SEVENTEEN SHORT TREATISES

OF

S. AUGUSTINE,

BISHOP OF HIPPO,

TRANSLATED,

WITH NOTES AND INDICES.

OXFORD,
JOHN HENRY PARKER;
F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.
MDCCCXLVII.

CONTENTS.

	Page
Concerning Faith of things not seen	1
Of Faith, and of the Creed	15
Of Faith and Works	37
Enchiridion to Laurentius on Faith, Hope, and Charity	85
On the Christian Conflict	159
Of the Catechizing of the Unlearned	187
Of Continence	243
On the Good of Marriage	274
Of Holy Virginity	308
On the Good of Widowhood	353
On Lying	382
To Consentius: Against Lying	426
Of the Work of Monks	470
On Care to be had for the Dead	517
On Patience	543
On the Creed: A Sermon to the Catechumens	563
On the Profit of Believing	577

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PREFACE

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THE present volume consists of seventeen short works of St. Augustine, all taken from the VIth volume of the Benedictine Edition, except the last, which was inserted from the VIIIth volume as connected in some degree with several of the others as important in itself. The first and last may be classed together as relating to the general principles of evidence in Religion, and the last but one with some of the earlier ones, as going over the Creed with a particular exposition. There is of course some repetition of matter in the several expositions of the Creed, but it was thought worth while to put them together, both in order to give a more complete view of his teaching, and in order to shew how much of it was based on the Creed, and how it was used by the Christians of that time. The Treatise on Catechizing the Unlearned is remarkable as a specimen of the times, besides its great value in shewing what was thought the most needful instruction, and giving hints for conveying it, for which purpose it should be compared with the Sermon to the Catechumens. That on Faith and Works is very clear on its own main subject, maintaining that the faith which saves is the *Faith of grace*, which implies Love. It also contains a remarkable discussion on the state of souls awaiting the Judgment, from which it appears that the doctrine of a Purgatory was then held by some, but doubted by St. Augustine. A similar doubt appears in his view of the interference of departed Saints in human affairs, which however he considers established as a fact in some cases, though the manner

of it is very doubtful, and not easily to be gathered from appearances, which he shews to be respect to living persons.

The Treatises on Continence, Marriage, Virginity, and Widowhood, together give a tolerably complete view of his teaching on an important subject, and one which has given occasion to many attacks upon the Fathers of the Church. Much of what has been said against them will appear at once on reading these to be mere misrepresentation, while on some points there may be fair room for difference of opinion. It is impossible to go over such ground without offending modern delicacy, but it is probably really safer to venture on it by the side of St. Augustine, than with many of those who would blame him.

The Treatise on Lying is, as he says, difficult, from its having the arguments on both sides drawn out, and his own judgment reserved for the end. It is necessary to remark this, as single extracts on one side might give a false impression of his doctrine, which is as strict as possible against lying in Christians, especially in any matter of Faith and Religion. He makes allowance for heathens, and persons in any less perfect state, when their intention is good. The argument is clearer in the work 'against Lying,' where the objections are not put as if in his own mouth, and where a dangerous position taken up by others had roused him to speak somewhat vehemently.

The treatise 'on the Work of Monks' refers to the question, whether manual labour is to be expected of them. The argument turns chiefly on certain passages of Scripture, which, without mentioning the exact case, contain principles applicable to it. He decides in the affirmative. It is interesting as shewing something of the state of Monachism at that early period in Africa. Cassian and Palladius must however be consulted by any one who wishes to know the state of it in Egypt, where it had long flourished.

The principles stated in the Treatise 'on the Profit of Believing,' with respect to the authority of the Church, compared with the constant appeal to the Holy Scriptures in the rest of the works, and the manner in which those appeals are made, shew how perfectly consistent he considered the free use of Holy Scripture to be with the deference due to Ecclesiastical Tradition, and how many interesting points even his enquiring mind was content to leave uncertain.

The publication has been delayed some little time by the Index, which would have kept it back longer but for the kind assistance of two friends. The first ten treatises, and the last, are translated by the Rev. C. L. Cornish, M.A. of Exeter College, Oxford; and the remaining six by the Rev. H. Browne, M.A. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, late Principal of the Diocesan College, Chichester.

Several new volumes are in the press, to be brought out in the coming year; the third and last of St. Gregory's Morals on Job, the first of St. Augustine on the Psalms, St. Chrysostom on the second Epistle to the Corinthians. The third and last volume of St. Chrysostom on St. Matthew, and the Acta Martyrum from the Collection of Ruinart, are in immediate preparation for the press.

C. M.

CONTENTS.

	Page
Concerning Faith of things not seen	1
Of Faith, and of the Creed	15
Of Faith and Works	37
Enchiridion to Laurentius on Faith, Hope, and Charity	85
On the Christian Conflict	159
Of the Catechizing of the Unlearned	187
Of Continence	243
On the Good of Marriage	274
Of Holy Virginity	308
On the Good of Widowhood	353
On Lying	382
To Consentius: Against Lying	426
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On Patience	543
On the Creed: A Sermon to the Catechumens	563
On the Profit of Believing	577

S. AUGUSTINE

CONCERNING

FAITH OF THINGS NOT SEEN.

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This tract was thought spurious by some, but is known to be St. Augustine's by his mention of it in Ep. cxxxi. *ad Darium Comitem.* It seems to have been written after 399, from what is said about Idols, §. 10; for in that year Honorius enacted laws against them. *From Ben.* The reader of Butler's Analogy will recognise many similar turns of thought.

DE FIDE RERUM QUÆ NON VIDENTUR

i.

1. THERE are who think that the Christian religion is what we should smile at, rather than hold fast, for this reason, that, in it, not what may be seen, is shewn, but men are commanded faith of things which are not seen. We therefore, that we may refute these, who seem to themselves through prudence to be unwilling to believe what they cannot see, although we are not able to shew unto human sight those divine things which we believe, yet do shew unto human minds that even those things which are not seen are to be believed. And first they are to be admonished, (whom folly hath so made subject to their carnal eyes, as that, whatsoever they see not through them, they think not that they are to believe,) how many things they not only believe but also know, which cannot be seen by such eyes. Which things being without number in our mind itself, (the nature of which mind is incapable of being seen,) not to mention others, the very faith whereby we believe, or the thought whereby we know that we either believe any thing, or believe not, being as it is altogether alien from the sight of those eyes; what so naked, so clear, what so certain is there to the inner eyes of our minds? How then are we not to believe what we see not with the eyes of the body, whereas, either that we believe, or that we believe not, in a case where we cannot apply the eyes of the body, we without any doubt see?

DEFIDERRUM

2. But, say they, those things which are in the mind, in that we can by the mind itself discern them, we have no need to know through the eyes of the body; but those things, which you say unto us that we should believe, you neither point to without, that through the eyes of the body we may know them; nor are they within, in our own mind, that by exercising thought we may see them. And these things they so say, as though any one would be bidden to believe, if that, which is believed, he could already see set before him. Therefore certainly ought we to believe certain temporal things also, which we see not, that we may merit[1] to see eternal things also, which we believe. But, whosoever thou art who wilt not believe save what thou seest, lo, bodies that are present thou seest with the eyes of the body, wills and thoughts of thine own that are present, because they are in thine own mind, thou seest by the mind itself; tell me, I pray thee, thy friend's will towards thee by what eyes seest thou? For no will can be seen by the eyes of the body. What? see you in your own mind this also which is going on in the mind of another? But if you see it not, how do you repay in turn the good will of your friend, if what you cannot see, you believe not? Will you haply say that you see the will of another through his works? Therefore you will see acts, and hear words, but, concerning your friend's will, that which cannot be seen and heard you will believe. For that will is not colour or figure, so as to be thrown upon the eyes; or sound or strain, so as to glide into the ears; nor indeed is it your own, so as to be perceived by the motion[2] of your own heart. It remains therefore that, being neither seen, nor heard, nor beheld within thyself, it be believed, that thy life be not left deserted without any friendship, or affection bestowed upon thee be not repaid by thee in return. Where then is that which thou saidest, that thou oughtest not to believe, save what thou sawest either outwardly in the body, or inwardly in the heart? Lo, out of thine own heart, thou believest an heart not thine own; and lendest thy faith, where thou dost not direct the glance of thy body or of thy mind. Thy friend's face thou discernest by thy own body, thy own faith thou discernest by thine own mind; but thy friend's faith is not loved by thee, unless there

[1] mereamur

[2] affectione

be in thee in return that faith, whereby thou mayest believe that which in him thou seest not. Although a man may also deceive by feigning good will, and hiding malice: or, if he have no thought to do harm, yet by expecting some benefit from thee, feigns, because he has not, love. QUÆ NON VIDENTUR

3. But you say, that you therefore believe your friend, whose heart you cannot see, because you have proved him in your trials, and have come to know of what manner of spirit he was towards you in your dangers, wherein he deserted you not. Seemeth it therefore to you that we must wish for our own affliction, that our friends' love towards us may be proved? And shall no man be happy in most sure friends, unless he shall be unhappy through adversity? so that, forsooth, he enjoy not the tried love of the other, unless he be racked by pain and fear of his own? And how in the having of true friends can that happiness be wished for, and not rather feared, which nothing save unhappiness can put to the proof? And yet it is true that a friend may be had also in prosperity, but proved more surely in adversity. But assuredly in order to prove him, neither would you commit yourself to dangers of your own, unless you believed; and thus, when you commit yourself in order to prove, you believe before you prove. For surely, if we ought not to believe things not seen[a], since indeed we believe the hearts of our friends, and that, not yet surely proved; and, after we shall have proved them good by our own ills, even then we believe rather than see their good will towards us: except that so great is faith, that, not unsuitably, we judge that we see, with certain eyes of it, that which we believe, whereas we ought therefore to believe, because we cannot see. ii.

4. If this faith be taken away from human affairs, who but must observe how great disorder in them, and how fearful confusion must follow? For who will be loved by any with mutual affection, (being that the loving[1] itself is invisible,) if what I see not, I ought not to believe? There-

[1] dilectio

[a] The text seems corrupt. A Ms. in Brasenose Library reads, 'si non vis rebus credere.' If we read 'Si non vis rebus non visis credere,' the sense will be, 'For certainly if you will not have us believe things unseen, we ought not (to believe this,) since &c.'

DE FIDE RERUM

fore will the whole of friendship perish, in that it consists not save of mutual love. For what of it will it be able to receive from any, if nothing of it shall be believed to be shewn? Further, friendship perishing, there will be preserved in the mind the bonds neither of marriages, nor of kindreds and relations; because in these also there is assuredly a friendly union of sentiment. Spouse therefore will not be able to love spouse in turn, inasmuch as each believes not the other's love, because the love itself cannot be seen. Nor will they long to have sons, who they believe not will make them a return. And if these be born and grow up, much less will the parents themselves love their own children, whose love towards themselves in those children's hearts they will not see, it being invisible; if it be not praiseworthy faith, but blameable rashness, to believe those things which are not seen. Why should I now speak of the other connections, of brothers, sisters, sons-in-law, and fathers-in-law, and of them who are joined together by any kindred or affinity, if love is uncertain, and the will suspected, that of parents by sons, and that of sons by parents, whilst due benevolence is not rendered; because neither is it thought to be due, that which is not seen in another not being thought to exist. Further, if this caution be not a mark of ability[1], but be hateful, wherein we believe not that we are loved, because we see not the love of them who love, and repay not them, unto whom we think not that we owe a return; to that degree are human affairs thrown into disorder, if what we see not we believe not, as to be altogether and utterly overthrown, if we believe no wills of men, which assuredly we cannot see. I omit to mention in how many things they, who find fault with us because we believe what we see not, believe report or history; or concerning places where they have not themselves been; and say not, we believe not, because we have not seen. Since if they say this, they are obliged to confess that their own parents are not surely known to them: because on this point also they have believed the accounts of others telling of it, who yet are unable to shew it, because it is a thing already past; retaining themselves no sense of that time, and yet yielding assent without any doubting to others speaking of that time:

[1] ingeniosa

and unless this be done, there must of necessity be incurred a faithless impiety towards parents, whilst we are, as it were, shewing a rashness of belief in those things which we cannot see. Since therefore, if we believe not those things which we cannot see, human society itself, through concord perishing, will not stand; how much more is faith to be applied to divine things, although they be not seen; failing the application of which, it is not the friendship of some men or other, but the very chiefest bond of piety[1] that is violated, so as for the chiefest misery to follow. QUÆ NON VIDENTUR iii. [1] 'religio,' (toward parents)

5. But you will say, the good will of a friend towards me, although I cannot see it, yet can I trace it out by many proofs; but you, what things you will us to believe not being seen, you have no proofs whereby to shew them. In the mean time it is no slight thing, that you confess that by reason of the clearness of certain proofs, some things, even such as are not seen, ought to be believed: for even thus it is agreed, that not all things which are not seen, are not to be believed; and that saying, 'that we ought not to believe things which we see not,' falls to the ground, cast away, and refuted. But they are much deceived, who think that we believe in Christ without any proofs concerning Christ. For what are there clearer proofs than those things, which we now see to have been foretold and fulfilled? Wherefore do ye, who think that there are no proofs why ye ought to believe concerning Christ those things which ye have not seen, give heed to what things ye see. The Church herself addresses you out of the mouth of a mother's love: 'I, whom ye view with wonder throughout the whole world, bearing fruit and increasing, was not once such as ye now behold me. But, *In thy Seed shall all nations be blessed.* When God blessed Abraham, He gave the promise of me; for throughout all nations in the blessing of Christ am I shed abroad. That Christ is the Seed of Abraham, the order of successive generations bears witness. Shortly to sum up which, Abraham begat Isaac, Isaac begat Jacob, Jacob begat twelve sons, of whom sprung the people Israel. For Jacob himself was called Israel. Among these twelve sons he begat Judah, whence the Jews have their name, of whom was born the Virgin Mary, who bore Christ. And, lo, Gen. 22, 18.

