should be referred to us, knowing what is due to the Apostolic See, since all of us placed in this position desire to follow the apostle himself, from whom the episcopate itself and the whole authority of this name emerged. Following whom, we know as well how to condemn evil things as to approve those to be praised. Or indeed that, guarding the institutes of the fathers with priestly duty, you do not think they are to be trampled upon, which they decreed not by human but by divine sentence, that whatever was being done, even in disjoined and remote provinces, they should not consider to be finished before it reached the notice of this See: so that by the whole authority of this See, that which should be a just pronunciation might be strengthened, and from there the other Churches might take (as if all waters proceeded from their natal fountain, and through the diverse regions of the whole world the pure streams of the

uncorrupted head should flow) what they should command, whom they should wash, whom the water worthy of clean bodies should avoid as if soiled with unpurifiable filth.

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

3. It must therefore be healed more quickly, lest the execrable disease creep further into minds: just as a physician when he shall see some weakness of this earthly body, thinks it a great proof of his art if someone despaired of quickly escapes by his intervention; or when he has looked upon a putrid wound, applies fomentations or other things, by which that wound which had been born might be closed up; and if it remaining cannot be healed, lest it corrupt the rest of the body with its own decay, he amputates

with the iron that which was hurting, so that he may keep the rest whole and untouched. This must therefore be cut away, which has crept as a wound into an otherwise pure and healthy body, lest while it is wiped away too late, the dregs of this evil to be exhausted later should settle almost in the very viscera.

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

5. For I would like to ask him who denies the help of God, what he says: that we do not deserve it, or that He cannot provide this? or that there is nothing for which everyone ought to ask for

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

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

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

7. For having once suffered free will, while he used his goods more unadvisedly, falling into the depths of transgression he was submerged; and he found no way by which he could rise from there; and deceived by his own liberty forever, he would have lain oppressed by this ruin, unless the advent of Christ had later raised him up by His grace: who through the purification of a new regeneration, purged every past vice in the font of his baptism, and strengthening his state so that he might proceed more rightly and more firmly, nevertheless did not deny His grace for the future. For although He had redeemed man from past sins, yet knowing that he could sin again, He re-

served many things for his restoration, by which He could correct him even after those things: He provides daily remedies, and unless we strive leaning and trusting upon them, we shall by no means be able to conquer human errors. For it is necessary that he by whose help we conquer, by his not helping we should be conquered again. But I could say more, unless it were clear that you have said everything.

8. Whoever therefore, assenting to this, seems to be of the opinion by which he says that we do not need divine help, professes himself an enemy of the catholic faith and ungrateful for God's benefits. For they are not even worthy of our communion, which they have so polluted by preaching. For they themselves, while they follow those things which they say, have fled of their own accord further from the true religion. For since this whole matter consists in our profession, and in our daily prayers we do nothing else than seek how we may obtain God's mercy; how can we bear those boasting such things? Who, I ask, so great an error blinds their breasts, that, if they themselves feel no grace of God, because they are neither worthy nor deserve it, they do not even consider concerning others what divine grace daily bestows upon each one? These are indeed most worthy of all blindness, who have not even left this to themselves, that they should believe themselves able to be recalled from errors by divine help. For denying the help, they have taken this away entirely, not from others, but from themselves; who are to be plucked away

further, and to be removed far from the viscera of the Church, lest the incurable error, occupying much for a long time unpunished, should later increase. For if they have lived for a long time under this impunity, it is necessary that they should lead many into this perversity of their mind and deceive the innocent, or rather the imprudent, who follow the catholic faith. For they will think that those feel rightly, whom they shall see still persevering in the Church.

9. Therefore let the unhealthy wound be separated from the healthy body, and the blast of the raging disease being removed, let those things which are sincere more cautiously endure, and let the purer flock be purged from this contagion of the evil sheep. Let there be an unimpaired perfection of the whole body, which we have known you to follow and hold in this pronunciation against them, and which we observe with you in equal assent. If they nevertheless should provoke some help of God in themselves, which they have hitherto denied, and should know that they have need of His help, so that they may be liberated from this stain into which they had fallen by the bowing of their own heart, and as if drawn into the light from a foul darkness, all things being removed and abdicated by which their whole sight was fouled and darkened so that they did not see the truth, let them condemn these things which they have hitherto felt, and sometimes lending their mind to right discussions, being corrected a little from this stain, let them give and submit themselves to be healed by true counsels. Which

if they shall do, it will be in the power of the pontiffs to help them to some extent, and to provide some care for such wounds, which the Church is not accustomed to deny to the fallen when they have repented: so that being recalled from their precipices, they may be brought back within the fold of the Lord; lest being placed outside, and excluded from such protection by the fortification of faith, they should be exposed to all dangers, to be devoured and vexed by the teeth of wolves, whom they could not resist with this perversity of doctrine by which they had irritated them against themselves. But enough has been proven to be responded to your admonitions, so abundant with examples of our law; nor did we think that anything remained for us to say, since it is clear that nothing has been passed over by you, nothing has been suppressed, by which they may be refuted and recognized as entirely convicted. And therefore no testimonies are placed by us, because the report is full of these, and it is sufficiently clear that so many most learned priests have said everything, nor is it proper to believe that you have passed over anything which could profit the cause. And in another hand: Farewell, brothers. And at the side: Given on the 6th calends of February, after the 7th consulship of Theodosius Augustus and of Junius Quartus, a most distinguished man.

LETTER 182.

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

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

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

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

3. Your charity therefore shall perform a double good. For you shall both obtain the grace of the canons observed, and the whole world shall use your benefit. For who of catholic men would wish further to mix speech with the adversaries of Christ? who would even share the light of life itself in communion? Truly let the authors of the new heresy be avoided. For what more bitter thing could they feign against God, than

when they should nullify divine helps, and take away the cause of daily prayer? This is to say, What need have I of God? Worthily might the Hymn-writer say against these: "Behold the men, who did not set God as a helper for themselves" (Psalm 51:9). Denying therefore the help of God, they say that man can suffice for himself, nor does he need divine grace, deprived of which he must necessarily fall, entangled in the snares of the devil, while for the fulfilling of all the mandates of life, he contends with liberty alone. O perverse doctrine of most wicked minds! Let it at length attend to this, that liberty itself so deceived the first man, that while he used its reins too indulgently, he fell into transgression by presumption; nor could he be rescued from this, unless the advent of Christ the Lord had reformed the state of pristine liberty by the providence of regeneration. Let him hear David saying, "Our help is in the name of the Lord" (Psalm 123:8); and, "Be my helper, do not leave me, nor despise me, O God my Savior" (Psalm 26:9): which things he would have said in vain, if that which he asked from the Lord with tearful speech was placed only in his will.

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

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

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

6. Wherefore we decree by the authority of apostolic vigor that Pelagius and Celestius, that is, the inventors of new voices, which, as the Apostle said, are accustomed to produce nothing of edification but rather most vain questions, be deprived of ecclesiastical communion, until they repent from the snares of the devil, by whom they are held captive according to his will (2 Tim. 2:23, 26); and that they meanwhile not be received into the Lord's fold, which they themselves, following the path of a perverse way, wished to desert: for those are to be cut off who trouble you, and wish to pervert the Gospel of Christ (Gal. 1:7). Moreover, we command that whoever attempts to defend this with similar pertinacity, a like vengeance should constrain them. For not only those who do, but also those who consent to those doing, are worthy of death (Rom. 1:32); because I think there is not much difference between the mind of the one committing and the favor of the one consenting. I add even more: for the most part he unlearns erring, whom no one consents to. Let this sentence therefore, most dear brothers, remain fixed against the aforementioned; let them be absent from the courts of the Lord, let them lack pastoral custody, lest the dire contagion of two sheep should creep perhaps through the unwary crowd, and the wolf with a rapacious heart should rejoice within the fold of the Lord at so many crowds of sheep being scattered, while the wound of two is held dissemblingly by the custodians. It must therefore be

provided lest by permitting wolves, we should seem to be mercenaries rather than pastors.

7. We command indeed, since Christ the Lord signified by His own voice that He does not wish the death of the one dying, only that he should return and live (Matt. 9:13), that if ever they should repent to a sound mind, the error of perverse dogma being laid aside, and should condemn those things by whose transgression they condemned themselves, the accustomed medicine, that is, their receptacle from the Church, should not be denied them: lest while we perhaps prohibit them returning, being truly remaining and waiting outside the fold, they should be swallowed by the rabid jaws of the enemy, which they armed against themselves with the darts of evil discussion. Farewell, brothers. Given on the sixth calends of February, Honorius and Constantius, most distinguished men, being consuls.

LETTER 183.

Rescript of Innocent to the five Bishops, disapproving the doctrine of Pelagius, and pronouncing that he must be condemned unless he abjures heresy.

To the most dear brothers AURELIUS, ALYPIUS, AUGUSTINE, EVODIUS, and POSSIDIUS, bishops, INNOCENT, greeting.

1. We have received with a very grateful mind the letters of your brotherhood, full of faith and strengthened with all the vigor of the catholic religion, sent from two councils through our brother and fellow-bishop Julius, because

their tenor and whole context consists in sound reason in the consideration of the daily grace of God, and in the correction of those who think contrary; so that it may be able to take away all error from them, and can provide a worthy and suitable teacher, any example of our law being given, whom they ought to follow. But concerning these things I think enough has already been said above, when responding to your reports we wrote back what we felt either concerning their perfidy or concerning your opinion. But periodically something occurs and is supplied to be said against them, nor can something that conquers ever be lacking, since it is so miserable and impious a thing that by the virtue of our faith it is conquered even by the truth itself more fully. For he who has rejected and despised all hope of life, confounding his heart with a hostile and damnable discussion, since he believes there is nothing that he may receive from God, nor does anything remain which he may seek for healing himself; he who has taken this away from himself, what has he left for the future?

2. If therefore there are some, whom so great a perversity has bound in their own defense, who give and join themselves to this dogma, hoping that this pertains to catholic doctrine, which is proven to be far abhorrent and entirely adverse, being infected by their admonitions and led by their words so that they should fall, they will hasten as far as possible to return to the right path of the way, lest the error, fed as if on their senses, invading the mind for a longer time, should obsess

it. For if Pelagius, in whatever place he stopped, deceived the minds of those who would easily or simply believe him as he discussed, by this affirmation: whether those be in this city (whom being ignorant we can neither manifest nor deny, since even if they are they lie hidden, nor do they ever dare either to defend him preaching these things, or to boast such things in the presence of any of ours, nor can anyone be easily detected or recognized anywhere in so great a multitude of people), or whether they live in any place of the lands; by the mercy and grace of our God we believe that they are easily corrected, hearing the condemnation of him who shall have been found a pertinacious and resisting author of this dogma; nor does it matter where those were, as long as wherever they could be found they are to be healed.

3. To us, nevertheless, it cannot be persuaded that he has been purged, although from some unknown laymen the Acts have been brought to us, by which he might believe himself both heard and absolved: which we doubt whether they are true, because they came under no prosecution of that council, nor have we received any letters from them concerning this matter, in whose presence he offered the causes of this thing. But if he could have trusted in his own purgation, we believe that he would have acted rather in this way, which could have been much truer, that he should compel those who judged him to indicate it by their letters. Truly, since there are some things placed in those same Acts, which

being objected he partly suppressed by avoiding them, partly confused with total obscurity by retorting many words upon himself; some things he purged rather by false arguments than by true reason, as could be seen for the time, by denying some, by turning others with a false interpretation.

4. But would that, which is rather to be hoped for, he would now convert himself to the true way of the catholic faith from that error of his path, so that he may desire and wish to be purged, considering the daily grace of God and recognizing the help, so that he may seem true, and be approved by all corrected by manifest reason, not by the indication of the Acts, but by a heart converted to the catholic faith! Whence we can neither blame nor approve the judgment of those [who heard him], since we do not know whether the Acts are true; or if they are true, it is clear that he rather escaped by subterfuge than purged himself with the whole truth. Who, if he trusts and knows that he is not worthy of our condemnation, because he says he has already refuted all this that he had said, ought not to be summoned by us, but he himself ought rather to hasten, so that he may be able to be absolved. For if he still feels such things, when will he commit himself to our judgment, any letters being received, since he knows he is to be condemned? But if he were to be summoned, it would better be done by those who are more proximate and are seen not to be disjoined by a long space of lands. But care will not be lacking, if he provides the matter for medicine.

For he can condemn what he had felt, and, letters being given, seek pardon for his error, as becomes a return to us, most dear brothers.

5. We have indeed unrolled the book, which was said to be his, transmitted to us by your Charity: in which we read many things written against the grace of God, many blasphemous things, nothing that would please, and almost nothing that would not entirely displease, to be condemned and trampled upon by anyone; the like of which no other person would receive into his mind and feel, except he who had written those things. For we did not think it necessary in this place to dispute more broadly about the law, as if in the presence of Pelagius standing against us, since we speak with you who know everything and rejoice in equal assent with us. For then these examples are better placed, when we treat with those who are proven to be imprudent of these things. For concerning the possibility of nature, concerning free will, and concerning all the grace of God, and daily grace, to whom of right feeling would it not be most abundant to dispute? Let him therefore anathematize those things which he felt, so that those who had collapsed by his sermons and precepts may at length know what the true faith holds. For they can more easily be recalled, when they shall feel those things condemned by their own author. But if he should wish to persist pertinaciously in this impiety, it must be acted so that at least those may be helped whom not their own, but rather this man's error led; lest this medicine also

perish for them, for whom he does not admit nor ask such care. (And in another hand): May God keep you safe, most dear brothers. Given on the 6th calends of February, after the consulship of the most glorious Theodosius Augustus for the 7th time, and of Junius Quartus Palladius, a most distinguished man.

LETTER 184.

INNOCENT to bishops AURELIUS and AUGUSTINE.

The return of Germanus, my most acceptable fellow-presbyter, ought not to have been empty of our office. For to greet most dear ones through dear ones seems to us in a certain way natural and following. Therefore we desire your Brotherhood, most beloved, to rejoice in the Lord, and we pray you to repay like vows to God for us, because, as you well know, we do more by common and alternate prayers than by singular or private ones.

LETTER 184 bis. Praising the study of Peter and Abraham, he notes the Pelagians in passing, and proves that infants dying without baptism, as being sown in concupiscence, are condemned; truly that infidels, of whom there is a manifold kind, are not corrected by the authority of sacred Scripture, but converted by suppliant prayers. The plan and order of the books of the City of God.

To the most beloved lords and holy sons PETER and ABRAHAM, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. Your holy study indeed, by which you think many things are to be asked from me so that you may be able to resist contentious impieties not unarmed, neither ought justice to despise, nor can charity. But a diligent response to everything one letter, however prolix it may be, does not contain. But you should know that in very many of our small works I have already responded, as far as I could, to everything, or almost everything, which you require. Which if you read, since I hear you have so instituted the life by which you serve God that there is leisure for you for reading, either every instruction will lie open to you, or I think not much will be lacking, especially because the interior Teacher is in you, by whose grace you are such. For what does a man help a man to learn anything, if we be not teachable of the Lord (John 6:45)? and yet in this letter I shall by no means defraud your expectation, as the Lord helps, even with a brief response.

2. The Lord says: "He who shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved; but he who shall not believe, shall be condemned" (Mark 16:16). If therefore infants when they are baptized, it is not said in vain, but acted in truth, that they are held among believers, whence also they are called a new offspring by the mouth of all Christians; surely if they shall not believe, they shall be condemned: and through this, because they themselves by living badly added nothing to original sin, it can worthily be said of them that in that condemnation there is a minimum punishment, yet not none. But whoever thinks that

there will not be a diversity of punishments, let him read what is written: "It shall be more tolerable for Sodom in the day of judgment, than for that city" (Matt. 10:15). Let not therefore a middle place between the kingdom and punishment be sought for infants by deceivers; but let them pass from the devil to Christ, that is, from death to life, lest the wrath of God remain upon them: from this wrath of God indeed nothing frees except the grace of God. But what is the wrath of God, unless punishment and vengeance due from a just God? for God is not troubled by any commotion, as a mutable mind is angered; but that which is called the wrath of God is nothing other than the just punishment of sin, which it is no wonder that it passes to posterity.

3. For carnal concupiscence, by which they are sown and conceived, was not before sin, nor would it have been at all, unless a reciprocal punishment should also follow the disobedience of man in the disobedience of his own flesh. Which evil although the good of marriage uses well, yet even the licit and honest concubitus for the cause of procuring children, that is, the nuptial one, cannot happen without it. But it could happen without it, if human nature had remained by not sinning in that state in which it was established. For even the genital members, like the others, could be moved by the nod of the will to perform their own work, not excited by the heat of libido. For who would deny those words of God, "Increase and multiply" (Gen. 1:22), were not a curse of sinners, but a blessing of nuptials? Through

this concupiscence therefore, because Christ was neither sown nor conceived (since the birth of the Virgin was far otherwise); through this concupiscence, I say, whatever of men is sown, conceived, and born, there is need that it be reborn lest it be punished. Because, even if it is born from reborn parents, carnal generation cannot provide to this what spiritual regeneration did not provide except to them. Just as not only from the seed of the wild olive, but even of the olive, nothing is born but the wild olive, although the olive is not the wild olive. Many things concerning these we have said even in our other letters, which I wish rather that you read than compel us to repeat the same.

CHAPTER II.

4. To infidels indeed, who are held by no authority of the Books of the Christians, it is more laboriously responded. Nor can their perversity be corrected by the weight of divine Scripture, against whom rather the Scripture itself, which is more openly accused by them, ought surely to be defended. Which if the Lord shall also help you so that you may be able, nevertheless you do little among those whom you desire to be Christians, if you conquer their infidelity with truthful discussions; unless you also ask for faith for them with suppliant prayers. And faith itself indeed, as you know, is a gift of God, who partitions to each one a measure of faith, and such a gift that it is necessary that it precede understanding. For the prophet is not deceived saying: "Unless you

shall believe, you shall not understand" (Isaiah 7:9). And because unless they should believe, the Apostle was praying not for those already faithful, but for the Jews still infidels, when he said: "Brothers, indeed the good will of my heart, and prayer to God is made for them unto salvation" (Rom. 10:1); for those, namely, who had killed Christ, who surely would also kill him, if power were given. For such the Lord also prayed when hanging He was mocked (Luke 23:34), and blessed Stephen when he was stoned (Acts 7:59).

CHAPTER III.

5. Of these infidels indeed, whom we are accustomed to call either Gentiles, or now by a commonly used word Pagans, since there are two kinds; one of those who prefer superstitions, as they think, to the Christian religion; the other of those who are bound by no name of religion; I, in certain books which I have pre-noted concerning the City of God, of which I think the notice has already reached you, and of which I still labor at the remaining ones to be absolved in the midst of my occupations if the Lord shall will, against the first kind of these, which the Apostle notes where he says, "What the nations sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons, and not to God" (1 Cor. 10:20); or certainly where he says, "They worshiped and served the creature rather than the Creator" (Rom. 1:25); I have completed ten not small volumes, of which the first five refute those who, for the sake of obtaining or retaining this earthly and temporal happiness of human things,

contend that the worship not of one supreme and true [God], but of many gods is necessary. Truly the other posterior five are against those who, extolling themselves more tumidly and inflately against the salutary doctrine, think they reach to the beatitude which is hoped for after this life even through the worship of demons and many gods. Where also their noble philosophers are refuted by us in these three of the last five books. The others from the eleventh as many as could be, of which I have already absolved three and have the fourth in hands, will contain those things which we hold and believe concerning the City of God; lest we should seem to have wished only to refute the things of others, and not also to assert our own in this work. But that fourteenth book after the ten, and the same also fourteenth of the whole work, if the Lord shall will, will have all the questions which you proposed to me in your letter unknotted.

6. Furthermore, with the other kind of infidels, who either believe there is no divine power, or do not believe that human things pertain to it, I know not whether speech is to be had concerning any question of piety; although almost no one is found in our times so foolish as to dare even to say in his heart: "There is no God" (Psalm 13:1). But those other foolish ones are not lacking who have said: "The Lord will not see" (Psalm 93:7); that is, He does not extend His providence into these earthly things. Nevertheless in these books, which I wish your Charity to read, while the City of God asserts not only that God is, which being

natural and ingrained almost no impiety ever extirpates; but also that He bears the care of human things from the very institution of men even unto beatifying the just with holy Angels, and condemning the impious with malignant angels, if God shall will, and to whom He shall will, it will become credible.

7. Therefore this letter is not to be burdened further, most beloved. For where you may hope to know what you wish through our ministry, we have said enough; and we have cared, according to the faculty of our tenuity, that you may be able to have the same books if you do not yet have them, through my holy brother and fellow-presbyter Firmus, who loves you much and has more diligently intimated to us, so that he may give thanks to your mutual love.

CONCERNING THE SUBSEQUENT LETTER. (LIB. II RETRACT., CAP. XLVIII.)

At the same time I also wrote a book concerning the Correction of the Donatists, on account of those who did not wish them to be corrected by imperial laws. This book begins thus: "I praise, and congratulate, and admire."

BOOK C

ONCERNING THE CORRECTION OF THE DONATISTS, OR LETTER 185.

Augustine to Boniface (tribune and at length count in Africa, from Epist. 220), demonstrating

to him that the heresy of the Donatists has nothing in common with the Arian, and by what moderation through the fear of imperial laws heretics can be reduced to the society of the Church: some things concerning the immanity of the Donatists and Circumcellions, and finally concerning the sin against the Holy Spirit not to be remitted. He treated the same argument in letter 93.

CHAPTER I.

1. I praise, and congratulate, and admire, most beloved son Boniface, that in the midst of the cares of wars and arms, you vehemently desire to know those things which are of God. Truly from this it appears that even from military virtue itself, you serve the faith which you have in Christ. Therefore, that I may briefly insinuate to your Charity what the difference is between the error of the Arians and of the Donatists; the Arians say that the substances of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit are diverse: but the Donatists do not say this, but confess one substance of the Trinity. And if some of them have said that the Son is less than the Father is; yet they have not denied that He is of the same substance: truly the majority among them say that they believe this entirely concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, which the Catholic Church believes. Nor is the question itself turned with them; but they litigate unhappily concerning communion alone, and they exercise rebellious hostilities against the unity of Christ by the perversity of their error. But sometimes, as

we have heard, some of them, wishing to conciliate the Goths to themselves, when they see that they have some power, say that they believe this which they also believe. But they are convicted by the authority of their elders; because not even Donatus himself is asserted to have believed thus, of whose party they glory that they are.

2. But let not those things disturb you, most beloved son. For future heresies and scandals have been predicted, so that we might be erudite among enemies; and thus both our faith and our love may be able to be more proved: faith indeed, lest we be deceived by them; but love, so that we may consult even for their correction as much as we can; not only being instant lest they harm the weak, and that they may be liberated from the nefarious error, but also praying for them, so that the Lord may open their sense to them, and they may understand the Scriptures. Because in the holy Books where the Lord Christ is manifested, there also His Church is declared: but these ones, by a wonderful blindness, although they know not Christ Himself except from the Scriptures, yet they do not recognize His Church by the authority of the divine Letters, but feign it by the vanity of human calumnies.

3. They recognize with us Christ in that which is read, They pierced my hands and my feet; they numbered all my bones. They indeed considered and beheld me; they divided my garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast a lot: and they do not wish to recognize the Church in that which follows a little after, All the ends of the

earth shall be mindful and shall be converted to the Lord; and all the families of the nations shall adore in his sight: since the kingdom is the Lord's, and he shall rule over the nations (Psalm 21:17, 18, 19, 28, 29). They recognize with us Christ in that which is read, The Lord said to me, You are my Son, today I have begotten you: and they do not wish to recognize the Church in that which follows, Ask of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance, and the ends of the earth as your possession (Psalm 2:7, 8). They recognize with us Christ in that which the Lord Himself speaks in the Gospel, It behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead on the third day: and they do not wish to recognize the Church in that which follows, and that penance and remission of sins should be preached in his name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem (Luke 24:46, 47). And innumerable are the testimonies of the holy Books, which I ought not to coarct into this book. In which just as the Lord Christ appears, whether according to the divinity by which He is equal to the Father, who in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; or according to the humility of the assumed flesh, by which the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (John 1:1, 14): so appears also His Church, not in Africa alone, as these ones rave with most impudent vanity, but diffused throughout the whole world.

4. For they prefer their own litigations to the divine testimonies, because in the cause of Caecilian, formerly bishop of the church of Carthage,

against whom they objected crimes which they neither could prove nor can, they divided themselves from the Catholic Church, that is, from the unity of all nations. Although even if the things which were objected by them to Caecilian were true, and could sometimes be shown to us, we would now anathematize him, already dead: but yet we ought not to leave the Church of Christ, which is not feigned by litigious opinions, but is proved by divine attestations, on account of any man whatsoever; because it is good to trust in the Lord, rather than to trust in man (Psalm 117:8). For neither, which I may have said without injury to that innocence of his, if Caecilian sinned, did Christ therefore lose His inheritance. It is easy for a man to believe either true or false things about another man; but it is of wicked impudence, on account of the crimes of a man which you cannot show to the world, to wish to condemn the communion of the world.

5. Whether Caecilian was ordained by traitors of the divine Codices, I know not; I did not see it, I heard it from his enemies: it is not recited to me from the Law of God, not from the preaching of the Prophets, not from the holiness of the Psalms, not from the Apostle of Christ, not from the speech of Christ. Truly the testimonies of all the Scriptures with consonant voice proclaim the Church diffused throughout the whole world, with which the party of Donatus does not communicate. In your seed all nations shall be blessed, the Law of God said (Genesis 26:4). From the rising of the sun even to its setting, a

clean sacrifice is offered to my name; since my name is glorified among the nations, the Lord said through the Prophet (Malachi 1:11). He shall rule from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the world, the Lord said through the Psalm (Psalm 71:8). Fructifying and growing in the whole world, the Lord said through the Apostle (Colossians 1:6). You shall be witnesses to me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and even to the ends of the earth, the Son of God said with His own mouth (Acts 1:8). Caecilian, bishop of the church of Carthage, is accused by human litigations: the Church of Christ, constituted in all nations, is commended by divine voices. Piety itself, truth, charity, does not permit us to receive against Caecilian the testimony of those men whom we do not see in the Church to which God gives testimony: for those who do not follow the divine testimonies have lost the weight of human testimony.

CHAPTER II.

6. I add that they themselves, by accusing, sent the cause of Caecilian to the judgment of the Emperor Constantine; nay rather, they brought Caecilian himself after the episcopal judgments, where they could not oppress him, to the examination of the aforesaid Emperor, by most pertinacious persecutions. And what they now reprehend in us, so that they may deceive the unskillful, saying that Christians ought not to demand anything from Christian Emperors against the enemies of Christ, they themselves

did first. Which also in the conference which we had together at Carthage, they did not dare to deny: nay, they even dared to glory that their elders had criminally pursued Caecilian before the Emperor; moreover adding a lie, that they conquered him there and caused him to be condemned. How therefore are they not persecutors, who since they pursued Caecilian by accusing, and were overcome by him, wished to arrogate false glory to themselves by a most impudent lie; not only not thinking it a fault, but even boasting for their own praise, if they should prove that Caecilian had been condemned by their accusing elders? But how they were conquered in all ways in that same conference, since the Acts are very prolix, and for you occupied with other things necessary for Roman peace, it is much that they be read, a Breviary of them will perhaps be able to be read to you, which I believe my brother and fellow-bishop Optatus has; or if he does not have it, he can most easily receive it from the Church of Sitifis: since indeed even this book by its own prolixity is perhaps burdensome to your cares.

7. For this happened to the Donatists, which [happened] to the accusers of holy Daniel. For just as against those the lions (Daniel 6:24), so against these were turned the laws by which they wished to oppress the innocent; except that on account of the mercy of Christ, those laws are more for them, which seem adverse to them: since many have been corrected through them, and are corrected daily; and they give thanks that they have been corrected, and liberated from

that furious perdition. And those who hated love, and as much as they detested in their insanity that the most salutary laws were troublesome to them, so much they congratulate [themselves] having recovered sanity; and they are excited with us by a similar love against the remaining ones, with whom they were about to perish, so that we may equally insist lest those ones perish. For both a physician is troublesome to a raging madman, and a father to an undisciplined son; the former by binding, the latter by beating; but both by loving. But if they should neglect them, and permit them to perish, this false mildness is rather cruel. For if the horse and the mule, which have no understanding, resist with bites and kicks the men by whom their wounds to be cured are handled; and although men are often endangered and sometimes vexed among their teeth and kicks, yet they do not desert them, until through medicinal pains and troubles they recall them to health: how much more a man by a man, and a brother by a brother, lest he perish for eternity, is not to be deserted, who being corrected can understand how great a benefit was being afforded to him, when he complained that he suffered persecution!

8. Therefore as the Apostle says, Unwearied, while we have time, let us work good to all (Galatians 6:10): let all be called to salvation, let all be recalled from perdition, those who can, by the speeches of Catholic preachers; those who can, by the laws of Catholic princes; partly through those who obey divine admonitions,

partly through those who obey imperial commands. Because both emperors, when they constitute bad laws for falsehood against the truth, are proved believing well, and those persevering are crowned: but when they constitute good laws for the truth against falsehood, those raging are terrified, and those understanding are corrected. Whoever therefore does not wish to comply with the laws of emperors which are brought against the truth of God, acquires a great reward: but whoever does not wish to comply with the laws of emperors which are brought for the truth of God, acquires a great punishment. For also in the times of the Prophets all the kings who in the people of God did not prohibit nor overturn those things which had been instituted against the precepts of God, are blamed; and those who prohibited and overturned [them], are praised above the merits of others. And King Nebuchadnezzar, when he was a servant of idols, constituted a sacrilegious law that an image should be adored; but those who refused to obey his impious constitution, did piously and faithfully: yet the same king, corrected by a divine miracle, constituted a pious and laudable law for the truth, that whoever should speak blasphemy against the true God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, should utterly perish with his house (Daniel 3:5, 96). If any contemned this law, and deservedly suffered that which had been constituted, they ought to have said what these ones say, that they are just, because they suffered persecution from the law of the king: which they would certainly

say, if they were so insane as these ones are insane who divide the members of Christ, and blow away the Sacraments of Christ, and glory in persecution; because they are prohibited from doing those things by the laws of emperors which they constituted for the unity of Christ; and they boast fallaciously of their innocence, and they seek from men the glory of martyrs which they cannot receive from the Lord.

9. But those are true martyrs of whom the Lord says, Blessed are they who suffer persecution for the sake of justice (Matthew 5:10). Therefore not those who suffer persecution for the sake of iniquity and for the sake of the impious division of Christian unity, but those who suffer for the sake of justice, these are true martyrs. For also Hagar suffered persecution from Sarah (Genesis 16:6); and she was holy who did it, she was iniquitous who suffered it. Is holy David, whom iniquitous Saul persecuted, to be compared to this persecution which Hagar suffered (1 Kings 18, 19, etc.)? Truly it differs greatly, not because he suffered, but because he suffered for the sake of justice. And the Lord Himself was crucified with thieves (Luke 23:33): but the cause separated those whom the passion joined. Therefore that voice of the true martyrs is to be understood in the Psalm, wishing themselves to be discerned from false martyrs, Judge me, O God, and discern my cause from an unholy nation (Psalm 42:1): he did not say, "Discern my punishment"; but, discern my cause. For there can be a similar punishment of the impious, but the cause of the martyrs is

dissimilar; whose also is that voice, They have persecuted me unjustly, help me (Psalm 118:86): therefore he thought himself worthy to be helped justly, because those ones were persecuting unjustly; for if those ones were persecuting justly, he was not to be helped, but corrected.

10. But if they think that no one can justly persecute anyone, as they said in the conference, that that is the true Church which suffers persecution, not that which does [it]; I omit to say what I commemorated above, because if it is so as they say, Caecilian pertained to the true Church, when their elders were pursuing him even to the judgment of the Emperor by accusing. For we say that he pertained to the true Church for this reason, not because he was suffering persecution, but because he was suffering for the sake of justice; but that those ones were alienated from the Church for this reason, not because they were persecuting, but because they were persecuting unjustly: we therefore say this. But if they do not seek the causes why each one does persecution, or why he suffers [it], but think this is the sign of a true Christian, if he does not do persecution, but suffers [it]; without doubt they constitute Caecilian in that definition, who was not doing, but suffering [it]: but they send their own elders out from that definition, who were doing, not suffering [it].

11. But this, as I said, I omit; I say that: if the true Church is itself that which suffers persecution, not that which does [it]; let them ask from the Apostle what Church Sarah was

signifying, when she was doing persecution to the handmaid. For he says that our free mother, the heavenly Jerusalem, that is, the true Church of God, was figured in that woman who was afflicting the handmaid (Galatians 4:22-31). But if we should discuss it better, that one was persecuting Sarah more by being proud, than Sarah her by coercing: for that one was doing injury to the mistress, this one was imposing discipline on the proud one. Then I ask, if the good and holy do persecution to no one, but only suffer [it], whose voice do they think it is in the Psalm, where it is read: I will pursue my enemies, and will comprehend them, and will not turn back until they fail (Psalm 17:38)? If therefore we wish to speak or to recognize the truth, there is an unjust persecution which the impious do to the Church of Christ; and there is a just persecution which the Church of Christ does to the impious. That [Church] therefore is blessed which suffers persecution for the sake of justice; but those are miserable who suffer persecution for the sake of injustice. Hence this [Church] pursues by loving, those by raging; this so that she may correct, those so that they may overturn; this so that she may recall from error, those so that they may precipitate into error: finally this [Church] pursues enemies and comprehends [them], until they fail in vanity, so that they may profit in truth; but those, retributing evils for goods, because we consult for them unto eternal salvation, try to take away even temporal [salvation] from us, so loving homicides that they fulfill them in

themselves when they cannot perpetrate them in others. For just as the charity of the Church labors so to liberate them from that perdition that none of them may die; so their furor labors either to kill us, so that they may feed the lust of their cruelty, or even themselves, lest they should seem to have lost the power of killing men.

CHAPTER III.

12. But those who know not their custom, think that they kill themselves only now, when so many peoples are liberated from their most insane domination by the occasion of those laws which have been constituted for unity. But those who know even before those same laws what they are accustomed to do, do not wonder at their deaths, but remember their manners; especially when there was still the worship of idols, huge columns of crowds used to come to the most celebrated solemnities of the Pagans, not so that they might break the idols, but so that they might be killed by the worshippers of idols. For if they wished to do that having received legitimate power, if anything had happened to them, they could have some kind of shadow of the name of martyrs; but they used to come to this alone, that they themselves might be destroyed while the idols remained intact: for every single one of the most valiant young worshippers of idols had been accustomed to vow to those same idols how many each would kill. Some also used to cast themselves into the way of armed travelers to be slaughtered, terribly threatening that they would

strike them unless they were destroyed by them. Sometimes also they violently extorted from passing judges that they should be struck by the executioners or by the office. Whence a certain one is reported to have mocked them thus, that he ordered them to be bound as if to be struck and then to be dismissed, and thus he escaped their impetus unbloody and unharmed. Now indeed, to kill themselves through abrupt precipices, through waters and flames, was a daily play for them. For the devil taught them these three kinds of death, so that wishing to die, when they did not find someone whom they might terrify so that they might be struck by his sword, they might cast themselves through rocks, or give [themselves] to fires and whirlpools. But who is to be believed to have taught them these things, possessing their heart, except he who also suggested to our Savior, as if from the Law, that He should precipitate Himself from the pinnacle of the temple (Luke 4:9)? Whose suggestion they would certainly prohibit from themselves, if they carried Christ the master in their heart. But because they gave place to the devil in themselves instead, either they perish just as that herd of swine which the crowd of demons cast down from the mountain into the sea (Mark 5:13); or being snatched from those deaths, and gathered into the pious bosom of the Catholic mother, they are thus liberated, just as he was liberated by the Lord whom his father offered to be healed from a demon, saying that he was accustomed

sometimes to fall into water, sometimes into fire (Matthew 17:14).

13. Whence a great mercy is done toward them, when even through these laws of emperors, from that sect where through the doctrines of mendacious demons they learned these evils, they are first snatched unwilling, so that in the Catholic [Church] they may afterwards be healed, having become accustomed to good precepts and manners. For many of them, whose pious fervor of faith and charity we now admire in the unity of Christ, give thanks to God with great joy that they lacked that error where they thought these evils were goods: which thanks they would not now give willingly, unless they first departed from that nefarious society even unwillingly. What shall we say of those who daily confess to us that they already long ago wished to be Catholics; but they were living among those among whom they could not be that which they wished through the infirmity of fear, where if they spoke one word for the Catholic [Church], both they and their houses would be utterly overturned? Who is so demented as to deny that these ought to have been succored through imperial commands, so that they might be rescued from so great an evil, while those whom they were fearing are compelled to fear, and by that same fear either they themselves are also corrected, or certainly when they feign that they have been corrected, they spare the corrected ones, by whom they were previously feared?

14. But if they should wish to kill themselves, lest those who are to be liberated be liberated, and in that way to terrify the piety of those liberating, so that while it is feared lest some lost ones perish, those who either already did not wish to perish, or being coerced were able not to perish, are not rescued from perdition; what does Christian charity do here, especially when those who threaten their voluntary and furious deaths are very few in comparison with the peoples to be liberated? What therefore does fraternal love do? whether, while it fears the transitory fires of furnaces for a few, it dismisses all to the eternal fires of hells; and so many, either already willing, or afterwards not able through Catholic peace to come to perpetual life, it leaves in everlasting destruction, by taking care lest some die by voluntary destruction, who live to the impediment of the salvation of others, whom they do not permit to live according to the doctrine of Christ, so that they may teach them at whatever time according to the custom of the diabolical doctrine to hasten to those voluntary deaths which are now feared in those ones? Or rather does it conserve those whom it can, even if those whom it cannot conserve perish spontaneously? For that all may live, it ardently desires; but that all may not perish, it labors more. But thanks be to the Lord, that even among us, not indeed in all, but in very many places, and through other parts of Africa, without any deaths of these insane ones, Catholic peace has run, and runs. But those fatal things happen there, where there is so furious and useless a kind

of men, who also in other times have been accustomed to do the same things.

CHAPTER IV.

15. And indeed, before those laws were sent by the Catholic emperors, the doctrine of the peace and unity of Christ was gradually growing, and into it each one, as he learned, and wished, and was able, passed from that same party; while nevertheless among them most demented flocks of lost men in various causes disturbed the quiet of the innocent. What master was not compelled to fear his own servant, if he had fled to their patronage? Who dared at least to threaten an overthrower? Who could demand from a consumer of storehouses, who from any debtor whatsoever, the help and defense of those ones? From fear of clubs and fires and of present death, the tablets of the worst servants were broken, so that they might depart free. Chirographs extorted from debtors were returned. Whoever had contemned their hard words were compelled by harder blows to do what they commanded. The houses of the innocent who had offended them were either leveled to the ground or consumed by fires. Certain fathers of families born in an honorable place, and educated in a generous culture, were taken away scarcely alive after their slaughters, or bound to a mill, and driven by the lash to lead it in a circle, like contemptible beasts of burden. For what help from the laws from civil powers availed anything against them? What official panted in their presence? What

exactor exacted what they had been unwilling for? Who attempted to vindicate those who were extinguished by their slaughters, except that their own insanity demanded punishments from them, while some by provoking against themselves the swords of men, whom they terrified with death so that they might be struck by them, others through various precipices, others through waters, others through fires, cast themselves everywhere into voluntary deaths, and projected their feral souls from themselves by punishments brought upon themselves?

16. Very many constituted in that same heretical superstition were horrified by those things; and when they thought it sufficient for their innocence that such things displeased them, it was said to them by the Catholics: "If those evils do not pollute your innocence, how do you say that the Christian world is polluted by the false, or certainly unknown, sins of Caecilian? How do you separate yourselves by a nefarious crime from Catholic unity, as if from the Lord's threshing-floor, which until the time of winnowing must of necessity have both the grain to be stored in the barn and the chaff to be consumed by fires (Matth. III, 12)?" And so the reason was rendered to some, that some passed to Catholic unity, being prepared to sustain even the enmities of the lost; but more, although they wished it, nevertheless did not dare to make those men enemies to whom there had been such license for raging: for indeed some suffered most cruel things from them when they had passed over to us.

17. It happened also that at Carthage a certain deacon of theirs, named Maximian, acting proudly against his own bishop, certain of the bishops of the same party, a schism having been made and the party of Donatus being divided in the people of Carthage, ordained a bishop against a bishop. Since this displeased more of them, they condemned that same Maximian with twelve others who had been present at his ordination, but to the others pertaining to the same society of the schism, a day having been appointed, they gave the faculty of returning. But afterwards some from those same twelve, and from those to whom a delay had been given, returning after the appointed day, they received into their honors for the sake of their own peace; and whomever the condemned had baptized outside of their communion, they did not dare to rebaptize. This deed of theirs began to avail much against them in favor of the Catholic [Church], so that their mouths were entirely closed. When this matter (as was fitting) was spread more urgently for the healing of the minds of men from the schism, and was shown in whatever direction it could be by the sermons and disputations of the Catholics, that for the sake of the peace of Donatus they had both received their condemned ones back into their integrity of honor, and had not dared to rescind the baptism which the condemned or even those delayed had given outside their Church; and yet they objected to the world against the peace of Christ the contamination of some sins or other, and evacuated the baptism given also in those

Churches from which the Gospel itself came to Africa: very many were confounded, and blushing with the manifest truth were corrected, more frequently than usual, and much more wherever some liberty from their cruelty breathed.

18. But then they so took fire, and were incited by such stings of hatred, that against their snares and violences and most open robberies, scarcely any Churches of our communion could be secure, scarcely any way was safe by which whoever preached Catholic peace against their madness and convinced their dementedness with clear truth might make their journey. To such a degree entirely was a hard condition proposed in a certain way not only to laymen, or to any clerics whatsoever, but also to the Catholic bishops themselves. For either the truth had to be kept silent, or their immanity had to be endured. But if the truth were kept silent, not only was no one to be liberated by its silence, but many also of them were to be lost by seduction: but if by the preaching of the truth their fury were provoked to raging, some being liberated and our own being strengthened, again dread would impede the weak from following the truth. Therefore, when the Church was afflicted by these straits, whoever thinks that all things ought rather to have been endured than that the help of God, to be brought through Christian emperors, should have been asked for, pays too little attention that a good account could not have been rendered of this negligence. CHAPTER V.

19. For as to what those say who do not wish just laws to be instituted against their impieties, that the Apostles asked no such things from the kings of the earth, they do not consider that it was another time then, and that all things are done in their own times. For what emperor had then believed in Christ, who might serve Him by bearing laws for piety against impiety, when as yet that prophetic [saying] was being fulfilled: "Why have the nations raged, and the peoples meditated vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the princes convened into one against the Lord, and against His Christ"? But that which is said a little after in the same psalm was not yet being acted: "And now, O kings, understand; be instructed, you who judge the earth. Serve the Lord in fear, and exult unto Him with trembling" (Psal. II, 1, 2, 10, 11). How therefore do kings serve the Lord in fear, except by prohibiting and punishing with religious severity those things which are done against the commands of the Lord? For he serves in one way because he is a man; in another, because he is also a king: because he is a man, he serves Him by living faithfully; but because he is also a king, he serves by sanctioning with convenient vigor laws commanding just things and prohibiting the contrary. As Hezekiah served, by destroying the groves and temples of idols, and those high places which had been constructed against the precepts of God (IV Kings XVIII, 4): as Josiah served, by himself doing such things (Ibid., XXIII, 4, 5): as the king of the Ninevites served, by compelling the whole city to appease

the Lord (Jonah III, 6-9): as Darius served, by giving the idol to be broken into the power of Daniel, and casting his enemies to the lions (Dan. XIV, 21, 41): as Nebuchadnezzar served, of whom we have already spoken, by prohibiting with a terrible law all those placed in his kingdom from blaspheming God (Id. III, 96). In this therefore do kings serve the Lord, in as much as they are kings, when they do those things for serving Him which none can do except kings.

20. Since therefore kings did not yet serve the Lord in the times of the Apostles, but were still meditating vain things against the Lord and against His Christ, so that all the predictions of the Prophets might be fulfilled, impieties certainly could not then be prohibited by laws, but rather were exercised. For so the order of times revolved, that both the Jews might kill the preachers of Christ, thinking that they were doing a service to God, as Christ had predicted (John XVI, 2), and the Gentiles might rage against the Christians, and the patience of the martyrs might conquer all. But after that began to be fulfilled which is written: "And all the kings of the earth shall adore Him; all nations shall serve Him" (Psal. LXXI, 11); who sober of mind would say to kings: "Do not care in your kingdom by whom the Church of your Lord is held or attacked; let it not pertain to you, who in your kingdom wishes to be either religious or sacrilegious": to whom it cannot be said: "Let it not pertain to you, who in your kingdom wishes to be chaste, who unchaste"? For why, when free will has been divinely given to

man, should adulteries be punished by laws, and sacrileges be permitted? Is it lighter not to keep faith of the soul to God, than of a woman to a man? Or if those things which are committed not by contempt, but by ignorance of religion, are to be more mildly vindicated, are they therefore to be neglected?

CHAPTER VI.

21. It is indeed better (who would doubt it?) for men to be led to the worship of God by doctrine, than to be compelled by the fear of punishment or by pain: but not because these are better, are those who are not such to be neglected. For it has profited many (which we have proved and are proving by experiences) first to be coerced by fear or pain, so that afterwards they could be taught, or follow in deed what they had already learned in words. Some propose to us the opinion of a certain secular author, who said: "To retain children by shame and liberality, I believe to be better than by fear" (Terent. in Adelph. act. 1, scen. 1). This is indeed true; but just as those whom love directs are better, so those whom fear corrects are more numerous. For so that it may be answered to those from the same author, they read also in him: "Unless compelled by evil, you do not know how to do rightly." Furthermore, divine Scripture both said on account of those better ones: "Fear is not in charity; but perfect charity casts out fear" (I John IV, 18); and on account of these lower ones, who are more numerous, it says: "By words a hard servant will not be emended; for even if he

understands, he will not obey" (Prov. XXIX, 19). When it said that he is not emended by words, it did not command him to be deserted, but tacitly admonished from whence he ought to be emended: otherwise it would not say: "By words he will not be emended"; but would only say: "He will not be emended." For in another place it says that not only a servant, but also an undisciplined son is to be coerced by blows; and with great fruit: for, "You indeed," it says, "strike him with a rod; but his soul you shall deliver from death" (Id. XXIII, 14); and elsewhere it says: "He who spares the staff, hates his son" (Id. XIII, 24). For give [me one] who with right faith and true understanding says with all the powers of his soul: "My soul has thirsted for the living God; when shall I come, and appear before the face of God?" (Psal. XLI, 3); and for such a one, not only the fear of temporal punishments, or of imperial laws, but not even of hells is necessary, to whom it is so desirable a good to adhere to God, that he not only dreads to be alienated from that happiness as a great punishment, but even bears it as a burden to be delayed. But nevertheless before the good sons say: "We have a desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ" (Philipp. I, 23); many first, as bad servants and in a certain way wicked fugitives, are recalled to their Lord by the lash of temporal scourges.

22. For who can love us more than Christ, who laid down His soul for His sheep (John X, 15)? And yet when He had called Peter and the other Apostles by a word alone, Paul, previously

Saul, afterwards the great builder of His Church, but beforehand a horrendous devastator, He not only checked by His voice, but also prostrated by His power, and so that He might urge him raging in the darkness of infidelity to the desired light of the heart, He first struck him with blindness of body. If that punishment were not there, he would not afterwards be healed from it: and when with eyes opened he saw nothing, if he had them safe, Scripture would not relate that at the imposition of the hand of Ananias, so that their sight might be opened, there fell from them as it were scales, by which he had been closed (Acts IX, 1-18). Where is that which those have been accustomed to cry out: "It is free to believe, or not to believe? to whom did Christ bring force? whom did He compel?" Behold they have the apostle Paul; let them recognize in him Christ first compelling, and afterwards teaching; first striking, and afterwards consoling. It is wonderful, however, how he who entered into the Gospel compelled by punishment of body, labored in the Gospel more than all those who were called by word alone (I Cor. XV, 10); and he whom greater fear compelled to charity, his perfect charity cast out fear.

23. Why therefore should the Church not compel lost sons to return, if lost sons compelled others to perish? Although even those whom they did not compel, but only seduced, if they are recalled into her bosom through terrible but salutary laws, the pious mother embraces them more gently, and rejoices over them much more

than over those whom she had never lost. Does it not pertain to pastoral diligence to recall even those sheep which, not snatched away violently, but gently and softly seduced, have wandered from the flock and begun to be possessed by others, when found, to the Lord's sheepfold, if they wish to resist, by the terrors of scourges, or even by pains: especially since if they are multiplied in fecundity among fugitive servants and robbers, that which is recognized in them as the Lord's character has more of right; which in those whom we receive, yet nevertheless do not rebaptize, is in no way violated? For so is the error of the sheep to be corrected, that the seal of the Redeemer is not corrupted in it. For neither, if anyone were marked with the royal character by a marked deserter, and they receive indulgence, and that one returns to the military service, while that other begins to be in the military service in which he was not yet; is that character rescinded in any of them, and not rather recognized in both, and approved with due honor, because it is royal? Because therefore they cannot show that to be evil to which they are compelled, they contend that they ought not to be compelled even to good. But we have shown Paul was compelled by Christ: the Church therefore imitates her Lord in compelling these ones, which first waited that she might compel no one, so that the prophetic preaching concerning the faith of kings and nations might be fulfilled.

24. For also from here that apostolic sentence is not absurdly understood, where the blessed

Paul says: "Being ready to avenge all disobedience, when your prior obedience shall have been completed" (II Cor. X, 6). Whence also the Lord Himself commands guests first to be brought to His great supper, afterwards to be compelled: for when His servants had answered Him: "Lord, it is done as Thou hast commanded, and yet there is room"; "Go out," He said, "into the highways and hedges, and whomever you shall find, compel them to enter" (Luke XIV, 22, 23). In those therefore who were first gently brought in, the prior obedience was completed; but in these who are compelled, disobedience is coerced: for what is "compel them to enter," when it had first been said "bring them," and the answer had been "it is done as Thou hast commanded, and yet there is room"? If He had wished them to be understood as to be compelled by the terrors of miracles; many divine miracles were rather done towards those who were first called, especially towards the Jews of whom it was said: "The Jews seek signs" (I Cor. I, 22): among the Gentiles also in the times of the Apostles such miracles commended the Gospel, that if they were ordered to be compelled by such things, the prior guests, as I said, would rather be deservedly believed to have been compelled. Wherefore, if by the power which the Church received by divine gift through the religion and faith of kings at the time when she ought, those who are found in the highways and in the hedges, that is in heresies and schisms, are compelled to enter; let them not find fault because they are compelled, but let them attend

to what they are compelled to. The feast of the Lord is the unity of the body of Christ, not only in the Sacrament of the altar, but also in the bond of peace. Of those ones indeed we can most truly say that they compel no one to good: for whomever they compel, they compel to nothing except evil.

CHAPTER VII.

25. Nevertheless, before those laws by which they are compelled to enter the holy feast were sent to Africa, it seemed to some brethren, among whom I also was, although the madness of the Donatists raged everywhere, that it ought not to be asked from the emperors that they should command that same heresy to be entirely non-existent, by constituting a punishment for those who wished to be in it; but rather they should constitute this, that those who either preached the Catholic truth by speaking, or read it by constituting it, should not suffer their furious violences. Which we thought could be done to some extent in this way, if they should so confirm the law of Theodosius of most pious memory, which he promulgated generally against all heretics, "That whoever of them, bishop or cleric, was found anywhere, should be fined ten pounds of gold," more expressly against the Donatists, who denied they were heretics, so that not all should be struck by that fine, but [only those] in whose regions the Catholic Church suffered some violences from the clerics, or from the Circumcellions, or from their peoples: so that namely after the protest of the Catholics who had suffered

those things, now by the care of the orders the bishops or other ministers should be held to pay the fine. For so we thought, those being terrified, and daring to do no such thing, the Catholic truth could be freely taught and held, so that no one might be compelled to it, but he who wished without dread might follow it, lest we should have false and pretending Catholics. And although it seemed otherwise to other brethren, already more grave in age, or discerning the examples of many cities and places where we saw a firm and true Catholic [faith], which nevertheless had been constituted and strengthened there by such benefits of God, while through the laws of prior emperors men were compelled to the Catholic communion; we nevertheless obtained that that rather which I said should be asked from the emperors: it was decreed in our council, and legates were sent to the Court.

26. But the greater mercy of God, who knew how necessary the terror of these laws and a certain medicinal annoyance was for the depraved or cold minds of many, and for that hardness which cannot be emended by words, but nevertheless can be by some little severity of discipline, brought it about that our legates could not obtain what they had undertaken. For already certain most grave complaints of bishops had preceded us from other places, who had suffered many evils from those same ones, and had been disturbed from their own sees; especially the horrendous and incredible slaughter of Maximian, the Catholic bishop of the Church of Bagai,

brought it about that our legation no longer had anything to do. For already a law had been promulgated, that the heresy of the Donatists, of such great immanity, to which it seemed to be more cruelly spared than it itself raged, should not only not be allowed to be violent, but should not be allowed to exist at all with impunity: not however with capital punishment, on account of preserving Christian mildness even towards the unworthy, but with pecuniary losses proposed, and with exile constituted for their bishops or ministers.

27. For the aforementioned bishop of Bagai, since he had obtained the basilica before the ordinary judge, the sentence having been spoken between the parties, which those ones had invaded when it was Catholic; as he was standing at the altar, they rushed in with horrendous impetus and cruel fury, and beat him immanently with clubs and weapons of every kind, and finally with the woods of the broken altar itself; they also struck him with a dagger in the groin; by which wound the blood flowing out would have made him lifeless, unless their greater cruelty had profited him for life. For when they dragged him, heavily wounded, over the ground, the dust obstructed in the overflowing vein stopped the blood, by the effusion of which he was going towards death. Then when he was finally left by them, and our people attempted to carry him away with psalms, those ones, incensed with a more burning anger, took him away from the hands of those carrying him, the Catholics being

badly punished and put to flight, whom they surpassed in a huge multitude and easily terrified by raging. Then having raised him into a certain tower, thinking him to have already failed, while he yet lived, they cast him down. But being received by a certain soft mound, and being seen by some passing by at night by a lamp, he was recognized and collected, and brought to a religious house, and great care being applied, after many days he was recreated from that desperation: fame, however, had announced even across the sea that he was killed by the crime of the Donatists; where after he came, and his most unexpected life appeared, by his scars, so many, so huge, so recent, he showed that fame had not announced him dead in vain.

28. He therefore asked for help from the Christian emperor, not so much for the sake of avenging himself, as for the sake of defending the Church committed to him. If he had omitted which, his patience would not have been to be praised, but his negligence deservedly to be blamed. For neither did the apostle Paul consult for his own transitory life, but for the Church of God, when against those who had conspired to kill him, he brought it about that their counsel was betrayed to the tribune: whence it was done that an armed soldier led him to the place where he was to be conducted, lest he should suffer their snares (Acts XXIII, 17-32). He also did not hesitate in the least to implore the Roman laws, proclaiming himself to be a Roman citizen, whom it was not allowed then to be afflicted with blows (Id.

XXII, 25): and likewise lest he should be handed over to the Jews desiring to kill him, he asked the help of Caesar (Id. XXV, 11), a Roman prince indeed, but not a Christian. Where he sufficiently showed what the dispensers of Christ ought to do afterwards, when they should find Christian emperors while the Church was in danger. From here therefore it was done that the religious and pious Emperor, such causes having been brought to his notice, preferred by most pious laws to correct entirely the error of that impiety, and to reduce to Catholic unity by terrifying and coercing those who bore the signs of Christ against Christ, than only to take away the license of raging, and to leave them in erring and perishing.

29. Indeed, when the laws themselves had come into Africa, especially those who were seeking an occasion, or feared the cruelty of those raging, or were ashamed to offend their own, passed over immediately to the Church. Many also who were held there by the sole custom handed down from their parents, had never before thought what kind of cause the heresy itself had, nor had they ever wished to seek and consider; soon as they began to notice, and to find nothing in it worthy for which they should suffer such great losses, they became Catholics without any difficulty: for solicitude taught those whom security had made negligent. But the authority and persuasion of all these preceding ones were followed by many who were less fit to understand by themselves what was the difference between the error of the Donatists and the Catholic truth.

30. Thus, while the true mother was joyfully receiving great columns of peoples into her bosom, there remained hard crowds, and those persisting in that plague with unhappy animosity. Of these also very many communicated by pretending, others lay hidden by their small number. But those who were pretending, by gradually becoming accustomed and by hearing the preaching of the truth, especially after the conference and disputation which was between us and their bishops at Carthage, were for a great part corrected. But in certain places, where a more pertinacious and unpeaceable multitude prevailed, which the fewer whose opinion concerning communion was better could not resist, or where the crowds subject to the authority of a few more powerful ones obeyed in a bad part, it was labored for somewhat longer. From these are those in which it is still labored, in which labor the Catholics, and especially the bishops and clerics, have suffered many horrendous and hard things, which it is long to commemorate; when of some even the eyes were extinguished, and of a certain bishop the hand and tongue were cut off; some even were slaughtered. I am silent concerning the most cruel slaughters, and the depredations of houses, through nocturnal aggressions and fires, not only of private habitations, but even of churches; into which flames there were not wanting those who also cast the Lord's Codices.

31. But the consequent fruit consoled us, afflicted with evils of this kind. For wherever those

things were committed by the lost, there Christian unity profited more fervently and more perfectly, and more abundantly is the Lord praised, who deigned to grant that His servants by their passions might gain their brothers, and might gather His sheep, dispersed by a deadly error, into the peace of eternal salvation by their own blood. Powerful is the Lord and merciful, whom we daily ask that He may give repentance also to the rest, and that they may recover themselves from the snares of the devil, by whom they are held captive according to his will (II Tim. II, 26): who seek nothing except from whence they may calumniate us, and may distribute evils for goods; because they have not known how to understand what mind and love we preserve towards them, and how we wish to recall the erring and find the lost according to the command of the Lord, which He gave to the shepherds through Ezekiel the prophet (Ezek. XXXIV, 4).

CHAPTER VIII.

32. But those ones, what we also have said elsewhere sometimes, and what they do to us, they do not impute to themselves; and what they do to themselves, they impute to us. For who of us would wish not only anyone of them to perish, but even anything to be lost? But if the house of David did not merit to have peace otherwise, unless Absalom his son had been extinguished in the war which he was waging against his father, although with great care he had commanded his own that they should preserve him alive and

safe as much as they could, so that there might be one to whom paternal affection might forgive when repentant; what remained for him, except to weep for the lost one, and his sadness being consoled by the peace of his kingdom having been acquired (II Kings XVIII, XXII)? So therefore the Catholic mother, with those warring against her who are none other than her sons—because certainly from that great tree which by the extension of its branches is diffused through the whole world, this little branch in Africa has been broken—while she travails for them in charity so that they may return to the root without which they cannot have true life; if by the perdition of some she gathers so many others, especially because these ones, not like Absalom by a warlike chance, but rather by a spontaneous destruction perish, she alleviates and heals the pain of her maternal heart by the liberation of so many peoples. If you were to see of these the joys in the peace of Christ, the frequencies, the alacrities, and the celebrated and hilarious assemblies for hearing and singing hymns and for perceiving the word of God, and in many of them the recollection of past error with great pain, and the consideration of known truth with joy, and the indignation and detestation of the lies of their masters, because they now know how false things they boasted concerning our Sacraments; the confessions also of many in them that they formerly wished to be Catholics, nor did they dare among men of such fury: if you saw under one view the congregations of these peoples through very many regions of

Africa liberated from that perdition; then you would say it had been of excessive cruelty, if while it was feared lest desperate men, and not to be compared by any estimation to the innumerable multitude of these ones, should be consumed by their own and voluntary fires, these ones should be left to be lost eternally and to be tortured in everlasting fires.

33. For if any two lived in one house which we knew most certainly was about to fall, and they would not believe us foretelling it, and persisted in remaining in it; if we could rescue them from there even against their will, to whom we would afterwards demonstrate that imminent ruin, so that they might not dare to return further under its danger, I think unless we did it, we would not undeservedly be judged cruel. Furthermore, if one of them said to us: "When you enter to rescue us, I will immediately kill myself"; while the other neither wished to go out from there, nor to be rescued, but neither dared to kill himself; what would we choose, whether to leave both to be oppressed by the ruin, or, one at least having been liberated through our merciful work, that the other should perish not by our fault, but rather by his own? There is no one so unhappy who does not most easily judge what ought to be done in such causes. And I have proposed this similitude concerning two men, namely one lost and one liberated: what therefore is to be felt concerning some few lost, and an innumerable multitude of liberated peoples? For not even are those men who perish by their own will so many

as the estates, villages, hamlets, castles, municipalities, cities which are liberated through these laws from that pestiferous and eternal perdition.

CHAPTER IX.

35. But as to what they object to us, that we covet and take away their things; would that they might become Catholics, and possess in peace and charity with us not only what they call theirs, but also ours! To such an extent, however, are they blinded by the desire of calumniating, that they do not attend how contrary among themselves are the things which they speak. They certainly say, and seem to complain most enviously to themselves, that we coerce them into our communion by the violent command of the laws: this certainly we would in no way do, if we wished to possess their things. What avaricious man seeks a co-possessor? What man inflamed by the desire of dominating, or elated by the pride of domination, desires to have a consort? Let them certainly attend to those formerly theirs, now our associates and joined to us by fraternal love, how they hold their own, not only what they had, but also ours which they did not have: which nevertheless, if we are fellow-poor of the poor, are both ours and theirs; but if we possess privately what may suffice for us, those things are not ours, but the poor's whose procuration we in a certain way manage, not claiming the property for ourselves by a damnable usurpation.

36. Whatever therefore was possessed in the name of the Churches of the party of Donatus,

the Christian emperors by religious laws commanded to pass to the Catholic [Church] along with the Churches themselves. Since therefore the poor of those same Churches are with us, who were nourished by those same small possessions, let those ones rather who are placed outside cease to covet the things of others; but let them enter into the society of unity, so that we may govern together, not only those things which they call theirs, but even those which are called ours. For it is written: "All things are yours; but you are Christ's; but Christ is God's" (I Cor. III, 22, 23). Under that head, let us be one in His one body, and concerning these such things let us do what is written in the Acts of the Apostles: "There was to them one soul and one heart; and no one said anything was his own, but all things were common to them" (Acts IV, 32). Let us love what we sing: "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brothers to dwell in one" (Psal. CXXXII, 1)! so that they may thus experience and know how truly the Catholic mother cries to them what the blessed Apostle writes to the Corinthians: "I seek not the things which are yours, but you" (II Cor. XII, 14).