DE FIDE RERUM

in Christ, that is, in the seed of Abraham, that all the nations are blessed, ye see and are amazed: and do ye still fear to believe in Him, in Whom ye ought rather to have feared not to believe? What? doubt ye, or refuse ye to believe, the travail of a Virgin, whereas ye ought rather to believe that it was fitting that so God should be born Man. For this also receive ye to have been foretold by the Prophet; *Behold, a Virgin shall conceive in the womb, and shall bring forth a Son, and they shall call His Name Emmanuel, which is, being interpreted, God with us.* Ye will not therefore doubt of a Virgin bringing forth, if ye be willing to believe of a God being born; leaving not the governance of the world, and coming unto men in the flesh; unto His Mother bringing fruitfulness, not taking away maidenhood. For thus behoved it that He should be born as Man, albeit[1] He was ever[2] God, by which birth He might become a God unto us. Hence again the Prophet says concerning Him, *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre of right, the sceptre of Thy Kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows.* This anointing is spiritual, wherewith God anointed God, the Father, that is, the Son: whence called from the *Chrism*, that is, from the anointing, we know Him as Christ. I am the Church, concerning whom it is said unto Him in the same Psalm, and what was future foretold as already done; *There stood at Thy right hand the Queen, in a vesture of gold, in raiment of divers colours;* that is, in the mystery of wisdom, 'adorned with divers tongues.' There it said unto me, *Hearken, O daughter, and see, and incline thine ear, and forget thy own people and thy father's house: for the King hath desired thy beauty: seeing that He is the Lord thy God: and the daughters of Tyre shall worship Him with gifts, thy face shall all the rich of the people entreat. All the glory of that King's daughter is within, in fringes of gold, with raiment of divers colours. There shall be brought unto the King the maidens after her; her companions shall be brought unto Thee. They shall be brought with joy and gladness, they shall be brought into the Temple of the King. Instead of thy fathers, there are*

Is. 7, 14. Matt. 1, 23.

[1] Mss. 'si' 'if'

[2] 'semper.'

Ps. 45, 6—17.

born unto thee sons, thou shalt set them as princes over the whole earth. They shall be mindful of thy name, even from generation to generation. Therefore shall the people confess unto thee for ever, and for ever and ever.

QUÆ NON VIDENTUR

6. If this Queen ye see not, now rich also with royal progeny. If she see not that fulfilled which she heard to have been promised, she, unto whom it was said, *Hear, O daughter, and see.* If she hath not left the ancient rites of the world, she, unto whom it was said, *Forget thy own people and thy Father's house.* If she confesses not every where Christ the Lord, she, unto whom it was said, *The King hath desired thy beauty, for He is the Lord thy God.* If she sees not the cities of the nations pour forth prayers and offer gifts unto Christ, concerning Whom it was said unto her, *There shall worship Him the daughters of Tyre with gifts.* If the pride also of the rich is not laid aside, and they do not entreat help of the Church, unto whom it was said, *Thy face shall all the rich of the people entreat.* If He acknowledges not the King's daughter, unto Whom she was bidden to say, *Our Father, Who art in Heaven;* and in her saints in the inner man she is not renewed from day to day, concerning whom it was said, *All the glory of that King's daughter is within:* although she strike upon the eyes of them also that are without with the blaze[c] of the fame of her preachers, in diversity of tongues, as *in fringes of gold, and raiment of divers colours.* If there be not, now that His fame is spread abroad in every place by His good odour, virgins also brought unto Christ to be consecrated, of Whom it is said, and to Whom it is said, *There shall be brought unto the King the virgins after her, her companions shall be brought unto Thee.* And that they might not seem to be brought like captives, into some, as it were, prison, he says, *They shall be brought in joy and gladness, they shall be brought into the King's temple.* If she brings not forth sons, that of them she may have, as it were, fathers, whom she may appoint unto herself every where as rulers, she, unto whom it is said, *Instead of thy fathers there are born unto thee sons, thou shalt set them as princes over the whole earth:* unto whose prayers their

Matt. 6, 9.
2 Cor. 4, 16.
Song of Sol. 1, 3.

[c] Ben. conj. 'fulgente,' for 'fulgentes.'

DE FIDE RERUM IV.

mother both preferred and made subject, commends herself, *They shall be mindful of thy name, even from generation to generation.* If, by reason of the preaching of those same fathers, wherein they have without ceasing made mention of her name, there are not so great multitudes in her gathered together, and without end in their own tongues unto her confess the praise of grace, unto whom it is said, *Therefore shall the people confess unto thee for ever, and for ever and ever.* If these things are not so shewn to be clear, as that the eyes of enemies find not in what direction to turn aside, where the same clearness strikes them not, so as by it to be obliged to confess what is evident: you perhaps assert with reason, that no proofs are shewn to you, by seeing which you may believe those things also which you see not. But if those things, which you see, both have been foretold long before, and are so clearly fulfilled; if the truth itself makes itself clear to you, by effects[d] going before and following after, O remnant of unbelief, that ye may believe the things which you see not, blush at those things which ye see.

7. 'Give heed unto me, the Church says unto you; give heed unto me, whom ye see, although to see ye be unwilling. For the faithful, who were in those times in the land of Judæa, were present at, and learnt as present, Christ's wonderful birth of a virgin, and His passion, resurrection, ascension; all His divine words and deeds. These things ye have not seen, and therefore ye refuse to believe. Therefore behold these things, fix your eyes on these things, these things which ye see reflect on, which are not told you as things past, nor foretold you as things future, but are shewn you as things present. What? seemeth it to you a vain or a light thing, and think you it to be none, or a little, divine miracle, that in the name of One Crucified the whole human race runs? Ye saw not what was foretold and fulfilled concerning the human birth of Christ, *Behold, a Virgin shall conceive in the womb, and shall bear a Son*; but you see the Word of God which was foretold and fulfilled unto Abraham, *In thy seed shall all nations be blessed.* Ye

Is. 7, 14.

Gen. 22, 18.

[d] The Prophecy might be called an 'effect' as well as its fulfilment; or read 'verbis' for 'vobis,' 'clear by words going before and effects following after.' For further illustration see St. Aug. on Ps. 45.

saw not what was foretold concerning the wonderful works of Christ, *Come ye, and see the works of the Lord, what wonders He hath set upon the earth:* but ye see that which was foretold, *The Lord said unto Me, My Son art Thou, I have this day begotten Thee; demand of Me and I will give Thee nations as Thy inheritance, and as Thy possession the bounds of the earth.* Ye saw not that which was foretold and fulfilled concerning the Passion of Christ, *They pierced My hands and My feet, they numbered all My bones; but they themselves regarded and beheld Me; they divided among them My garments, and upon My vesture they cast the lot;* but ye see that which was in the same Psalm foretold, and now is clearly fulfilled; *All the ends of the earth shall remember and be turned unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship in His sight; for the kingdom is the Lord's, and He shall rule over the nations.* Ye saw not what was foretold and fulfilled concerning the Resurrection of Christ, the Psalm speaking, in His Person, first concerning His betrayer and persecutors: *They went forth out of doors, and spake together: against Me whispered all My enemies, against Me thought they evil for Me; they set in order an unrighteous word against Me.* Where, to shew that they availed nothing by slaying Him Who was about to rise again, He adds and says; *What? will not He, that sleeps, add this, that He rise again?* And a little after, when He had foretold, by means of the same prophecy, concerning His betrayer himself, that which is written in the Gospel also, *He that did eat of My bread, enlarged his heel upon Me,* that is, trampled Me under foot: He straightway added, *But do Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon Me, and raise Thou Me up again, and I shall repay them.* This was fulfilled, Christ slept and awoke, that is, rose again: Who through the same prophecy in another Psalm says, *I slept and took my rest; and I rose again, for the Lord will uphold Me.* But this ye saw not, but ye see His Church, concerning whom it is written in like manner, and fulfilled, *O Lord My God, the nations shall come unto Thee from the extremity of the earth and shall say, Truly our fathers worshipped lying images, and there is not in them any profit.* This certainly, whether ye will or no, ye behold; even although

QUÆ NON VIDENTUR

Ps. 46, 8. Ps. 2, 7. 8. Heb. 1, 5; 5, 5. Acts 13, 33. Ps. 22, 16. 17. 18. John 19, 23. 24. Ps. 22, 27. 28. Ps. 41, 6—8. Ps. 41, 9. 10. Ps. 4, 8. Jer. 16, 19.

DE FIDE RERUM

ye yet believe, that there either is, or was, in those idols some profit; yet certainly unnumbered peoples of the nations, after having left, or cast away, or broken in pieces such like vanities, ye have heard say, *Truly our fathers worshipped lying images, and there is not in them any profit; shall a man make gods, and, lo, they are no gods?* Nor think that it was foretold that the nations should come unto some one place of God, in that it was said, *Unto Thee shall the nations come from the extremity of the earth.* Understand, if you can, that unto the God of the Christians, Who is the Supreme and True God, the peoples of the nations come, not by walking, but by believing. For the same thing was by another Prophet thus foretold, *The Lord*, saith he, *shall prevail against them, and shall utterly destroy all the gods of the nations of the earth: and all the isles of the nations shall worship Him, each man from his place.* Whereas the one says, *Unto Thee all nations shall come;* this the other says, 'They shall worship Him, each man from his place.' Therefore they shall come unto Him, not departing from their own place, because believing in Him they shall find Him in their hearts. Ye saw not what was foretold and fulfilled concerning the ascension of Christ; *Be Thou exalted above the Heavens, O God;* but ye see what follows immediately after, *And above all the earth Thy Glory.* Those things concerning Christ already done and past, all of them ye have not seen; but these things present in His Church ye deny not that ye see. Both things we point out to you as foretold; but the fulfilment of both we are therefore unable to point out for you to see, because we cannot bring back into sight things past.

Jer. 16, 19. 20.

Zeph. 2, 11.

Ps. 108, 5.

v. 8. But as the wills of friends, which are not seen, are believed through tokens which are seen; thus the Church, which is now seen, is, of all things which are not seen, but which are shewn forth in those writings wherein itself also is foretold, an index of the past, and a herald of the future. Because both things past, which cannot now be seen, and things present which cannot be seen all of them, at the time at which they were foretold, no one of these could then be seen. Therefore, since they have begun to come to pass as they were foretold, from those things which

have come to pass unto those which are coming to pass, those things which were foretold concerning Christ and the Church have rŭn on in an ordered series: unto which series these pertain concerning the day of Judgment, concerning the resurrection of the dead, concerning the eternal damnation of the ungodly with the devil, and concerning the eternal recompense of the godly with Christ, things which, foretold in like manner, are yet to come. Why therefore should we not believe the first and the last things which we see not, when we have, as witnesses of both, the things between, which we see, and in the books of the Prophets either hear or read both the first things, and the things between, and the last things, foretold before they came to pass? Unless haply unbelieving men judge those things to have been written by Christians, in order that those things which they already believed might have greater weight of authority, if they should be thought to have been promised before they came. QUÆ NON VIDENTUR

9. If they suspect this, let them examine carefully the copies[1] of our enemies the Jews. There let them read those things of which we have made mention, foretold concerning Christ in Whom we believe, and the Church whom we discern from the toilsome beginning of faith even unto the eternal blessedness of the kingdom. But, whilst they read, let them not wonder that they, whose are the books, understand not by reason of the darkness of enmity. For that they would not understand was foretold beforehand by the same Prophets; which it behoved should be fulfilled in like manner as the rest, and that by the secret and just judgment of God a due punishment should be rendered to their deserts. He indeed, Whom they crucified, and unto Whom they gave gall and vinegar, although when hanging upon the Tree, by reason of those whom He had been about to lead forth from darkness into light, He said unto the Father, *Forgive them, for they know not what they do;* yet by reason of those whom through more hidden causes He had been about to desert, by the Prophet so long before foretold, *They gave Me gall for My meat, and in My thirst they gave Me vinegar to drink; let their table become a snare before them, and a recompense, and a stumbling-block: let their eyes be* vi.

[1] codices

Luke 23, 34.

Ps. 69, 21—23.

DE FIDE RERUM

darkened that they see not, and ever bow Thou down their back. Thus, having with them the clearest testimonies of our cause, they walk round about with eyes darkened, that by their means those testimonies may be proved, wherein they themselves are disapproved. Therefore was it brought to pass, that they should not be so blotted out, as that this same sect should altogether exist not: but it was scattered abroad upon the earth, in order that, carrying with it the prophecies of the grace conferred upon us, more surely to convince unbelievers, it might every where profit us. And this very thing which I assert, receive ye after what manner it was prophesied of: *Slay them not*, saith He, *lest at any time they forget Thy law, but scatter them abroad in Thy might.* Therefore they were not slain, in that they forgot not those things which were read and heard among them. For if they were altogether to forget, albeit they understand not, the Holy Scriptures, they would be slain in the Jewish ritual itself; because, when the Jews should know nothing of the Law and of the Prophets, they would be unable to profit us. Therefore they were not slain, but scattered abroad; in order that, although they should not have in faith, whence they might be saved; yet they should retain in their memory, whence we might be helped; in their books our supporters, in their hearts our enemies, in their copies our witnesses.

Ps. 59, 11.

vii. 10. Although, even if there went before no testimonies concerning Christ and the Church, whom ought it not to move unto belief, that the Divine brightness hath on a sudden shone on the human race, when we see, (the false gods now abandoned, and their images every where broken in pieces, their temples overthrown or changed into other uses, and so many vain rites plucked out by the roots from the most inveterate usage of men,) the One True God invoked by all? And that this hath been brought to pass by One Man, by men mocked, seized, bound, scourged, smitten with the palms of the hand, reviled, crucified, slain: His disciples, (whom He chose common men [1], and unlearned, and fishermen, and publicans, that by their means His teaching might be set forth,) proclaiming His Resurrection, His Ascension, which they asserted that they had seen, and being filled with the Holy Ghost, sounded forth this Gospel, in all tongues which

[1] idiotas

they had not learned. And of them who heard them, part believed, part, believing not, fiercely withstood them who preached. Thus while they were faithful even unto death for the truth, strove not by returning evil, but by enduring, overcame not by killing, but by dying; thus was the world changed unto this religion, thus unto this Gospel were the hearts of mortals turned, of men and women, of small and great, of learned and unlearned, of wise and foolish, of mighty and weak, of noble and ignoble, of high and low, and throughout all nations the Church shed abroad so increased, that even against the Catholic faith itself there arises not any perverse sect, any kind of error, which is found so to oppose itself to Christian truth, as that it affect not and go not about to glory in the name of Christ: which very error would not be suffered to spring up throughout the earth, were it not that the very gainsaying exercised an wholesome discipline. How[1] would The Crucified have availed so greatly, had He not been God that took upon Him Man, even if He had through the Prophet foretold no such things to come? But when now this so great mystery of godliness hath had its prophets and heralds going before, by whose divine voices it was afore proclaimed; and when it hath come in such manner as it was afore proclaimed, who is there so mad as to assert that the Apostles lied concerning Christ, of Whom they preached that He was come in such manner as the Prophets foretold afore that He should come, which Prophets were not silent as to true things to come concerning the Apostles themselves? For concerning these they had said, *There is neither speech nor language, whereof their voices are not heard; their sound went out into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.* And this at any rate we see fulfilled in the world, although we have not yet seen Christ in the flesh. Who therefore, unless blinded by amazing madness, or hard and steeled by amazing obstinacy, would be unwilling to put faith in the sacred Scriptures, which have foretold the faith of the whole world?

QUÆ NON VIDENTUR

[1] lit. 'when.'

Ps. 19, 3. 4.

11. But you, beloved, who possess this faith, or who have begun now newly to have it, let it be nourished and increase in you. For as things temporal have come, so long before viii.

DE FIDE RERUM QUÆ NON VIDENTUR

foretold, so will things eternal also come, which are promised. Nor let them deceive you, either the vain heathen, or the false Jews, or the deceitful heretics, or also within the Catholic (Church) itself evil Christians, enemies by so much the more hurtful, as they are the more within us. For, lest on this subject also the weak should be troubled, divine prophecy hath not been silent, where in the Song of Songs the Bridegroom speaking unto the Bride, that is, Christ the Lord unto the Church, saith, *As a lily in the midst of thorns, so is my best Beloved*[1] *in the midst of the daughters.* He said not, in the midst of them that are without; but, *in the midst of daughters. Whoso hath ears to hear, let him hear:* and whilst the net which is cast into the sea, and gathers together all kinds of fishes, as saith the holy Gospel, is being drawn unto the shore, that is, unto the end of the world, let him separate himself from the evil fishes, in heart, not in body; by changing evil habits, not by breaking sacred nets; lest they who now seem being approved to be mingled with the reprobate, find, not life, but punishment everlasting[e], when they shall begin on the shore to be separated.

Song of Sol. 2, 2.

[1] *proxima.*

Mat. 13, 9.

ib. 47-50.

[e] Some Mss. 'that they &c. may find not punishment, but life.'

S. AUGUSTINE

OF

FAITH, AND OF THE CREED.

S. Aug. Retract. i. 17. About the same time in the presence and by order of the Bishops, who were holding a full Council of Africa at Hippo-Regius, I discoursed, as a Presbyter, of Faith and the Creed. Which discourse, at the very earnest request of some particular friends, I have formed into a book; in which the truths themselves are treated of, without adopting the form of words which is given to the Competentes to learn by heart. In this book, in treating of the Resurrection of the flesh, I say, "The body will rise again according to Christian Faith, "which cannot deceive. He who thinks this incredible attends to what "the flesh is now, but does not consider what it will then be; because in that "time of our angelical change it will be no more flesh and blood, but only "body;" and the rest of what I there say of the change of terrestrial bodies into celestial bodies, because the Apostle said in speaking thereof, *Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* But whoso takes this so as to think that the earthly body, such as we have now, is in resurrection so changed into a heavenly body, as that there will be no limbs nor substance of flesh, must doubtless be set right by reminding him of the Lord's Body, who appeared after Resurrection in the same members, not only to be seen by the eyes, but also to be handled with the hands, and even proved Himself to have flesh by discourse, saying, *Handle Me, and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see Me have.* Whence it is plain that the Apostle did not deny that there will be the substance of flesh in the Kingdom of God; but either called men who were after the flesh 'flesh and blood,' or the corruption of the flesh itself, which then surely will be no more. For when he had said, *Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God*, it is right to understand him as having added for explanation what follows directly, *Neither shall corruption inherit incorruption.* Of which point, on which it is so difficult to convince unbelievers, any one who will read my last book 'On the City of God' will see that I have treated with all the pains I could bestow.

A.D.393.

Cap. 10. See S. Greg. Mor. xiv. 72.

1 Cor. 15, 50.

Luke 24, 39.

Cap. 5. and 21.

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

i. SEEING that it hath been written and confirmed by most strong authority of Apostolic teaching, *That the just liveth of faith*; and that this faith requires of us the duty both of heart and tongue: for the Apostle says, *With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation*: it behoveth that we be mindful both of righteousness and of salvation. Since of a truth being about to reign hereafter in everlasting righteousness, we cannot be saved from this present evil world, unless also we ourselves, striving for the salvation of our neighbours, make profession likewise, with the mouth, of the faith which we bear in the heart: and that this faith be not in any part violated in ourselves by the deceitful craftiness of heretics, we must with pious and cautious vigilance provide. However the Catholic Faith in the Creed is known to the faithful, and committed to memory, with as much brevity of speech as the matter allowed, in order that, to those who have been born again in Christ, commencing and still suckling, not yet strengthened by most diligent and spiritual handling and knowledge of the divine Scriptures, there might be put together in few words for their belief, what was afterwards in many words to be expounded to them as they should advance, and rise unto divine doctrine by the assured firmness of humility and charity. Wherefore beneath these very few words put together in the Creed, the most part of heretics have endeavoured to hide their poisons; whom the Divine mercy hath resisted and yet resists by means of spiritual men. Who in respect of the Catholic Faith have obtained, not only to receive and believe it in these words, but further, by the enlightening of the Lord, to understand and know it. For it is written, *Unless ye shall believe, ye shall not understand.* But the handling of the Faith avails to the fortifying of the Creed: not that itself should be given in place of the Creed, to those who are now obtaining the grace of God, to be committed to memory and repeated, but that those things which are contained in the Creed it may guard against the lyings in wait of heretics by Catholic authority, and by a more fortified defence.

Hab. 2, 4. Rom. 1, 17. Gal. 3, 11. Heb. 10, 38. Rom. 10, 10. Is. 7, 9. LXX.

ii. 2. For certain have endeavoured to persuade that GOD THE

FATHER is not ALMIGHTY; not that they have dared to assert this, but in their own traditions are convicted of thus holding and believing. For wherein they assert that there is a nature [a] which God Almighty created not, out of which nature however He framed this world, which they grant hath been beautifully set in order; they so deny God to be Almighty, as not to believe that He could have created the world, unless for the framing of it He should make use of another nature, which was already in existence, and which Himself had not created; forsooth from their carnal use of seeing smiths, and house-builders, and workmen of all kinds, who, unless they be aided by materials already prepared, are unable to arrive at the effect of their own art. For in this way they understand the Framer of the world not to be Almighty, if He were unable to frame the world, unless these should aid Him, after the manner of materials, some nature not framed by Him. Or if they allow that God the Framer of the world is Almighty, they must of necessity confess that He made of nothing those things which He made. For there cannot exist any thing, whereof He were not Creator, being Almighty. Because although something He made out of something, as man out of clay, yet assuredly He made not out of that which Himself had not made; for the earth, whence the clay was, He had made out of nothing. And if the very heaven and earth, that is, the world and all things which are in it, He had made out of some material, as it is written, *Thou Who hast made the world of matter unseen*, or also, *without form*, as certain copies have; in no way is it to be believed that that very matter out of which the world was made, although *without form*, although *unseen*, in whatsoever manner it existed, could have existed of itself, as if coeternal and coeval with God: but its manner, whatever it was, which it had, so as, in whatsoever manner, to exist, and to be capable of receiving the forms of things distinct, it had not, save from the Almighty God, by Whose goodness exists not only whatsoever thing is formed, but also whatsoever is formable. For between the formed and the formable there is this difference, that the formed hath already received form,

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

Wisd. 11, 17.

[a] Of the Manichean doctrine, see note at the end of the Translation of St. Augustine's Confessions.

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

but the formable is capable of receiving it. But He Who on things bestows form, Himself also bestows the power of receiving form; seeing that of Him and in Him is of all things the most kindly kind[1], unchangeable: and therefore Himself is One, Who to each thing assigns, not only that it be beautiful, but also that it be capable of beauty. Wherefore most rightly do we believe that God hath made all things out of nothing: because, even although the world have been made of some material, that very same material hath been made out of nothing; so that by the most ordered gift of God, there should take place first a capacity of receiving forms, and afterward all things, whatsoever have been formed, should be formed. But this we have said, that no one may imagine that the sentences of the divine Scriptures are opposed one to another, seeing that it is written, both that God created all things out of nothing, and that the world was made out of matter without form.

[1] speciosissima species.

3. Believing therefore in God the Father Almighty, we ought to think that there is no creature which was not created by the Almighty. And, because He created all things by the Word, which Word is called also the Truth, and the Power, and the Wisdom of God, and under many other names is He suggested, Who is commended to our faith, Jesus Christ, the Lord our Redeemer, that is, and Ruler, the Son of God: for that Word, by Whom all things were made, could none other beget, save He, Who by Him made all things: we believe also IN JESUS CHRIST THE SON OF GOD, THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN, that is, THE-ONLY SON OF THE FATHER, OUR LORD. Of which Word, notwithstanding, we ought to conceive not as of our own words, which being put forth by the voice and mouth, strike upon the air, and pass away, nor exist any longer than they sound. For that Word abideth unchangeably: for of This very Word it was said, when it was said of Wisdom, *In Herself abiding She maketh all things new.* But therefore was He called the Word of the Father, because by Him the Father is made known. As therefore by our words this is our purpose, when we speak the truth, that our own mind may become known to him who hears us, and that whatsoever we bear secret in our heart, may by means of signs of this sort be brought forth

John 14, 6.

1 Cor. 1, 24.

iii.

Wisd. 7, 27.

for another to understand: so That Wisdom Which God the Father begat, seeing that by It there is made known unto worthy minds the most hidden Father, is most suitably called His Word. DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

4. But there is a very great interval between our mind and our words, by which we endeavour to make known this our mind. That is, we do not beget audible[1] words, but make them, and body is the subject-matter for making them. But there is a very great difference between mind and body. But God when He begat the Word, begat That which Himself is: nor yet out of nothing, nor out of any matter already made and created: but out of Himself That which Himself Is. For this we also endeavour, in speaking, if we diligently consider the aim of our will; not when we lie, but when we speak the truth. For what other thing do we attempt, than to carry our very mind, if practicable, into the mind of the hearer, that he may know and see it thoroughly; that we may indeed ourselves remain within ourselves, and not depart from ourselves, and yet may put forth such a sign ás that there be produced in the other a knowledge of us; that so, as far as the power is granted, there be put forth by the mind as it were another mind whereby to declare itself? This we do endeavouring both by words[b], and by the very sound of the voice, by the countenance, and by the gesture of the body, that is to say, by so many contrivances desiring to shew that which is within: because we are unable to put forth some such thing, and therefore the mind of him who speaks cannot become entirely known; whence also there is a place open for lies. But God the Father, Who both willed and was able to declare Himself most truly to minds about to know Him, This begat in order to declare Himself, Which Himself Is Who begat; Who also is called His *Power* and *Wisdom*, because by Him He wrought and set in order all things; of Whom therefore it is said, *It reacheth from one end even unto the other end in Its strength, and setteth all things in order in Its sweetness.* Wisd. 8, 1.

[1] sonantia.

5. Wherefore the Only-begotten Son of God was neither made by the Father; because, as the Evangelist says, *All things* iv. John 1, 3.

[b] al. making effort with the offspring of a word.

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

were made by Him; nor begotten in time[1], seeing that God being ever-eternally wise, hath with Himself His ever-eternal Wisdom; nor unequal to the Father, that is, in any thing less; because also the Apostle says, *Who, being set in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God.* Wherefore by this Catholic Faith both they are excluded who say, that the Same Who is the Father is the Son: because both this Word could not be with God, save only with God the Father, and He Who is alone is equal to none. They also are excluded who say that the Son is a creature, although not such as are the rest of creatures. For how great soever they may say that a creature is, if it is a creature, it hath been created and made. For *condere* (to build) is the same as *creare* (to create), although in the usage of the Latin tongue *creare* is sometimes said, where the proper word is *gignere* (to beget); but the Greeks make a distinction. For we call *creatura* what they call κτίσμα or κτίσις; and when we wish to speak without any ambiguity, we say not, *creare*, but *condere* (to build). If therefore the Son be a creature, how great soever it be, it hath been made. But we believe in Him, by Whom all things were made, not in Him by Whom all *other* things were made: for neither in this place can we understand, *all*, in any other sense, than, whatsoever things have been made.