37. But if we consider what was said in the book of Wisdom: "Therefore the just took the spoils of the impious" (Wisd. X, 19); likewise what is read in the Proverbs: "But the riches of the impious are treasured up for the just" (Prov. XIII, 22, sec. LXX); then we shall see that it is not to be asked who have the things of heretics, but who are in the society of the just. We know indeed

that those ones arrogate such great justice to themselves, that they boast themselves not only to have it, but even to give it to other men. For they say that he whom they have baptized is justified by them; where nothing remains for them except to say to him who is baptized by them, that he should believe in his baptizer: for why should he not do so, when the Apostle says: "To him believing in Him who justifies the impious, his faith is deputed unto justice" (Rom. IV, 5)? Let him therefore believe in him, if he justifies him himself, so that his faith may be deputed unto justice. But I think that even they themselves would be horrified at themselves, if nevertheless they deign to even think these things. For there is not a just and justifying one, except God. But it can also be said of these ones what the Apostle says of the Jews, that "being ignorant of the justice of God, and wishing to constitute their own, they are not subject to the justice of God" (Rom. X, 3).

38. Far be it, however, that any of us should say that he is just in such a way, that he either wishes to constitute his own justice, that is, as if given to him by himself, when it is said to him: "For what do you have that you did not receive?" (1 Cor. IV, 7); or that he should dare to boast that he is without sin in this life, just as they said in our conference that they are in that Church which already has no spot or wrinkle or any such thing (Eph. V, 27): not knowing that in this way it is fulfilled in those who either immediately after Baptism, or after the debts which are asked to be

forgiven in prayer have been dismissed, depart from this body; but in the whole Church it will then come to pass, that it should be altogether not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, when it shall be said: "Where, O death, is your victory? where, O death, is your sting?" For the sting of death is sin (1 Cor. XV, 55, 56).

39. But in this life, where "the body which is corrupted burdens the soul" (Wisd. IX, 15), if their Church is already such, let them not therefore say to God, what the Lord taught us to pray: "Forgive us our debts" (Matth. VI, 12). For when all things have been forgiven in Baptism, why does the Church ask this, if even in this life it already has no spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing? Let them also despise the apostle John crying out in his Epistle: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." But if we have confessed our sins, He is faithful and just, who may forgive us our sins, and cleanse us from all iniquity (1 John I, 8, 9). Because of this hope the universal Church says, "Forgive us our debts," so that not being proud, but confessing, He may cleanse us from all iniquity, and thus the Lord Christ may exhibit to Himself on that day a glorious Church not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; which He now "cleanses with the washing of water in the word": because neither does anything remain in Baptism which is not forgiven of all past sins (if nevertheless that Baptism itself is not held in vain outside, but is either given within, or if it has already been given outside, one does not remain outside with it);

and whatever is contracted of any faults through human infirmity by those who live here after receiving Baptism, is forgiven because of that same washing. For it does not profit one who is not baptized to say, "Forgive us our debts."

40. Thus He now cleanses His Church with the washing of water in the word, that He may then exhibit it to Himself not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, namely altogether beautiful and perfect, when "death shall be swallowed up in victory" (1 Cor. XV, 54). Now therefore, in as much as what we were born of God thrives in us, living from faith, we are just; but in as much as we draw the remains of mortality from Adam, we are not without sin. For both that is true, "He who is born of God does not sin" (1 John III, 9); and that is true, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (Id. I, 8). Therefore the Lord Christ is both just and justifying; but we are "justified freely through His grace" (Rom. III, 24). But He does not justify except His body, which is the Church; and therefore if the body of Christ takes the spoils of the impious, and for the body of Christ the riches of the impious are treasured up, the impious ought not to remain outside, so that they may calumniate, but rather to enter so that they may be justified.

41. Whence also that which is written concerning the day of judgment: "Then the just shall stand in great constancy against those who afflicted them, and took away their labors" (Wisd. V, 1), is certainly not to be understood in such a way, that the Canaanite shall stand against

Israel, when Israel took away the labors of the Canaanite; but Naboth shall stand against Ahab, because Ahab took away the labors of Naboth: for the Canaanite was impious, Naboth was just. In the same way, the pagan will not stand against the Christian who took away his labors, when the temples of idols were despoiled or destroyed; but the Christian will stand against the pagan who took away his labors, when the bodies of martyrs were strewn. So therefore, the heretic will not stand against the Catholic who took away his labors, when the laws of the Catholic emperors prevailed; but the Catholic will stand against the heretic who took away his labors, when the furies of the impious Circumcellions were prevailing. For the Scripture itself solves the question, which does not say, "Then men shall stand," but, "Then the just shall stand": and therefore in "great constancy," because in "good conscience."

42. But here no one is just by his own justice, that is, as if made for himself by himself; but, as the Apostle says: "As God has divided to every one the measure of faith." But he follows and joins: "For as in one body we have many members, but all the members have not the same act; so we, being many, are one body in Christ" (Rom. XII, 3-5). And by this no one can be just, as long as he shall have been separated from the unity of this body. For just as a member, if it be cut off from the body of a living man, cannot hold the spirit of life; so the man who is cut off from the body of Christ the Just, can in no way hold the spirit of justice, even if he holds the figure of a member, which he

took in the body. Therefore let them come into the framework of this body, and let them possess their labors not with the desire of dominating, but with the piety of using well. But we, as has already been said, purge our will from the filths of this cupidity, with whatever enemy judging, when we seek out those very ones whose labors they are said to be, so that they may use both theirs and ours with us in the Catholic society, as much as we are able.

CHAPTER X.

43. But this is what moves us, they say: if we are unjust, why do you seek us? To whom we respond: We seek you as unjust ones, so that you may not remain unjust; we seek the lost ones, so that we may be able to rejoice over those found, saying: "The brother was dead, and has come to life again; he was lost, and is found" (Luke XV, 32). Why then, he says, do you not baptize me, so that you may wash me from sins? I respond: Because I do not do injury to the character of the emperor, when I correct the error of a deserter. Why, he says, do I not even perform penance among you? Indeed, unless you perform it, you will not be able to be saved: for how will you rejoice that you have been corrected, unless you grieve that you were perverse? What then, he says, do we receive among you, when we pass over to you? I respond: You certainly do not receive Baptism, which could be in you outside the framework of the body of Christ, but could not profit you; but you receive the "unity of the

spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph. IV, 3), without which no one will be able to see God, and charity, which, as it is written, "covers a multitude of sins" (1 Pet. IV, 8). Which is so great a good, without which neither the tongues of men and of Angels, nor the knowledge of all sacraments, nor prophecy, nor such great faith that mountains may be moved, nor all the things which a man possesses distributed to the poor, nor the passion of the body in the fires does the Apostle witness to profit anything (1 Cor. XIII, 1-3): this so great a good, therefore, if you think it small or nothing, you deservedly err unhappily; deservedly if you do not pass over into Catholic unity, you perish.

44. If therefore, they say, it is necessary that we should repent that we were outside the Church and against the Church, so that we may be able to be saved; how do we remain clerics, or even bishops among you after this penance? This would not happen, because in truth, what must be confessed, it ought not to happen, unless it were healed by the compensation of peace itself. But let those say this to themselves, and let them grieve much more humbly, who lie in such a death of cutting-off, that they may come to life again through this certain wound of the Catholic mother. For when a cut-off branch is grafted in, another wound is made in the tree, by which it may be received, so that he who was perishing without the life of the root may live: but when having been received it has grown together with the receiver, both vigor and fruit follow; but if it has not grown together, that one indeed withers,

but the life of the tree will remain. For there is also such a kind of grafting, that with no branch which is within having been cut off, he who is outside may be grafted in, nevertheless with no wound, but even the lightest wound of the tree. So therefore also these ones, when they come to the Catholic root, and the honor of the clerical or episcopal state is not taken away from them even after the penance for their error, something happens as if in the bark of the mother tree against the integrity of severity: nevertheless because "neither he who plants is anything, nor he who waters" (1 Cor. III, 7), with prayers poured out to the mercy of God while the peace of the grafted branches grows together, "charity covers a multitude of sins."

45. For that it should be established in the Church, that no one after the penance for any crime should receive the clerical state, or return to the clerical state, or remain in the clerical state, was done not by desperation of indulgence, but by the rigor of discipline: otherwise it will be disputed against the keys given to the Church, concerning which it was said: "Whatsoever you shall loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven" (Matth. XVI, 19). But lest perhaps even with discovered crimes, the mind swelling with the hope of ecclesiastical honor should perform penance proudly, it most severely pleased that after having performed penance for a damnable crime, no one should be a cleric, so that by the desperation of temporal height the medicine of humility might be greater and truer. For even

holy David performed penance for deadly crimes, and nevertheless persisted in his honor. And it certainly repented blessed Peter, when he shed most bitter tears, to have denied the Lord, and nevertheless he remained an Apostle. But not therefore is the diligence of those later to be thought superfluous, who where nothing was taken away from salvation, added something to humility, by which salvation might be more safely fortified, having experienced, I believe, the feigned penances of some through affected powers of honors. For the experiences of many diseases compel many medicines to be found. Truly in causes of this kind where through grave schisms of dissensions the danger is not of this or that man, but the slaughters of peoples lie there, something must be taken away from severity, so that sincere charity may come to the aid in healing greater evils.

46. Let these ones therefore have for their past detestable error, just as Peter had for his lying fear, a bitter grief, and let them come to the true Church of Christ, that is the Catholic mother: let them be clerics in her, let them be bishops usefully, who were hostile against her. We do not envy, indeed we embrace, we desire, we exhort, and those whom we find in the ways and hedges, we compel to enter; although we do not yet persuade some because we seek not their things, but themselves. The apostle Peter when he denied the Savior, and wept, and remained an apostle, had not yet received the promised Holy Spirit: but much more these ones have not received Him,

where divided from the framework of the body, which body alone the Holy Spirit vivifies, they held the Sacraments of the Church outside the Church and against the Church, and fought as if in a civil war, with our signs and arms raised against us. Let them come; let peace be made in the strength of Jerusalem, which strength is charity: to which holy city it was said: "Let peace be in your strength, and abundance in your towers" (Psal. CXXI, 7). Let them not extol themselves against the maternal solicitude, which she had and has for gathering them, and for so many peoples whom they deceive or were deceiving: let them not be proud, because she thus receives them; let them not refer to the evil of their own elation what she herself does because of the good of peace.

47. Thus it has been accustomed to come to the aid of multitudes perishing through schisms and heresies. This displeased Lucifer, because it was done in receiving and healing those who had perished by the Arian poison; and he whom it displeased fell into the darkness of schism, having lost the light of charity. The African Catholic Church preserved this towards these ones from the beginning according to the opinion of the bishops, who in the Roman Church judged between Caecilian and the party of Donatus, and with one certain Donatus having been condemned, who was manifested to have been the author of the schism, they judged that the others, being corrected, even if they had been ordained outside the Church, were to be received

in their honors: not that they could have the Holy Spirit even outside from the unity of the body of Christ; but especially because of those whom, being placed outside, they might deceive, and hinder from the reception of that gift; then so that even their own infirmity, being more gently received, might become curable within, with no pertinacity now closing the eyes of the heart against the evidence of the truth. But what else did even they themselves think, when they received the Maximianists in their honors, whom they had condemned in a sacrilegious schism, as their council indicates, and in whose place they had already ordained others, after they saw that the peoples did not depart from them, lest they should lose all; and they moved no contradiction or question to the Baptism which those condemned had given outside? Why then do they wonder, or complain, or calumniate that we thus receive them for the true peace of Christ, and they do not remember what they themselves did for the vain peace of Donatus, which is against Christ? Which deed of theirs if it be held against them and intelligently asserted, they will have nothing at all to respond.

CHAPTER XI.

48. But as to what they say: "If we have sinned against the Holy Spirit, because we blew upon your baptism, why do you seek us, since this sin can altogether not be forgiven us, the Lord saying: 'He who shall have sinned against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this

world nor in the future' (Matth. XII, 32)"; they do not attend that according to that sense no one is to be liberated. For who does not speak against the Holy Spirit and sin against Him, whether he who is not yet a Christian, or he who is an Arian heretic, or a Eunomian, or a Macedonian, who say that He is a creature; or a Photinian, who altogether denies that He has any substance, but that God the Father is only one; or other heretics, whom it is long to commemorate? Are none of these therefore to be liberated? Or the Jews themselves, against whom the Lord object this, if they believed in Him, were they not to be baptized? For the Savior did not say: "In Baptism it shall be forgiven"; but: "it shall not be forgiven," He said, "neither in this world nor in the future."

49. Let them understand therefore that not every, but some certain sin against the Holy Spirit was signified, which altogether shall not be forgiven. For just as when He had said: "If I had not come, they would not have sin" (John XV, 22), He certainly did not wish every sin to be understood, since they were full of many and great sins; but some proper sin, which if they did not have, all things which they had could be forgiven them, that is, that they did not believe in Him coming; for they would not have this sin if He did not come: so also when He said: "He who shall have sinned against the Holy Spirit," or: "He who shall have said a word against the Holy Spirit," He certainly did not wish everything that is sinned against the Holy Spirit in deed or word, but some certain and proper thing to be

understood. But this is the hardness of heart until the end of this life, by which a man refuses to receive the remission of sins in the unity of the body of Christ, which the Holy Spirit vivifies. For when He had said to the disciples: "Receive the Holy Spirit," He immediately added: "If you shall forgive anyone's sins, they are forgiven him; if you shall retain anyone's, they are retained" (Id. XX, 22, 23). Whoever therefore shall have resisted and fought against this gift of the grace of God, or in whatever way shall have been alienated from it until the end of this temporal life, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the future; namely this so great a sin, that by it all sins are retained, which is not proved to have been committed by anyone, except when he shall have departed from the body. Truly as long as he lives here, as the Apostle says, "the patience of God leads him to penance": but if he himself by most persevering iniquity, as the Apostle consequently adds, "According to the hardness of his heart and an impenitent heart, treasures up for himself wrath in the day of wrath and of the revelation of the just judgment of God" (Rom. II, 4, 5), it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the future.

50. But these ones with whom we deal, or concerning whom we deal, are not to be despaired of; for they are still in the body: but let them not seek the Holy Spirit except in the body of Christ, of which they have the sacrament outside, but they do not hold the reality itself inside, of which that is the sacrament; and therefore they eat and

drink judgment to themselves (1 Cor. XI, 29). For "one bread" is the sacrament of unity, because as the Apostle says: "We, being many, are one bread, one body" (Id. X, 17). Accordingly, the Catholic Church alone is the body of Christ, of which He is the head, the Savior of His body (Eph. V, 23). Outside this body the Holy Spirit vivifies no one; because, as the Apostle himself says: "The charity of God is poured out in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who was given to us" (Rom. V, 5): but he is not a partaker of divine charity, who is an enemy of unity. Therefore they do not have the Holy Spirit who are outside the Church: for concerning those it is written: "Who segregate themselves, being animal, not having the Spirit" (Jude 19). But neither does he perceive Him who is feigned in the Church, since from there also it is written: "For the Holy Spirit of discipline will flee the feigned one" (Wisd. I, 5). He therefore who wishes to have the Holy Spirit, let him beware of remaining outside the Church, let him beware of entering into it feignedly: or if he has already entered such, let him beware of persisting in the same simulation, so that he may truly grow together with the tree of life.

51. I have directed to you a lengthy book, and perhaps burdensome to your occupations. If therefore it could be read by you even in parts, the Lord will give you understanding, so that you may have what you may respond for correcting and healing them, whom mother Church commends even to you yourself, as to a faithful son, where you can, and how you can, whether by

speaking and responding yourself, or by leading them to the doctors of the Church, to be corrected and healed in the help of the Lord.

LETTER CLXXXVI.

Alypius and Augustine to bishop Paulinus, instructing him more fully against the heresy of Pelagius.

To the most blessed Lord and to be embraced like a brother in the bowels of Christ, a brother and fellow-bishop more desirable than can be said, PAULINUS, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. At last, God has provided us with a most faithful bearer of letters, our brother Januarius, who is deservedly most dear to all of us; through him, even if we did not write, your Sincerity could learn all that concerns us as if through a living and understanding letter. We know that you loved Pelagius as a servant of God—who we believe was surnamed the Briton, to distinguish him from the one called Pelagius of Tarentum—but how you love him now, we do not know. For we also not only loved him, but indeed we still love him; yet we love him differently now than we once did: for then, he seemed to us to be of the right faith; but now, we love him so that he may be liberated by God's mercy from those things which he is said to feel, which are inimical and adverse to the grace of God. For although rumor had tossed this about concerning him for

some time, it was certainly not easy to believe; for rumor is accustomed to lie: but it came closer to our belief when we read a certain book of his, which strived to persuade of things that would erase from the hearts of the faithful the belief in the grace of God imparted to the human race through the one mediator between God and men, the man Jesus Christ; this book was handed to us by servants of Christ who had most studiously heard him teaching such things and had followed him. To this book, at the request of those same servants and because we saw it was necessary to do so, a response was given in a disputation by one of us, with the author's name kept silent, lest being offended he should be rendered more incurable. In that book it is contained, and asserted in many and abundant ways, what he also argues in certain letters given to your Veneration, where he says he should not be thought to defend free will (liberum arbitrium) without the grace of God, since he said the possibility of willing and acting, without which we would be able to will or do nothing good, was implanted in us by the Creator: so that, clearly, this grace of God is understood by the teacher himself as that which is common to Pagans and Christians, the impious and the pious, the faithful and the unfaithful.

2. These evils, by which the coming of the Savior would be made void, where we can say what the Apostle says of the Law, "If justice is through nature, then Christ died in vain" (Galat. II, 21), we refuted as best we could in the hearts of those who felt such things, so that once these

were known, even he himself, if possible, might correct these things without being provoked; and thus both the destruction of the error might be achieved and the man's shame might be spared. But after letters came to us from the East, ventilating the same cause most openly, we could no longer, by any episcopal authority, fail the Church. Therefore, reports (relationes) on this matter were sent from two councils, those of Carthage and Milevis, to the Apostolic See, before the ecclesiastical Acts (Gesta), by which Pelagius is said to have been cleared before the bishops of the province of Palestine, had reached either our hands or Africa. We also wrote to Pope Innocent of blessed memory, besides the reports of the councils, familiar letters where we dealt with the cause itself at somewhat greater length. He wrote back to us on all points in the manner that was right and proper for the prelate of the Apostolic See.

3. All of which you will now be able to read, if perhaps none or not all of them had reached you: where you will see, while maintaining the moderation toward the man that was due, lest he be condemned if he condemned what was wrong, that the new and pernicious error itself was so compressed by ecclesiastical authority that we marvel greatly that there are still some who attempt to resist the grace of God through any error; if indeed they have learned that these things have been done which the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord (which the true and Catholic faith the Church always holds)

transfers the little ones with the great from the death of the first man to the life of the second man; not only by grieving for sins, but also for not sinning and living rightly, by so helping those who can already use the choice of their will (voluntatis arbitrio) that unless He helps, we can have nothing of piety and justice, whether in work or even in the will itself: for God works in us both to will and to work, according to His good will (Philip. II, 13).

CHAPTER II.

4. For who discerns us from that mass and concretion of perdition, except He who came to seek and save what was lost? Whence the Apostle asks, saying: "For who discerns you?" To which if a man says, "My faith, my will, my good work," it is answered to him, "For what have you that you did not receive?" But if you received it, why do you boast as if you had not received it?" (1 Cor. IV, 7). All of this is said, certainly, not so that a man may not boast, but so that he who boasts may boast in the Lord (Id. I, 31); not of works, lest perhaps anyone be extolled (Eph. II, 9): not because good works are frustrated, since God renders to each according to his works, and there is glory and honor and peace for everyone who works good (Rom. II, 6, 10); but because works are from grace, not grace from works; since faith which works through love (Galat. V, 6) would work nothing unless the love of God itself were poured out in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us (Rom. V, 5). Nor would faith itself be in

us unless God shared to each the measure of faith (Id. XII, 3).

5. It is good, therefore, for a man that with all the strength of his free will (liberi arbitrii) he should truly say, "I will keep my strength for you" (Psal. LVIII, 10): because he who thought he could keep what he was given without His help, having gone into a far country and living prodigally, consumed everything, and worn down by the misery of hard servitude, returned to himself and said, "I will arise and go to my father" (Luc. XV, 12-18): when would he have had this good thought unless the most merciful Father had also inspired it in him in secret? Understanding which, that minister of the New Testament (Novi Testamenti) says: "Not that we are sufficient to think anything from ourselves as if from ourselves; but our sufficiency is from God." Whence also that man, when he had said, "I will keep my strength for you" (2 Cor. III, 5); lest even this itself, that he keeps it, he should arrogate to his own strength—as if it had come to his mind that unless the Lord keeps the city, those who keep it watch in vain (Psal. CXXVI, 1); and He who keeps Israel neither sleeps nor slumbers (Psal. CXX, 4)—added the cause by which he is made fit to keep, or rather by what guardian he is preserved: "Since, O God," he says, "you are my sustainer (susceptor)."

6. Let that man, then, recall his merits if he can, from which it came about that God deigned to be his sustainer, as if God were the one sustained. Let him recall whether he sought or was sought—by Him, that is, who came to seek and

save what was lost (Luc. XIX, 10). For if he wishes to ask what he merited before grace so that he might receive it, a man will be able to find his evils, not his goods, even if the grace of the Savior (Salvatoris) found him having only one day of life upon the earth. Because if a man works anything good so that he may merit grace, the reward is not imputed to him according to grace, but according to debt. But if he believes in Him who justifies the impious, so that his faith is credited as justice (Rom. IV, 4, 5) (for the just man lives by faith [Habac. II, 4]), surely before he is justified by grace—that is, made just—what is the impious man but impious? If debt followed him, what would be rendered for his merit but punishment? If, therefore, it is grace, it is no longer of works; otherwise, grace is no longer grace (Rom. XI, 6). For for works debt is rendered, but grace is given freely (gratis); whence it also receives its name.

CHAPTER III.

7. But if anyone should say that faith merits the grace of working well, we cannot deny it; indeed, we most gratefully confess it. For we wish these brothers of ours, who boast much of their own works, to have this faith by which they may obtain charity (charitatem), which alone truly works well: for charity is so much a gift of God that it is said to be God (I Joan. IV, 8). Therefore, those who have the faith by which they obtain justification have arrived at the law of justice through the grace of God: whence it is said, "In an acceptable time I heard you, and in the day

of salvation I helped you" (Isai. XLIX, 8). Accordingly, in those who are saved through the election of grace, God as a helper works both to will and to work, according to His good will; since for those who love God all things work together for good (Rom. VIII, 28): if all things, then certainly even that very love which we obtain by faith, so that we may love Him who first loved us so that we might believe in Him, through His grace, and we who have not worked may be loved.

8. But those who expect rewards for their merits as if they were debts, and do not attribute those same merits to the grace of God but to the strengths of their own will, as was said of carnal Israel, pursuing the law of justice, do not arrive at the law of justice: why? Because not from faith, but as if from works. For that is the justice from faith, which the Gentiles apprehended, of whom it was said: "What then shall we say? That the Gentiles, who did not know justice, have apprehended justice; but the justice which is from faith." But Israel, pursuing the law of justice, did not arrive at the law of justice: why? Because not from faith, but as if from works. For they stumbled at the stumbling stone, as it is written: Behold, I place in Sion a stumbling stone and a rock of scandal; and he who believes in him shall not be confounded" (Rom. IX, 30-33). That is the justice from faith, by which we believe we are justified, that is, made just by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord, so that we may be found in Him, not having our own justice which is from the Law, but that which is through the faith

of Christ. Which justice from God (Philipp. III, 9) is in faith, in faith certainly, by which we believe that justice is given to us divinely, not made by us in ourselves by our own strengths.

9. For why did the Apostle call that justice which is from the Law his own, and not from God? As if the Law were not from God? Who but an impious man would feel this? But because the Law commands through the letter (per litteram), and does not help through the Spirit (per Spiritum), whoever so hears the letter of the Law that it seems sufficient to him to have known what it commands or forbids, by which he trusts that he will fulfill it by the virtue of his own choice (arbitrii sui), and does not flee by faith to the life-giving Spirit to be helped, lest the letter kill him having been made guilty; he certainly has a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. For ignoring the justice of God—that is, that which is given from God—and wishing to establish his own, so that it may be only from the Law, he is not subject to the justice of God: "For the end of the law is Christ unto justice for everyone who believes" (Rom. X, 2-4), as the same Apostle says, "that we might be the justice of God in him" (II Cor. V, 21). Justified, therefore, by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ (Rom. V, 1): justified, moreover, freely (gratis) through His grace (Id. III, 24), lest faith itself be proud.

10. Nor let anyone say to himself: "If it is by faith, how is it free? For why is that which faith merits repaid rather than given?" Let not a

faithful man say these things, because when he says, "To merit justification, I have faith," it is answered to him: "For what have you that you did not receive?" (1 Cor. IV, 7). When, therefore, faith obtains justification, just as God has shared to each the measure of faith itself, no human merit precedes the grace of God; rather, grace itself merits to be increased, so that having been increased it may merit to be perfected, with the will accompanying, not leading—as a follower, not a precursor. Whence that man who said, "I will keep my strength for you," and gave the reason saying, "Since, O God, you are my sustainer (susceptor)"; as if asking by what merits he had attained this, and finding nothing in himself before the grace of God, said: "My God, His mercy shall prevent (precede) me." However much, he says, I shall have thought of my antecedent merits, "His mercy shall prevent me." Accordingly, keeping for Him the strength attributed by Him, he did not lose it under the same guardian by whose bounty he received it. Nor does he merit greater things for any other reason than by piously and faithfully knowing from whom all his goods come, and knowing this not from himself, lest even this should be in him which is not from God. Whence the Apostle says excellently: "We," he says, "have received not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit (Spiritum) who is from God; that we may know the things that have been given to us by God" (1 Cor. II, 12). And by this, the merit of man itself is a free gift (donum gratuitum): nor does anyone merit to receive anything good from the Father

of lights (Patre luminum), from whom descends every best gift (Jacobi I, 17), except by receiving what he does not merit.

CHAPTER IV.

11. It is moreover much more indulgent, and without any doubt more free, what the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord provides to infants, so that the generation from Adam may not harm them, and the regeneration in Christ may benefit them, in whom the mercy of God precedes even the sense of receiving by so much: who certainly, if they depart from the body at this tiny age, receive eternal life and the kingdom of heaven knowingly, by the merit of that gift which here, when it was certainly of benefit, they did not know. Certainly in them, after the doctrine of the earlier points, these are nothing but earlier gifts, in the giving of which the grace of God so works that the will of the recipients is neither sent before, nor added, nor followed after: since so great a benefit is given not only to those who are unwilling, but even to those who are resisting; which would be imputed to them as a great sacrilege if the choice of the will (voluntatis arbitrio) already had any power in them.

12. This we have said because of those who, not being able in the cause of grace to scrutinize the inscrutable judgments of God as to why, from the mass of Adam which has certainly fallen as a whole from one into condemnation, He makes one vessel unto honor and another unto dishonor; yet they dare to establish that infants

are guilty of their own sins, so that they who cannot think good or evil things are thought to be able to merit either punishment or grace through free will (liberum arbitrium): whereas rather the apostolic truth, by saying, "From one all into condemnation" (Rom. V, 16), sufficiently shows that they are born in punishment, so that they may be reborn in grace not by merit, but by mercy. Otherwise grace is no longer grace, if it is not given freely by divine works, but repaid for human merits. Which alone so discerns from punishment that since punishment is from Adam due to all, but grace through the one Jesus Christ is due to no one, but free, so that it may truly be grace, the inscrutable judgments of God, as God, can be, since He himself discerns the infants whom no merits discern; but they cannot be iniquitous, because all the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth (Psal. XXIV, 10). Whence, when the grace of mercy is provided to one, he has nothing to boast of concerning human merit; since it is not of works, lest perhaps anyone be extolled. But when truth is rendered to another in vengeance, he has no reason to complain justly: for that is rendered which is justly due for sin; since the one in whom all sinned is certainly punished even in each individual. In whose punishment it is more clearly shown what is conferred upon the vessels of mercy (vasis misericordiae) through grace that is not due, but true, that is, free (gratuitam).

CHAPTER V.

13. Whence, moreover, they argue against the Apostle most openly saying, "Through one man sin entered into the world, and through sin death, and so it passed into all men, in whom all have sinned" (Rom. V, 12), saying that even infants have their own sins through free will (liberum arbitrium), it is wearisome to attend to, and it grieves me to bring it forth, yet we are more compelled to speak. For what great and acute minds were able to think of, it is either a sign of poverty to avoid by silence, or of arrogance to pass over with contempt. "Behold," they say, "Esau and Jacob struggle within their mother's womb, and while they are being born, one is supplanted by the other, and with the hand of the following one found on the foot of the preceding one and holding it, a persevering struggle is somehow proven. How then in infants doing these things is there no choice of their own will (voluntatis arbitrium) toward good or evil, whence rewards or punishments follow preceding merits?"

14. To this we say, that those movements and as it were the litigation of the infants were a sign of great things for this reason: because it was not choice (arbitrium), but a prodigy (prodigium). For neither are we going to give free will of the will to asses, since a beast of burden of this kind, as it is written, "a beast of burden without a voice, responding with a human voice, forbade the madness of the prophet" (II Petr. II, 16). But these who contend that such things were not prodigious movements, but voluntary acts, and not concerning infants but done by infants, what

will they answer to the Apostle, who when he saw that these twins were to be commemorated as a document of free grace, said: "For when they were not yet born, nor had done anything good or evil, so that the purpose of God according to election might remain, not of works but of Him who calls, it was said: Because the elder shall serve the younger" (Rom. IX, 11-13)? then adding the testimony of the prophet saying these things indeed long after, but yet declaring the ancient counsel of God concerning this matter: "As it is written," he says, "Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated" (Malach. I, 2, 3).

15. Surely the Teacher of the Gentiles (Doctor Gentium) in faith and truth testifies that those twins not yet born had done nothing good or evil, so that grace might be commended; so that what was said, "The elder shall serve the younger," may be understood as said not from works, but from Him who calls, so that the purpose of God according to election might remain, not that the merit of man should precede. For he does not say the election of the human will or of nature, since the condition of death and damnation was equal in both; but the election without doubt of grace, which does not find those to be chosen, but makes them, of which also speaking in the following parts of the same Epistle he says: "So then also at this time, a remnant is saved through the election of grace. But if it is grace, it is no longer of works; otherwise grace is no longer grace" (Rom. XI, 5, 6). With which passage this place sufficiently agrees, where it is commemo-

rated that it was said, not of works but of Him who calls, “The elder shall serve the younger.” Why then is the most illustrious commender of grace resisted so impudently concerning the free will of infants and the acts of those not yet born? why is grace asserted to be preceded by merits; which would not be grace if it were imputed according to merit? Why against the salvation which was sent to the lost, which came to the unworthy—however acute, however copious and adorned the argument—is it yet a wonder if it is contended in a Christian disputation?

CHAPTER VI.