[1] ex tempore.

Phil. 2, 6.

[2] St. Ath. agt. Ar. D. ii, 16.

But since *the Word was made Flesh and dwelt among us*, the same Wisdom which was begotten of God, deigned also to be created among men[3]. And to this applies the saying, *The Lord created*[4] *me in the beginning of His ways.* For the beginning of His ways is the Head of the Church, which is Christ clothed in human nature, by Whom should be given unto us an example of life, that is, a certain way whereby we might attain unto God. For, save by humility, we were unable to return, who fell by pride, as was said unto our first creation, *Taste, and ye shall be as Gods.* An example therefore of this humility, that is, of the way whereby it was necessary that we should return, our Restorer Himself hath deigned to shew us in Himself, *Who thought it not robbery to be equal with God, yet emptied Himself, receiving the form of a servant;* that He might be created a Man in the beginning of His ways, the Word by Whom

John 1, 14.

[3] al. 'amongst all things.'

Prov. 8, 22.

[4] '*possessed me*,' *Eng. T.*

Gen. 3, 5.

Phil. 2, 6. 7.

all things were created. Wherefore according to this, that He is the Only-begotten, He hath not brethren; according to this, however, that He is the First-begotten, He hath deigned to call brethren, all who after and through His First-born-ship[1] are born again unto the grace of God through the adoption of sons, as the Apostolic teaching instructs us. The Son by Nature therefore, of the very Substance of the Father, was He the Only One born; being That Which the Father Is; God of God, Light of Light; but we are not by nature the Light, but are enlightened by That Light, that we may be able to shine with wisdom, for *That was*, it is said, *the true Light, Which enlighteneth every man coming into this world.* We add therefore to our faith of things eternal the temporal dispensation also of our Lord, which He deigned to bear and minister for our salvation. For according to this, that He is the Only-begotten Son of God, it cannot be said, He was, and, He shall be, but only, He Is: because that, which hath been, now is not, and that, which shall be, is not as yet. He therefore Is unchangeable, without respect of times and variation. Nor do I think that it is to be ascribed to any other source that He suggested unto His servant Moses such as His Name. For when he inquired of Him, in case the people, to whom he was being sent, should despise him, by Whom he should say that he was sent, he received an answer of Him, saying, *I AM THAT I AM.* Afterwards He added, *These things shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, HE THAT IS hath sent me unto you.*

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

[1] primatum. Luke 8, 21. Heb. 2, 11. Gal. 4, 5. Eph. 1, 5.

John 1, 9.

Exod. 3, 14.

7. From which I trust that it is by this time clear to spiritual minds, that no nature can exist contrary to God. For if He IS, and this word can properly be spoken of God only, (for that which truly IS, abideth unchangeably; seeing that that which is changed, hath been something which now it is not, and will be something which as yet it is not,) therefore hath God nothing contrary to Himself. For if it were asked of us, what is contrary to white, we should answer, black; if it were asked, what is contrary to hot, we should answer, cold; if it were asked, what is contrary to quick, we should answer, slow; and all such like things. But when it is asked what is contrary to That Which IS, it is rightly answered, that which is not.

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

8. But since (as I have said) through a temporal dispensation, in order to our salvation and restoration, through the operation of the goodness of God, by That Unchangeable Wisdom of God our changeable nature was assumed; we add the belief in temporal things done for us in order to our health, believing in That Son of God, WHO WAS BORN BY THE HOLY GHOST OF THE VIRGIN MARY. For by the gift of God, that is, by the Holy Spirit, there was granted unto us so great humiliation of so great a God, as that He deigned to assume the entire Man[1] in the womb of the Virgin, His Mother's body undefiled indwelling in, undefiled leaving. Which temporal dispensation in many ways the heretics lay wait against. But, if one shall hold the Catholic Faith, so as to believe that the entire Man was assumed by the Word of God, that is, body, soul, spirit, he is sufficiently fortified against them. Forasmuch as, seeing that that assumption was made for our salvation, one must take heed lest, by believing that some part of us pertains not unto that assumption, it pertains not unto salvation. And whereas man, except the form of his limbs, which hath been assigned different to different kinds of living beings, is not separate from the cattle, save by a reasonable spirit, which also is called mind; how is the faith sound, wherein it is believed that the Wisdom of God assumed that of ours which we have in common with the cattle, but did not assume that which is enlightened by the light of wisdom, and which is peculiar to man?

[1] totum hominem.

9. But they also are to be abhorred, who deny that our Lord Jesus Christ had a mother, Mary, upon earth; whereas that dispensation hath honoured either sex, the male and the female, and hath shewn that it pertaineth unto God's care, not only that sex which He assumed, but that also by means of which He assumed it, by bearing man's nature, by being born of a woman. Nor are we compelled to deny the Mother of Christ, by that saying of His, *Woman, what have I to do with thee? not yet is Mine hour come.* But He admonishes us rather that we may understand that according to that He was God He had no mother, the character[2] of which majesty He was about to display by turning water into wine. But in that He was crucified, according to that He was Man was

John 2, 4.

[2] personam.

He crucified; and that was the hour, which was not yet come, when it was said, *What have I to do with thee? not yet is Mine hour come;* that is, the hour in which I shall acknowledge thee. For then being crucified as Man He knew His human[1] Mother, and most humanely entrusted her to His best beloved disciple. Nor let that move us, that when word was brought to Him of His mother and His brethren, He answered, *Who is My mother, or who My brethren? &c.* But let it rather teach us, that our ministry, whereby we minister the Word of God to our brethren, when parents hinder, they ought not to be known by us. For if each one shall therefore think that He had no mother upon earth, because He said, *Who is My mother?* he must of necessity be compelled to deny also that the Apostles had fathers upon earth; seeing that He gave them charge, saying, *Call ye not any your father upon earth: for One is your Father, Who is in Heaven.*

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

[1] hominem. John 19, 26. 27.

Mat. 12, 48.

Mat. 23, 9.

10. Nor let it take away in us from that faith, the thought of the woman's womb, as that it should therefore be necessary to reject such a conception of our Lord, because base-minded[2] men think it base. Because most truly does the Apostle declare, both that *the foolishness of God is wiser than man*, and that *to the pure all things are pure.* Therefore they, who thus think, ought to consider, that the rays of this sun, which at least they praise not as a creature of God, but adore as God, is every where poured abroad through foul smells of sewers and whatsoever things are horrible, and in these works according to its nature, and yet becomes not thence vile by any contamination, although the visible light be naturally more allied to visible filth: how much less therefore could the Word of God, Which is neither corporeal nor visible, be polluted out of a female body, where It assumed human flesh together with soul and spirit, by the intervention of which the Majesty of the Word dwells more retired and separate from the frailty of a human body. Whence it is clear that in no way could the Word of God be spotted by a human body, whereby not even the very human soul is spotted. For not when it rules and quickens the body, but when it lusts after its mortal goods, the soul is spotted of the body. But if they wished to avoid the spots

[2] sordidi. 1 Cor. 1, 25. Tit. 1, 15.

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

of the soul, they would dread rather these lies and blasphemies.

v. 11. But it was little that our Lord for us humbled Himself in being born: there was added, that He deigned also to die

Phil. 2, 8. for mortal men. For *He humbled Himself, being made subject even unto death, and that the death of the Cross*; lest any of us, although he should be able not to fear death, might yet shrink from some kind of death, which men judge most ignominious. Therefore we believe in Him, WHO UNDER PONTIUS PILATE WAS CRUCIFIED AND BURIED. For it was necessary that the name of the judge be added, that the times might be known. But when that burial is believed in, there is made a calling to mind of the new tomb, whereby, to Him about to rise again unto newness of life, witness should be borne, as unto Him about to be born, by the Virgin's womb.

John 19, 41. For as in that sepulchre no other dead body was buried, neither before nor after; so in that womb neither before nor after was any thing mortal conceived.

12. We believe also that HE ON THE THIRD DAY ROSE AGAIN FROM THE DEAD, the First-begotten unto brethren

Eph. 1, 5. about to follow after Him, whom He called unto the adoption of sons of God, whom He deigned to make co-partners and co-heirs with Himself.

vi. 13. We believe that HE ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN, which

Mat. 22, 30. Gal. 4, 26. place of blessedness He promised unto us also, saying, *They shall be as angels in the heavens*, in that City, *which is the mother of us all*, Jerusalem, eternal in the heavens. But it is wont to offend certain either impious heathen or heretics, that we believe that an earthly body was taken up into heaven. But the heathen for the most part are anxious to treat with us with the arguments of the Philosophers, so as to assert that nothing earthly can be in Heaven. For our Scriptures they know not, nor understand in what way it

1 Cor. 15, 44. was said, *It is sown an animal body, it arises a spiritual body*. For it was not so said, as if body were changed into spirit, and became spirit; because now also our body which

[1] anima. is called animal, hath not been turned into soul [1], and made soul. But by a spiritual body that is understood, which hath been so subjected unto the spirit [c], as that it is suited to

[c] al. 'Because it is to be so ordered.'

a heavenly habitation, all frailty and earthly stain having been changed and turned into heavenly purity and stedfastness. This is the change, of which again the Apostle says, *We shall all rise again, but we shall not*[1] *all be changed.* Which change the same Apostle teaches is made not for the worse, but for the better, in that he says, *And we shall be changed.* Where however and in what manner the Body of the Lord is in heaven, it were most over-curious and superfluous to inquire; only we must believe that He is in heaven. For it belongs not to our frailty to discuss the secrets of the heavens, but it belongs to our faith to entertain high and honourable thoughts concerning the dignity of our Lord's Body.

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

1 Cor. 15, 51.

[1] so *Vulg.*

1 Cor. 15, 52.

14. We believe also that He SITTETH AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE FATHER. Yet must we not therefore suppose that God the Father is inclosed, as it were, within a human form; so that, when we think of Him, there suggest itself to our mind a right or left side: neither the very fact that the Father is said to sit, must we think that that is done with bended knees, lest we fall into that blasphemy, wherein the Apostle curses them, who *changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of corruptible man.* For such a likeness unto God it is impious for a Christian to place in a temple; much more is it impious to place it in the heart, where truly is the temple of God, if it be cleansed from earthly lust and error. Wherefore we must understand that, 'at the right hand,' is used in this sense, in the highest blessedness, where is righteousness, and peace, and joy; as the kids are set at the left hand, that is, in misery, by reason of unrighteousness, labours, and torments[d]. Wherefore that God is said to sit, signifies, not a position of the limbs, but a Judicial power, of which That Majesty is never void, in assigning to men their deserts[2]; although in the last Judgment much more manifestly among men will be hereafter the undoubted brightness of the Only-begotten Son of God, the Judge of the quick and of the dead.

vii.

Rom. 1, 23.

Mat. 25, 33.

[2] digna dignis.

15. We believe also that He WILL THENCE COME at the most fitting time, and THAT He WILL JUDGE THE QUICK AND THE DEAD. Whether by those names are meant the just and the sinners; or whether those whom at that time He shall

viii.

[d] al. 'the labours and torments of unrighteousness.'

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

find before death upon the earth, are called the quick, and those the dead, who at His Coming shall rise again. This temporal Dispensation[e] is not simply, as that Generation according to that He is God, but also, *hath been*, and *shall be*. For our Lord *hath been* upon earth, and now *is* in Heaven, and *shall be* in His brightness the Judge of the quick and of the dead. For He shall so come, as He hath ascended, according to the authority[f] which is contained in the Acts of the Apostles. According to this temporal dispensation then He speaks in the Apocalypse, wherein it is written, *Thus saith He, Who is, and Who was, and Who is to come*[1].

Acts 1, 11.

Rev. 1, 8.

[1] ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

16. Thus then having been set in order and commended to faith, both the divine Generation of our Lord, and His human Dispensation, there is added unto our Confession, in order to perfect the faith which we have concerning God, THE HOLY GHOST, not of an inferior nature[g] to the Father and the Son, but, so to say, consubstantial and coeternal; inasmuch as That Trinity is One God, not so that the Father be the same Person[2], Who is also the Son and the Holy Ghost; but that the Father be the Father, and the Son be the Son, and the Holy Ghost be the Holy Ghost, and This Trinity One God, as it is written, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God is One God.* Yet if it be demanded of us concerning each separately, and it be said unto us, 'Is the Father God?' we will answer, 'He is God.' If it be asked whether the Son be God, this too we will answer. Nor, if there shall be such a question put concerning the Holy Ghost, ought we to answer that He is any other thing[3] than God; earnestly taking heed against so understanding it, in the sense in which it is said of men, *Ye are gods.* For they are not by nature Gods, whosoever have been made and created, of the Father, through the Son, by the gift of the Holy Ghost. For it is the very Trinity Which is signified, when the Apostle says, *Since of Him, and in Him, and through Him, are all things.* Although therefore, when it be demanded of us concerning each severally, we answer,

ix.

[2] idem.

Deut. 6, 4.

[3] aliud.

Ps. 82, 6.

Rom. 11, 36.

See S. Aug. on Ps. 5, 3.

[e] Dispensatio, used of the Incarnation, as Οἰκονομία in Greek.

[f] auctoritatem. See S. Greg. Mor. Introduction, Ep. to Leander, c. v.