But "how," they say, "is there no iniquity with God, if by loving He discerns those whom no merits of works discern?" This is said to us as if the Apostle himself had not seen it, not proposed it, not answered it. He certainly saw what human weakness or ignorance could think upon hearing these things, and proposing the same question to himself, he said: "What then shall we say? Is there iniquity with God?" He immediately answered: "Far be it." And giving the reason why "it is far be it"—that is, why there is no iniquity with God—he did not say: "For He judges the merits or works even of infants, even if they are still situated in their mother's womb"; for how could he say this, who had already said of those not yet born, and of those who had yet done nothing good or evil, that "not of works, but of Him who calls, it was said: The elder shall serve the younger"? but when he wished to show why in these things

there is no iniquity with God, he said: "For He says to Moses: I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will show mercy to whom I will have shown mercy." What has he taught us here, except that from that mass of the first man, to which death is deservedly due, it pertains not to the merits of men but to the mercy of God that anyone is liberated: and thus there is no iniquity with God; because neither in remitting nor in exacting what is due is He unjust? For there grace is indulgence, where just vengeance could be. And from this it appears more evidently, how much benefit is conferred upon one liberated from due punishment and justified freely, because another equally guilty is punished without iniquity of the one punishing.

17. Finally, he subjoins and says: "Therefore it is not of him who wills nor of him who runs, but of God who has mercy": this was said on account of those who, being liberated through grace, are justified. But on account of those upon whom the wrath of God remains, because God makes good use even of them to teach others whom He deigns to liberate, he subjoined and said: "For the Scripture says to Pharaoh: For this very purpose I have raised you up, that I might show my power in you, and that my name might be announced in all the earth." Then concluding concerning both, he says: "Therefore He has mercy on whom He wills, and whom He wills He hardens"; surely neither by any iniquity, but both by mercy and truth. And yet bold weakness is still moved—that of those, clearly, who according to the conjectures

of the human heart attempt to think upon the inscrutable height of the judgments of God!

18. Opposing this question to himself from the other side, the Apostle says: "You say then to me: Why does He still complain? for who resists His will?" Let us think this is said to us. What else then should we answer than what the Apostle answered? or if such things also move us, because we also are men, it is proper that we all hear him saying: "O man, who are you who answers back to God?" Does the thing formed say to him who formed it: Why did you make me thus? Does not the potter of the clay have power, from the same mass to make one vessel for honor, another for dishonor" (Id. IX, 14-21)? If this mass were so neutral that just as it merited nothing good, so it merited nothing evil, it would not seem iniquitous without cause that vessels for dishonor should be made from it: but since through the free will (liberum arbitrium) of the first man the whole mass flowed into condemnation, without doubt that vessels for honor are made from it is not of justice itself, which did not precede grace, but of the mercy of God; but that they are made for dishonor is to be imputed not to the iniquity of God—which far be it from being with God—but to judgment. Whoever is wise in this with the Catholic Church does not dispute for merits against grace, but sings of mercy and judgment to the Lord, so that he may not as an ungrateful man refuse mercy, nor as an unjust man accuse judgment.

19. For that lump (consparsio) is different of which the same Apostle speaks: "But if the first-fruit is holy, so is the lump (consparsio); and if the root is holy, so are the branches" (Rom. XI, 16). That one is from Abraham, not from Adam —that is, from the communion of the sacrament and the likeness of faith, not from the mortal offspring: but this lump (consparsio), or as it is read in most codices, mass (massa), since it is entirely of death, since through one man sin entered into the world, and through sin death, and so it passed into all men, in whom all have sinned; through mercy one vessel is made from it for honor, but through judgment another for dishonor. Neither do merits precede the grace of the one liberating there; nor do sins escape the justice of the one punishing here. This indeed does not appear so evidently in those of older ages against the contentious, where they take refuge behind the merits of men as if protected by some obscurity: but for this reason the Apostle brings forward those in whom, being not yet born nor having done anything good or evil, "not of works but of Him who calls, it was said: The elder shall serve the younger."

20. In which matter, since the judgments of God are too deep and inscrutable, and His ways unsearchable (Ibid. 33), let man meanwhile hold that there is no iniquity with God; but by what equity He has mercy on whom He wills and hardens whom He wills, let him confess that he as a man is ignorant: so indeed that on account of that which he holds unshaken, that there is

no iniquity with God, although no one is justified by Him through preceding merits, he may know that no one is hardened except by merit. For it is piously and truly believed that God, by justifying the guilty and the impious, liberates them from due punishments: but if God is believed to condemn anyone undeserving and subject to no sin, He is not believed to be alien from iniquity. Where, therefore, the unworthy is liberated, so much greater a thanksgiving is due, by as much as a more just punishment was owed: but where the unworthy is condemned, neither mercy nor truth is obtained.

21. "How," they say, "is Esau not condemned unworthily (indignus), if 'not of works, but of Him who calls, it was said: Because the elder shall serve the younger'?" For just as no good works of the one had preceded so that he should pertain to grace, so neither had the evil works of the other preceded so that he should pertain to punishment. There were clearly no works in either, whether good or evil, but their own (propria): yet both were subject to that one in whom all sinned, so that all should die in him: for whoever of those many were to be in themselves from that one, were then one in him. Accordingly, that sin would belong to him alone if no one had come out of him: but since the nature was common, no one is immune from its vice. If both who were not yet working their own good or evil things were nevertheless born guilty from their origin; let him who is liberated praise mercy, let him who is punished not blame judgment.

CHAPTER VII.

Here if we should say, "How much better if both were liberated"; nothing will be said to us more appropriately than, "O man, who are you who answers back to God?" For He knows what He does, and what the number should be first of all men, then of the saints, just as of the stars, as of the Angels; and, to speak of earthly things, as of the cattle, fish, birds, as of trees and herbs, as finally of our leaves and hairs. For we by human thought can still say: "Since all these things which He made are good, how much better if He had doubled them, and multiplied them, so that they were much more numerous than they are: for if the world did not contain them, could He not also make the world itself as much larger as He willed?" And yet, however many more He made of those, or however much more capacious and greater He made this world, nonetheless the same things could be said about multiplying them, and there would be no immoderate limit.

For indeed that can also be said, whether it be the grace by which the unjust are justified—about which it is not lawful for us to doubt—or, as some wish, that free will (liberum arbitrium) always precedes, whose merit either punishment or reward follows: why were they created at all whom God without doubt foreknew would so sin that they were to be damned with eternal fire? For although He did not make the sins, yet who but God created the natures themselves, which through themselves are without doubt good, but

in which nevertheless there were to be vices of sins from the choice of the will, and in many such things for which eternal punishment was to be rendered? Why, except because He willed it? But why He willed it, "O man, who are you who answers back to God?" Does the thing formed say to him who formed it: Why did you make me thus? Does not the potter of the clay have power, from the same lump (consparsione) to make one vessel for honor, but another for dishonor?"

And would that we might learn what follows: "What if God, willing to show His wrath and to demonstrate His power, endured with much patience the vessels of wrath (vasa irae), which are perfected for perdition, that He might make known the riches of His glory upon the vessels of mercy (vasa misericordiae)." Behold, now the reason has been rendered to man, as much as was due to man; if indeed even this reason he can grasp, who contends for the freedom of his own choice in the servitude of such great weakness: behold, the causes have been stated. You then, who are you to answer back to God; if God, willing to show His wrath and to demonstrate His power—because the Best One can use even evil things well—at least evil things not by divine condition, but by a nature vitiated by the iniquity of the will, which was created good by God the Creator—He endured with much patience the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction: not that sins, whether angelic or human, were necessary to Him, to whom even the justice of any creature is not necessary; but that He might make known

the riches of His glory upon the vessels of mercy, lest they should extol themselves in good works as if from their own strengths, but should humbly understand that, unless the grace of God, not due but free, had come to their aid, that would have had to be rendered to their own merits which they saw rendered to others in the same mass (massa).

25. Therefore, the defined number in the foreknowledge (praescientia) of God is certain, and the multitude of the saints, for whom—as they love God, because of what He has given them through the Holy Spirit (Spiritum sanctum) poured out in their hearts—all things work together for good, for those who are called according to His purpose. For those whom He foreknew, He also predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the firstborn among many brothers. Moreover, those whom He predestined, those He also called: here we ought to understand, "according to His purpose." For there are also others who are called, but not chosen (electi); and for this reason they are not called according to His purpose. But those whom He called (that is, according to His purpose), those He also justified: moreover, those whom He justified, those He also glorified (Rom. VIII, 28-30). These are the children of the promise; these are the chosen who are saved through the election of grace (per electionem gratiae), where it was said: "But if it is grace, it is no longer of works; otherwise grace is no longer grace." These are the vessels of mercy (vasa misericordiae), in

whom God, even through the vessels of wrath (vasa irae), makes known the riches of His glory. Of these there is made through the Holy Spirit one heart and one soul (Act. IV, 32), which blesses God and does not forget all His rewards, who becomes propitious to all its iniquities; who heals all its diseases; who redeems its life from corruption; who crowns it in mercy (Psal. CII, 2, 2), because it is not of him who wills nor of him who runs, but of God who has mercy.

26. But other men not pertaining to this society—whose soul and body nevertheless the goodness of God has worked, as well as whatever nature itself has besides the vice which the audacity of a proud will inflicted upon it—were created by the foreknowing God for this reason: that in them He might show what the deserter's free will (liberum arbitrium) could avail without His grace; and that in their just and due punishments the vessels of mercy, which were discerned from that concretion not by the merits of their own works but by the free grace of God, might learn what had been conferred upon them; so that every mouth may be stopped (Rom III, 19), and he who boasts, let him boast in the Lord (I Cor I, 31).

CHAPTER VIII.

27. Anyone who teaches otherwise, and does not acquiesce to the sound words of our Lord Jesus Christ who said, "The Son of Man came to seek and to save what was lost" (Luke 19:10): for He did not say, "What was going to be lost," but

"what was lost"; showing what else, except that by the sin of the first man the nature of the entire human race has perished? He, therefore, who teaches otherwise, and does not acquiesce to that doctrine which is according to piety (1 Tim 6:3), defends human nature as if it were sound and free against the grace of the Savior and against the blood of the Redeemer, yet still affects to be called by the Christian name; what is he going to say about the distinction of infants, why one is assumed into the life of the second man, while another is left in the death of the first man? If he says that merits of free will preceded; the Apostle responds with what we said above about those not yet born nor having done anything good or evil. But if he says what is still defended in the books which Pelagius is reported to have very recently published; although he already seems to have anathematized in the episcopal judgment of Palestine those who say that the sin of Adam harmed him alone, and not the human race: if you say both were born without judgment, and drew nothing from the condemnation of the first man; certainly since he does not dare to deny that he who has been regenerated in Christ is adopted into the kingdom of heaven; let him answer what will become of him who, through no fault of his own, not being baptized, was prevented by this temporal death. If we do not think he will say that God will condemn with eternal death an innocent person, having no original sin before the years in which he could have his own; he is therefore compelled to answer what Pelagius, in the

ecclesiastical judgment, was compelled to anathematize in order to be pronounced a Catholic in some way: that infants, even if they are not baptized, have eternal life: for if this is denied, what will remain but eternal death?

28. And by this he will dispute against the sentence of the Lord saying, "Your fathers ate manna in the desert, and they died: this is the bread which comes down from heaven, so that if anyone eats of it he may not die"; for He was not speaking of that death which even those who eat of that bread must necessarily suffer: and a little after, "Amen, amen I say to you, Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, you will not have life in you" (John 6:49, 50, 54); surely that life which is to be after this death: and against the authority of the Apostolic See, where, when this very matter was being dealt with, this evangelical testimony was applied, lest unbaptized infants be believed to be able to have life (Innocent in Epist. 182, n. 5): and against the words of Pelagius himself expressed before the bishops by whom he was heard, where he anathematized those who said that unbaptized infants have eternal life.

29. Which we have commemorated for this reason, since indeed among you, or rather in your city, if indeed what we have heard is true, some strive with such obstinacy for that error, that they say it is easier for them even to desert and despise Pelagius, who anathematized those holding these views, than to depart from the truth of this opinion, as it seems to them. But if

they yield to the Apostolic See, or rather to the Teacher and Lord of the Apostles himself, who says they will not have life in themselves unless they eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, which they certainly cannot do unless baptized; surely they will eventually confess that unbaptized infants cannot have life, and by this, however more tolerably than all who also commit their own sins, yet they are punished with eternal death.

30. Since these things are so, let them dare to dispute, and let them strive to persuade whomever they can, that God—who is just, with whom there is no iniquity—would condemn to perpetual death infants innocent of their own sins, if they were not also bound and constrained by that sin from Adam. But if this is most absurd and utterly alien to the justice of God, and yet no one who remembers himself to be a Christian of the Catholic faith denies or doubts that infants who have not received the grace of regeneration in Christ, without the food of His flesh and the drink of His blood, do not have life in themselves, and are therefore liable to everlasting punishment; surely it remains that, because they themselves have done nothing good or evil, the punishment of their death is just for this reason: that they die in him in whom all have sinned; hence they are justified in Him alone, from whom neither original sin could be drawn, nor any sin of one's own perpetrated.

31. He Himself called us not only from among the Jews, but also from among the Gentiles;

since He Himself collected whom He willed (Matt 23:37)—even the children of that Jerusalem which killed the Prophets and stoned those sent to her, although she herself was unwilling—both before His incarnation, like the Prophets themselves, and after the Word was made flesh, like the Apostles and the thousands of men who also laid the prices of their goods before the feet of the Apostles (Acts 2:41, and 4:4, 34, 35). For all those are children of the unwilling Jerusalem that they should be collected, who nevertheless were collected against her will; of whom He says: "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges" (Matt 12:27). Of these it was foretold: "If the children of Israel were as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved" (Isa 10:22; Hos 1:10; Rom 9:24-27). The word of God cannot fail, nor has He rejected His people whom He foreknew, which remnant nevertheless has been saved through the election of grace. "And if by grace," which must often be said, "then it is no longer by works; otherwise grace is no longer grace": these are certainly not our words, but the words of the Apostle (Rom 11:2, 5, 6). What therefore He cried out to the Jerusalem unwilling to have her children collected, this we cry out against those who do not want the children willing to be collected by the Church: nor are they corrected even after the judgment concerning Pelagius himself which took place in Palestine; from which he would have gone out condemned, unless he himself had condemned those things which were objected

against him, said against the grace of God, which he could not obscure.

CHAPTER IX.

32. For besides those things which, as best he could, he dared to defend by whatever reason, certain things were objected which, unless he had anathematized them without any evasion, he himself would have gone out anathematized. For it was objected that he said: That Adam, whether he sinned or did not sin, would have died: and that his sin harmed him alone, and not the human race: and that newly born infants are in that state in which Adam was before his transgression: and that neither through the death or through the transgression of Adam does the entire human race die, nor through the resurrection of Christ does the entire human race rise: and that infants, even if they are not baptized, have eternal life: and that baptized rich people, unless they renounce all things, if they should be seen to do anything good, it is not imputed to them, nor can they have the kingdom of God: and that the grace of God and help is not given for individual acts, but is in free will or in the law and doctrine: and that the grace of God is given according to our merits: and that they cannot be called children of God, unless they have been made entirely without sin: and that there is no free will if it needs the help of God; since each one has in his own will to do something, or not to do it: and that our victory is not from the help of God, but from free will: and that pardon is not given to penitents according to

the grace and mercy of God, but according to the merit and labor of those who through penance have been worthy of mercy.

33. All these things Pelagius so anathematized, as the Acts themselves sufficiently testify, that he brought forward no part of a discussion to defend them in any way; whence it follows that whoever follows the authority of that episcopal judgment, and the confession of Pelagius himself, ought to hold these things, which the Catholic Church has always held: That Adam, unless he had sinned, would not have died: that his sin harmed not himself alone, but also the human race: and that newly born infants are not in that state in which Adam was before his transgression, so that to them also pertains what the Apostle says briefly, "Through one man death, and through one man the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive" (1 Cor 15:21, 22). Whence it happens that unbaptized infants cannot have not only the kingdom of heaven, but also eternal life. Let him also confess that baptized rich people, even if they do not lack their riches, and are such as the Apostle describes to Timothy saying, "Command the rich of this world not to be proud in their wisdom, nor to hope in the uncertainty of riches, but in the living God, who provides all things abundantly for enjoyment; let them be rich in good works, give easily, communicate, treasure up for themselves a good foundation for the future, so that they may apprehend true life" (1 Tim 6:17-19), cannot be denied the kingdom of

God. Let him confess that the grace of God and help is given even for individual acts; and that it is not given according to our merits, so that it may be true grace, that is, freely given through the mercy of Him who said, "I will have mercy on whom I have had mercy, and I will show mercy to whom I have been merciful" (Exod 33:19). Let him confess that those can be called children of God who daily say, "Forgive us our debts" (Matt 6:12): which they certainly would not say truthfully if they were entirely without sin. Let him confess that there is free will, even if it needs divine help. Let him confess that when we fight against temptations and unlawful concupiscences, although we also have our own will there, yet our victory comes not from that, but from the help of God. For otherwise it will not be true what the Apostle says: "It is not of him that wills, nor of him that runs, but of God that has mercy." Let him confess that pardon is given to penitents according to the grace and mercy of God, not according to their merits; since indeed the Apostle said that penance itself is a gift of God, where he says of some: "Lest perhaps God give them penance" (2 Tim 2:25). All these things let him confess simply without any ambiguities, if anyone consents to Catholic authority and to the words of Pelagius himself expressed in the ecclesiastical Acts. For it is not to be believed that those things which are contrary to these were truly anathematized, unless these things to which they are contrary are held with a faithful heart and brought forth in open confession.

CHAPTER X.

34. Nor in those more recent books, which the same Pelagius is said to have published after that judgment, although he seems to consent to the help of divine grace, does what he feels about this matter appear clearly enough. For sometimes he so weighs the power of the will in equal scales with equal moments, that he defines it to avail as much for sinning as also for not sinning: but if it is so, no place is reserved for the help of grace, without which we say that the choice of the will avails nothing for not sinning. But at other times he confesses that we are protected by the daily gift of God's help, although we have a strong and firm free will for not sinning: which certainly he ought to have confessed to be invalid and weak, until all the languors of our soul are healed. For he was not praying for the infirmity of the body, who said, "Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am weak; heal me, O Lord, for my bones are troubled": for that he might show that he was asking for his soul, he added following, "and my soul is troubled exceedingly" (Psalm 6:3, 4).

35. He seems therefore to think that the help of grace is granted as if from abundance, that is, that even if it is not granted, we nevertheless have a strong and firm free will for not sinning. Lest we be thought to suspect this of him rashly, and perhaps someone may say that he so feels free will to be strong and firm for not sinning (although without God's grace it cannot effect and fulfill it), just as we say healthy eyes are

firm for seeing, which nevertheless they can in no way do if the help of light is missing; in another place he showed what he would say, or what he would think, where he says, "That the grace of God is given to men for this reason, that what they are commanded to do through free will, they may be able to fulfill more easily through grace." Surely when he says, "more easily," what does he want to be understood, except that even if grace is missing, those things which are divinely commanded can be fulfilled through free will, either easily, or even with difficulty?

36. Where then is, "What is man, except that You are mindful of him" (Psalm 8:5)? Where finally are those testimonies, which the bishop of the Jerusalem Church, as is read in the same Acts, mentions that he himself said to Pelagius, when it had been reported to him that he said without the grace of God a man could be without sin? For these are the three very great testimonies spoken by him against such impious presumption: what the Apostle said, "I have labored more than all of them; yet not I, but the grace of God with me" (1 Cor 15:10); and, "It is not of him that wills, nor of him that runs, but of God that has mercy" (Rom 9:16); and, "Unless the Lord build the house, they have labored in vain that build it" (Psalm 126:1). How then is what God commands fulfilled without His help either with difficulty, since if the Lord does not build, the builder is said to have labored in vain; nor is it written, "It is indeed of him that wills, and of him that runs, but it is more easily of God that has mercy," but it is written,

"It is not of him that wills, nor of him that runs, but of God that has mercy"; not because there is no will and running of man, but because it can do nothing, unless He has mercy: nor did the Apostle say, "And I," but he said, "Yet not I, but the grace of God with me": not because he himself did nothing good, but because he would do nothing, if it did not help? Although that possibility of free will as much for good as for evil from an equal weighing of the scale leaves no place even for this facility, which at least he seems to have confessed by saying, "They can fulfill more easily through grace, the good is fulfilled more easily through grace, but evil is done most easily without grace": surely this possibility is not weighed in an equal scale.

CHAPTER XI.

37. But why more? Not only must we be cautious to avoid those people, but we also must not be slow to teach or admonish them, if they allow it. Nevertheless, we undoubtedly provide more for them if we pray that they may be corrected, lest with such great talents they either perish or destroy others by a damnable presumption: because "they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge"; that is, "ignorant of the justice which is from God, and wanting to establish their own, they are not subject to the justice of God" (Rom 10:2, 3). For whom indeed, since they are called Christians, it must be more observed than for the Jews, of whom the Apostle said this, lest they stumble "at the stone of stumbling" (id.

9:32), as if by cleverly defending nature and free will, just like the philosophers of this world, who worked vehemently that they might be thought or think themselves to effect a blessed life by the virtue of their own will. Let these people therefore beware lest through the wisdom of word they empty the cross of Christ (1 Cor 1:17), and this be for them to stumble at the stone of stumbling. For human nature, even if it remained in that integrity in which it was created, would in no way preserve itself if its Creator did not help: since therefore without the grace of God it cannot guard the salvation which it received; how without the grace of God can it repair what it lost?

However, we ought not for this reason not to pray for them, because if they are not corrected, it is to be imputed to their will, who do not want to believe the grace of the Savior to be necessary for themselves even for this very thing, which they think consists in the solo strengths of the will. For even those to whom these people are entirely similar in this cause, of whom the Apostle said this, that "ignorant of God's justice, and wanting to establish their own, they are not subject to the justice of God," certainly did not believe by the vice of their own will. For they were not compelled into vice so that they might be unbelievers; but by not wanting to believe, they were not without the crime of unbelief. And yet because the will, so that it may be moved to believe true things, does not suffice for itself unless God helps through grace—the Lord Himself saying when He was speaking of those not believing, "No one

comes to me, unless it be given to him by the Father" (John 6:66)—for this reason the Apostle also, although he preached the Gospel to them insistently, nevertheless believed it was too little, unless he also prayed for them that they might believe: for he says, "Brethren, the good will indeed of my heart, and my prayer to God is for them unto salvation"; and then he added those things which we said, "For I bear them witness that they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge," etc. Let us pray therefore for them, holy brother.

CHAPTER XII.

You see indeed with us by how bad an error they are held. For your letters fragrant with the most sincere odor of Christ, where you appear as a most genuine lover and confessor of His grace. But that we thought we should speak with you at length about this matter, we did first because it is most pleasant: for what ought to be more pleasant, either to the weak than the grace by which they are healed, or to the lazy than the grace by which they are excited, or to those who will than the grace by which they are helped? Then, so that if we could do anything by our discussion with God's help, your assertion—not of faith, but of faith against such people—might be supported, just as we also are helped in this ability by the letters of your Brotherhood (Germanitatis).

40. For what is more abundant and fuller of a most true confession than that which is in a certain letter of yours, where you humbly

deplored that our nature did not remain as it was created, but was vitiated through that father of the human race, saying: "I, poor and grieving, who am still concretioned with the squalor of the earthly image, and report more of the first than of the second Adam by the senses of the flesh and earthly acts, how shall I dare to paint myself to you, since I am proved a denier of the heavenly image by earthly corruption? Shame encloses me on both sides. I blush to paint what I am; I do not dare to paint what I am not: I hate what I am; and I am not what I love. But what will it profit miserable me to hate iniquity and to love virtue, when I do that rather which I hate, nor do I, lazy, labor to do that rather which I love? I myself, discordant and distracted by an internal war, while the spirit fights against the flesh, the flesh against the spirit, and the law of the body impugns the law of the mind by the law of sin. Unhappy I, who have not even digested in me the poisonous taste of the enemy tree by the wood of the cross! For that paternal virus lasts for me through Adam, with which the father, having transgressed, infected the universality of his race" (Paulinus, in Epist. 8, to Severus): and the rest which you connect with many groanings about this misery, expecting the redemption of your body, and knowing yourself to be saved not yet in reality, but in hope (Rom 8:23, 24).

41. But perhaps you transfigured another in yourself when you said these things, nor do you suffer any importunate and hateful troubles from the flesh lusting against the spirit, although

you do not consent to it: nevertheless both you, and whoever suffers these things and expects the grace of Christ through which he may be liberated from the body of this death, was not yet indeed evidently in himself, but was there latently in that man, when the forbidden food was touched, and the perdition was conceived which was to go far and wide through all. But about praying, and demanding with groanings the help of progressing and living rightly, which letter of yours does not glow? what is there of your speech, however much, where it is not scattered with groaning piety what we say in prayer, "Lead us not into temptation" (Matt 6:13). Let us therefore mutually both console ourselves in all these things, and exhort one another, and help as much as the Lord gives. But those things which, and about whom we have heard, which we much grieve and are unwilling to believe easily; your Holiness will hear from our common friend, by whom returning in the mercy of God with health we hope that we can be made most certain about all things.

CONCERNING THE FOLLOWING LETTER (BOOK II RETRACT. CHAP. XLIX.)

I wrote a book on the presence of God, where our intention is most vigilant against the Pelagian heresy, not expressly named: but in it also there is a laborious and subtle discussion about the presence of nature, which we call the true and supreme God, and about His temple. This

book begins thus: "I confess to me, most beloved brother Dardanus."

BOOK ON THE PRESENCE OF GOD, OR LETTER CLXXXVII.

He responds to two questions of Dardanus, who asks first about Christ, how He is now in heaven, who said to the thief on the cross that he would be with Him that day in paradise; whether perhaps because Christ exists everywhere, or because paradise is situated in heaven: second about infants, whether they do not know God, even existing in the womb, since John exulted in the womb at the presence of the Mother of the Lord.

CAP. FIRST.

1. I confess, most beloved brother Dardanus —more illustrious to me in the charity of Christ than in the dignity of this age—that I have responded to your letters more slowly than I ought. I would not want you to seek the causes of this thing, lest you bear me more molestfully while I excuse myself at length than you endured me while I was slow to write back; since I would prefer you to easily forgive my offense than to judge my defense: whatever those causes were, believe that no contempt for you could have been in me. For indeed I would have written back most quickly if I had despised you. Nor because I have finally at last written back, for that reason have I at least finally at last attempted something

worthy of you as a reader, and which I could deservedly mark with your name; but I have preferred to write back somehow now, than to suffer even this summer to pass with me as a debtor of this duty. Nor did your dignity terrify me and make me hesitate, since your humanity is more pleasing than that is suspicious. But whence I love you more, from there I find it more difficult to find whence I may suffice for such great greed of your religious love.

2. To this was added, that besides the flame of mutual charity, by which it happens that we love even those whom we have never seen, while we believe them to have what we love, where you indeed preceded me, and made me fear lest in me your opinion and expectation be deceived: besides this therefore you proposed such questions to me in your letter, which if they were proposed by anyone, would be no small business even for my leisure, which I lack. But when they are proposed by you, for whom the surface of their solution is by no means enough while searching deeply, and they are proposed to one most busy and walled in and constrained by the masses of other cares; it is for your prudence and benevolence to think how placid you ought to have me, either because I did not respond for a long time, or if even now I shall not respond for the greatness of your intention.

CHAPTER II.

3. You ask therefore, how the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, is now believed

to be in heaven, when hanging on the wood, and already about to die, He said to the believing thief: "Today you will be with Me in paradise" (Luke 23:43). And from this perhaps you say paradise is to be understood as if placed in some part of heaven, or, because God is everywhere, that man also who is in God is everywhere diffused; wanting it to be understood from this surely that he who is everywhere could also have been in paradise.

4. Where I ask, or rather I recognize, how you receive the man Christ. Certainly not like certain heretics, as the Word of God and flesh, that is without a human soul; so that the Word would be to the flesh instead of a soul: or the Word of God and a soul and flesh, but without a human mind; so that the word of God would be to the soul instead of a human mind. Certainly you do not thus receive the man Christ, but just as you spoke above, where you said that you receive Christ the omnipotent God by that reason of belief, that you would not believe Him to be God, unless you also believed Him to be a perfect man. Surely when you say a perfect man, you want the whole human nature to be understood there: but he is not a perfect man, if either a soul is missing to the flesh, or a human mind to the soul itself.

5. If therefore according to the man whom the Word God assumed, we think it was said, "Today you will be with Me in paradise," paradise is not to be estimated from these words to be in heaven: for nor on that very day was the man Christ Jesus to be in heaven; but in hell (inferno)

according to the soul (animus), but in the sepulcher according to the flesh. And concerning the flesh indeed that it was placed in the sepulcher on that day, the Gospel is most manifest: but that that soul descended into hell, the apostolic doctrine preaches; since indeed blessed Peter applies testimony from the Psalms to this matter, where he demonstrates it to have been foretold, "Because You will not leave my soul in hell, nor will You give Your holy one to see corruption" (Acts 2:27, and Psalm 15:10). That was said concerning the soul, because it was not left there, whence it returned so quickly: that concerning the body, because it could not be corrupted in the sepulcher by a swift resurrection. But no one understands paradise in the sepulcher. And if anyone were so absurd as to try to know this, because that sepulcher was in a garden; certainly he would be recalled from that opinion by this, that he to whom it was said, "Today you will be with Me in paradise," was not with Christ in that sepulcher on that day: nor would the burial of the flesh, feeling no joy or pain in death, be offered to his faith for a great gift, since he was thinking about the rest where there is sense.

CHAPTER III.

7. But the sense is much more direct, and free from all these ambiguities, if it is understood that Christ said, "Today you will be with Me in paradise," not according to that which He was as man, but according to that which He was as God. For as man Christ was to be in the sepulcher

according to the flesh on that day, and in hell (inferno) according to the soul (anima): but the same Christ as God is always everywhere. For He is the light which shines even in the darkness, although the darkness did not comprehend it (John 1:5). He is the Power and Wisdom of God, concerning whom it is written that she reaches from end to end mightily, and disposes all things sweetly (Wisdom 8:1); and she reaches everywhere because of her purity, and nothing defiled enters into her (Wisdom 7:24). Wherever therefore paradise may be, whoever of the blessed is there, he is there with Him who is everywhere.

8. For since Christ is God and man; God surely whence He says, "I and the Father are one" (John 10:30); but man whence He says, "The Father is greater than I" (John 14:28); and the same is the only-begotten Son of God from the Father, and the son of man from the seed of David according to the flesh: both are to be observed in Him when He speaks, or when Scripture speaks concerning Him, and it is to be considered what is said according to what. For just as one man is a rational soul (anima) and flesh, so also one Christ is the Word and man. Accordingly, as far as pertains to the Word, Christ is the creator; for "all things were made through Him" (John 1:3): but as far as pertains to the man, Christ was created; for "He was made from the seed of David according to the flesh" (Romans 1:3), and "made in the likeness of men" (Philippians 2:7). Likewise because in man there are two, soul (anima) and flesh; according to the soul He was sorrowful even unto death

(Matthew 26:38), according to the flesh He suffered death (Acts 3:18).