[g] Ben. conj. 'minor' for 'minore;' 'not inferior in nature.'

that He, concerning Whom the question is put, is God, whether the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Ghost; yet should not any one think that three Gods are worshipped by us. DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

17. Nor is it wonderful that these things are said concerning an ineffable Nature, when even in those very things, which we see with the eyes of the body, and judge of by the sense of the body, some such thing happens. For when as, being asked concerning the fountain, we cannot say that it is itself the river; nor, being asked concerning the river, can we call it the fountain; and again, the draught which is of the fountain or river, we can neither call the river nor the fountain. Yet in this trinity we use the name 'water,' and when the question is put concerning such, we answer of each, water. For, if I ask whether it be water in the fountain, it is answered, water: and if we ask whether it be water in the river, there is no other answer made, and in that draught no other answer will be possible; and yet we call them not three waters, but one. Certainly good heed must be taken, that no one so think of the ineffable Substance of That Majesty, as of that visible and corporeal fountain, or river, or draught. For in these the water, which is now in the fountain, goes forth into the river, and abides not in itself; and, when it passes from the river or from the fountain into the draught, it abides not there, whence it is taken. Therefore it may be that the same water belongs at one time to the term fountain, at another to the term river, at another to the term draught: whereas in That Trinity we said, that it cannot be that the Father at one time is the Son, at another the Holy Ghost: as in a tree, the root is nothing else than the root, nor the trunk any thing else than the trunk, nor can we call the boughs any thing else than the boughs; for what is called root, that cannot be called trunk and boughs; nor can that wood which pertains to the root by any passage be at one time in the root, at another in the trunk, at another in the branches; that rule of the name remaining, that the root is wood, and the trunk wood, and the boughs wood; and yet that they are not called three woods, but one wood. Or, if these have some dissimilitude, so that they may be not absurdly called three woods, by

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

reason of difference in solidity; yet that other at any rate all allow, if from out one fountain three cups be filled, that they may be called three cups, but can not be called three waters, but altogether one water; although when asked concerning each several cup, you answer that in any one of them is water; although there in this case take place no passage, such as we were just now speaking of, from the fountain into the river. But these instances in bodies have been given, not by reason of their likeness to that Divine Nature [h], but because of the unity even in things visible, that it might be understood to be possible, that some three things, not only singly, but also altogether, may have one single name; and that no one wonder or think it absurd, that we call the Father God, the Son God, the Holy Ghost God, and yet that we worship [i] not three Gods in That Trinity, but One God, and One Substance.

18. And concerning indeed the Father and the Son, learned and spiritual men have treated in many books, wherein, as far as men could unto men, they have endeavoured to suggest, both in what manner the Father and the Son were not One Person, but One Substance [1]; and What severally [2] the Father was, and What the Son; the One the Begetter, the Other the Begotten; the One not of the Son, the Other of the Father; the One the Beginning of the Other; whence also He is called the Head of Christ, although Christ also is the Beginning [k], but not of the Father; but This the Image of the Other, although in no wise unlike, and altogether without any difference equal. These things are treated of more largely by those who, not so briefly as we, wish to unfold the profession of the whole Christian Faith. Therefore, in so far forth as He is the Son, He received of the Father that He Is, whereas He received not this of the Son: and in so far forth as through unspeakable mercy, by a dispensation in time, He assumed Manhood, that is to say, a creature subject to change in order that it may be changed for the better;

[1] 'unus,' 'unum.'

[2] 'proprie.'

1 Cor. 11, 3.

[h] No corporeal illustration seems capable of expressing at once the numerical unity of the Divine Essence, and the perfection of each Person. See St. Hil. de Trin. ix. 37. where the same instances are used.

[i] al. 'that there are not.'

[k] John viii. 25. cf. *Gr.* τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅ, τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν. 'Principium qui et loquor vobis.' *Vulg.* See also Col. i. 15.

many things concerning Him in the Scriptures are found so said, as that the impious minds of heretics wishing to teach before they understand, have been by them led into error, so as to think Him not equal to the Father, nor of the same Substance; such as are these; since *the Father is greater than I;* and, *The head of the woman is the man, the Head of the man is Christ, and the Head of Christ is God;* and, *Then shall He Himself be subject unto Him Who made all things subject unto Him;* and, *I go unto My Father, and your Father, My God, and your God;* and some other of this sort; all which have had place, not to signify inequality of Nature and Substance, that those other be not false, *I and the Father are One;* and, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen My Father;* and, *The Word was God;* for He was not made, seeing that *all things were made by Him:* and, *He thought it not robbery to be equal with God;* and all other such: but these have had place, partly by reason of that ministration of Manhood which He took upon Him, whereby it is said, *He emptied Himself;* not that That Wisdom was changed, seeing that It is altogether unchangeable; but because in so humble a guise He willed to be made known unto men: partly therefore by reason of this ministration were those things thus written, which the heretics falsely charge; partly for this reason, because the Son owes to the Father that He is, this also assuredly owing to the Father, that He is equal and alike[2] to the Same Father; but the Father oweth to no one whatsoever He is.

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

John 14, 28. 1 Cor. 11, 3. 1 Cor. 15, 28. John 20, 17. John 10, 30. 1 unum. John 14, 9. John 1, 1. Phil. 2, 6. Phil. 2, 7.

[2] par.

19. But concerning the Holy Ghost it hath not yet been so fully and carefully discussed by learned and great expounders of the divine Scriptures, as that there may easily be understood His propriety also, by which propriety it comes to pass that we can call Him neither the Son nor the Father, but only the Holy Ghost; saving only that they proclaim Him to be the Gift of God[1], that we may believe that God giveth not a Gift inferior to Himself. This however they observe, that they proclaim not the Holy Ghost to be begotten as the Son of the Father; for Christ is the Only Son; nor of the Son, as if a grandson of the Supreme Father: nor yet that He is indebted not to any for That

[1] Thus St. Hilary repeatedly names Him by the title *Munus*.

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

which He is; but to the Father, of Whom are all things; that we establish not two Beginnings without a beginning, which is most false and most absurd, and not proper to the Catholic Faith, but to the error of certain heretics. Yet certain have ventured to believe the very Communion of the Father and the Son, and, so to say, the Godhead, Which the Greeks call Θεότης, to be the Holy Ghost[m]: that, seeing that the Father is God, and the Son God, the very Godhead, whereby They are joined One to Another, the One by begetting the Son, the Other by co-hering to the Father, may be made equal to Him by Whom He was begotten. This Godhead therefore, which also they would have understood to be the mutual Love and Charity of the Two, One toward the Other, they say has been called the Holy Ghost, and by many proofs of the Scriptures they support this their opinion; whether it be by that which is said, *Since the love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost Who hath been given us;* or whether by other many such testimonies; and by the very fact that by the Holy

Rom. 5, 5.

[m] The notion as here stated, at least if taken to the letter, is heterodox, and he shades it off into truth instead of denying it. The Essential Godhead is clearly the Essence of the Father, not the Person of the Holy Ghost. The analogy of Being, Knowledge, and Love, to the Holy Trinity is stated by him also, De Civ. Dei, xi. 24, &c. And in B. xv. De Trinitate, §. 29—31. he says expressly that the Holy Ghost may be, and is, in Holy Scripture, properly called Love, as the Son, Wisdom; though every Person of the Blessed Trinity be of Himself essentially Wisdom and Love. See also P. Lombard, Sent. i. Dist. 10. and the commentators on it, and St. Thos. Aq. Sum. Theol. i. qu. xxxvii. art. 1. The statement quoted by P. Lombard, from St. Jerome on Ps. xvii. 1. is found in the 'Breviarium in Psalterium,' which passes under his name. "The Holy Ghost is neither Father nor Son, but the Love, which the Father hath in the Son, and the Son in the Father." See also the remarks of Nicolas de Lyra on John i. 1. The danger involved in this way of speaking is that of imagining the Attribute to be What we call the Holy Spirit, instead of remembering that He is a Person, whose Nature is shadowed forth to us by the Name of the Attribute; a point guarded by all these writers, and by St. Aug. himself, De Trin. xv. 37. cited by Petavius. "And if the Love with which the Father loves the Son does ineffably declare the communion of Both, what more fitting than that He be called Love, Who is the Spirit common to Both. For this is the sounder way of believing or understanding, that not the Holy Spirit only is Love in That Trinity, yet not without meaning is He properly called Love because of what hath been said. As not He alone in That Trinity is 'Spirit,' or 'Holy,' since the Father is Spirit too, and the Son Spirit; and the Father Holy, and the Son Holy, which piety doubteth not: and yet He is not without meaning called The Holy Spirit. For because He is common to Both, He is called that properly which Both are in common. Else if in That Trinity the Holy Spirit alone is Love, certainly then the Son is found to be Son, not of the Father only, but also of the Holy Spirit." See the rest of this Book, and Petav. de Trin. vii. 12.

Ghost we are reconciled unto God; whence also, when He is called the Gift of God, they will have that it is sufficiently shewn, that the Holy Ghost is the Love of God. For we are not reconciled unto Him, save only by love, whereby also we are called sons: not now under fear, as servants, because *love perfected casteth out fear;* and we have received the Spirit of liberty, *wherein we cry, Abba, Father.* And because, having been reconciled and called back into friendship by love, we shall be able to understand all the secret things of God, therefore it is said of the Holy Ghost, *He shall lead you into all truth.* Therefore also that confidence in preaching the truth, wherewith the Apostles were filled at His coming, is rightly assigned unto love; because also distrust is ascribed unto fear, which the perfecting of love shutteth out. Therefore also It is called the Gift of God, because that which each man knows, he enjoys not, unless he also love it. But to enjoy the Wisdom of God, is nothing else than to cling to[1] It with affection: nor does any one abide in that which he perceives, except by affection; and therefore He is called 'Spiritus *Sanctus*,' since all things whatsoever are sanctioned[2], are sanctioned in order to abiding, nor is there any doubt that the term '*sanctitas*' is used from '*sancio*.' But especially do they who maintain this opinion make use of that witness, where it is written, *That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit;* seeing that *God is a Spirit.* For herein He speaketh of our Regeneration, which is, not according to Adam of the flesh, but according to Christ of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore, if mention is made of the Holy Spirit in this place, when it is said, seeing that *God is a Spirit:* they say, that it is to be observed, that it is not said, Seeing that the Spirit is God[n]; but, Seeing that God is a Spirit; so that the very Godhead of the Father and of the Son is in this place called God, which is the Holy Ghost. To this is added another witness, in that John the Apostle says, *Seeing that God is Love.* For here also he says not, Love is God, but, *God is Love;* that the Very Godhead may be understood to be Love. And whereas, in that enumeration of things connected one with another,

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

1 John 3, 1. 1 John 4, 18. Rom. 8, 15. Rom. 5, 8—10. John 16, 13. Acts 2, 4. Eph. 3, 7. 8. John 3, 6. John 4, 24. 1 John 4, 16.

[1] cohærere.

[2] 'sanciuntur.'

[n] al. 'the Spirit is of God.'

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

where it is said, *All things are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's;* and, *The head of the woman is the man, and the Head of the man is Christ, and the Head of Christ is God;* no mention is made of the Holy Ghost; this they say falls under the rule, that the very connection is not usually numbered among those things which are connected one with another. Wherefore they who read with more attention seem to recognise the Very Trinity in that place also, where it is said, *For of Him, and through Him, and in Him, are all things. Of Him,* Who oweth to no one His Being; *through Him,* as through a Mediator; *in Him,* as in Him Who holdeth together, that is, unites and joins.

1 Cor. 3, 22. 23.

1 Cor. 11, 3.

Rom. 11, 36.

20. This opinion is opposed by them who judge that that communion, which we call either Godhead, or Love, or Charity, is not a Substance; but they require that the Holy Spirit be set forth to them according to that He is Substance, and understand not that it could not otherwise have been said, *God is Love*, unless Love were a Substance. That is, they are guided by experience of things corporeal; since, if two bodies be joined one to another, so as that they be set near one another, the very joining is not a body; since, when those bodies which had been joined are separated, it is no more; and yet it is not understood to have, as it were, departed and passed away, as those bodies themselves. But let such as these make pure their heart, as far as they can, that they may be able to see, that there is not any thing such in the Substance of God, as if in It Substance were one thing, and that which is Accident to Substance were another thing, and not Substance, but whatsoever can be in It conceived of, is Substance. But these things may easily be said and believed, but seen, how they are in themselves, they altogether cannot be, save by the pure heart. Wherefore, whether that opinion be true, or whether it be any thing else, the Faith must be held unshaken, that we call the Father God, the Son God, the Holy Ghost God; nor yet three Gods, but That Trinity One God; nor yet different of nature, but of the same Substance; nor yet so that the Father at one time be the Son, at another time be the Holy Ghost; but the Father ever the Father, the Son ever the Son, and the Holy Ghost ever the Holy Ghost.

1 John 4, 16.

Nor rashly concerning things unseen affirm we any thing as knowing, but as believing; since seen they cannot be save by the cleansed heart; and he who sees them in this life *in part*, as has been said, and *in a riddle*, cannot effect that he also, to whom he speaks, shall see them, if he be hindered by impurities of heart. But, *Blessed are they of a clean heart, for they shall see God.* This is our faith concerning God our Creator and Renewer. DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO. 1 Cor. 13, 12. Matt. 5, 8.

21. But, since love is commanded us, not only towards God, when it is said, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind;* but also towards our neighbour; for, *Thou shalt love*, saith He, *thy neighbour as thyself:* again, since that faith, if it contain not a congregation and society of men, wherein brotherly love may work, is less fruitful; we believe also in the HOLY CHURCH, meaning thereby assuredly the CATHOLIC. For both Heretics and Schismatics call their congregations Churches. But Heretics by holding false notions concerning God violate the very faith; and Schismatics, on the other hand, by unrighteous rendings asunder, break away from brotherly love, although they believe the same things as ourselves. Wherefore neither Heretics pertain unto the Catholic Church, which loves God; nor Schismatics, since it loves its neighbour; and therefore easily pardons the sins of its neighbour, because it prays that itself may obtain pardon from Him, Who hath reconciled us unto Himself, blotting out all things past, and calling us unto a new life: unto the perfection of which life until we attain, we cannot be without sins; yet it concerns us of what kind they be. Deut. 6, 5. Mat. 22, 37. 39.