9. Nor yet when we call Christ the Son of God, do we separate the man; or when we call the same Christ the son of man, do we separate God. For according to the man He was on earth, not in heaven where He is now, when He was saying, "No one has ascended into heaven, except He who descended from heaven, the Son of man who is in heaven" (John 3:13): although according to that which He was the Son of God, He was in heaven; but according to that which He was the son of man, He was still on earth, and had not yet ascended into heaven. Similarly, while according to that which He is the Son of God, He is the Lord of glory; but according to that which He is the son of man, He was crucified; yet the Apostle says: "For if they had known, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory" (1 Corinthians 2:8). And through this both the son of man was in heaven according to God, and the Son of God was being crucified on earth according to the man. Just as therefore it could rightly be said the Lord of glory was crucified, since that passion pertained to the flesh alone: so it could rightly be said, "Today you will be with Me in paradise," when according to human humility, He was to be in the sepulcher through the flesh and in hell through the soul on that day; but according to divine immutability He would never have withdrawn from paradise, because He is always everywhere.

10. Do not therefore doubt that the man Christ Jesus is now there, whence He is to come; and recall to memory, and faithfully hold the Christian confession, that He rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, sits at the right hand of the Father, nor is He to come from anywhere else than from there to judge the living and the dead. And He is so to come, as that angelic voice testifies, just as He was seen to go into heaven (Acts 1:10, 11), that is in the same form and substance of flesh; to which surely He gave immortality, but did not take away nature. According to this form He is not to be thought diffused everywhere. For we must beware lest we so assert the divinity of the man, as to take away the truth of the body. It is not however consequent that what is in God is so everywhere, as God. For concerning us also the most true Scripture says that "in Him we live, move, and are" (Acts 17:28); yet we are not everywhere as He is; but that man is in God in one way, since also that God is in the man in another way, in a certain proper and singular mode. For one person is God and man, and both is one Christ Jesus; everywhere by that which He is God, but in heaven by that which He is man.

CHAPTER IV.

11. Although in that itself which is said that God is diffused everywhere, carnal thought must be resisted, and the mind (mens) must be called away from the senses of the body, lest as if by a spacious magnitude we should think God to be diffused through all things, just as the ground, or

liquid, or air, or this light is diffused (for every magnitude of this kind is smaller in its part than in the whole); but rather thus as great wisdom is, even in a man whose body is small. And if there are two wise men, one of whom is larger in body, neither is wiser, that wisdom is not larger in the larger, smaller in the smaller, or smaller in one than in the two; but it is as much in this one as in that one, and as much in each as in both: for nor if they are altogether equally wise, do both know more than each individually; just as if they are equally immortal, both do not live more than each individually.

12. Finally, that immortality of the body itself, which preceded in the flesh of Christ, and is promised to be future to us in the end, although it is a great thing, is surely not great by mass (moles); but although it is possessed corporally, it is a certain incorporeal excellence. For since the immortal body itself is smaller in part than in the whole, its immortality is as full in part as in the whole; and although some members are larger than others, yet some members are not more immortal than others. Just as now when we are healthy in every part according to the mode of present health in the body, it is not because the whole hand is larger than the finger, that therefore we say the health of the whole hand is greater than that of the finger; but it is equal in those unequal parts, when thus shorter parts are compared to larger ones, so that what cannot be as large as the other is, can yet be as healthy. But health would be greater in larger members,

if the larger were healthier: but since it is not so, but larger and smaller are equally healthy, the quantity is surely disparate in the masses of the members, but the health is equal in the disparate parts.

13. Since therefore the body is some substance, its quantity is in the magnitude of its mass (moles); but its health is not its quantity, but its quality. Therefore quantity of the body could not obtain what quality could. For parts being thus distant, which cannot be together at the same time, since each holds its own spaces of places, smaller parts holding smaller spaces, and larger ones larger, it could not be whole or as great in each individual part; but quantity is larger in larger parts, shorter in shorter parts, and in no part as great as through the whole: but the quality of the body, which is called health, when the whole body is healthy, is as great in the larger as in the smaller parts; for those which are less large are not therefore less healthy, or those which are larger therefore healthier. Far be it therefore that what quality of a created body can do in a body, the substance of the Creator cannot do in itself.

14. God is therefore diffused through all things. For He Himself says through the prophet, "I fill heaven and earth" (Jeremiah 23:24); and what I placed a little before concerning His wisdom, "She reaches from end to end mightily, and disposes all things sweetly" (Wisdom 8:1); and likewise it is written, "The Spirit of the Lord has filled the whole world" (Wisdom 1:7); and to Him it is said in a certain psalm, "Where shall I go

from Your spirit, and from Your face where shall I flee? If I ascend into heaven, You are there; if I descend to hell (infernum), You are present" (Psalm 138:7). But God is thus diffused through all things, that He is not the quality of the world; but the creative substance of the world, ruling without labor, and containing the world without burden. Yet not through spaces of places, as if diffused by mass, so that in half the body of the world He would be half, and in the other half half, and thus whole through the whole; but He is whole in heaven alone, and whole in earth alone, and whole in both heaven and earth, and contained by no place, but whole everywhere in Himself.

15. Thus the Father, thus the Son, thus the Holy Spirit, thus the Trinity is one God. For they did not divide the world among themselves into three parts, which each individually would fill, as if the Son or the Holy Spirit would not have where to be in the world if the Father had occupied the whole. The true incorporeal and immutable divinity is not so. For they are not bodies, whose magnitude would be larger in the three than in each individually; nor do they hold places with their masses (moles), so that they could not be together at the same time in distant spaces. For if the soul constituted in the body finds not only no narrowness, but even a certain latitude, not of corporal places, but of spiritual joys when that which the Apostle says happens, "Do you not know that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Spirit in you, whom you have from God?" (1

Corinthians 6:19); nor can it be said except most foolishly, that the Holy Spirit does not have a place in our body because our soul has filled the whole: how much more foolishly is it said that the Trinity is impeded by any narrowness anywhere, so that Father and Son and Holy Spirit cannot be everywhere at the same time!

CHAPTER V.

16. But that is much more wonderful, that although God is whole everywhere, He does not however inhabit in all. For it cannot be said to all what the Apostle says, either what I have already said, or even that: "Do you not know that you are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in you?" (1 Corinthians 3:16)? Whence also on the contrary concerning some he says: "But whoever does not have the Spirit of Christ, this one is not His" (Romans 8:9). Who furthermore would dare to opine, unless whoever is completely ignorant of the inseparability of the Trinity, that the Father or the Son could dwell in someone in whom the Holy Spirit does not dwell, or in someone the Holy Spirit in whom not also both the Father and the Son? Whence it must be confessed that God is everywhere through the presence of divinity, but not everywhere through the grace of habitation. For because of this habitation, where without doubt the grace of His love (charity) is recognized, we do not say, "Our Father who art everywhere," although this also is true, but, "Our Father who art in heaven" (Matthew 6:9); so that we may rather commemorate His temple in

prayer, which we ourselves also ought to be, and in as much as we are, in so much we pertain to His society and the family of adoption. For if the people of God, not yet made equal to His angels, is still said to be His temple in this pilgrimage, how much more is His temple in the heavens, where the people of angels is, to whom we are to be aggregated and co-equated, when, the pilgrimage being finished, we have received what was promised!

17. Since therefore He who is everywhere does not inhabit in all; even in those in whom He inhabits, He does not inhabit equally. For whence is that which Elisha asked, that the Spirit of God who was in Elijah might be doubly in him (2 Kings 2:9)? and whence in all the saints are some holier than others, unless by having God as inhabitant more abundantly? How therefore did we say truly above, that God is whole everywhere, when He is more in some, less in others? But it is not to be negligently observed what we said, that He is whole everywhere in Himself. Not therefore in them because some receive Him more, others less. For therefore He is said to be everywhere, because He is absent to no part of things, therefore whole, because He does not offer His part present to a part of things, and another part to another part, equal parts to equal parts, but a smaller part to a smaller, and a larger to a larger; but not only to the universe of the creature, but even to any part of it He is present equally whole. And those are said to be far from Him, who by sinning have been made most unlike; and those to approach

Him, who receive His likeness by living piously. Just as the eyes are rightly said to be so much further from this light, as they have been blinder. For what is so far from light as blindness, even if light be present, and flow over the extinguished eyes? But the eyes are deservedly held to approach the light, which profit by receiving sight through the approach of health.

CHAPTER VI.

18. Furthermore, that which we thought could be understood with little distinction when we were saying God is whole everywhere, unless we added, "In Himself," I see is to be more diligently expounded. For how is He everywhere, if in Himself? Everywhere surely, because He is nowhere absent. But in Himself, because He is not contained by those to whom He is present, as if He could not be without them. For take away spaces of places from bodies, they will be nowhere, and because they will be nowhere, nor will they be. Take away the bodies themselves from the qualities of bodies, there will not be where they are, and therefore it is necessary that they be not. For when a body is equally healthy through its whole mass (moles), or equally white, its health or whiteness is not greater in one part than in another, nor greater in the whole than in its part; because the whole is not established to be healthier or whiter than the part. But if it be unequally healthy or unequally white, it can happen that in a smaller part the health or whiteness is greater, when smaller members are

healthier or whiter than larger ones; to such an extent what is said to be great or small in qualities is not established by mass. Nevertheless, if the mass of the body itself, however great or however small it may be, be completely taken away, there will not be where its qualities are, although they are not to be measured by mass. But indeed God is not, if He is received less by him to whom He is present, therefore Himself smaller. For He is whole in Himself, nor is He in those in whom He is, in such a way that He needs them, as if He could not be except in them. But just as He is not absent from him in whom He does not dwell, and is present whole, although that one does not have Him; so also He is present whole to him in whom He dwells, although that one does not receive Him from the whole.

19. For nor for inhabiting does He divide Himself through the hearts or bodies of men, attributing one part of Himself to this one, another to that one, like this light through the entrances and through the windows of houses: but rather, if a deaf man does not receive any sound, although it be a corporal and transitory thing, a hard-of-hearing man does not receive the whole, and in those who hear when they approach it equally, one receives it so much more than another, as he is of sharper hearing, and so much less, as he is of more obtuse hearing, although that sound does not sound more or less variously, but in that place in which they are, is present equally to all; how much more excellently God, of an incorporeal and immutably living nature, who cannot like

sound be stretched and divided through delays of times, nor needs aerial space as His place, where He may be present to those present, but remaining in Himself with eternal stability, can be present whole to all things, and whole to individual things, although those in whom He dwells have Him for the diversity of their capacity, some more, others less, whom He Himself builds for Himself as a most beloved temple by the grace of His goodness!

20. And indeed divisions of gifts have been spoken of as if through parts and members of one body, where we all together are one temple, and individually are individual temples; because God is not larger in all than in individuals: and it happens frequently that many receive Him less, one more. But when the Apostle had said, "There are divisions of gifts;" immediately he added, "But the same Spirit:" likewise when he had commemorated those divisions of gifts; "All these things," he said, "one and the same Spirit works, dividing to each one's own as He wills" (1 Corinthians 12:4, 11). Dividing therefore, not Himself divided, because He is one and the same. But those divisions were spoken of, as of members in a body; because ears do not have the same value as eyes, and thus the other members are concordantly distributed with diverse offices: which yet when we are healthy, being one, and not diverse, nor larger elsewhere, smaller elsewhere, but although they themselves are disparate, they rejoice together in a common and equal health. The head of this body is Christ, the unity of this body is

commended by our sacrifice: which the Apostle briefly signified, saying, "One bread, one body we many are" (1 Corinthians 10:17). Through our head we are reconciled to God, because in Him the divinity of the Only-begotten (Unigenitus) was made a participant of our mortality, so that we also might be participants of His immortality.

21. This sacrament is far from the hearts of the proud wise men, and therefore not Christians, and for this reason not truly wise. I speak even of those wise men who knew God; "for knowing God," as the Apostle says, "they did not glorify Him as God, or give thanks" (Romans 1:21). You know, moreover, in which sacrifice it is said, "Let us give thanks to the Lord our God." From the humility of this sacrifice, their pride (typhus) and haughtiness (cothurnus) are far removed. And therefore it is a very wonderful thing how God is an inhabitant of some who do not yet know God, and is not of some who do know Him. For neither do those belong to the temple of God, who knowing God, did not glorify Him as God, or give thanks; and to the temple of God belong the infants (parvuli) sanctified by the Sacrament of Christ, regenerated by the Holy Spirit, who certainly because of their age cannot yet know God: whence Him whom those were able to know and not have, these were able to have before they knew Him. But most blessed are they, for whom to have God is the same as to know Him: for that knowledge is most full, most true, and most happy.

CHAPTER VII.

22. From this it is now also necessary to treat that question which you added after the subscription of your letter: "If infants are still ignorant of God, how could John, even before he was born, at the arrival and presence of the mother of the Lord, leap for joy in his mother's womb?" For when you had commemorated that you had read my book on the Baptism of Infants (de Baptismo Parvulorum), you added and said: "I desire to know what you think about those who are pregnant, since the mother of John the Baptist answered for the boy with the faith of belief."

23. These are certainly the words of Elizabeth, the mother of John: "Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb: And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" For behold, as the voice of your salutation was made in my ears, the infant in my womb leaped for joy" (Luke 1:42-44). But that she should say this, as the Evangelist spoke before, she was filled with the Holy Spirit, by whose revelation without doubt she knew what that leaping of the infant signified; that is, that the mother of Him had come, whose precursor and demonstrator he himself was to be. Therefore, this could have been a signification of so great a thing to be known by the elders, not known by the infant. For neither, when this was narrated before in the Gospel, was it said, "The infant in her womb believed"; but, "he leaped for

joy": nor did she herself say, "The infant in my womb leaped for joy in faith"; but, "he leaped for joy in gladness." But we see leaping for joy not only of infants, but even of cattle, certainly not coming from any faith, or religion, or any rational cognition. But this clearly stood out as unusual and new, because it was in the womb, and at the arrival of her who was about to give birth to the Savior of men. Therefore wonderful, therefore to be reckoned among great signs: therefore this leaping for joy, and the re-salutation rendered as it were to the mother of the Lord, as miracles are accustomed to happen, was done divinely in the infant, not humanly by the infant.

24. Although even if the use of reason and will was so far accelerated in that boy, that within the maternal bowels he could already acknowledge, believe, and consent, which in other infants age is expected so that they may be able; even this is to be held among the miracles of divine power, not to be drawn as an exemplar for human nature. For when God willed, even a mute beast of burden spoke rationally (Numbers 22:28): nor for that reason are men admonished in their deliberations to expect even asinine counsels. Wherefore I neither despise what was done in John, nor do I fix from there a rule for what is to be thought of infants: on the contrary, I preach it as wonderful in him for this reason, because I do not find it in others. Even that struggle of the twins in Rebecca's womb has something similar; but even this was so much a prodigy (prodigium), that for that reason the woman sought a divine oracle,

and heard that two peoples were figured in those two little infants (Genesis 25:22, 23).

25. But that infants, who do not yet know even human things, are ignorant of divine things—if we should wish to show this with words, I fear lest we seem to do injury to our very senses, when we urge this by speaking, where the evidence of truth very easily overcomes all the powers and duty of speech. Do we not see, even when they have begun to give some signs of an articulated voice, and to pass from infancy to the beginning of speaking, that they still feel and say such things, in which if they had remained, and as years were added they persisted in being such, no one, even one too foolish himself, would doubt that they were fools? Unless perhaps it remains that we should believe that infants were wise in the crying of infancy, or even in the silence of the womb itself, but truly after they began to speak with us, they came to this ignorance which we see by growing. You see how absurd it is to opine this, since the sense of boys breaking forth into any kind of words, which is certainly almost nothing compared to those things which elders know, nevertheless compared to that in which they are born, can be called intelligence. But why in that so great safeguard of salvation, when Christian grace comes to their aid, is it that they struggle with the voices and movements they can, yet it is not imputed to them, and all their resistance is weighed as nothing, until the Sacraments are performed in them, by which that which is drawn from original damnation may be expiated, unless

because they so far do not know what they do, that they are not even judged to do it? Furthermore, if they already used the judgment of reason and will, by which assent ought to be applied to that sanctification, how much evil it would be to resist so great a grace, and how not only would what was done profit nothing, but truly even guilt (reatus) would increase therefrom—what Christian would be ignorant of this?

CHAPTER VIII.

26. We say, therefore, that in baptized infants, although they do not know it, the Holy Spirit dwells. For they are ignorant of Him although He is in them, just as they are ignorant of their own mind; the reason in them, which they cannot yet use, is like a certain dormant spark (scintilla sopita), to be excited by the approach of age. Nor ought this to seem wonderful in infants, since the Apostle says even to some who were older, "Do you not know that you are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in you?" (1 Corinthians 3:16); concerning such as he had said a little before, "The animal man does not perceive those things which are of the Spirit of God"; whom he also calls infants, not in age of the flesh but of the mind (1 Corinthians 2:14, and 3:1, 2). Therefore they did not perceive by knowledge the Holy Spirit who was dwelling in them; and with the Holy Spirit dwelling in them, they were still animal, not yet spiritual, because they could not yet perceive their inhabitant, the Spirit, by knowledge.

27. But He is said to inhabit even such for this reason, because He works secretly in them, that they may be His temple; and He perfects this in those who make progress and persevere in making progress. "For in hope we are made saved," as the Apostle says; although in another place he says, "He made us saved through the washing of regeneration" (Titus 3:5). Since therefore he says here, "He made us saved," as if salvation itself were already given, how it is to be understood he expounds there, where he says: "For in hope we are made saved. But hope which is seen is not hope; for what someone sees, why does he hope for? But if we hope for what we do not see, we wait through patience" (Romans 8:24, 25). For many things are said in the Scriptures as if they had been done, when they are understood to be still in hope. Whence is also that which the Lord said to the disciples, "All things which I have heard from my Father I have made known to you" (John 15:15): which was said so far according to the hope of future things, that he says to them afterwards, "I have many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now" (John 16:12). He works, therefore, in those mortals in whom He still dwells, the very building of His habitation, which He perfects not in this life, but in another after this life, when death shall be swallowed up in victory and it shall be said to it: "Where is, O death, your victory? where is, O death, your sting? But what is the sting of death, except sin?" (1 Corinthians 15:54-56).

28. Because of which even now, regenerated from water and the Spirit, and with all sins—whether of origin from Adam, in whom all have sinned, or of our deeds, words, and thoughts—deleted in the cleansing of that washing; nevertheless because we remain in this human life which is a temptation upon the earth, we rightly say: "Forgive us our debts" (Matthew 6:12). And this prayer the universal Church says, which the Savior cleanses by the washing of water in the word, that He may exhibit it to Himself glorious, not having spot, or wrinkle (Eph. 5:26, 27), or anything of that kind; then certainly when it shall be perfected in reality (in re), where now one walks in progress in hope. For how is she now not having spot, or wrinkle, or anything of that kind, who either in all men belonging to her who already use the reason of the mind and the judgment of the will, and carry the burden (sarcina) of mortal flesh, or certainly, as even the contentious must confess, truly says in many of her members: "Forgive us our debts"?

29. When therefore He justifies more and more those making progress, in which mortals He dwells, while they are renewed from day to day, hears them praying, cleanses them confessing, so that He may exhibit to Himself an immaculate temple forever; He is rightly said not to dwell in those who, knowing God, did not glorify Him as God, or give thanks. For by worshiping and serving the creature rather than the Creator (Romans 1:21, 25), they did not wish themselves to be the temple of the one true God: and thus while they

wish to have Him with many, they more easily brought it about that they should not have Him, than that they should mix Him with many or false gods. And He is rightly said to dwell in those whom, called according to His purpose, He undertook to justify and glorify, even before they are able to know His incorporeal nature, which is whole everywhere, as much as can be known in part through a mirror and in an enigma by a man in this life (1 Corinthians 13:12), when he has made very much progress. For there are, in whom He dwells, many such to whom the Apostle says: "I could not speak to you as to spiritual ones, but as to carnal ones. As to infants in Christ, I gave you milk to drink, not meat: for not yet were you able; but nor indeed are you able yet" (1 Corinthians 3:1, 2). For to these he even says this: "Do you not know that you are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in you?" (1 Corinthians 6:19). If the last day of this life should find such as these even before they arrive at a spiritual age of mind, where they are nourished not with milk but with solid food; their inhabitant will perfect in them whatever of intelligence they had less here, since they did not withdraw from the unity of the body of Christ who was made the way for us, and from the society of the temple of God. Whence that they may not withdraw, they perseveringly hold in the Church the rule of faith common to small and great, and in that which they have reached they walk in it, until God reveals to them if they feel anything otherwise, they do not dogmatize their carnal thoughts; because they do not

harden themselves by remaining in contentious defenses, but in a certain way they labor (desudant) by walking, that is, by making progress, obtaining perspicuity of intelligence through the piety of faith.

CHAPTER IX.

30. Since these things are so, those two things which happen in one man, to be born and to be reborn, belong to two men: one to that first Adam, the other to the second who is called Christ. "But not first," says the Apostle, "that which is spiritual, but that which is animal; afterwards the spiritual. The first man from the earth, earthly; the second man from heaven, heavenly: as the earthly is, such also are the earthly; and as the heavenly is, such also are the heavenly. As we have carried the image of the earthly, let us carry also the image of him who is from heaven": likewise he says, "Through one man death, and through one man the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive" (1 Corinthians 15:46-49, 21, 22). He said "all" and "all" for this reason, because into death no one enters except through that one, into life no one except through this one. In the first it was evident what the will of man was worth for death; but in the second, what the help of God was worth for life. Finally, the first man was nothing but man; but the second, God and man: for sin was committed by leaving God; justice is not made without God. And by this neither would we die unless we came through carnal propaga-

tion (propago) from his members; nor would we live unless we were members of this one through spiritual connection. Therefore it was necessary for us to be born and to be reborn, but for Him only to be born for our sake. For we pass from sin to justice by being reborn; but He made the transition to justice from no sin: but in that He was baptized, He more deeply commended the Sacrament of our regeneration by His humility; signifying, however, our old man by His passion, and the new by His resurrection.

31. For the disobedience of concupiscence (concupiscentia) which dwells in mortal flesh, by which it happens that those same members are moved even besides the judgment of the will, is reduced by conjugal justice to such a mode that children are generated to parents lawfully joined, for whom it is necessary to be regenerated. Nevertheless Christ did not wish His flesh to come through this kind of meeting of male and female; but from a virgin, with nothing of such concupiscence in His conception, He took the likeness of the flesh of sin for us, by which the flesh of sin might be cleansed in us (Romans 8:3, 4). "For as through the offense of one," says the Apostle, "unto all men to condemnation; so through the justification of one unto all men to the justification of life" (Romans 5:18). For no one is born except by carnal concupiscence working, which is drawn from the first man who is Adam; and no one is reborn except by spiritual grace working, which is given through the second man, who is Christ. Wherefore if we belong to that one by

being born, to this one by being reborn, and no one can be reborn before he is born; surely He was uniquely born, for whom there was no need to be reborn; because He did not make the transition from sin, in which He never was, nor was He conceived in iniquity, or His mother nourish Him in sins in her womb: because the Holy Spirit came upon her, and the power of the Most High overshadowed her; whence that Holy thing which was born of her is called the Son of God. For the good of marriage does not extinguish but modifies the evil of disobedient members, so that carnal concupiscence being in a certain way limited, there may be at least conjugal chastity (pudicitia). But the Virgin Mary, to whom it was said, "And the power of the Most High shall overshadow you" (Luke 1:35), in conceiving a holy offspring, burned with no heat of this concupiscence under such a shadow. Excepting therefore this cornerstone (lapis angularis), I do not see how men are built into the house of God to have God dwelling in them, unless when they have been reborn; which they cannot be before they are born.

CHAPTER X.

32. Whatever opinion therefore we may have concerning those who are pregnant, or rather concerning men still constituted within the maternal bowels (womb), whether we think they can or cannot be given some mode of sanctification; either because of John, who not yet brought forth into this light, nevertheless leaped for joy:

which certainly who would believe could have been done except by the operation of the Holy Spirit? or because of Jeremiah, to whom the Lord says, "Before you came out of the womb, I sanctified you" (Jeremiah 1:5): nevertheless that sanctification by which we are made both individual temples of God, and all together one temple of God, is not except of the reborn; which men cannot be unless they are born. But no one will well end the life in which he was born, unless he is reborn before he ends it.

33. But if anyone says that a man is already born, even when he is still in the mother's womb, and adduces testimony from the Gospel, because it was said to Joseph concerning the pregnant Virgin, the mother of the Lord, "For that which is born in her is of the Holy Spirit" (Matthew 1:20); does a second birth happen after this birth? Otherwise it will not now be a second, but a third. But the Lord, when He spoke of this, said, "Unless anyone shall be born again (denuo)" (John 3:3); counting that as the first birth, surely, which happens by the mother bringing forth, not conceiving and being pregnant, which happens from her, not what happens in her. For neither do we call a man reborn whom his mother has brought forth, as if he were born again, who had already once been born in the womb: but that birth being not counted which makes the woman pregnant, a man is said to be born by birth (partu), so that he may be able to be reborn of water and the Spirit. According to which birth from a mother, even the Lord Himself is said to be born in Bethlehem

of Judah (Matthew 2:1). If therefore a man can be regenerated by the grace of the Spirit in the womb, since it remains for him still to be born, he is reborn before he is born; which can in no way happen. Accordingly, into the framework of the body of Christ as into the living structure of the temple of God, which is His Church, men born, not from works of justice which they have done, but by being reborn through grace, are transferred as if from the mass of ruin (massa ruinae) to the firmament of the building. For besides this building, which is constructed to be beatified for the eternal habitation of God, all human life is unhappy, and is rather to be called death than life. Whoever therefore shall be inhabited by God, lest the wrath of God remain upon him, will not be an alien from this body, from this temple, from this city. But every one not reborn is an alien.

CHAPTER XI.

34. Furthermore, the manifested Mediator willed the Sacrament of our regeneration to be manifest. But it was somewhat hidden to the ancient righteous ones, although even they were made saved by the same faith which was to be revealed in its own time. For we do not dare to prefer the faithful of our time to the friends of God through whom these things were prophesied to us, when God so commends Himself to be the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, that He says this is His name forever (Exodus 3:15). But if circumcision is believed to have been for the ancient saints instead of Bap-

tism, what will be answered concerning those who, before this precept was given, pleased God, yet not without faith? Because "without faith," as it is written to the Hebrews, "it is impossible to please God" (Hebrews 11:6). "But having," says the Apostle, "the same Spirit of faith, because of which it is written, I believed, because of which also I spoke; we also believe, because of which also we speak" (2 Corinthians 4:13). He would not say "the same," unless theirs was the very same Spirit of faith. But just as they, when the same Sacrament was hidden, believed the future incarnation of Christ, so also we believe it as done: and both by us and by them His future arrival for judgment is expected. For there is no other mystery of God except Christ, in whom it is necessary that the dead in Adam be made alive; because "as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive" (1 Corinthians 15:22), as we have discussed above.

CHAPTER XII.

35. Wherefore God, who is everywhere present, and whole everywhere, does not dwell in all, but only in those whom He makes His most blessed temple, or His most blessed temples, delivering them from the power of darkness, and transferring them into the kingdom of the Son of His love (Colossians 1:13), which begins from regeneration. But His temple is spoken of in one way in signification, when it is made by the hands of men from inanimate things, like the tabernacle, with wood, veils, skins, and such movable

things; just as also through King Solomon, a temple constructed with stones, wood, and metals: but in another way in the very reality (re ipsa vera) which was figured by those significations. Whence it is said, "And you as living stones, are built up a spiritual house" (1 Peter 2:5): and whence likewise it is written, "For we are the temples of the living God, as God says, For I will dwell in them and walk among them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people" (2 Corinthians 6:16).

36. Nor ought it to move us, that through some not belonging to this temple, or not yet belonging —that is, in whom God does not dwell, or does not yet dwell—He works something of power (virtutis); just as through him who in the name of Christ was casting out demons, although he did not follow Christ, whom He ordered to be permitted because of the commendation of His name useful to many (Mark 9:37-39). He also says many will say to Him on the last day, "In your name we have done many miracles (virtutes)": to whom He certainly would not answer, "I never knew you" (Matthew 7:22, 23), if they belonged to the temple of God, which He beatifies by inhabiting. Cornelius the centurion also, before he was incorporated into this temple by regeneration, saw an angel sent to him, and heard him saying that his prayers were heard, and his alms accepted (Acts 10:4). For God does these things as one everywhere present, or through His holy Angels.

37. For that sanctification of Jeremiah, before he came out of the womb—although some take this as a type of the Savior, who did not need regeneration; nevertheless even if it be taken of the Prophet himself, it can also be understood not inconveniently according to predestination (praedestinatio): just as the Gospel calls those sons of God not yet regenerated, where Caiaphas when he had said concerning the Lord, "It is expedient for you that one man die for the people, and the whole nation perish not"; soon the Gospel following added, "But this he said not of himself; but since he was the high priest of that year he prophesied that Jesus was to die for the nation; and not only for the nation, but that he might gather together into one (in unum) the sons of God who were dispersed" (John 11:50-52). He certainly called those sons of God besides the Hebrew nation, constituted also in all the other nations, not yet faithful, not yet baptized. How then sons of God, unless according to predestination, according to which the Apostle also says that God chose us in Christ, before the constitution of the world (Ephesians 1:4)? But that gathering together into one was to make them sons of God. For "into one" was not said of any corporal place, when the prophet predicted of such a vocation of the nations, "And they shall adore Him, each one from his place, all the islands of the nations" (Zephaniah 2:11); but "gather together into one" was said, into one spirit, and into one body, of which the one head is Christ. Such a gathering is the building of the temple of

God. Such a gathering not carnal generation, but spiritual regeneration makes.

CHAPTER XIII.

38. God dwells therefore in individuals as in His temples, and in all together gathered into one, as in His temple. Which temple as long as it floats in this world like the ark of Noah, that happens which is written in the Psalm, "The Lord dwells in the flood": although also because of the many peoples of the faithful in all nations, whom the Apocalypse signifies by the name of waters (Revelation 17:15), it can be understood congruently, "The Lord dwells in the flood." But there follows, "And the Lord shall sit as King forever" (Psalm 29:10): certainly in His very temple now constituted in eternal life after the fluctuation of this world. God therefore is everywhere present, and everywhere whole present; not everywhere dwelling, but in His temple, to which through grace He is kind and propitious: but He is received as dwelling, by some more, by others less.

39. But concerning our very Head the Apostle says: "Because in Him dwells all the fullness of the divinity corporally." Not therefore "corporally" because God is corporeal; but either he used a transferred word, as if He had dwelt in a temple made with hands not corporally but shadowily (umbratiliter), that is, by prefiguring signs: for all those observations he calls shadows of future things (Colossians 2:9, 16, 17), even with the transferred word itself; for the most high God, as it is written, "does not dwell in temples made

with hands" (Acts 17:24): or certainly it was said "corporally," because also in the body of Christ which He assumed from the Virgin, God dwells as in a temple. For from this it is that to the Jews seeking a sign, when He had said, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up"; the evangelist consequently expounding what this was, says: "But this He was saying of the temple of His body" (John 2:19, 21).