22. Nor must we only treat of the difference between sins, but must altogether believe, that in no way can the sins which we commit be forgiven us, if we ourselves shall be inexorable to forgive sins. Therefore we believe also in THE REMISSION OF SINS. Matt. 6, 15.

23. And since there are three things whereof man consists, spirit, soul, and body; which again are called two, because often the soul is named together with the spirit; for a certain reasonable part of the same, which beasts are without, is called the spirit: that which is chief in us is the spirit; next, the life whereby we are joined unto the body, is called

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

the soul; finally, the body itself, since it is visible, is that which in us is last. But all this *creature groaneth and is in travail until now:* yet hath the spirit given its first fruits [o], in that it hath believed in God, and is now of a good will.

Rom. 8, 22.

This spirit is also called the mind, of which the Apostle says, *With the mind I serve the Law of God.* Who also in another place saith, *God is my witness, Whom I serve in my spirit.*

Rom. 7, 25.

Rom. 1, 9.

But the soul, when it yet seeks after fleshly goods, is called the flesh. For a certain part of it resists [p] the spirit, not by nature, but by custom of sins. Whence it is said, *With the mind I serve the Law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin.* Which custom hath been changed into nature according to our mortal generation by the sin of the first man. And therefore it is written, *And we some time were by nature children of wrath,* that is, of vengeance, whereby it hath been brought to pass that we serve the law of sin. But the nature of the soul is then perfected when it is subdued unto its own spirit, and when it follows the spirit, the spirit following God. Therefore *the carnal man perceiveth not the things which belong unto the Spirit of God.* But not so speedily is the soul subdued unto the spirit unto good works, as the spirit unto God unto true faith and good will: but at times its natural impulse is more slowly checked, whereby it falls away unto things carnal and temporal. But since it also is cleansed, being established in its own nature through the rule of the spirit, which is its head, unto which, its head, Christ is a Head; we must not despair of the restoration of the body also unto its proper nature, but certainly not so speedily as the soul, just as the soul not so speedily as the spirit; but in a fit season at the last trumpet, when *the dead shall rise again uncorrupted, and we shall be changed.* And therefore we believe also in THE RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH; not only because the soul is restored, which now by reason of fleshly affections is called flesh; but this visible flesh also, which is by nature flesh, whose name the soul hath received, not by reason of its nature, but of its fleshly affections: therefore this visible flesh, which is properly called so, we must without doubting believe that it will rise again. For

Eph. 2, 3.

1 Cor. 2, 14.

1 Cor. 15, 52. 53.

[o] Ben. has spiritûs, 'Yet hath it given the first fruits of the spirit.'

[p] 4 Mss. 'and resists,' omitting 'for a certain part of it.'

the Apostle Paul seems to point out this itself[1] as if with the finger, when he says, *It behoveth that this corruptible put on incorruption.* For when he says, *This*, he, as it were, points his finger towards it. But that which is visible may be pointed at by the finger: since the soul also might have been called corruptible; for itself is corrupted by moral vices. And when we read, *And that this mortal put on immortality*, the same visible flesh is meant, because at it from time to time there is, as it were, a finger pointed. For the soul too, as it is called corruptible by reason of moral vices, so may it also be called mortal. That is, it is the death of the soul *to fall away from God*[q]; which its first sin in Paradise is contained in the Sacred Writings. DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO. 1 Cor. 15, 53. eam.

24. Therefore the body will rise again according to the Christian Faith, which cannot deceive. Which if it seem to any one incredible, he regards what the flesh now is, but considers not what it will be: because in that time of angelic change, it will be no longer flesh and blood, but only body[r]. For the Apostle speaking of the flesh, says, *The flesh of cattle is one, the flesh of birds another, of fishes another, of creeping things another; and there are bodies celestial, and bodies terrestrial.* For he says not, 'and flesh celestial:' but he says, 'both celestial and terrestrial bodies.' For all flesh is also body, but all body is not also flesh: first, in those things terrestrial, since wood is body, but not flesh: but to man or cattle there belongs both body and flesh: but in things celestial no flesh, but bodies simple and bright, which the Apostle calls spiritual; but some call ethereal. And therefore that which he says, *Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God*, contradicts not the resurrection of the flesh; but declares what that will one day be, which is now flesh and blood. Into which sort of nature whosoever believes not that this flesh can be changed, he must be led step by step unto the faith. For if you demand of him whether earth can be changed into water; by reason of the nearness, it seems not to him to be incredible. Again, if you demand whether water can be changed into air; he answers, 1 Cor. 15, 39. 40. 1 Cor. 15, 50.

[q] cf. Eccles. x. 12. *ἀρχὴ ὑπερηφανίας, ἀνθρώπου ἀφιστωμένου ἀπὸ Κυρίου.* LXX. "initium superbiæ hominis, apostare a Deo." *Vulg.*

[r] See the passage from his Retractations quoted at the beginning of the treatise.

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO.

that neither is this absurd; for they are near one another. And if the question be asked concerning air, whether it can be changed into an ethereal, that is, celestial, body; already the very nearness persuades. What therefore he allows may be done by these steps, that earth be changed into ethereal body, why does he not believe that, when there is added thereto the will of God, whereby a human body was able to walk upon the waters, it may be done most speedily, as it is said, *in the twinkling of an eye*, without any such steps, just as generally smoke is changed into flame with wonderful quickness. For our flesh is certainly of earth; but philosophers, (by whose arguments most frequently the resurrection of the flesh is opposed, in that they assert that there cannot exist any terrestrial body in heaven,) allow that any body whatever may be turned and changed into all bodies. After that this resurrection of the body shall have taken place, being set free from the condition of time, we shall enjoy[a] throughly ETERNAL LIFE with love ineffable, and stedfastness without corruption. For then that shall take place which is written, *Death is swallowed up in victory, where is, O Death, thy sting? where is, O Death, thy strife?*

1 Cor. 15, 52.

1 Cor. 15, 54. 55.

25. This is the Faith which in the Creed is given unto Christian novices in few words to hold. Which few words are known to the faithful, that by believing they may be made subject unto God, having been made subject may live rightly, by living rightly may cleanse their heart, with a cleansed heart may understand what they believe.

[a] al. 'The body being set free, &c. shall enjoy.'

S. AUGUSTINE

OF

FAITH AND WORKS.

S. Aug. Retract. ii. 38, mentions this work as written soon after that 'De Spiritu et Litera,' i. e. at the beginning of A.D. 413. "At that time were sent me by some lay Brethren, studious however of the Divine oracles, some writings which so sever Christian Faith from good works as to maintain that without it one could not, but without them one could attain eternal life. In answer to whom I wrote a book entitled 'De Fide et Operibus.' In which I have set forth not only how they should live that are by the grace of God regenerate, but also what sort of persons should be admitted to the laver of Regeneration."

Some have thought the 'writings' mentioned were St. Jerome's on Isaiah or on St. Paul's Epistles, but St. Jerome does not go to the length of holding what is here refuted. *Ab. from Ben.*

DE FIDE ET OPERIBUS. i.

1. It is the judgment of certain, that all men without distinction are to be admitted to the laver of regeneration, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord, even although they shall be unwilling to change an evil and shameful life, rendered notable by sins and scandalous crimes, and shall even declare and make open profession, that they will continue therein. For instance, if any one is joined to a harlot, that he be not first charged to leave her, and then to come to be baptized; but even continuing with her, and confidently purposing, or even professing, that he will so continue, that he be admitted and baptized, and be not hindered in becoming a member of Christ, even although he shall continue to be a member of an harlot; but that he be afterwards taught how evil this is, and when now he hath been baptized, be instructed concerning the change of his manner of life for the better. For they think it a perversion, and out of due order, first to teach how a Christian ought to live, and after to have him baptized. But it is their opinion that the Sacrament of Baptism ought to go first, that there may follow after teaching concerning the life and morals: which if he shall be willing to hold and guard, he will do what is for his interest; but if he shall be unwilling, retaining the Christian Faith, without which he

1 Cor. 6, 15.

DE FIDE impurity soever he will, that he will be saved as if through
1 Cor. 3, 11—15. fire, as one who hath built upon the foundation, which is Christ, not gold, silver, precious stones, but wood, hay, stubble; that is, not righteous and chaste ways of life, but unrighteous and shameless.

2. But they seem to have been moved thus to dispute, as concerned at those not being admitted to Baptism, who have put away their wives and married others, or of females who have put away their husbands, and been married to others; because of these the Lord Christ without any doubt testifies,
Mat. 19, 9. that they are, not marriages, but adulteries. For whereas they could not deny that to be adultery, which the Truth, without leaving place for evasion, affirms to be adultery; and (yet) wished to forward them toward their receiving Baptism, whom they saw to be so caught in a snare of this sort, as that, if they were not admitted to Baptism, they would choose to live, or even to die, without any Sacrament, rather than to burst the bond of adultery, and be set free; they were by a certain human sense of pity moved in such wise to undertake their cause, as to judge that all, together with them, men of evil and scandalous lives, even unrebuked by any prohibition, uncorrected by any instruction, unchanged by any penitence, were to be admitted to Baptism; thinking that unless it were done, they would perish for ever; but that, if it were done, even should they continue in those evil things, they would be saved through fire.

ii. 3. In answer to whom, this first I say, that no one so understand those declarations of the Scriptures, which either point to as present, or speak of beforehand as future, the mingling of the good and evil in the Church, as to believe that severity of discipline, or the diligent keeping of it, is to be altogether loosed and set aside; not so taught by those Scriptures, but deceived by his own imagination. For neither, because Moses, the servant of God, endured most patiently that mingling in the first People, did he therefore not take vengeance on many even with the sword. And
Numb. 25, 5-8. Phinees, the priest, thrust through with the avenging sword the adulterers whom he found together. Which very thing it was signified was to be done by degradations and excommunications at this time, when in the discipline of the

blessed Apostle groans with all long-suffering in the midst of *false brethren*, and certain even driven on by the devilish stings of envy, he yet allows to *preach Christ;* does he therefore think that he must spare him, who had his own father's wife; concerning whom he gives charge, that, when the Church hath been gathered together, he be delivered *over unto Satan, unto the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus:* or did he therefore himself not deliver over others unto Satan, that they might *learn not to blaspheme:* or does he say in vain, *I wrote unto you in an epistle, not to company with fornicators, yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or the covetous, or robbers, or idolaters; otherwise ye had need to go forth out of this world: but now I have written unto you not to company, if any brother be named either a fornicator, or an idolater, or a covetous man, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such no not to eat. For how does it concern me to judge concerning them that are without? Do ye not yourselves judge concerning them that are within? But concerning them that are without, God will judge. Take away the evil (man*[1]) *from out of yourselves.* Where indeed some so understand the phrase, *from out of yourselves*[2], as that each man take away from out of himself the evil; that is, that he be himself good. But in whichever way it be understood, whether that by the severity of the Church the evil be rebuked by excommunications, or that each man, by rebuking and correcting himself, take away from out of himself the evil; yet that which is said above admits not of any doubtful sense, wherein he gives a charge not to company with those brethren, who in any sin mentioned above are 'named,' that is, are known, and spoken of. But with what spirit and what charity that merciful severity is to be made use of, he shews, not only in the place where he says, *That the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus;* but clearly in other places also, saying, *If any man obey not our word through our epistle, mark this man, and company not with him, that he may be ashamed: yet count him not as an enemy, but rebuke him as a brother.*

ET OPERIBUS.

2 Cor. 11, 26. Phil. 1, 15—18. 1 Cor. 5, 1—5. 1 Tim. 1, 20. 1 Cor. 5, 9—13.

[1] *malum*, Gr. τὸν πονηρὸν

[2] *ex vobis ipsis.*

iii.

2 Thess. 3, 14. 15.

DEFIDE 4. And the Lord Himself, a singular example of patience, Who even among His twelve Apostles still endured a devil until His Passion; and Who said, *Suffer both to grow until the harvest, lest haply, whilst ye would gather up the tares, ye root out the wheat also;* and Who foretold that those nets, which were a figure of the Church, should have good and evil fishes, even unto the shore, that is, even unto the end of the world; and all other things whatsoever He spake either openly or by way of figure concerning the mingling of the good and the evil: yet did He not therefore judge that the discipline of the Church was to be set aside: yea, rather, He admonished that it was to be made use of, when He said, *Take heed unto yourselves: if thy brother shall sin against thee, go, and rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he shall hear thee, thou wilt have gained thy brother. But if he shall not hear thee, take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand. But if he shall not hear them, tell it unto the Church. But if neither will he hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.* Next, a most weighty terror of that very severity He added also in that place, saying, *What things ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven; and what things ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven.* He also forbids that what is *holy* be given *unto dogs.* Nor is the Apostle contrary to the Lord, in that he says, *Them that sin rebuke before all, that the rest may have fear;* whereas He says, *Reprove him between thee and him.* For either thing is to be done, according as we are admonished by the diversity of their disease, whom we have undertaken assuredly not to destroy, but to correct and heal; and one man we must cure in this way, another in that. Thus also there is a way [1] of passing over, and bearing with, evil men in the Church: and there is again a way of chastising and rebuking them, of not admitting them to, or removing them from, the Communion.

Mat. 13, 29. 30.

Mat. 18, 15—18.

Matt. 7, 6.

1 Tim. 5, 20.

[1] ratio

iv. 5. But men err, through not observing a mean; and when they have begun to descend rapidly in one direction, they look not back on other declarations of divine authority, such as may recall them from that their purpose, and cause them to stand fast in that truth and moderation which is attempered

of both together: and that, not in this matter only, which is now in question, but also in many others. For certain, looking to the declarations of the divine writings, wherein One God is put into our minds as the object of worship, have thought that the Same[a] Who is the Son, is the Father, and the Holy Ghost: others again, as it were, suffering under the contrary disease, fixing their attention on those things whereby the Trinity is declared, and being unable to understand how there is one God, when as neither is the Father the Son, nor the Son the Father, nor the Holy Ghost either the Father or the Son, have thought that they must maintain differences also of substances. Certain, looking to the praise of holy virginity in the Scriptures, have condemned marriages: certain, on the other hand, following those declarations wherein chaste marriages are commended, have set marriage on a par with virginity. Certain on reading, *It is good, brethren, not to eat flesh, nor to drink wine;* and some other like words; have thought the creature of God, and what meats they would, to be unclean: whereas certain, reading, *Every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be rejected, which is received with giving of thanks*, have fallen into greediness and drunkenness; not having it in their power to remove from themselves sins, unless there should succeed to them as great, or greater, sins on the opposite side. ET OPERIBUS.

Rom. 14, 21.

1 Tim. 4, 4.

6. Thus in this matter also, which we have in hand, certain looking to the precepts of severity, whereby we are admonished to rebuke the unruly, not to give what is holy unto dogs, to hold as an heathen man one who despises the Church, to pluck away from the frame of the body the member which causes offence; so distort the peace of the Church, as that they endeavour before the time to separate the tares, and, blinded by this error, are themselves rather separated from the Unity of Christ. Such as is the case which we have against the schism of Donatus. And this, not with those, who know that Cæcilianus was assailed, not by true, but by scandalous, charges, and who, through a shame which works death, refuse to relinquish their fatal opinion; but with those unto whom we say, What though they

[a] Latin writers constantly thus indicate 'Person' by the masculine pronoun.

DE FIDE had been evil men, by reason of whom ye are not in the Church, still ye ought by bearing with those, whom ye could in no wise correct or set apart, to have continued in the Church. But certain, making the opposite hazard, having seen clearly that the mingling of the good and evil in the Church is pointed out and foretold, and having learnt precepts of patience, (which so render us most sure, as that, even if there seem to be tares in the Church, yet is not either our faith or our charity hindered, so as that, because we see that there are tares in the Church, we ourselves depart from the Church,) think that the discipline of the Church is to be abandoned, assigning to them that are set over it a certain most perverse absence of care, so that there pertain not unto them, save only to say what is to be shunned and what to be done, but whatsoever each man may do, never to heed.

v. 7. But we judge that it pertains unto sound doctrine out of both declarations[1] to attemper our life and opinion, so that we both endure dogs in the Church, for the sake of the peace of the Church, and, where the peace of the Church is safe, give not what is holy unto dogs. When therefore through the negligence of them who are set over it, or through some necessity such as admits of excuse, or through their secretly creeping in, we find in the Church evil persons, whom we cannot correct or restrain by ecclesiastical discipline; in that case (lest there arise up in our heart an impious and fatal presumption, as that we suppose that we are to separate ourselves from them, lest we be polluted by their sins, and so we endeavour to draw after us, as it were, pure and holy followers, separated from the whole frame of unity, as if from fellowship with the evil) let there come into our mind those figures out of the Scriptures, and those divine oracles or most sure examples, whereby it was shewn and foretold, that there will be evil persons in the Church mixed with the good even unto the end of the world and the time of the Judgment, and that the good, who consent not to their deeds, will be in no way hindered by them in unity and participation of the Sacraments. But when those by whom the Church is ruled, with safety to the peace of the Church, have at hand the power of exercising discipline on evil and ungodly men, then again, that we sleep not through

[1] "testimoniis," texts.

indolence and sloth, we must be excited by the spurs of other precepts, which have respect unto severity of restraint; that, directing our steps in the way of the Lord out of both declarations, (He being our Guide and Helper,) we neither grow listless under the name of patience, nor be cruel under the pretext of diligence. ET OPERIBUS.

8. This moderation then being observed which is according to sound doctrine, let us look to the point at issue, that is, whether men are to be so admitted to receive Baptism, as that no diligence keep watch in this case, lest what is holy be given unto dogs; to such an extent as that it should seem that not even they, who are guilty of most open adultery, and who make profession of continuing therein, are to be kept from a Sacrament of so great holiness; unto which, without any doubt, they would not be admitted, if, during those very days, (on which, being about to partake of that grace, after their names have been given in, they are under cleansing by abstinence, fastings, and exorcisms,) they were to make profession that they would lie with their lawful and true wives, and that in this matter, although at another time allowed, they would during these few solemn days observe no continence. How then is the adulterer, who refuses correction, admitted unto those holy things, whereunto the married is not admitted, if he refuse observance? vi.

9. But first, they say, let him be baptized; afterwards let him be taught what pertains unto a good life and morals. This takes place, when it so chances that the last day of life constrains any one, so that he believe after the fewest possible words[1], (wherein yet all things are contained,) and receive the Sacrament; in order that, if he shall pass out of this life, he may go forth set free from the guilt[2] of all his past sins. But if he ask it in health, and there is space for learning, what other time can be found more opportune, wherein to hear in what manner he ought to become a believer and live, than that, when, with a mind more intent, and, through very religious awe, anxious, he is seeking the Sacrament of most saving Faith. What? do we to that degree dissemble from our own consciousness[3] that we either remember not our own selves, how intent we were and anxious what precepts

[1] ad verba paucissima.
[2] reatu
[3] a sensibus nostris.

DEFIDE they, by whom we were being catechized, would give us, when we were petitioning for the Sacraments of that fount, and on this account were also called *Competentes;* or mark not others, who, year by year, run to the laver of Regeneration, what kind of persons they are on the very days on which they are catechized, exorcised, examined; with how great watchfulness they come together, with how great zeal they glow, with what anxiety they are held in suspense? If then be not the time for learning, what life is suitable to that so great Sacrament, which they desire to receive; when will it be? What? when they shall have received it, in so great crimes continuing even after Baptism, not new men, but old offenders? So that forsooth it be first said unto them by a strange perversion, 'Put on the new man;' and, when they shall have put it on, it be after said, 'Put off the old man;' whereas the Apostle keeping a sound order says, *Put off the old man, and put on the new man;* and the Lord Himself cries aloud, *No man seweth a new piece unto an old garment, and no man putteth new wine into old bottles.* For what else is the purport of that whole time, during which they hold the place and name of Catechumens, except that they may hear what the faith, and of what kind the life, of a Christian ought to be; that, after they shall have proved their own selves, they may then eat of the Table and drink of the Cup of the Lord? Seeing that *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh condemnation unto himself.* But what is done during the whole time, at which it is the wholesome appointment of the Church, that they, who are approaching unto the name of Christ, be in the rank of Catechumens, this is done much more diligently and urgently on those days, on which they are called *Competentes*, when they have already given in their names in order to receive Baptism.

Col. 3, 9. 10. Eph. 4, 22. 24. Matt. 9, 16. 17.

1 Cor. 11, 28. 29.

vii. 10. What, if, they say, a virgin hath been married unknowingly unto the husband of another? If she continue in ignorance of this for ever, she will never be by reason of this an adulteress: but if she come to know it, from this very moment will she begin to be an adulteress, from the time, that is, that she hath knowingly lain with another's husband. As in the law of estates, each man is most rightly said to be

the possessor in good faith, so long as he is ignorant that he is in possession of what is another's: but when he shall come to know it, and shall not withdraw from another's possession, then is he held to be of ill faith, and is justly called unjust. Far be it therefore that with a feeling clearly not human, but clearly vain, we so grieve when scandalous crimes are corrected, as if it were the putting asunder of marriages; especially in the City of our God, in His Holy Hill, that is, in the Church, wherein of marriage, not the bond alone, but the Sacrament is so set forth[1], as that it is not lawful for a man to deliver his wife unto another; which in the times of the Roman Republic, Cato is reported to have done, not only without any blame whatever, but even with praise. Nor is there need now to treat any more at length on this point, when even they, to whom I am replying, dare not to affirm that this is no sin, and deny not that it is adultery, that they be not openly convicted of opposing the Lord Himself, and the Holy Gospel. But whereas it is their will that such be first admitted to partake of the Sacrament of Baptism, and unto the Lord's Table, although they shall in most plain language refuse correction: nay further that it behoveth not that they be at all admonished on this matter, but be afterward taught; so that, if they shall receive to observe the precept, and shall correct their fault, they be counted among the wheat; but, if they shall contemn it, be borne with among the tares: they sufficiently shew that they themselves are not defending those crimes, or acting as if they were light crimes or none at all. For what Christian of good hope could esteem adultery to be no crime at all, or a slight one?

ET OPERIBUS.

Ps.48,1.

[1] 'commendatur.'

11. The order, however, in which these things in others are either corrected or borne with, they think that they bring forward out of the holy Scriptures, when they say that the Apostles so acted; and from their letters they bring forward certain texts[2], wherein they are found to have first introduced the doctrine of faith, and after to have delivered precepts of morality. And hence they would have it understood, that we are to make known only the rule of faith to them who are to be baptized, and afterward, when now they have been baptized, are to deliver unto them precepts also concerning

[2] testimonia

DE FIDE

the change of life for the better; as though they read certain Apostolic Epistles addressed to men about to be baptized, wherein they treated of faith only; and others, unto men already baptized, wherein are contained precepts concerning the avoiding evil, and the entering upon good, habits of life. When, then, it is certain that they addressed letters unto Christians already baptized, why are these woven together of both discourses, both that which relates unto faith, and that which relates unto a good life? What? is it, haply, now their will that we cease to give both to them who are to be baptized, and restore both to them who have been baptized? But, if it be absurd to say this, then let them confess that the Apostles set in their Epistles their doctrine made perfect of both; but that they for this reason generally first introduced faith, and after added what pertains unto a good life, because, in man himself, unless faith go first, a good life will be unable to follow. For WHATSOEVER A MAN SHALL HAVE DONE, AS IF ARIGHT, unless it be referred to that piety which is toward God, it ought not to be called right. But if some foolish and very unlearned men judged that the Epistles of the Apostles were addressed to Catechumens, certainly even themselves would confess, that unto them who are not yet baptized, we are to make known precepts concerning the manner of life which is suitable unto faith, together with rules of faith: unless haply these by their argument draw us to this strait, that they would have the first portions of the Apostolic Epistles wherein they speak of Faith, to be read to the Catechumens; but the latter, to believers, wherein now charge is given how Christians ought to live. But if to speak thus be most foolish; there is then no proof of this opinion out of the Epistles of the Apostles, why we should therefore judge it right to admonish them who are to be baptized concerning the faith, and them who have been baptized concerning the manner of life, because they in the former portions of their letters set forth faith, and afterward in due order exhorted that believers should live well. For although that be first and this after, yet very often in one continuous discourse are we with most sound and diligent teaching to preach both unto Catechumens, both unto believers, both unto them

that are to be baptized, both unto them that have been baptized, whether it be in order that they be instructed, or that they forget not, or that they make profession, or that they be strengthened. Therefore unto the Epistle of Peter, unto the Epistle of John, out of which they allege certain texts, let them add the Epistles of Paul also and of other Apostles: the fact which they have noted, that they speak first of faith, and after of manner of life, is to be taken in that sense, which, if I mistake not, I have most clearly set forth. ET OPERIBUS.

12. But, they say, Peter, in the Acts of the Apostles, so addressed those, who, upon hearing the word, were baptized in one day three thousand, as that he preached unto them faith alone, whereby to believe in Christ. And when they had said, *What shall we do?* he answered them, *Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.* Why therefore do they not note that it was said, *Repent.* For in that is the stripping off of the old life, that they who are baptized may be clothed with the new. But to whom is the repentance, which is from dead works, fruitful, if he continue in adultery and other crimes, wherein is involved the love of this world? viii. Acts 2, 38—41. 1 Lat. *agite pœnitentiam.*

13. But, they say, of that unbelief alone, whereby they believed not in Christ, he willed them to repent. Wonderful presumption! (I would not give it a heavier name,) when, upon that being heard which was said, *Repent ye*, it is said to have been of unbelief alone, whereas the evangelic teaching delivered a change of life from the old unto the new, wherein certainly that also is contained which the Apostle lays down in that sentence, *Let him that stole, steal no more*; and the rest, wherein he follows out what it is to lay aside the old man, and to put on the new. But in these very words of Peter they have whence they might be admonished, if they would attend diligently. For after that he had said, *Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For unto us*[2] *is this promise and unto our children, and unto all who are afar off, whomsoever the Lord our God shall call*; the writer of the book straightway added and said, *And with many other* Eph. 4, 28. [2]Gr. *you, your.*

DE FIDE

words testified he, saying, Save yourselves from this perverse generation. But they most eagerly caught and received his words, (*and believed*[1],) *and were baptized; and there were added on that day three thousand souls.* Who would not here understand, that in those *many other words*, on which, by reason of their length, the writer is silent, this was the object of Peter, that they should save themselves from this perverse generation; since the sentence itself is given briefly, in order to persuade to which Peter urged them with many words. The sum and substance, that is to say, was set down, when it was said, *Save yourselves from this perverse generation.* But, in order that this might be done, Peter with many words testified. Among these words was the condemnation of dead works, which they who love this world work evilly, and the setting forth of a good life, for them to hold and follow, who save themselves from this perverse generation. Now therefore, if they will, let them endeavour to maintain, that he saves himself from this perverse generation, who only believes in Christ, although he continue in what scandalous sins soever he will, even unto the making profession of adultery. Which if it be impious to assert, let them who are to be baptized hear, not only what they ought to believe, but also how they may save themselves from this perverse generation. For in that case it is necessary that they hear how, believing, they ought to walk.