40. What then is it? Do we judge this to be the difference between the head and the other members, that in any member however principal, as in some great prophet or apostle, although the divinity dwells, yet not as in the head which is Christ, all the fullness of the divinity? For also in our body sense is in individual members; but not so great as in the head, where strictly all is fivefold (quinquepartitus): for there are both sight, and hearing, and smell, and taste, and touch; but in the others there is only touch. Or also besides this that, as in a temple, in that body dwells all the fullness of the divinity, is there something else which is between that head and the excellence of any member? There is clearly, that by a certain singular taking up (susceptio) of that man, he was made one person with the Word. For of none of the saints could it be said, or can be, or will be, "The Word was made flesh" (John 1:14): none of the saints by any excellence of grace received the name of the Only-begotten, so that what was even the very Word of God before the ages, this should be said together with the assumed man. Therefore that taking up is singu-

lar, nor in any way can it be common with any holy men however much they stand out in wisdom and holiness. Where there is a sufficiently perspicuous and clear document of divine grace. For who would be so sacrilegious as to dare to affirm that any soul could by the merit of free will (liberum arbitrium) bring it about that he should be another Christ? That he should belong therefore to the person of the Only-begotten Word, in what way would one soul alone have merited through free will given commonly to all and naturally, unless singular grace had provided this; which it is right to preach, concerning which it is wrong to wish to judge?

41. If we have treated these things according to our strength, as much as the Lord has helped, in a proper manner; when you extend yourself to think of God as everywhere present, and not distant by spaces, as if diffused by some mass or distension, but everywhere whole, turn away your mind from all images of bodies, which human thought is accustomed to revolve. For not so is wisdom thought of, not so justice, not so finally is charity thought of, concerning which it is written, God is charity (1 John 4:8). But when you think of His habitation, think of the unity and the gathering of the saints: especially in the heavens, where for that reason He is chiefly said to dwell, because there His will is done by the perfect obedience of those in whom He dwells; then on earth, where building He dwells in His house to be dedicated at the end of the age. But do not doubt that Christ our Lord, the only-begotten Son of God

equal to the Father, and the same Son of man by whom the Father is greater, is both everywhere whole present as God, and is in the same temple of God as the indwelling God, and is in some place of heaven because of the manner of a true body. But while it delights me to speak with you, I do not know whether I have observed the measure of sufficient speech, as if I were compensating for a long silence with talkativeness. But because by the religion and benevolence with which you anticipated me, you are so entwined in my heart, that I speak as if with a true friend, whatever you recognize as having been usefully elaborated in the work of our pen, give thanks to God. But if you perceive any faults of mine, as a most dear friend forgive them; wishing for me, namely with the same sincerity of love, a medicine, with which you also grant pardon.

LETTER CLXXXVIII. Augustine and Alypius to Juliana the widow, mother of the virgin Demetrias, lest she or her family imbibe the virus offered in the book written to Demetrias, the author of which book they desire to find out.

To the lady to be honored with due offices in Christ, and by merit illustrious daughter JULIANA, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER I.

1. It happened to us quite gratefully and pleasantly that your Reverence's letter found us established together at Hippo, to which we might equally return these replies, rejoicing at having

learned of your welfare, and in turn announcing ours, which we trust is dear to you, with mutual love, lady to be honored with due offices in Christ, and by merit illustrious daughter. But we know very well how much religious affection we owe you, and how great a care we have for you both before God and among men. For although our littleness first knew you through letters, then also by bodily presence, as pious and catholic, that is, true members of Christ; yet also through our ministry, when you had received the word of the hearing of God, as the Apostle says, you received it not as the word of men, but as it is truly, the word of God (1 Thess. 2:13). Of which ministry of ours, by the helping grace and mercy of the Savior, such great fruit has arisen in your house, that, with human nuptials already prepared, the holy Demetrias preferred the spiritual embrace of that Bridegroom, to whom, beautiful beyond the sons of men for having a more abundant fruitfulness of spirit, and not losing the integrity of the flesh, virgins are wed. But we would not know in what way that exhortation of ours had then been received by the faithful and noble virgin, unless, after we had departed, when a little later she had professed virginal holiness, we learned by the most joyful news and true testimony of your letters that this great gift of God, which through His servants indeed He plants and waters, but by Himself gives the increase (1 Cor. 3:6, 7), had come forth for us workers.

2. Since these things are so, no one will have called us wicked if, in admonishing you to avoid

dogmas contrary to the grace of God, we are solicitous with a more inclined necessity. For although the Apostle commands us to be urgent in preaching the word not only opportunely but also importunely (2 Tim. 4:2); yet we do not have you in the number of those people to whom our speech or page might seem importunate, when we address you that you may vigilantly avoid that which does not belong to sound doctrine. From this it is, therefore, that you received our admonition with so grateful a mind that, in your letter to which we now reply, you said: "Indeed, because your Reverence exhorts me not to indulge my ears to these men who often corrupt the venerable faith with depraved treatises, I give abundant thanks for so pious an admonition."

Therefore, what you add and say, "But let your priesthood know that I and my little household are far removed from persons of this kind: and all our family so follows the catholic faith that it has never at any time deviated into any heresy, nor has it ever lapsed; I do not say into those sects which are scarcely expiated, but not even into those which seem to have small errors"; this is what compels us more and more not to be silent before you concerning those who attempt to vitiate even those things which are sound. For we consider your house not a small Church of Christ. Nor indeed is the error of those small who think that we have from ourselves whatever of justice, continence, piety, and chastity is in us, for the reason that God so created us that further, besides that He reveals knowledge to us, He helps

us in nothing so that those things which we know are to be done by learning, we may also do by loving; namely defining that the grace of God and the help to live rightly and justly are only nature and doctrine. But for having a good will, where this very thing is that we live justly, and that very charity which so excels in all the gifts of God that it is even called God (1 John 4:8), by which alone is fulfilled in us whatever of the divine law and admonition we fulfill, they do not want us to be helped divinely, but they say that we ourselves are sufficient for these things by our own will. Let not this error seem mediocre to you, to profess to wish to be Christians, and not wish to hear the Apostle of Christ, who when he had said, "The charity of God is poured forth in our hearts"; lest anyone should think he has it except through his own will, immediately added, "through the Holy Spirit who is given to us" (Rom. 5:5). That this is the great grace of the Savior, who "ascending on high led captivity captive and gave gifts to men" (Psalm 68:18, and Eph. 4:8) whoever does not yet confess, you understand how much and how fatally he errs.

CHAPTER II.

4. How then could we dissimulate from admonishing you, to whom we owe so much love, to beware of such things, when we had read the book which someone wrote to the holy Demetrias, or we wish rather to know through your replies whether it has reached you; in which book, if it is right, let the virgin of Christ read

from where she should believe her virginal holiness and all spiritual riches to be but from herself; and thus, before she is most fully blessed, let her learn to be, which God forbid, ungrateful to God. For the words written to her in the same book are these: "You have therefore even here," it says, "things through which you may by merit be preferred to others; nay rather from here more: for corporal nobility and opulence are understood to be of your people, not yours; but spiritual riches no one besides yourself will be able to confer on you. In these therefore you are rightly to be praised, in these by merit you are to be preferred to others, which cannot be unless from you and in you (Epistle to Demetrias, ch. 11).

5. You see indeed how much destruction is to be avoided in these words. For certainly what was said, "Those goods cannot be unless in you," was excellently and most truly said; this is clearly food: but what it says, "not unless from you," this is altogether virus. Far be it that the virgin of Christ should listen to these things willingly, who piously understands the proper poverty of the human heart, and therefore knows not how to be adorned there except with the gifts of her Bridegroom. Let her rather hear the Apostle saying: "I have betrothed you to one husband, to exhibit a chaste virgin to Christ." But I fear lest as the serpent seduced Eve in his craftiness, so also your minds may be corrupted from the chastity which is in Christ" (2 Cor. 11:2, 3): and therefore concerning these spiritual riches also, let her hear not this one who says, "No one can confer them

on you besides yourself," and "they cannot be unless from you and in you"; but let her hear him who says, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the eminence of the power may be of God, and not from us" (2 Cor. 4:7).

6. Concerning that very sacred virginal continence also, that it is not to her from herself, but is the gift of God, although conferred on one believing and willing, let her hear the same truthful and pious teacher, who when he was dealing with this, said: "I would that all were as I myself; but everyone has his own gift from God, one thus, but another thus" (1 Cor. 7:7). Let her hear also Himself, not only her own but the unique Bridegroom of the whole Church, saying of such chastity and integrity: "Not all receive this word, but those to whom it is given" (Matt. 19:11); that she may understand from that which she has so great and excellent a good, that she ought rather to give thanks to God and our Lord, than to hear the words of anyone saying that she has it as if from herself—that we may not say of an assenting flatterer, lest we should seem to judge rashly of the hidden things of men, certainly of an erring praiser. For "every good gift and every perfect gift," as the apostle James also says, "is from above, descending from the Father of lights" (James 1:17): from here therefore is also holy virginity, by which she conquered you, daughter, willing and rejoicing, later in birth, earlier in act, from you by kind, before you by honor, following in age, preceding in holiness; in which also what could not be in you began to be yours. For she did

not marry carnally, so that it might be increased spiritually not only for herself but also for you beyond you: since you also by that compensation are less than she, because you so married that she might be born. These are the gifts of God, and they are indeed yours, but not from you: for you have this treasure in earthly bodies, and still fragile as if in earthen vessels, that the eminence of the power may be of God, and not from us. Nor should you wonder that we say they are both yours and are not from you: for we also call the daily bread "ours," but yet we add, "Give us" (Luke 11:3), lest it be thought to be from us.

Hence, as it is written, "Pray without ceasing, in all things give thanks" (1 Thess. 5:17, 18): for you pray that you may have these things perseveringly and proficiently; you give thanks, because you do not have them from yourselves. For who discerns you from that mass of death and perdition from Adam? Is it not He who came to seek and save that which was lost (Luke 19:10)? Or truly when a man hears the Apostle saying, "For who discerns you?" is he going to answer, "My good will, my faith, my justice," and not immediately hear what follows, "For what have you that you did not receive? But if you received it, why do you glory as if you had not received it?" (1 Cor. 4:7). We do not want, therefore, that the sacred virgin, when she hears or reads, "Spiritual riches no one besides yourself will be able to confer on you: in these you are rightly to be praised, in these by merit you are to be preferred to others, which cannot be unless from you and in you":

we do not want at all that she should glory as if she had not received them. Let her say indeed, "In me, O God, are your vows, which I will render in praise to you" (Psalm 56:12): but because they are in her, not also from her, let her remember also to say, "Lord, in your will you have provided strength for my beauty" (Psalm 30:7): because although even from her because of her own will without which we do not work good, yet not as this man said, "not unless from her." For one's own will, unless it is helped by the grace of God, cannot itself be even a good will in name. "For it is God," says the Apostle, "who works in you both to will and to work, for His good will" (Phil. 2:13): not, as these men feel, only by revealing knowledge, that we may know what we ought to do; but also by inspiring charity, that we may also do by loving those things which we know by learning.

8. For certainly he knew how great a good was continence who was saying, "And when I knew that no one can be continent, unless God gives it." Not only therefore did he know how much this good was, and how desirably it was to be lusted after, but even that it could not be unless God gave it: for wisdom had taught him; for he says this, "And this itself was of wisdom, to know whose gift this was." Nor yet was knowledge sufficient for him; but he says: "I went to the Lord, and besought Him" (Wisdom 8:21). God therefore does not only help us in this, that we may know what is to be done, but also that we may do by loving what we already know by learning. No one therefore can be not only knowing,

but even continent, unless God gives it. Whence since he already had knowledge, he was praying that he might have also continence, that there might be even in him that which he was knowing because it was not from him: or if because of free will, proper somewhat and from him, yet not only from him; because no one can be continent, unless God gives it. But this one says of spiritual riches, in which is certainly also that luminous and beautiful continence, not, "They can be in you and from you": but he says, "not unless from you and in you they cannot be"; so that as they are to her nowhere else but in her, so they should be believed to be to her from nowhere else but from her, and because of this (which may the merciful Lord turn away from her heart!) she should so glory, as if she had not received.

CHAPTER III.

9. And we indeed, concerning the discipline and Christian humility of the holy virgin, in which she was nourished and educated, think this: that when she read those words, if indeed she read them, she groaned, and humbly struck her breast, and perhaps also wept, and confidently prayed to the Lord to whom she is dedicated and by whom she is sanctified, that as those are not her words, but another's, so also her faith should not be such, by which she might believe herself to have something of which she might glory in herself and not in the Lord. For her glory is indeed in herself, not in the words of others, as the Apostle says: "But let everyone prove his own

work, and then he shall have glory in himself, and not in another" (Gal. 6:4). But far be it that her glory should be she herself, and not He to whom it is said: "My glory, and the lifter up of my head" (Psalm 3:3)! For thus her glory is healthfully in her, when God who is in her is Himself her glory, from whom she has all the goods by which she is good; and she will have all the things by which she will be better, in as much as she will be able to be better in this life; and by which she will be perfect, when she shall have been perfected by divine grace, not by human praise. For in the Lord shall her soul be praised (Psalm 34:2), who has satisfied her desire with good things (Psalm 103:5); because He himself inspired also this desire, lest His virgin should so glory in any good as if she had not received it.

Concerning this her affect therefore, whether we are not deceived, make us rather more certain by replying. For we know very well that with all your people you are and have been worshippers of the undivided Trinity. But not from here alone does human error creep in, that something otherwise is felt concerning the undivided Trinity. For there are also other things in which one errs most perniciously, as is this concerning which we have spoken in this letter perhaps longer than was enough for your faithful and chaste prudence. Although he who denies that the good which is from God is from God, we know not to whom he does injury except to God, and by this certainly to that Trinity: which evil far be from you, as we believe it to be away! Far be it altogether that

this book should have made any such thing in the mind—we do not say yours, or of the sacred virgin your daughter, but in that of any servant or handmaid of yours of the lowest merit—from which book we believed some words which could be more easily understood were to be set down.

11. But if you should more diligently attend even to those things which he seems there to say as if for the grace or help of God, you will find them so ambiguous that they can be referred either to nature, or to doctrine, or to the remission of sins. For even that which they are compelled to confess, that we ought to pray lest we enter into temptation, they can refer to this, that they should reply that we are helped so far toward it, as far as the understanding of truth is opened to us praying and knocking, where we may learn what we ought to do, not that our will should receive strength by which we may do that which we learn. And that which they say to us in the grace or help of God, that the Lord Christ is proposed as an example of living well, they recall to the same doctrine; because namely in His example we learn in what way we ought to live: but they do not want us to be helped to this, that what we know by learning, we may also do by loving. 12. Or certainly find something in the same book, if you can, where, nature being excepted, and that which pertains to the same nature, the choice of the will, being excepted, the remission of sins and the revelation of doctrine being excepted, such a help of God is confessed as he confesses who said: "When I knew that no one can be con-

tinent, unless God gives it, and this itself was of wisdom, to know whose gift this was; I went to the Lord and besought Him." For neither was this man wanting to receive by praying the nature in which he had been created; or was he busy about the natural choice of the will, with which he had been created; or was he desiring the remission of sins, who rather was wishing for continence lest he should sin; or was he desiring to know what was to be done, when he already was confessing that he knew whose gift this was: but certainly he was wanting to receive such strengths of the will, such an ardor of love by the Spirit of wisdom, as would suffice for fulfilling the greatness of continence. If therefore you shall be able to find any such thing there, we shall give most abundant thanks, if you should deign to intimate it by replying.

13. For it cannot be said enough how much we desire that in the writings of those men who, because of their sharp intelligence and eloquence, are read by very many, an open confession of that grace be found, which the Apostle vehemently commends, who says that God has distributed to each one the measure of faith (Rom. 12:3) —without which it is impossible to please God (Hebr. 11:6), from which the just man lives (Rom. 1:17), which works through love (Gal. 5:6), before which and without which absolutely no good works of anyone are to be considered, since everything which is not from faith is sin (Rom. 14:23). And he says that we are divinely helped to live piously and justly not by the revelation

of knowledge alone, which without charity puffs up (1 Cor. 8:1); but also by the inspiration of His charity, which is the fullness of the law (Rom. 13:10), and which builds up our heart, so that knowledge may not puff up. But as yet we have been able to find no such thing anywhere in their letters.

14. But we would especially wish this to be in that book from which we set down those words transcribed, where, so praising the virgin of Christ as if no one besides herself could confer spiritual riches on her, and as if they could not be unless from herself, he does not want her to glory in the Lord, but so to glory as if she had not received. In which book, although he has expressed neither his own name nor that of your Reverence, yet he commemorates that it was requested of him by the mother of the virgin that he should write to her. In a certain letter of his, however, the same Pelagius, where he both sets down his name most openly and does not keep silent the name of the sacred virgin, says that he wrote to her, and by the testimony of the same work of his he strives to prove that he most openly confesses the grace of God, which he is asserted either to keep silent or to deny. But whether it is the very book in which he set down those words concerning spiritual riches, or whether it has reached your Holiness, we ask that you deign to make us more certain by your replies.

LETTER CLXXXIX.

To Boniface, serving in the military, he prescribes a rule of life; showing incidentally that it is lawful for a Christian to handle arms for the public peace.

To the excellent and by merit distinguished and honorable son BONIFACE, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. I had already replied to your Charity, but when an opportunity for sending the letter was being sought, my most beloved son Faustus arrived, proceeding to your Excellency. Who, when he had received those letters which I had already made to be carried to your Benevolence, suggested to me that you much desire that I should write something to you which may build you up for everlasting salvation, the hope of which you have in our Lord Jesus Christ. And although I was occupied, he insisted so much that I should not defer doing it, as much as you know that he sincerely loves you. To meet him therefore as he was hastening, I preferred to write something hastily, than to retard your religious desire, excellent lord and by merit distinguished and honorable son.

2. That which therefore I can say briefly: "Love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength"; and "love your neighbor as yourself": for this is the word which the Lord shortened upon the earth, saying in the Gospel, "On these two precepts the whole law and the Prophets hang" (Matt. 22:37, 39, 40). In this love therefore profit daily, both by praying and by doing well, so that by the help of Him who commanded and gave it to you, it may be nourished and grow, until this being perfected

may perfect you. For it is charity itself which, as the Apostle says, "is poured forth in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who is given to us" (Rom. 5:5): it is the same of which he says again, "Charity is the fullness of the law" (Rom. 13:10): it is the same through which faith works; whence he says again, "Neither circumcision avails anything, nor uncircumcision; but faith which works through love" (Gal. 5:6).

3. In this therefore all our holy fathers and Patriarchs and Prophets and Apostles pleased God. In this all true martyrs have contended against the devil even unto blood; and because in them it did not grow cold nor fail, therefore they conquered. In this all good faithful people profit daily, desiring to reach not the kingdom of mortals, but the kingdom of heavens; not a temporal, but an everlasting inheritance; not gold and silver, but the incorruptible riches of the Angels; not some goods of this world, in which one lives with fear, nor can anyone take them with him when he dies, but to see God: whose sweetness and delight exceeds all beauty not only of earthly but even of celestial bodies; it exceeds all comeliness of souls however just and holy; it exceeds all appearance of supernal Angels and Powers; it exceeds whatever is not only said but even thought concerning Him. Nor let us despair of this so great a promise because it is very great, but rather, because He who is very great promised it, let us believe that we are going to receive it: for as the blessed apostle John says, "We are the sons of God, and it has not yet appeared what we shall be: we know that

when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, since we shall see Him as He is" (1 John 3:2).

4. Do not judge that no one can please God who serves in the weapons of war. In these was the holy David, to whom the Lord gave such great testimony: in these also very many just men of that time. In these was also that Centurion who said to the Lord, "I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof; but only say by a word, and my boy shall be healed. For I also am a man constituted under power, having under me soldiers, and I say to this one, Go, and he goes; and to another, Come, and he comes; and to my servant, Do this, and he does it": of whom also the Lord said, "Amen I say to you, I have not found so great faith in Israel" (Matt. 8:8-10). In these was also that Cornelius to whom an angel being sent said, "Cornelius, your alms are accepted, and your prayers are heard": where he admonished him to send to the blessed apostle Peter, and hear from him what he ought to do; to which apostle, that he might come to him, he sent also a religious soldier (Acts 10:4-8). In these were also those who when they had come to be baptized by John, the holy precursor of the Lord and friend of the Bridegroom, of whom the Lord Himself says, "Among those born of women there has not arisen a greater than John the Baptist" (Matt. 11:11), and had asked of him what they should do; he replied to them, "Do violence to no one, do no calumny to anyone; let your pay suffice you" (Luke 3:14). He certainly did not prohibit them from serving

under arms, to whom he commanded that their pay ought to suffice.

5. Of a higher place indeed are they before God, who, having abandoned all these secular actions, serve Him even by the highest continence of chastity; "But everyone," as the Apostle says, "has his own gift from God; one thus, but another thus" (1 Cor. 7:7). Others therefore fight against invisible enemies by praying for you; you labor by fighting against visible barbarians for them. Would that there were one faith in all, because both there would be less labor, and the devil with his angels would more easily be conquered! But because in this world it is necessary that the citizens of the kingdom of heavens be agitated by temptations among the erring and the impious, that they may be exercised, and as in a furnace like gold be proved (Wisdom 3:6), we ought not to wish before the time to live with the holy and just alone, so that we may merit to receive this in its own time.

6. Think of this therefore first, when you are armed for battle, that your very corporal strength is the gift of God. For so you will think not to act against God from the gift of God. For faith, when it is promised, is to be kept even to the enemy against whom war is waged; how much more to a friend for whom one fights! The will ought to have peace, necessity war, so that God may deliver from necessity and preserve in peace. For peace is not sought so that war may be excited, but war is waged so that peace may be acquired. Be therefore even in warring peaceful, that you

may lead those whom you conquer to the utility of peace by conquering: for "Blessed are the peacemakers," says the Lord, "since they shall be called the sons of God" (Matt. 5:9). But if human peace is so sweet for the temporal salvation of mortals, how much sweeter is divine peace for the eternal salvation of Angels! Therefore let necessity kill the fighting enemy, not the will. Just as violence is returned to one rebelling and resisting, so mercy is now owed to the conquered or the captured, especially in whom a perturbation of peace is not feared.

7. Let conjugal modesty adorn your manners, let sobriety and frugality adorn them: for it is very base that whom man does not conquer, lust should conquer; and he should be overwhelmed by wine, who is not conquered by iron. If secular riches are lacking, let them not be sought in the world through evil works; but if they are present, let them be preserved in heaven through good works. They ought neither, if they come, to extol, nor, if they depart, to break a manly and Christian mind. Let us rather think what the Lord says, "Where your treasure is, there also will your heart be" (Matt. 6:21); and certainly when we hear that we should have the heart upwards, we ought not to respond mendaciously, what you know that we respond.

8. And in these indeed I have known you to be well studious, and I am much delighted by your fame, and much do I congratulate you in the Lord, so that this letter is more a mirror to you where you may see what kind of man you are,

than where you may learn what kind you ought to be: nevertheless whatever whether in this or in the holy Scriptures you shall find, which is as yet less to you for a good life, insist that you acquire it both by acting and by praying; and from those things which you have give thanks to God as to the fountain of goodness whence you have them; and in all your good acts give the clarity to Him, humility to yourself. For as it is written, "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, descending from the Father of lights" (James 1:17). But however much you shall have profited in the charity of God and neighbor and in true piety, as long as you are conversant in this life, do not believe that you are without sin: for concerning it we read in the holy Letters, "Is not human life upon earth a temptation?" (Job 7:1). Hence since it is always necessary for you, as long as you are in this body, to say in prayer what the Lord taught, "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors" (Matt. 6:12); remember to forgive quickly if anyone shall have sinned against you and shall have asked pardon from you, that you may be able to pray truthfully and may be able to impetrate pardon for your sins. I have written these things hastily to your Charity, since the haste of the bearer was urging me. But I give thanks to God, since I have not failed your good desire in whatever way. May the mercy of God always protect you, excellent lord and by merit distinguished and honorable son.

LETTER CXC. To Optatus he demonstrates what is certain concerning the origin of the soul,

what is deservedly called into doubt, and that one must be busy in this question so that the faith may be saved in the first place, by which we believe no one is born from Adam except bound by the bond of damnation, and no one is liberated from there except by being born again through Christ.

To the most blessed lord, and by sincere love desirable brother and fellow bishop OPTATUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER I.

1. Although I have received no letters of your Holiness given to myself; yet because those which you sent to Caesarean Mauritania came while I was present at Caesarea, where an ecclesiastical necessity enjoined upon us by the venerable Pope Zosimus, bishop of the Apostolic See, had drawn us: it happened that I myself also read those things which you wrote, the holy Renatus, a servant of God and most dear brother to us in Christ, delivering that same letter of yours to me; at whose petition, and he vehemently insisting although I was occupied with other things, I was compelled to reply to them. There was added to this also the arrival of another holy brother of ours, and one to be named with due honor, and as much as I learned from him, your necessary friend Muresis, while we were delaying in the above-mentioned town; who related to me that letters of your Veneration on this matter had also been sent to him, and he consulted me on this very question, so that what I felt about it might

reach you either by my or by his replies: Whether, namely, souls are born by propagation like bodies, and are from that one which was created for the first man; or whether the omnipotent Creator, who certainly works even until now, makes new ones proper to each individual without any propagation.

2. Concerning which matter, before I advise your sincerity anything, I want you to know that in so many little works of mine I have never dared to proffer a definite sentence on this question, and impudently to record in letters for the information of others what had not been explained to myself. But by the consideration of what things and causes I am moved, so that my assent is inclined to neither assertion, but I still dispute between both, is too long to set forth in this letter; nor so necessary that, this being omitted, it cannot be disputed concerning this question as much as is enough, if not to take away hesitation, certainly to avoid temerity.

3. For that where especially the Christian faith consists, that "By man death and by man the resurrection of the dead: for as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive" (1 Cor. 15:21, 22); and that "By one man sin entered into this world, and through sin death: and so death passed unto all men in whom all have sinned"; and that "Judgment indeed from one unto condemnation: but grace from many offenses unto the justification of life"; and that "By the offense of one unto all men unto condemnation, and by the justification of one unto all men unto

the justification of life" (Rom. 5:12, 16, 18): and if any other testimonies declare that no one is born from Adam except bound by the bond of offense and damnation, and no one is liberated from there except by being born again through Christ; we ought to hold so unshakably, that we may know that he who shall have denied this in no way belongs to the faith of Christ, and to that grace of God which is given through Christ to the small and the great. Whence if the origin of the soul lies hidden, as long as the redemption is clear, there is no danger: for neither do we believe in Christ that we may be born, but that we may be born again, in whatever way we were born.

4. But so far we say that the origin of the soul lies hidden without danger, that we do not yet believe it to be a part of God, but a creature. Nor born from God, but made by Him, and to be adopted into His kind by a wonderful condescension of grace, not by an equal dignity of nature. Nor that it is a body, but a spirit; not the Creator certainly, but created. Nor that it therefore came into this corruptible body by which it is weighed down, because the merits of life previously badly led in the heavens or in any other parts of the world compelled it to it. For of those not yet born the Apostle, when he was speaking of the twins of Rebecca, says that they had done nothing of good or of evil; so that not from works, by which none was distinguished from the other, but from Him calling, it was said that the elder should serve the younger (Rom. 9:11-13).

CHAPTER II.

5. These things therefore being most firmly established, if it is so recondite and hidden in the secret works of God, that it is not declared by the manifest eloquence of the divine Scriptures, whether for that reason those not yet born are to be believed to have done nothing of good or of evil, because they do not receive souls propagated from others, but soon created from nothing; or because when they were originally in their parents, they themselves were as yet none who led their own and proper lives: yet let that faith be safe, by which we believe that none of men, whether of a greater, or of a small age however recent, is liberated from the contagion of ancient death and the obligation of sin which he contracted by his first birth, except through the one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus (1 Tim. 2:5).

6. By the most healthful faith of which man and the same God, even those just were made safe, who, before He came in the flesh, believed that He would come in the flesh. For the same faith is both ours and theirs, since they believed this would be, which we believe has been done: whence the apostle Paul says, "But having the same Spirit of faith, according to what is written, I believed, for which reason I have spoken, and we believe, for which reason also we speak" (2 Cor. 4:13). If therefore those also had the same Spirit of faith who foretold that Christ would come in the flesh, whom also those had who announced that

He had come; the sacraments could be different according to the diversity of times, yet recurring most concordantly to the unity of the same faith. It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, the apostle Peter speaking: "Now therefore why do you tempt God to impose a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But through the grace of the Lord Jesus we believe we are made safe, in the same manner as they also" (Acts 15:10, 11). If therefore they also, that is, the fathers, not being able to bear the yoke of the old law, believed they were made safe through the grace of the Lord Jesus; it is manifest that this grace made even the ancient just live from faith: for the just man lives from faith (Habak. 2:4).

7. But the Law entered in that the offense might abound; that grace might superabound (Rom. 5:20), through which the abundance of the offense might be healed. For if a law had been given which could give life, justice would altogether be from the law. To what good the Law was given, however, he consequently added saying: "But the Scripture concluded all things under sin, that the promise from the faith of Jesus Christ might be given to those believing" (Gal. 3:21, 22). The Law was therefore to be given, which might more manifestly show man to himself, lest the proud human mind should think itself able to be just from itself, and being ignorant of the justice of God, that is which is to man from God, and wanting to constitute its own, that is as if produced by its own strengths, it

should not be made subject to the justice of God (Rom. 10:3). It was necessary therefore that, with the mandate added whose voice is, "You shall not covet" (Exod. 20:17), the crime of prevarication should also be added to the proud sinner; and thus the infirmity, not healed through the Law but convicted, should seek the medicine of grace.

8. Hence, since all the just, that is true worshippers of God, whether before the incarnation or after the incarnation of Christ, have neither lived nor live except from faith in the incarnation of Christ, in whom is the fullness of grace; surely what is written, "That there is not another name under heaven, in which it behooves us to be made safe" (Acts 4:12), avails for saving the human race from that time, from which the human race was vitiated in Adam. "For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive." Because as in the kingdom of death no one is without Adam, so in the kingdom of life no one is without Christ. As through Adam all are unjust, so through Christ all are just men. As through Adam all mortals in punishment were made sons of the age, so also through Christ all immortals in grace are made sons of God.

CHAPTER III.

9. Why, however, even those are created whom the Creator foreknew as pertaining to damnation and not to grace, the blessed Apostle commemorates with a brevity as succinct as its authority is great. For he says that God, willing to show His wrath and to demonstrate His power,

brought in much patience the vessels of wrath, which were prepared for destruction, and so that He might make known the riches of His glory upon the vessels of mercy; whom he had previously described as like a potter of clay making from the same mass one vessel for honor and another for dishonor (Rom. 9:22, 21). Moreover, it would rightly seem unjust that vessels of wrath are made for destruction, if that entire mass from Adam were not condemned. Therefore, that vessels of wrath are made from there by being born pertains to a due punishment: but that vessels of mercy are made by being born again pertains to an undue grace.

10. God therefore shows His wrath; certainly not a perturbation of mind, such as is that which is called the wrath of man, but a just and fixed vengeance, because from the stock of disobedience is derived the offspring of sin and of punishment. And man born of a woman, as it is written in the book of Job, is short of life and full of anger (Job 14:1, according to LXX). For he is a vessel of that thing with which he is full: whence they are called vessels of wrath. He also shows His power, by which He even uses the wicked well, bestowing many natural and temporal goods upon them, and adapting their malice for exercising and for admonishing the good by comparison, so that in them they may learn to give thanks to God that from them, not by their own merits, which were equal in the same mass, but by His mercy they have been distinguished. This appears especially in infants, concerning whom,

when they are born again through the grace of Christ, and ending this life in that tender age they pass into the eternal and blessed one, it cannot be said that they are distinguished by free will from other infants who die without this grace in the condemnation of the same mass.

11. But if only those were created from Adam who were to be recreated through grace, and besides those who are adopted as sons of God, no other men were born, the benefit which is given to the unworthy would be hidden; because no due punishment would be rendered to those coming from the same damnable stock. But when He brought in much patience the vessels of wrath, which were prepared for destruction, He not only showed His wrath and demonstrated His power by rendering vengeance and by using well those who are not good, but He also made known the riches of His glory upon the vessels of mercy. For so he who is justified freely says what is bestowed upon himself, while not by his own merit, but by the glory of God's most bountiful mercy he is distinguished from the condemned one, with whom by the same justice he himself was to be condemned.

12. Moreover, He willed so many to be born by being created, whom He foreknew would not pertain to His grace, that they are incomparably more in number than those whom He has deigned to predestine as sons of promise into the glory of His kingdom; so that even by the very multitude of the rejected it might be shown how of no moment it is with a just God however great

a number of the most justly condemned. And so that from this also they who are redeemed from that same condemnation may understand that this was due to that entire mass, which they see rendered to so great a part of it, not only in those who to original sin add many things by the choice of an evil will, but even in so many infants who, bound only by the chain of original sin, are snatched from this light without the grace of the Mediator. For that whole mass would receive the due of just condemnation, unless from it the Potter, who is not only just but also merciful, should make other vessels for honor according to grace, not according to debt; while He both helps infants, of whom no merits can be spoken, and prevents adults, so that they may be able to have some merits.

CHAPTER IV.

13. These things being so, if your assertion does not tend to this, that you say new souls, on account of the innocence of their novelty, before they use free will for sinning, cannot be subject to original condemnation; but you confess with the Catholic faith that even if they should depart from the body in that tender age, they would go into the condemnation of perdition, unless they are liberated by the Sacrament of the Mediator, who came to seek and to save that which was lost (Luke 19:10): seek where, or whence, or when they began to have the merit of condemnation, if they are new, in such a way certainly that you do not make God, nor any nature which God did

not create, the author either of their sin or of the condemnation of the innocent. And if you find what I have admonished you to seek, which I myself hitherto, I confess, have not found, defend it as much as you can, and assert that the novelty of the souls of infants is of such a sort that they are not derived by any propagation; and communicate with us in brotherly love what you find.

14. But if you do not find why or how the souls of infants become sinful, and having nothing of malice in themselves by which they are compelled to draw from Adam whence they are condemned, while you believe them not propagated from that first sinful soul, but new and innocent to be enclosed in the flesh of sin; let not your assent be so rashly deflected into another opinion, as to believe them derived from that one by propagation; lest perhaps another may be able to find what you yourself cannot, or you yourself may find at some time what you could not now. For even those who assert that souls are propagated from the one which God gave to the first man, and thus say they are drawn from parents, if they follow the opinion of Tertullian, they certainly contend that they are not spirits but bodies, and arise from corporeal seeds: than which what can be said more perversely? Nor is it to be wondered at that Tertullian dreamed this, who also opines that the Creator God Himself is nothing but a body.

15. This madness being repelled from the Christian heart and mouth, whoever confesses the soul, as it is, not to be a body but a spirit,

and yet to be derived into children from parents; in that indeed he is straitened by no difficulties, because the true faith preaches that all souls, even of infants, whom the Church baptizes certainly not for a false but for a true remission of sins, draw original sin committed by the own will of the first man, and transmitted by generation into all posterity, to be purged by regeneration alone: but when it begins to be considered and treated what is said, it is a wonder if any human sense comprehends in what way as a lamp is lighted from a lamp and without detriment of the one another fire exists from there, so soul from the soul of a parent is made in offspring, or is derived into offspring; whether an incorporeal seed of the soul, by a certain hidden and invisible way of its own, runs separately from the father into the mother when conception occurs in the woman; or, which is more incredible, lies hidden in the seed of the body. Moreover, when seeds flow vainly without any conceptions, whether the seed of the soul does not go out at the same time, or with greatest speed and in an atom of time returns whence it had gone out, or perishes: and if it perishes, how is the soul itself immortal whose mortal seed it is; or does it receive immortality then, when it is formed that it may live, just as it receives justice when it is formed that it may be wise. And in what way God fashions it in man, even if soul is drawn seminally from soul, just as He fashions the members of the body in man, although the body is drawn seminally from body. For if even a spiritual creature were not fashioned

by God, it would not be written: "Who fashions the spirit of man in himself" (Zech. 12:1); and in that which is read: "Who fashions the hearts of men individually" (Ps. 33:15); if by hearts souls are signified, who can doubt that they can be fashioned? but it is asked whether from the one soul of the first man; just as He fashions the faces of men individually, yet from the one body of the first man.

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. 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. 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. 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.

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.

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; 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. 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 con-

victed 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. 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. 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.

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. 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 resurrec-

tion is nothing, unless death has preceded. 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. 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. 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. 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).

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. 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 there-

fore 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." 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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.

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. 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. 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.

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 under-

stood 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. 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. 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. 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.

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? 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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). 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." 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), 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. 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. 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. 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). 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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). 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. 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. 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. 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. 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 admonish-

ing 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. 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. 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. 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. 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 tribula-

tion 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. 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? 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. 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? 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). *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? 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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.

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. 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 Caesare-

ans 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. 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"? 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. 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 nev-

ertheless 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. 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. 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.

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. 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 malig-

nant 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. 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 Thamu-

gadi, 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). 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). 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. 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." 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. 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? 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"? 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. 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).

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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. Examples exist, the apostolic See itself judging, or confirming the judged things of oth-

ers, 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. 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? 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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 cobishops 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. 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. 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. 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. 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 him-

self, 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. 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. 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). 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. 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. 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; 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). 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.

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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. ---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. 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?

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? 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 unwill-

ing 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. 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. 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.

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. 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). 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 subintroducing 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 them-

selves 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. 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. 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 suf-

fers so great evils, men ought to impute to their own sins. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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: 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. 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. 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. Unknown indeed to you in face, but already to some extent, if you remember, known in mind and speech; for through my holy brother Leon-

tius 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. 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. 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: 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. 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: 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.

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. 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. 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. 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.

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.

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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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.

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? 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. 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. 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.

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. 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. 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 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. 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. 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 feign-

ing 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. 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).'" 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. 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": 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. 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. 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 commu-

nicate 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. 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 pre-

sent 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. 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.

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 be-

lieve, 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?" 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. 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; 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. 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. 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. 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*. 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. 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.

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. 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. 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. 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. 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 pre-sown 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. "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. 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. 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. 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 parturi-

tion, 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. 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. 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). 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. 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). 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 commit-

ting 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. 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. 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: 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). 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.

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.

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.

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. 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?

LETTER 256.

Augustine writes to Christinus with courtesy.

To the lord worthily to-be-praised, sincerely most dear and most desired brother CHRISTINUS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

That you desire my letter, your letter announced to me. But our brother James has come as a more copious witness of that desire of yours toward us, because he has spoken to me more sweet things concerning you and experienced in himself, than that small paper could. Whence I congratulate your benignity, and from your Christian heart give thanks to the Lord our God, whose gifts these are, most dear and most desired brother worthily to-be-praised. But as for what you ask, that I should seek you by letters; I seek you by affection, which surpasses all letters: and where I may seek you so that you may well understand, I know. But as much as pertains to reading me, I rather fear that in your hands my loquacity may be reprehended, than my eloquence required. That I should have said briefly, which

if you ruminate by long-continued meditation, you will feel what it tastes: when on the journey of God easier and fruitful things are fled from by a lazy dread, on a secular journey harder and sterile things are tolerated with distressful labor. May you flourish and profit, unharmed in Christ, most dear and most desired brother worthily to-be-praised.

LETTER 257.

Augustine to Orontius, returning his salutation.

To the distinguished lord worthily honorable, and to-be-received son ORONTIUS, AUGUSTINE.

I give thanks that you have deigned even to prevent the arrival of your Excellence by letters, and before a sight you sent a colloquy, so that we might enjoy your speech before your aspect, and foretasting in some way by epistolary solace the long-desired knowledge, we might expect more greedily and ardently that which we would take more pleasantly and gratefully, distinguished lord worthily honorable, and to-be-respected son. I return therefore to your merits and pre-running offices the due service of re-salutation, rejoicing your safety announced, and wishing it continuous. And because you added in re-demanding the rescripts of my smallness by the right of pre-rogated benevolence, saying, *If nevertheless we can merit that from such great sanctity*; in no way do I dare to despair that the very fountain of the same sanctity, by a draught of which according to our measure we

are something, is not only to be praised, but even to be participated with us, and about to please your prudence; so that God incomparably and incommutably good, who through His power is the institutor of such a good mind of yours, may be also through grace the restorer. May Almighty God protect you safe and more happy, distinguished lord worthily honorable, and to-be-respected son.

LETTER 258.

Augustine to Martianus an old friend, congratulates that he has become a catechumen, exhorting him to perceive the Sacraments of the faithful.

To the lord worthily to-be-received, and in Christ most beloved and most desired brother MARTIANUS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. I have snatched, or rather crept away, and in some way stolen myself from my many occupations, that I might write to you an oldest friend, whom nevertheless I did not have, as long as I did not hold you in Christ. For you know how Tully, the greatest author of Roman eloquence, as someone says, defined friendship (Lucan, lib. 7). For he said, and most truly said: *Friendship is the agreement of things human and divine with benevolence and charity* (Cicero, Lael. 20). But you, my dearest, sometime agreed with me in human things, when I desired to enjoy them after the manner of the common people; and you were making sail by favoring me for those things to be caught of which it repents me, nay indeed you

were inflating the sails of my cupidities, with the rest of my lovers then, among the chief ones with the aura of praise. Furthermore in divine things, of which at that time no truth had shone for me, surely in the greater part of that definition our friendship was limping: for it was an agreement of human things only, not also of divine things, although with benevolence and charity.

2. And after I ceased to desire those things, you indeed with persevering benevolence, were wishing me to be safe with mortal safety, and happy in that prosperity of things which the world is accustomed to desire. And already so for somewhat there was with me a benevolent and dear agreement of human things. But now with how many words should I explain how much I rejoice concerning you, when him whom in some way I had for a long time as a friend, I have now as a true friend? For there has been added also an agreement of divine things; since you who once led temporal life with me with most pleasant benignity, have now begun to be with me in the hope of eternal life. But now also concerning human things there is no dissension between us, who weigh them by the cognition of divine things, lest we attribute more to them, than their measure most justly demands; nor by casting them away in some contempt, may we do injury to their creator the Lord of celestial and terrestrial things. So it happens that among those friends between whom there is no agreement of divine things, neither of human things can it be full and true. For it is necessary that he should

estimate human things otherwise than he ought, who contemns divine things, nor should he know how to love a man rightly whoever does not love Him who made man. Therefore I do not say, now you are more fully a friend to me, who were so in part; but as much as reason indicates, not even in part were you, when not even in human things did you hold true friendship with me. For of divine things, from which human things are rightly weighed, you were not yet a socius to me; whether when you yourself were not in them, or after I began to taste them in some way, from which you were abhorring far away.

3. But I do not wish you to be incensed, nor should it seem absurd to you that at that time when I was seething in the vanity of this world, although you seemed to love me much, you were not yet my friend; when not even I myself was a friend to myself, but rather an enemy: for I was loving iniquity; and surely a true divine sentence is that by which it is written in the holy Books, *But he that loveth iniquity hateth his own soul* (Ps. 10:6). When therefore I had hated my soul, how could I have a true friend, wishing those things for me in which I myself was suffering myself as an enemy? But when the benignity and grace of our Savior shone for me, not according to my merits, but according to His own mercy; how could you, alien from this, be my friend, who were utterly ignorant whence I could be blessed, and did not love me in this, in which I had already been made in some way a friend to myself?

4. Thanks therefore to God, because He deigns to make you at last a friend to me. For now there is to us an agreement of human and divine things with benevolence and charity in Christ Jesus our Lord, our truest peace. Who concluded all divine proclamations in two precepts, saying: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God from thy whole heart, and from thy whole soul, and from thy whole mind;* and, *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.* In these two precepts hangeth the whole Law and the Prophets (Matt. 22:37-40). In that first is the agreement of divine things, in this second that of human things, with benevolence and charity. These two if you should hold most firmly with me, our friendship will be true and sempiternal; and will sociate us not only to each other, but also to the Lord Himself.

5. That this may be done, I exhort your gravity and prudence that you should now also perceive the Sacraments of the faithful: for it becomes your age, and is congruent, as I believe, with your manners. Remember what you said to me as I was about to depart, a verse indeed from Terence, if you recall, but nevertheless most apt and useful: *Now this day brings another life, demands other manners.* (Ter. Andr. Act 1, Sc. 2.) Which if you said truly, as I ought not to doubt concerning you; already surely you so live that you are worthy to receive the salutary Baptism for the remission of past sins. For there is altogether no other besides the Lord Christ to whom the human race says: *With Thee as leader, if any vestiges of our crime remain, they shall loose the lands from perpetual

dread.* (Virg. Eclog. 4.) Which Virgil confessed himself to have translated from the Cumaean, that is, from the Sibylline poem; since perhaps even that prophetess had heard something in the spirit concerning the only Savior, which she had necessity to confess. These things to you, lord worthily to-be-received, and in Christ most beloved and most desired brother, whether they be few, or perhaps many, I have written being however most occupied: I desire to receive your rescripts, and to know already that you have given your name among the competents, or are about to give it. May our Lord God, in whom you have believed, conserve you both here and in the future world, lord worthily to-be-received, and in Christ most beloved and most desired brother.

LETTER 259.

Augustine to Cornelius given to harlots, admonishing him that he should imitate the chastity of his deceased wife Cypriana, if he wishes to obtain her praises.

To the most beloved lord, and honorable brother CORNELIUS, AUGUSTINE.

1. You wrote to me that I should give to you some prolix consolatory letter, because you were gravely moved by the death of your best wife, as you remembered holy Paulinus to have done to Macarius. And that soul indeed, received into the society of the faithful and chaste, neither cares for nor seeks human praises; but because those things are done for the sake of those who live, it is first that you, who desire to be consoled by her

praise, should so live, that you may merit to be there where she is. For I do not doubt that you do not believe her to be there, where those are who either by adulteries polluted the conjugal bed, or bound by no marriage flowed with fornication. Wherefore, from her praise for a man far dissimilar as if to wish to put to flight sadness, is flattery, not consolation. For if you loved her as she herself loved you, you would have served for her what she herself served for you. And since she, if you had died first, is in no way to be believed to have been about to marry anyone; would you not, if truly grieving you were to be consoled by her praises, seek not even one and licit wife after her?

2. Here you are about to say: Why do you act harshly with me? why do you sharply objurgate? Have we not behold grown old among these words, while life is led rather to be ended than corrected? You wish that I should ignore your fatal security: how much more satisfactorily do you ignore my, if not lovable, certainly miserable solicitude? With an inimical mind indeed Tully was inveighed, and far other was the intention of one governing a terrestrial republic, and yet he says: *I desire, conscript Fathers, that I should be clement; I desire in such great perils of the republic not to seem dissolved* (Cic. pro S. Rosc.). How much more justly do I say, since you yourself know how friendly a mind I bear toward you, being a minister of the divine word and sacrament constituted in the service of the eternal city: I desire, brother Cornelius, that I should be clement;

I desire in such great perils of yours and mine not to seem dissolved?

3. A crowd of women keeps watch at your sides, the number of harlots grows daily; and do we bishops patiently hear the lord of the same number, or rather a slave flowing down with insatiable lust through so many harlots, and demanding from us the praises of his deceased chaste wife, as if to mitigate his own sadness, by the right of friendship? Who when you were, I will not say a catechumen, but a youth constituted in a most pernicious error with us, younger than us, had corrected yourself from this vice with most temperate will, into which having revolved not after a long time more sordidly, then baptized in the extreme peril of life, I will not say, you an old man, but even we certainly now old and moreover bishops, are not yet emended. You wish to be consoled by us concerning the death of a good wife: who consoles us concerning this more true death of yours? Or because we cannot forget your so great merits toward us, are we therefore yet to be tortured by your manners, therefore to be contemned, and to be held for nothing, when we groan to you concerning you? But we confess that we are not something for correcting and healing you; let God be attended, let Christ be thought upon, let the Apostle be heard saying: *Taking then the members of Christ, shall I make them the members of a harlot?* (1 Cor. 6:15). If you spurn in your heart the words of any bishop your friend, think upon the body of your Lord in your body: finally, how do you sin by de-

ferring from day to day, when you know not your extreme day?

4. Now I shall prove what praises of Cypriana you desire from our mouth. Certainly if I were yet selling words to disciples in the school of rhetors, I would first take the reward from them. I wish to sell to you the praise of your most modest wife; first give me the reward, your modesty: give, I say, and receive. I say a human thing on account of your infirmity; I think that Cypriana be not worthy with you, to whose praises you prefer the love of your concubines: which surely you will do, if you shall have preferred to remain in that love, than to arrive at these praises. Why do you wish to extort from me by asking, when you see it is for you what I ask? why do you pray being subject, what you can command being corrected? Let us send spiritual gifts to your wife; you imitation, I praise. Although, as I said above, she should not now seek praise from men; but she seeks only your imitation even being deceased, as much as she loved you even being dissimilar while living. I shall do concerning her what you wish, when you shall have done what both I wish and she.

5. For if that proud and impious rich man, as the Lord speaks in the Gospel, who was clothed in purple and fine linen, and feasted splendidly every day, when he was paying the penalties of evil merits among those below, and had not been strong enough to impetrate a drop of water from the finger of the poor man contemned before his gate; remembered his five brothers, and asked the same poor man to be sent to them, whose rest in

the bosom of Abraham he was prospecting from afar, lest they also should come into that place of torments (Luke 16:19-28): how much more does your wife remember you? how much more does she, being chaste, not wish you to come to the penalties of adulterers, if not even the proud man wished his brothers to come to the penalties of the proud? and when a brother was unwilling for his brothers to be joined to him in evils, how much less does a wife constituted in goods wish to have her husband separated in evils? Read the place itself in the Gospel: it is the pious voice of Christ; believe God. You grieve forsooth for your dead wife, and you think, if I shall have praised her, that you will be consoled by my addresses; learn that you should grieve, if you shall not be with her. Or is it more to be grieved by you that she is not yet praised by me, than by me that you are not loved by her? For surely if you loved, you would desire after death to be with her, where surely you will not be, if such as you are such you shall be. Love therefore her whose praise you exact, lest what you exact mendaciously, I should justly deny. (And by another hand:) May the Lord grant to us to rejoice concerning your safety, most beloved lord and honorable brother.

LETTER 260.

Audax to Augustine, asking that a more prolix letter be sent to him.

To the father truly to-be-proclaimed and exceedingly to-be-respected, and to-be-followed

with every kind of praises, father AUGUSTINE, AUDAX, health in the Lord.

I have gratitude to your Beatitude, because you have willingly taken the testaments of my speech: for then boldness is given to the sons of good faith, when it shall have been bedewed by the rains of the paternal fount. I have provoked you therefore, sweet prelate, not that I might receive a small libation of a too-large breast, but that I might draw a huge river from a rich man abundantly. I desired the treasure of wisdom, but I received less than I wished, although it ought not to be called less, but a gift, which Augustine, the sacrator of justice, the instaurator of spiritual glory, the dispenser of eternal salvation, has conferred as an oracle of the law. The mundane orb is as much known to you, as noted; you are as much known to it, as proved. I wish therefore to be fed by the flowers of wisdom, and to be irrigated by the draughts of the living fount: grant to the desiring one what surely may profit. For the genital veil of half-naked strength can grow green, if it shall merit to be increased by your senses flowing gradually. Therefore I promise the presence of my humility not so much by style as by vow, if I shall re-read the writings of your Venerability in place of a sight. May the divine clemency protect you for innumerable years, venerable lord.

Why has the fount of the world flowed for me with a small speech? Or did it hope for hearts less apt for its own flowings? Since every mind lies open to the waters, and expects the loquacious help of Religion, give grateful rains to the senses,

which full faith expects hanging from the trunk of Christ.

LETTER 261.

Augustine to Audax excuses his occupations, admonishing that he should either attend to unfolding his own books, or hear him speaking being present.

To the most beloved lord and worthily to-be-proclaimed in Christ, and exceedingly desirable brother AUDAX, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. I received your brief letter, but plainly a vehement exacter of my prolix letter, not unwillingly, nay even joyful. Not because I should easily suffice for your avidity, but because I should congratulate your Charity; because even if you do not seek from a suitable one, it is nevertheless good what you seek. And for conscribing a long letter indeed leisure rather than faculty is lacking to me; being most occupied forsooth with ecclesiastical cares, from which very few drops of times scarcely recreate me, either thinking something, or dictating those things which more urge and seem to me about to profit more people, or refilling the forces of the body necessary for our servitude. For words are not lacking, with which much paper can be filled; but as to what you desire from us in the same prolixity of speech, I respond that I am not suitable for this. For you said that you had desired the treasure of wisdom, but had received less than you wished, when I from that treasure should ask for a daily alms with beggarly prayer, and scarcely impetrate it.

2. But how am I an *oracle of the law*, of whose wide and hidden penetralia I know far more things which I know not than what I know, and I am not strong enough to go to and penetrate its manifold bosoms and opaque recesses as I wish, and I know myself to be nothing else than less worthy? Furthermore what *sacrator of justice* am I, to whom it is very great that I should be consecrated? But truly that you call me the *instaurator of spiritual glory*; give pardon, you know not to whom you speak: for I myself as yet in this glory am so instaurated, that from day to day I confess that it is hidden from me not only how much I approach, but whether I approach anything at all. A *dispenser* plainly of *eternal salvation*, I am with innumerable others my fellow-servants. But if I do this willingly, I have a reward: but if unwillingly, only a dispensation has been credited to me; for already to be a dispenser of that salvation through word and Sacrament, this is not yet even to be a participant. For if it were not dispensed through the good, the Apostle would not rightly say: *Be ye followers of me as I also of Christ* (1 Cor. 4:1, 16). Again if it were not dispensed through the evil, the Lord would not say concerning certain ones: *The things which they say, do ye; but the things which they do, do ye not: for they say, and do not* (Matt. 23:3). Many therefore are the dispensers, through whose ministry one arrives at eternal salvation: but it is required among dispensers that one be found faithful (1 Cor. 4:2); and among the faithful themselves, in whose number let Him who is not

deceived compute me, one is thus, another however thus (Id. 7:7), as God has parted to each one the measure of faith (Rom. 12:3).

3. Therefore, most dear and sweet brother, may the Lord rather feed you with the flowers of wisdom, and irrigate you with the draughts of the living fount. But if you think that anything can be conferred by my small work to your most religious study, because I both understand you to be capable, and feel you to be avid; your mind is to be intended rather into our other small works, which are comprehended in many volumes, than that anything is to be hoped through letters which can fill your desire. Or certainly in presence take what I shall be able, which I think you therefore do not exhibit yours to us, because you do not wish: for what great thing is it, the Lord helping, that you being a free man from the duty of any place should come to us, whether about to be with us for a long time, or at least to return a little time having been passed?

4. Behold it has almost happened, what you placed in the third of your five verses, that you should have my letter rather loquacious than eloquent. But as to what in the fifth and last verse there are seven feet, I know not whether the number deceived your hearing, or you wished to try whether I yet remember how to judge these things, which perhaps those have already forgotten who, being sometime studious of such things, afterwards profited very much in ecclesiastical letters.

5. I do not have the Psalter translated from the Hebrew by holy Jerome. But we have not translated it, but have emended some faultinesses of the Latin codices from the Greek exemplars. Whence perhaps we have done something more commodious than it was, yet not such as it ought to be. For even now, those things which perhaps then passed us over, if they move us while reading, we emend the codices having been compared. So that which is perfect, we also seek with you.

LETTER 262. Augustine to Ecdicia, who, her husband being ignorant, had distributed her goods in alms, and had put on a widow's habit, applies a most sharp correction, enjoining that concerning these things she should make satisfaction to her husband.

To the most religious lady daughter ECDICIA, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. Your Reverence's letters having been read, and their bearer interrogated as to those things which remained to be interrogated, I vehemently grieved that you wished so to act with your husband, that the edifice of continence, which had already begun to be constructed in him, should miserably slide into the ruin of adultery, perseverance having been lost. For since he was to be mourned, if after continence vowed to God, and already taken up by the act itself and manners, he should return to the flesh of a spouse; how much more now is he to be mourned, submerged into a deeper destruction, who by so abrupt a dissolution commits adultery, being irate with

you, pernicious to himself, as if he should rage more bitterly against you, if he himself should perish? But so much of evil happened, while you treated his mind not with that moderation with which you ought: because even if you were no longer mixed by carnal consort from consent, yet in other things as a woman you ought to serve your husband with conjugal obedience; especially when you were both members of the body of Christ. And surely if you had a faithful husband as an infidel, it behooved you to act with subject conversation, that you might gain him for the Lord, as the Apostles admonished.

2. For I omit that I have known you to have taken up that very continence, he not yet being willing, not according to sound doctrine. For he was not to be defrauded of the debt of your body, before his will also should access your will to that good which surpasses conjugal modesty; unless perhaps you had not read or heard, or had not attended the Apostle saying: *It is good for a man not to touch a woman: but on account of fornications let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband.* Let the husband render the debt to the wife, but similarly also the wife to the husband. The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband: similarly also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the woman. Defraud not each other, except from consent for a time, that you may be vacant for prayer; and again be for the same thing, lest Satan tempt you on account of your intemperance (1 Cor. 7:1-17). According to these

apostolic words, even if he himself had wished to contain himself, and you had been unwilling, he would be compelled to render the debt to you; and God would impute continence to him, if yielding not to his own, but to your infirmity, lest you should fall into the damnable flagitiousness of adultery, he should not deny marital concubitus to you: how much more was it fitting for you, whom it had become to be more subject, lest he also should be drawn into adultery by diabolical temptation, to obey his will in rendering a debt of this kind, when God would accept the will of containing for you, because you would therefore not do it, lest the husband should perish?

3. But this, as I said, I omit, since afterwards he himself consented to the same pacts of continence to you being unwilling to consent to him for rendering conjugal debts, and lived most continently with you for a long time, and by his own consent he himself absolved you from that sin by which you were denying the debt of the flesh to him. Therefore that question is not now turned in your cause, whether you ought to return to the concubitus of the man. For what you both had vowed to God with equal consent, you both ought to have rendered perseveringly even unto the end: from which purpose if he has slipped, you at least persevere most constantly. Which I would not exhort you, except because he himself had consented to you for this. For if you had never held his assent, no number of years would have defended you, but after however much time you should have consulted me, I would respond

nothing else to you, except what the Apostle says, *The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband:* from which power he had already so permitted continence to you, that he himself also took it up with you.

But that is what I am saddened that you observed less, because you ought so much more humbly and obediently to obey him in domestic conversation, as he had more religiously conceded so great a thing to you even by imitating. For not because you were equally tempering from carnal commixture, did he therefore cease to be your husband; nay indeed you remained spouses among yourselves so much more holily, as you concordantly served more holy pleas. Therefore you ought to have done nothing concerning your dress, nothing concerning your gold or silver or whatever money, or any terrestrial things of yours without his judgment, lest you should scandalize a man who had vowed greater things with you to God, and had continently abstained from that which he could exact from your flesh with licit power.

5. Finally it happened that contempt broke asunder the bond of continence, with which that beloved one had bound himself, and being irate with you he did not spare himself. For as the bearer of your letter related to me, when he had known that you had given all or almost all which you had to I know not which two monks passing by to be distributed as to the poor; then he detesting them with you, and thinking them not servants of God, but penetrators of another's

house, and your captivators and plunderers, being indignant cast away so holy a burden as he had undergone with you. For he was weak, and therefore by you, who seemed stronger in the common purpose, he was not to be disturbed by presumption, but to be borne by love: because even if he was perhaps more slowly moved to making those alms more largely, he could also learn these things, if he were not struck by your unexpected expenses, but were invited by expected obediences, so that even this which you rashly did alone, you both might do much more consultedly by concordant love, and much more ordinately and honestly; nor would the servants of God be blasphemed, if however they were this, who while the husband was absent and ignorant, took so many things from an unknown woman and from another's wife; and God would be praised in your works, whose society would be so faithful, that not only the highest chastity, but even glorious poverty would be held commonly by you.

6. But now attend to what you have done by inconsiderate haste. For even if I should think well of those monks, by whom he complains himself to have been not edified, but spoiled, nor should I easily consent against perhaps the servants of God to a man having an eye disturbed before ire; is it so much of a good, that you refected the flesh of the poor by more large alms, as it is of an evil, that you undermined the mind of your husband from so good a purpose? Or ought the temporal safety of anyone to have been

more dear to you, than his eternal one? Would not God impute more abundant alms to you, if thinking of a more ample mercy, you therefore deferred to distribute your things to the poor, lest your husband being scandalized should perish to God? Therefore if you recall what you had acquired, when you had gained your husband, so that he should serve Christ with you in more holy chastity; understand through those alms of yours, by which his heart was overturned, by how much more grave a loss you were struck, than are those gains, which you were thinking celestial. For if broken bread has a great place there for the hungry, how great a place is mercy to be believed to have there, by which a man is snatched from the devil, as from a roaring lion, and seeking whom he may devour?

7. Neither do we say this so, that if anyone shall have been scandalized concerning our good works, we think that we must desist from them; but another is the cause of foreign persons, another of necessary ones in some society; another of a faithful one, another of an infidel; another of parents toward sons, another of sons toward parents: another finally that, which in these things is even most to be looked into, of husband and wife, where it is not licit for a married woman to say, I do what I wish with mine; when she herself also is not her own, but of her head, that is of her husband (Eph. 5:23). *For so some,* as the apostle Peter commemorates, *holy women who were hoping in God, adorned themselves, subject to their own husbands: as Sarah obeyed Abraham,

calling him lord, whose daughters,* he says, *ye are made* (1 Pet. 3:5, 6); when he was speaking to Christian, not to Jewish women.

8. But what wonder if a father was unwilling for a common son to be stripped of the supports of this life by his mother, being ignorant what he would follow when he should begin to be in a more mature age; whether the profession of a monk, or ecclesiastical ministry, or the bond of conjugal necessity? For although the sons of the saints are to be excited and erudited to better things, yet every one hath his own proper gift from God; one thus, another however thus (1 Cor. 7:7). Unless perhaps a father prospecting and precutioning such things is to be reprehended, when the blessed Apostle says: *But whosoever provideth not for his own and especially for those of his household, denieth the faith, and is worse than an infidel* (1 Tim. 5:8). But when he was speaking concerning making those very alms, he says: *Not that there should be refection to others, but to you distress* (2 Cor. 8:13). Therefore you should have had counsel concerning all things together, you should have moderated together what was to be treasured in heaven, what was to be left for the sufficiency of this life to you and yours and your son, lest there should be refection to others, but to you distress. And in disposing and doing these things, if anything perhaps seemed better to you, you should suggest it to the man reverently, and follow the authority of him as your head obediently; so that all who taste soundly, to whom the fame of this

good of yours could reach, might rejoice concerning the fruit and peace of your house, and the adversary might be revered having nothing of evil to say concerning you.

9. Furthermore if concerning making alms and spending your things on the poor, concerning which good and great work there are so evident precepts of the Lord, you ought to communicate counsel with your husband being a faithful one and serving the holy pacts of continence with you, and not to spurn the will of the same; how much more concerning habit and dress was nothing to be changed or usurped by you besides his judgment, whence we read nothing divine commanded? It is written indeed, that women ought to be in an ornate habit; and the circumposition of gold, and the twisting of hair, and other things of this kind which are accustomed to be applied either to vain pomp or to the enticement of form, are worthily reprehended (1 Tim. 2:9). But there is a certain matronly habit distinct from a widow's dress according to the measure of the person, which can suit faithful married women with the observance of religion preserved. If your husband was unwilling for you to lay this down, lest you should boast yourself as if a widow while he was living, I think that he was not to be led in this matter even to the scandal of dissension, more by the evil of inobedience, than by the good of any abstinence. For what is more absurd, than for a woman to be proud toward a man concerning a humble dress, whom it would rather expedite you to obey by white manners, than to repugn by

blackish dresses? Because even if the garment of a nun delighted you, even this could be taken more gratefully, your husband having been observed and exorated, than be presumed he being unconsulted and contemned. Which if he should not permit at all, what would perish from your purpose? Far be it that you should therefore displease God, because your spouse not yet being deceased, you were not clothed as Anna, but as Susanna.

10. For neither would he, who had already begun to keep so great a good of continence with you, even if he had wished that you should take a conjugal not a widow's garment, have compelled you also to an indecent ornament: in which even if you were compelled by some hard condition, you could have a humble heart in proud cult. Forsooth among the fathers, that queen Esther fearing God, worshiping God, subject to God, yet subject served a husband being an alien king not worshiping the same God with her; who when she was prostrated to the Lord in praying in extreme peril, not only of hers, but also of her nation, which was then the people of God, said in her very prayer, that the royal ornament was to her as a menstrual cloth (Esther 14:16); and Him who heard her so praying immediately, who being the inspector of the heart knew her to say the truth. And surely she had a husband being a man of many women, and a worshiper of alien and false gods. But you, if he also should have perdured in the purpose which he had taken up with you, nor had fallen into flagitiousness being offended by you, had a husband not only faithful,

and worshiping the true God with you, but even continent; who without doubt not unmindful of your purpose, even if he should compel you to conjugal garments, yet would not compel you to proud ornaments.

11. These things I have written to you, since you thought that I was to be consulted, not that I should break your right institute by my speech, but because you acting inordinately and incautiously, I grieved at the fact of your husband. Concerning whose reparation you ought to think most vehemently, if you truly wish to pertain to Christ. Put on therefore humility of mind, and that God may conserve you persevering, do not contemn your husband perishing. Pour out pious and assiduous prayers for him, sacrifice tears as the blood of a wounded heart. And write a satisfaction to him, asking pardon, because you sinned against him, in that besides his counsel and will you did with your things what you thought was to be done, not that it should repent you to have given to the poor, but to have been unwilling to have him as a participant and moderator of your good work. Promise for the rest in the help of the Lord, if it shall also have repented him of his turpitude, and he shall have repeated the continence which he deserted, that you will serve him, as it becomes, in all things; lest perhaps, as the Apostle says, God give him repentance, and he recover himself from the snares of the devil, by whom he is held captive according to his will (2 Tim. 2:25, 26). But as for your son, since you received him from legitimate and

honest nuptials, who knows not that he is more in the father's power than in yours? And therefore he cannot be denied to him, wherever he shall have known him to be, and shall have demanded by right: and through this that he may be able to be nourished and erudited in the wisdom of God according to your will, your concord is also necessary for him.

LETTER 263. Augustine to Sapida a virgin, renounces that he has received a tunic woven by her hands for her brother, whom she was mourning as dead; and already that he has put it on, because Sapida had desired solace to be provided to her; for the rest exhorting to take up a more abundant and truer consolation from the faith of the divine Scriptures.

To the most religious lady and holy daughter SAPIDA, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. I received what you wished me to receive from the just and pious labors of your hands, lest I should sadden you more gravely, whom I rather saw to-be-consoled: especially because you deputed this very thing to be no small solace of yours, if I should put on that tunic which you had made for your brother a holy minister of God; since already receding from the land of the dying he should need no corruptible things. I did therefore what you desired, and however you shall have estimated this, or how small soever a solace, I did not deny it to your breast toward your brother. I received the tunic sent by you, and when I wrote these things to you, I had already begun to clothe myself with it. Be of good mind;

but use much better and much greater consolations, so that the cloud of your heart contracted by human infirmity, may be made serene by divine authority: and perseveringly so live, that you may live with your brother; since your brother so died, that he may live.

2. There is indeed material for tears, that you do not see your brother who loved you, and who revered you very much for your life and profession of sacred virginity, a deacon of the Church of Carthage, as you were accustomed, entering and going out, and conversing in the strenuousness of his ecclesiastical office; and you do not hear those honorific words from him, which he was bestowing with compliant, pious and dutiful affection upon the sanctity of your brotherhood. When these things are thought upon, and are required by the violence of custom, the heart is pricked, and weeping arises as the blood of the heart. But let the heart be upwards, and the eyes will be dry. For neither because these things, which you mourn to have been subtracted from you, passed by in their temporal course, did that charity therefore perish with which Timothy loved Sapida, and loves: that remains saved in its own treasure, and is hidden with Christ in the Lord. Do those who love gold lose it when they store it away? do they not then become more secure concerning it, as much as can be, when they serve it removed from their eyes in safer places? Thus truly does terrestrial cupidity think that it has itself more fortifiedly, if it should not see that which it loves; and celestial charity grieves, as if it

had lost what it had sent before into the supernal barns. Sapida, attend to what you are called, and taste those things which are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God (Coloss. 3:1-3); who deigned to die for us, that we might live even being dead; and lest death itself should be feared by man, as if about to consume man; nor should anyone of the dead, for whom life died, be mourned as if he had lost life. Let these and such-like things be your divine solaces by which human sadness may blush and yield.

3. One must not indeed be incensed at the grief of mortals concerning dear dead ones; but there ought not to be long-continued grief of the faithful. If therefore you have been saddened, let it now be enough; nor should you be so saddened as the Gentiles, who have no hope (1 Thess. 4:12). For Paul the apostle did not prohibit being saddened, when he said this, but so to be saddened as the Gentiles, who have no hope. For both Martha and Mary, pious and faithful sisters, were weeping for their brother Lazarus about to rise again, although they knew not that he was then about to return to this life: and the Lord Himself wept for the same Lazarus, whom He was about to resuscitate (John 11:19-35); doubtless that we also should weep for those dead ones whom we believe about to rise again to true life, even if He did not order it by precept, He conceded it by example. Nor in vain does Scripture say in the book of Ecclesiasticus, *Over the dead bring forth tears, and as having suffered dire things begin lamentation:* but a little after it says, *and

console thyself on account of sadness; for from sadness proceedeth death, and the sadness of the heart shall bend strength* (Ecclus. 38:16-19).

4. Your brother, daughter, lives in mind, sleeps in flesh; will he not who sleeps, add that he should rise again (Ps. 40:9)? God who has already received his spirit, will restore to him his body, which He took away not to be lost, but deferred to be rendered. There is therefore no cause for long-continued sadness, because the cause of sempiternal gladness is more powerful. Since indeed not even that mortal part of your brother, which is buried in the earth, will perish for you; in which he was presented to you, through which he was addressing you, and talking with you; from which he was bringing forth a voice so known to your ears, just as he was offering a face to your eyes, so that wherever it had sounded, even not seen he was accustomed to be recognized. For these things are subtracted from the senses of the living, that the absence of the dead may make grief. But when not even those bodies will perish for eternity, as neither a hair of the head will perish (Luke 21:18), and being laid aside for a time will be so received, that they may never further be laid aside, but being changed into better may be firmed; surely greater is the cause of congratulation in the hope of inestimable eternity, than the cause of mourning in a thing of shortest time. This hope the Gentiles have not, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God (Matt. 22:29); who can repair lost things, and vivify dead things, and reintegrate corrupted things,

and join again separated things, and preserve corrupted and finished things henceforth without end. He promised that He would do these things, who made faith from these things, which being already promised He perfected. Let your faith talk these things with you, since your hope will not be defrauded, even if your charity be now deferred: meditate on these things; by these be more abundantly and truly consoled. For if, because I am clothed (since he could not) with that garment which you had woven for your brother, something consoles you; how much more and more certainly ought you to be consoled, because for whom it had been prepared, then needing no garment, he will be clothed with incorruption and immortality!

LETTER 264. He consoles Maxima a pious woman, who was seeing with quite a bit of difficulty and a somewhat perturbed mind her province (perhaps Spain, where "pernicious doctrines were slaughtering souls, much more unhappily than the barbaric sword the bodies," when Orosius came thence into Africa, as is said above in Epist. 166, n. 2, and in Orosius's Commonitory, tom. 6) to be endangered by noxious errors.

To the honorable and distinguished and in the members of Christ laudable handmaid of God MAXIMA, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. As much as your holy study gladdens us, so much on the other hand it saddens us that you signify your province to be exceedingly endangered through noxious and most pernicious

errors. But because these things were predicted as about to be, it is not to be wondered at that they arise, but to be watched lest they harm. But God our liberator would not permit these things to arise, unless it were expedient for His saints to be erudited even through temptations of this kind. Those indeed compare for themselves by their own perverse will, both the merit of present blindness and of future eternal punishment, if through contumacy they shall have been indocile, and shall have neglected to correct and emend themselves while they are in this life. Nevertheless, just as they themselves use badly the goods of God, who makes His sun to rise over the good and the evil, and rains over the just and the unjust (Matt. 5:45); who calls them through His patience to repentance, while they treasure up for themselves wrath in the day of wrath, and of the revelation of the just judgment of God (Rom. 2:4, 5): as therefore they use badly the benignity and patience, that is the goods of God, while they are not corrected; so on the contrary, God uses well even their evils, not only for His own justice, by which He will retribute worthy things to them in the end, but even for the exercise and progress of His saints, so that from the very perversity of the evil the good may profit, and be proved, and be manifested; as the Apostle says, *It behooveth that there be heresies, that they who are approved may be made manifest among you* (1 Cor. 11:19).

2. For if there were no good use even of the evil for God for the utility of His elect, who even

from the evil of Judas provided so much of a good to us, that we should be redeemed by the blood of Christ; He could either not permit them to be born, whom He foreknew would be evil, or extinguish them in the very beginning of their malignancy: but He permits them to be so much, as He knows to be expedient and to suffice for the admonishing and exercising of His holy house. Therefore He consoles our sadness concerning them: because even that very sadness which we have for them, relieves us; but it weighs down those who persevere in their perversity. But the joy which we perceive when some of them being corrected are changed into better, and are coupled to the society of the saints, can be compared to no joy in this life. Therefore it is written: *Son, if thou shalt be wise, thou shalt be wise for thyself and thy neighbors; but if thou shalt escape being evil, thou alone shalt draw evils* (Prov. 9:12). Because when we rejoice concerning the faithful and just, their good profits both them and us; but when we are saddened concerning the infidel and iniquitous, both their malice and our sadness harms them alone: but this also helps us very much with God, that we are mercifully saddened for them, and we groan together and pray for that very sadness. Whence, honorable and in Christ laudable handmaid of God, both your sadness concerning such ones, and the vigilance and caution against such ones, which you expressed by your letters, I much approve and praise: and that you should walk perseveringly in this way, according to my forces, because you exact this, I

both exhort and move you that you should pity them as simple as a dove, but avoid them as astute as a serpent (Matt. 10:16); and give effort, as much as you can, that those who adhere to you, may remain with you in the right faith, or be corrected to the right faith, if perhaps some have been depraved in anything.

3. But concerning the man whom the Word of God took up, when it was made flesh and dwelt among us (John 1:14), I would emend anything, if I should find in that which you believe, anything false or perverse. Therefore believe this which you believe, because in that man the Son of God took up our whole nature, that is both a rational soul and mortal flesh without sin. For He was made a participant of our infirmity, not of iniquity, so that through common infirmity, He might loose our iniquity, and lead us to His own justice, drinking death from ours, and propining life from His own. But if you have any writing of theirs, in which they assert what is contrary to this faith, deign to send it, so that we may not only say our faith, but also refell their perfidy, as much as we can. For without doubt this very thing, which they think perversely and impiously, they try to astrucl with some testimonies of the divine Scriptures: in which it is to be shown to them how not rightly they understand the sacred Letters conscribed for the salvation of the faithful; as if anyone should gravely vex himself with medicinal iron tools, which surely were instituted not for wounding, but for healing. But we have labored much and do labor, as much as the Lord

grants, against various errors to be argued. But if perhaps you desire to have the small works of our labors, send those who may describe them for you. For God willed that you should be able to do this most easily, who gave to you whence you could.

LETTER 265.

Augustine to Seleuciana, concerning the baptism and repentance of Peter, against a certain Novatianist.

To the most religious handmaid of God and to-be-honored in the love of Christ SELEUCIANA, AUGUSTINE bishop, health in the Lord.

1. Your letters having been read I rejoiced concerning your safety, and to those things which you wrote, I did not defer to respond. And first I wondered how that Novatianist says Peter not to have been baptized, when a little above you wrote him to have said that the Apostles had been baptized. Whence it may seem to him that among the baptized Apostles Peter was not baptized, I am ignorant: and therefore I sent to you an exemplar of your letter, lest perhaps you do not have it, in which you may consider more diligently that I respond to those things which I found in your letters; for if the notary did not mendaciously take down or write, I know not what kind of heart he has who when he says the Apostles were baptized, denies Peter to have been baptized.

2. But regarding what is said of Peter having done penance (*poenitentiam*), we must take care lest it be thought he did it in the way those do

in the Church who are properly called penitents. And who would bear this, that we should think the first of the Apostles was to be numbered among such penitents? For he repented of having denied Christ, which his tears indicate: for thus it is written, that he wept bitterly (Matth. XXVI, 75). For they had not yet been confirmed by the resurrection of the Lord, and by that advent of the Holy Spirit which appeared on the day of Pentecost, or by that inspiration which the Lord demonstrated after He rose from the dead, when He breathed upon their faces, saying: Receive the Holy Spirit (John XX, 22).

3. Whence it can rightly be said, that when Peter denied the Lord, the Apostles had not yet been baptized; not indeed with water, but with the Holy Spirit. For He said this to them after He rose, and conversed with them: John indeed baptized with water, but you shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit, whom you are also about to receive not after many of these days (Acts I, 5). But some codices have, But you shall begin to be baptized with the Holy Spirit: but whether it be said, you shall be baptized, or it be said, you shall begin to be baptized, it is of no consequence to the matter. For in whatever codices it is found, you shall baptize, or, you shall begin to baptize, they are faulty; which are most easily convinced from the Greek. But if we say they were not baptized with water, it is to be feared lest we err gravely concerning them, lest we give to men the authority of contemning Baptism; which the apostolic discipline itself commends as so much not to

be contemned, that Cornelius the centurion and those who were with him, even having already received the Holy Spirit, were baptized (Id. X, 48).

4. Just as if the ancient just were not circumcised, it was not a sin for them; but after God commanded that Abraham and his posterity be circumcised, then if it were not done, it was a grave sin: so also after the Lord Christ gave in His Church the sacrament of the New Testament for the circumcision of the flesh, namely holy baptism, and most openly said, Unless anyone be reborn of water and the Holy Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven (John III, 5), now we ought not to ask when each one was baptized; but whomever we read in the body of Christ, which is the Church, to belong to the kingdom of heaven, we ought to understand as nothing but baptized: unless perhaps those whom the straits of passion found, and unwilling to deny Christ, were killed before they were baptized, to whom the passion itself was deputed for Baptism. But can we say this of the Apostles, who had so ample a time in which they might be baptized, that they even baptized others? But not all things that were done are also found written; nevertheless they are proved to have been done from other documents. It is written when the apostle Paul was baptized (Acts IX, 18), and it is not written when the other Apostles were baptized; nevertheless we ought to understand them also to have been baptized: just as it is written when the peoples of the Churches in Jerusalem (Id. II, 41) and Samaria (Id. VIII, 12)

were baptized; but when the other peoples of the gentiles were baptized, to whom the Apostles sent Epistles, it is surely not written, and yet we by no means doubt that they also were baptized on account of that sentence of the Lord, Unless anyone be reborn of water and the Holy Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.

5. But both things are written concerning the Lord, both that He baptized more than John, and that He Himself did not baptize, but His disciples; so that we might understand both that He indeed baptized by the presence of His majesty, yet that He Himself did not baptize with His own hands. For the sacrament of Baptism was His own; but the ministry of baptizing pertained to the Disciples. Then therefore when John the evangelist says in his Gospel, After these things Jesus and His disciples went out into the land of Judea, and there He tarried with them, and baptized (John III, 22): then a little after speaking of Him he says, When therefore Jesus knew that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made more disciples, and baptized more than John (though Jesus Himself did not baptize, but His disciples), He left Judea, and went again into Galilee (Id. IV, 1-3). Then therefore when He went out from Jerusalem with His disciples into the land of Judea, and there He tarried with them, He baptized not through Himself, but through His disciples; whom we understand to have already been baptized, whether with the baptism of John, as some think, or what is more credible, with the baptism of Christ. For He would not shun the ministry of baptizing, so

as to have baptized servants through whom He might baptize others, He who did not shun the ministry of that memorable humility, when He washed their feet; and to Peter asking that He wash not only his feet, but also his hands and his head, He responded, He who is washed needs not except that he wash his feet, but is clean all over (Id. XIII, 10): where it is understood that Peter had already been baptized.

6. But how that man says, what you have placed in your letter, that the Apostles gave penance (*poenitentiam*) in place of Baptism, is not evidently expressed. For if he says "in place of Baptism" for this reason, because through penance sins are remitted, what he says has something of reason. But such penance after Baptism can be useful, if anyone has sinned. But this man, since he denies that a place for penance is given after Baptism, when he says, as you wrote, that penance is only before Baptism; it is given to be understood that he spoke thus, that the Apostles gave penance in place of Baptism, so that they gave it before Baptism, and those to whom it was given were not afterwards baptized, because that was for them in place of Baptism: which I have never heard the Novatianists say. Whence inquire diligently, lest perhaps he be of some other error, and feign or think himself to be a Novatianist. Or if the Novatianists say this also, I do not know: this however I know, that whoever says this is altogether alien from the rule of the catholic faith, and from the doctrine of Christ and the Apostles.

For men do penance before Baptism for their prior sins, yet in such a way that they are also baptized, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, Peter speaking to the Jews and saying: Do penance, and let each one of you be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; and your sins shall be forgiven you (Acts II, 38). Men also do penance, if after Baptism they have so sinned that they deserve to be excommunicated and afterwards reconciled: just as in all Churches those who are properly called penitents. For of such penance the apostle Paul spoke, where he says: Lest again when I come God should humble me among you; and I should mourn many of those who sinned before, and have not done penance over the uncleanness, and luxury, and fornication which they have done (II Cor. XII, 21): for he was not writing these things except to those who had already been baptized. We have also in the Acts of the Apostles, Simon having already been baptized, when he wished to buy with money that through the imposition of his hand the Holy Spirit might be given, admonished by Peter that he should do penance for this grave sin (Acts VIII, 18-23).

8. There is also the almost daily penance of the good and humble faithful, in which we beat our breasts saying: Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors (Matth. VI, 12). For we do not wish those things to be forgiven us, which we do not doubt were forgiven in Baptism; but those things surely which, although small, yet frequent, creep upon human fragility: which if

they were collected against us, would so weigh us down and oppress us, as some one large xsin. For what difference does it make for a shipwreck, whether the ship be covered and overwhelmed by one large wave, or whether water creeping little by little into the bilge, and through negligence abandoned and contemned, fill the ship and submerge it? On account of these things fasts and alms and prayers keep watch: in which when we say, Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive, we manifest that we have what is to be forgiven us; and in these words humbling our souls, we do not cease to do, in a certain way, daily penance. To those things which you wrote, I think I have responded briefly but sufficiently: it remains that he may not be contentious, for whose sake you thought such letters were to be destined to me.

LETTER 266.

Augustine to the studious girl Florentina, offering his work of teaching, if she should bring forth what she wishes to be expounded.

To the extraordinary lady, and deservedly to-be-honored in Christ and to-be-received daughter FLORENTINA, AUGUSTINE bishop, health in the Lord.

1. Your holy purpose, and the chaste fear of the Lord (Ps. XVIII, 10) remaining forever and ever, en-viscerated in your heart, excites our care for you not moderately not only in prayers before God, but also in admonitions to yourself. Which indeed I did not once do in my letters, which

I gave to the mother of your Reverence, to-be-named by me with due honor. But because she deigned to write back this to me, that you first wished to receive my letters; then at last, if perhaps there should be any need for you from my ministry, which I know I owe to your venerable study and that of all such, as much as I can, by a free servitude, that you would not be silent and would intimate by writing back: behold I have done what I found you to have willed, although not through yourself; lest I should seem to shut the door of confidence inhumanely against you: it remains that you yourself bring forth, if you think anything is to be inquired from me. For either I know what you shall have inquired, and I will not deny it: or I so know not, that with no detriment of faith and safety I know not, and concerning this I will also make yourself secure, if I can, a reason having been rendered. Or certainly, if I also know not, and yet it is to be known, either I will impetrate from the Lord that I be not wanting to you; for often the office of imparting is a merit for receiving: or I will so respond to you, that you may know for this very matter which we equally know not, at whom we ought to knock.

2. I have pre-spoken these things for this reason, lest you should hope for certain that you would hear whatever you should have asked from me, and when this should not happen, you should think me to have acted more boldly than prudently, because I gave to you the faculty of asking if you should wish anything. For I did this not as a perfect teacher, but as one to-be-

perfected with those to-be-taught, extraordinary lady, and deservedly to-be-honored in Christ and to-be-received daughter. Indeed even in those things which I know in whatever way, I desire you rather to be knowing, than in need of our knowledge. For we ought not, so that we may teach what we know, to wish for the ignorance of others: for much better are we all teachable by God; which surely in that supernal fatherland, when what was promised shall have been completed in us, shall be perfected, so that man may not say to his neighbor, Know the Lord: for all shall know Him, as it is written, from the least even to the greatest of them (Jerem. XXXI, 34). And the vice of pride is most solicitously to be guarded against in teaching, which is not so in learning. Whence also holy Scripture admonishes us, saying: Let every man be swift to hear, but slow to speak (James I, 19): and he in the Psalm says, To my hearing you shall give exultation and gladness; and immediately he added, And the humbled bones shall exult (Ps. L, 10). For he saw that in hearing humility is most easily preserved, which is difficult in teaching; since it is necessary that the teacher have a superior place, where it is laborious to obtain that elation should not creep in.

3. Do you see how we are in peril from whom this is expected, that we should not only be teachers, but also since we are men, that we should teach divine things? But there is a singular solace of our labors and perils, when you thus profit, that you arrive there where you

should stand in need of no human teacher. But in this peril not only we are; for compared to him of whom I am about to speak, what are we? therefore not only we are in this peril, but also that Teacher of the Gentiles testifies himself to have been in peril, when he says: Lest I should be extolled by the magnitude of my revelations, there was given to me a sting of the flesh (II Cor. XII, 7) etc. Whence also the Lord Himself, the admirable physician of this tumor, says: Be not called Rabbi by men; for one is your master, Christ (Matth. XXIII, 8): which the same Teacher of the Gentiles retaining says, Neither is he who plants anything, nor he who waters; but God who gives the increase (I Cor. III, 7). This also he remembered who among those born of women was so great (Matth. XI, 11), yet so much humbled himself in all things (Eccli. III, 20), affirming himself unworthy to carry the shoes of Christ (Luke III, 16). For what else does he show where he says: He who has the bride, is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom stands and hears him, and rejoices with joy on account of the voice of the bridegroom (John III, 29)? This is that hearing, of which a little before I commemorated as placed in the Psalm: To my hearing you shall give exultation and gladness, and the humbled bones shall exult.

4. Therefore you may know me to rejoice so much more certainly, so much more solidly, so much more sanely concerning your faith and hope and love, as you should have less need to learn anything not only from me, but from any

man at all. Nevertheless, because when I was there, you indeed being bashful through age, your good parents and most loving of your good studies, deigned to intimate to me with how great an ardor of piety and true wisdom you were burning, and most benevolently asked lest I should deny my small work for your instruction, in what there was need; I believed that you were to be admonished by these letters, according to the above said options, so that you may ask what you wish, lest I be superfluous, if I should have attempted to teach what you know: provided however you hold most firmly, that even if you could know anything healthfully through me, He will teach you who is the interior teacher of the interior man, who in your heart shows to you that what is said is true; because neither is he who plants anything, nor he who waters, but God who gives the increase.

LETTER 267.

Augustine to Fabiola grieving for her pilgrimage in this life, concerning the presence of minds bound by the bond of friendship.

To the most religious and most excellent lady, and in the charity of Christ to-be-praised daughter FABIOLA, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

Although you have rendered rescripts, yet I have thus read the letters of your Holiness, that I have thought it a duty to respond to them. For you have grieved for the pilgrimage, by which it happens to rejoice perpetually with the saints;

and the desire of the supernal fatherland, where now we shall not be divided by the space of lands, but shall always be gladdened by the contemplation of the One, you have deservedly preferred. You are happy in thinking such things faithfully; happier in loving; and therefore you will also be most happy in attaining. But even now look more diligently whence we may more be said to be absent; whether because we do not see our bodies in turn, or because we do not give and receive signs of our minds, which is to converse. For I think that, although separated in body in far regions, if we could know our thoughts, we would be more with ourselves, than if sitting silent in one place beholding one another, bringing forth no signs of the intimate sense with voices, indicating our minds with no movements of the bodies. Wherefore you understand that for this reason each one is more present to himself than another to another, because each one is better known to himself than to another; not by beholding his face, which, unless a mirror be present, is carried and is hidden, but by beholding his conscience, which he sees even with closed eyes. How great therefore is also our life, which is held as great?

LETTER 268. A certain Fascius overwhelmed by debt had fled to the church; to whose creditors, money having been received as a loan, Augustine satisfied: he prays that it be repaid for Fascius by a public collation through the faithful of Christ.

To the most beloved and most longed-for lords, to the holy people to whom I minister,

members of Christ, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. Your Holiness's most known and most proved devotion in our Lord Jesus Christ has given me confidence, so that even while absent I might presume upon that which when present I was accustomed to rejoice in: I who am always with you in spirit; not only because the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ does not cease to burn with such sweetness, but also because you do not permit me myself, who serve you in the Gospel, to suffer straits. For when our brother Fascius was being urged by pledge-takers to return a debt of seventeen solidi, which at present he did not find whence he might disentangle himself; lest he should suffer corporal injury, he flew to the aid of the holy church: those exactors also since they were compelled to set out, and therefore could not give a delay, burdened me with most grave complaints, so that I should deliver him to them: or that I should provide whence they might receive what they showed was owed to them. And when I had offered to Fascius that I should speak to your Holiness concerning his necessities; deterred by shame, he prayed that I should not do it. Thus I, constrained by a greater necessity, received seventeen solidi from our brother Macedonius, which I immediately gave for his cause, he promising that on a certain day he could occur with them to be returned; and consenting that if he could not occur, a word should be made concerning him to your mercy, which you have been accustomed to exhibit fraternally to brothers.

2. Now therefore since he is absent, it remains that you should subvene, not to him, whom no one compels while absent, but to my promise, the estimation of which is always present to you. For already the day on which he had promised himself to be about to occur, has passed; and I find not what I may respond to him who committed his solidi to my faith, except that I should do what I promised I would do. But since I was not commonished concerning this matter, so that on the holy day of Pentecost, when your greater frequency was present, I might make a sermon therefrom; I ask that you deign to have these letters in place of my present tongue, God and our Lord in whom you have believed admonishing you and exhorting in your hearts, He who never departs from you who fear and honor His name. In whom we also are always joined to you, although in body we seem to have departed from you; He who promises to you from this seed of good works a harvest of eternal life, the Apostle saying: But doing good let us not fail; for in its own time we shall reap unfailing. Therefore, while we have time, let us work good to all, but especially to those of the household of faith (Gal. VI, 9, 10). Since therefore he is of the household of faith, a faithful Christian, our catholic brother, for the supplying of whose necessity I ask you to do what the Lord commands; without sadness, without murmuring, and with joy and hilarity do it: for you believe in God, not in man; because He promises that you shall lose nothing of those things which you do mercifully, but shall receive

them on that day with immortal usuries (Matth. XXV, 34-40): and since the Apostle himself says, But this I say, He who sows sparingly, shall also reap sparingly (II Cor. IX, 6); you ought to understand that it is time so that we may prepare the gift of eternal life, while yet we are in this life, hastily and alacrity: because when the end of the world shall have come, it shall not be given except to those who through faith bought this for themselves, before they could have seen.

3. I have also written to the priests, that if anything should be less after the collation of your Holiness, they may complete it from that which the church has, provided however you offer hilariously according to what pleases you: because whether it be given from yours or from the church, all things are of God, and your devotion will be sweeter than the treasures of the church; as the Apostle says, Not because I seek the gift, but I require the fruit (Philip. IV, 17). Gladden therefore my heart, because I desire to rejoice concerning your fruits: for you are the trees of God, which He deigns to water with assiduous rains even through our ministry. May the Lord protect you from all evil both here and in the future world, most beloved lords, and most longed-for brothers.

LETTER 269.

Augustine to Bishop Nobilius, signifying that he cannot come to the dedication of a new fabric.

To the most blessed and venerable brother and fellow-priest NOBILIUS, AUGUSTINE.

Such is the solemnity to which the affection of your Fraternity invites me, that my small body would be drawn to you by my will, unless infirmity held it. I could come if it were not winter; I could contemn the winter, if I were a young man: for either the fervor of age would bear the rigor of the time, or the fervor of summer would temper the cold of age. Now in winter I do not suffer so long a journey with the cold agedness which I carry with me, most blessed lord, holy and venerable brother and fellow-priest. I render the due salutation to your merits: but I commend my safety to your prayers, asking also myself from God the Lord that the prosperity of peace may follow the dedication of such a great fabric.

LETTER 270. Anonymous to Augustine (for it is not Jerome, as is clear from the style, although it was published among his Epistles at number 40), signifying himself to be affected with grave mourning because he did not find him together with Severus in the city of Leges, and expounding with how much love he follows him.

When I had traveled to the city of Leges in a former time, I was too much saddened because I could by no means find the whole of you there. For I found the half of you, and, as I might so say, a part of your soul, the most dear Severus, concerning whom I rejoiced in part. For I would rejoice perfectly, if I should find the whole of you: whence from the part in which I had found you, I was congratulating; and on account of your part

which I by no means discerned, I was saddened in all ways. Therefore I said to my soul, Why are you sad, and why do you disturb me? Hope in God (Ps. XLI, 6), and He will make present the friend whom you love. Whence I confide in the Lord and hope that He will make me to congratulate concerning your vision. O if love could be discerned by the eyes! surely you would see how great our love was with you. For either equaling your love, it would bring to you a great study of imitation. Therefore, because in the Lord I love you, love the one loving you. And so that the others with you may love, exhort through ecclesiastical authority. For what you ask in your letters, that I should pray for you; I would rightly do that, if I myself were free from sins, so that it might be allowed to pray for others. And therefore I admonish you that you should emit assiduous prayers of your mind to the Lord for me: and mindful of your profession, place before your eyes that day, in which the just man shall not fear from evil hearing (Ps. CXI, 7); and therefore the just shall not fear, because he shall not hear, "Go into eternal fire," but, "Come, blessed of my Father, perceive the kingdom" (Matth. XXV, 41, 34). To which may He lead us who lives and reigns forever and ever. Amen.