[1] *et crediderunt*

ix. 14. The Eunuch, they say, he, whom Philip baptized, said nothing more than, *I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God;* and in this profession straightway was baptized. Is it then their pleasure that men make answer this alone, and straightway be baptized? nothing concerning the Holy Ghost, nothing concerning the Holy Church, nothing concerning the Remission of sins, nothing concerning the Resurrection of the dead; that, in fine, concerning our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, nothing, save that He is the Son of God, not concerning His Incarnation of the Virgin, not concerning His Passion, concerning His Death of the Cross, concerning His Burial, concerning His Resurrection on the third day, concerning His Ascension and Seat at the right hand of the Father, is there to be any thing for him that catechizes to say, or for him that believes to make profession

Acts 8, 35—38.

of? For if, when the Eunuch had made answer, *I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God*, this seemed to him sufficient, so that straightway being baptized he departed; why do we not follow this? Why do we not imitate it, and away with the rest, which we account it necessary, even when straitness of time is urgent on us to baptize, to draw forth by questioning, so that he that is to be baptized, shall make answer to all things, although he have not leisure to commit them to memory? But if Scripture hath been silent, and hath left for us to understand the rest of what Philip did with the Eunuch about to be baptized, and, in that it saith, *Philip baptized him*, hath willed that we should understand that all things were fulfilled, which although they be passed over in the Scriptures for the sake of brevity, we yet by the line of tradition know are to be fulfilled; in like manner also, in that it was written, that Philip *preached*[1] unto the Eunuch *the Lord Jesus*, we are in no way to doubt that those things also were said in the teaching[2], which pertain unto the life and manner of him who believed in the Lord Jesus Christ. For this is to preach Christ, not only to say what things are to be believed concerning Christ, but also what things are to be observed by him who approaches unto the frame of the body of Christ; yea rather, to say all things, which are to be believed concerning Christ, not only Whose Son He is, from Whom according to His Godhead, from Whom according to the flesh He was begotten, what things He suffered and wherefore; what is the power of His Resurrection, what the gift of the Spirit which He promised and gave to believers; and yet further, what kind of members, unto whom to be a Head, He seeks, informs, loves, sets free, and leads safely unto everlasting life and honour. When these things are said, at times more shortly and concisely, at times more largely and more fully, Christ is preached; and yet, not only that which pertains unto the faith, but that also which pertains unto the life of believers, is not omitted.

ET OPERIBUS.

[1] evangelizasse

[2] in catechismo

15. This may be understood also in that saying of the Apostle Paul which they make mention of, *I determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.* Which they suppose to have been spoken in

x. 1 Cor. 2, 2.

DE FIDE such a sense, as if nothing else had been made known to
[1] al. *'nisi ut'* them: so that[1] they might in the first place believe, and afterwards being baptized, might learn whatsoever pertaineth unto life and morals. This, they say, was enough and more than enough to the Apostle, who told them, that, although they had many schoolmasters in Christ, yet not many Fathers, because that in Christ Jesus through the Gospel
1 Cor. 4, 15. himself had begotten them. If therefore he, who begat them through the Gospel, although he return thanks that he had baptized none of them save Crispus and Gaius and the
1 Cor. 1, 14-16. house of Stephanas, taught them nothing further than Christ crucified; what if one shall say that neither did they hear of the resurrection of Christ, when through the Gospel they were begotten? Whence then is it that he says to them,
1 Cor. 15, 3. 4. *For I delivered unto you in the first place, that Christ died according to the Scriptures, and that He was buried, and that He rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures*, if he had taught nothing, save that He was crucified? But if they do not so understand it, but contend that this also pertaineth unto Christ crucified; let them know that in Christ crucified men learn many things, and
Rom. 6, 6. Gal. 6, 14. especially, that *our old man hath been crucified with Him, that the body of sin may be made void, and that henceforth we serve not sin;* whence also of himself he says, *But from me, far be it that I should glory, save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom unto me the world is crucified, and I unto the world.* Then let them observe and see in what manner Christ crucified is taught and learned, and they will know that it pertaineth unto His Cross, that we also in His body are crucified unto the world: wherein is understood all the restraining of evil desires; and thus it cannot be brought to pass, that unto them, who are formed by the Cross of Christ, professed adulteries be allowed. For the Apostle Peter also concerning the mystery of the Cross itself, that is, of the Passion of Christ, admonishes that they who are by it consecrated cease from sin, thus
1 Pet. 4, 1. 2. saying, *Christ therefore having suffered in the flesh, be ye also armed with the same thought; for he who is dead in the flesh, hath ceased from sin, that now not according to the desires of men, but according to the will of the Lord God, he*

may for the future live in the flesh. And what follows, wherein he shews in order, that he pertaineth unto Christ crucified, that is, (unto Christ) Who hath suffered through the flesh, who in His Body, having his carnal desires crucified, lives well through the Gospel. ET OPERIBUS.

16. What, that those two Commandments also, whereon the Lord says that the whole Law and Prophets do hang, are by those judged to favour this their opinion? And they so make mention of them, as that, since the first Commandment is said to be, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God out of thy whole heart, and out of thy whole soul, and out of thy whole mind; but the second is like unto this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;* the first they believe to pertain unto them who are to be baptized, wherein the love of God is enjoined; but the second unto them who are already baptized, wherein there seem to be moral rules of human life and conversation. Thus forgetting what is written, *If thy brother whom thou seest thou lovest not, God, Whom thou seest not, how wilt thou be able to love?* and that other in the same Epistle of John, *If any one love the world, there is not the love of the Father in him.* But unto what pertain all the crying sins of evil living, save unto the love of this world? And thus that first Commandment, which they judge to pertain unto them who are to be baptized, can in nō way be observed without good living. I am unwilling to continue more at length: for those two Commandments, being carefully considered, are found to be so connected the one with the other, that neither can the love of God exist in a man if he love not his neighbour, nor the love of his neighbour if he love not God. But for our present subject, what we have said concerning these two Commandments is sufficient.

Mat. 22, 37—40. 1 John 4, 20. 1 John 2, 15.

17. But further, the people of Israel was first led through the Red Sea, which is a figure of Baptism; and afterward received the Law, wherein to learn after what manner to live. Why therefore to them who are to be baptized do we deliver even the Creed, and demand that it be given back to us? For no such thing was done towards them, whom through the Red Sea the Lord set free from the Egyptians. But if they rightly understand that this is signified by the

xi.

Ex. 14, 21. 22; 20, 1-17.

DE FIDE mysteries which went before concerning the blood of the
Ex. 12, lamb stricken on the door-posts, and concerning the un-
7. 15. leavened bread of sincerity and truth; why do they not in
1 Cor. 5, order understand that also, that the very separation from the
8. Egyptians signifies a departing from sins, whereof they who are to be baptized make profession. For unto this pertaineth that saying of Peter, *Repent, and be baptized each one of you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ:* as though he should say, Depart from Egypt, and pass through the Red Sea. Whence also in the Epistle which is entitled to the Hebrews, when mention is made of the principles belonging to them who are receiving baptism, there is set
Heb. 6, *repentance from dead works.* For thus he says: *Wherefore*
1. 2. *leaving the word concerning the principles of Christ, let us look unto the full accomplishment, not again laying a foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith in God, of the doctrine of the laver, of imposition of hands, of the resurrection also of the dead, and of eternal judgment.* Therefore that all these things pertain unto the principles of Neophytes is sufficiently and clearly borne witness to by Scripture. But what is repentance from dead works, save from those works which must be made dead, that we may live? Which if adulteries and fornications are not, what any longer is to be named among dead works? But a profession of departing from such works is not enough, unless also all past sins, which are, as it were, pursuing us, be blotted out by the Laver of Regeneration, just as it was not enough unto the Israelites to depart from Egypt, unless that multitude of enemies, which was following upon them, perished in the waves of the same sea, which opened for passage and deliverance unto the people of God. He therefore, who professes his unwillingness to change from adultery, how shall he be led through the Red Sea, when as yet he refuses to depart from Egypt? Next they observe not, that, in the Law, which after the passage of the Red Sea, was given unto that people, the first[h] Commandment is,

[h] St. Aug. in Exod. Quæst. LXXI. speaks doubtfully of the division of the Decalogue, but prefers taking the 1st and 2d Commandments (in our division) as one, because then there are three of duty to God, and seven of duty to man. He adds that in the tenth, which he reads as in Deut. 5, 21. the beginning, *Thou shalt not covet*, is repeated, as if for two commandments correspond-

There shall not be unto thee other gods besides Me. Thou shalt not make unto thyself idols, nor any likeness, whatsoever things there are in heaven above, and whatsoever things there are in the earth beneath, and whatsoever things in the water and under the earth; thou shalt not worship them, neither shalt thou serve them: and all else which pertains unto this Commandment. Therefore let these affirm, if they will, against their own very assertion, that we are to preach concerning the worship of the One God, and the shunning of idolatry, not unto men who are yet to be baptized, but after Baptism: and let them no longer say, that unto them, who are about to receive Baptism, we are to set forth only faith which is in God, and after the reception of that sacrament are to instruct them concerning manner of life, as if concerning that second Commandment, which pertains unto the love of one's neighbour. For both are contained in the Law, which the people received after the Red Sea, as though it were after Baptism; nor was there any such appointment of the Commandments made, as that before the passage of that sea the people should be instructed concerning the shunning of idolatry, and, after they had past, should hear that their father and mother were to be honoured, that adultery was not to be committed, that they were not to kill, and all other things which belong to a good and innocent intercourse with men. ET OPERIBUS. Ex. 20, 3—5.

18. If therefore each one shall so come to seek the holy Laver, as to make profession that he will not depart from the sacrifices of idols, save haply hereafter when it shall so seem good to him, and yet demand baptism straightway, and require that he be made the temple of the living God, being not only a worshipper of idols, but also continuing in some so impious priesthood; I ask of them, whether it is their opinion that he is to be made even a catechumen; and this without any doubt they will cry out ought not to be done. For we may not judge otherwise of their heart. Let them then give a reason according to the testimonies of the Scriptures, which xii.

ing to the seventh and eighth. Origen; Hom. viii. on Exodus; is of the contrary opinion, because if these two are made one, the number ten is incomplete. And his argument holds of the text in Exodus xx. even in the Vulgate.

DE FIDE

they think ought thus to be understood, in what manner they will dare to refuse this man, and affirm that he is not to be admitted, crying out and saying, 'I have learnt and I worship Christ crucified, I believe that Christ Jesus is the Son of God, put me off no further, require nothing further of me. Them, whom through the Gospel the Apostle begat, he willed should then know nothing further than Christ crucified; after the words of the Eunuch, wherein he said that he believed that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, straightway Philip deferred not to baptize him; why doest thou restrain me the worship of idols, and admittest me not unto the sacrament of Christ, before I have departed thence? That worship I have learned from my childhood, therein I have on me the most heavy weight of custom; I will do it, when I shall have the power, when it shall be convenient; and yet, although I shall do it not, yet not without the Sacrament of Christ let me close this life, lest God demand my soul at your hands.' What answer think they is to be given to this man? Is it their pleasure that he be admitted? Far be it; in no manner would I believe that they advance thus far. What then will they answer to one who thus speaks, and who adds that nothing ought to be said to him concerning the leaving idolatry at any rate before Baptism, in like manner as that first people heard nothing on that subject before the Red Sea, seeing that this is contained in the Law, which they received after they were now set free from Egypt.

1 Cor. 6, 15. Surely they will say to him: Thou art to be the Temple of God, after thou shalt have received Baptism; but the Apostle

2 Cor. 6, 16. says, *What agreement hath the Temple of God with idols?* Wherefore then do they not see that they must say in like manner: Thou art to be a member of Christ, after thou shalt have received Baptism; the members of Christ cannot be the members of a harlot? For this also the Apostle says, who

1 Cor. 6, 9. 10. also in another place, *Be not deceived,* saith he, *neither fornicators, nor idolaters,* and the rest which he there numbers up, *shall inherit the kingdom of God.* Why therefore do we refuse to admit unto Baptism idolaters, and yet think that we are to admit fornicators, whereas unto these and the rest of

1 Cor. 6, 11. evil men, he says, *And such were some of you; but ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified in the*

name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God. ET OPERIBUS.
What cause is there therefore, why, when the power of restraining both is open to me, I allow one coming unto Baptism to remain a fornicator, and do not allow an idolater; when both to the one and to the other I hear it said, *And such were some of you, but ye were washed?* But this it is that moves them, that they think that their salvation is in safety, although through fire, whosoever shall have believed in Christ, and received His Sacrament, that is, shall have been baptized, although they be so neglectful of correction of morals, as to live wickedly. On which question I will bye and bye see, with God's help, what opinion according to the Scriptures is to be held.

19. At present I am still occupied in this question, wherein it appears to them right to admonish them that are already baptized concerning the morals which pertain unto a Christian life, but in the case of them who are yet to be baptized to introduce faith only. Which if it were so, besides so many things which we have said, John the Baptist would not say unto persons coming unto his baptism, *Generation of vipers, who hath pointed out to you to flee from coming wrath? Produce therefore worthy fruits of repentance.* Which admonitions of his are surely not on the matter of faith, but of good works. Whence also unto the soldiers who said, *What shall we do*, he said not, In the mean time believe and be baptized, afterwards ye shall hear what ye ought to do; but he before said, he before premonished them, that as a forerunner he might cleanse the way, for the Lord Who was to come into their hearts: *Do violence to no man, bring false accusation against no man, let your own pay suffice to you.* In like manner unto the publicans who asked what they ought to do, he said, *Exact nothing further than what is appointed unto you.* In briefly making mention of these things, the Evangelist (for he needed not to insert whole Catechisms) hath shewed sufficiently, that it pertaineth unto him who catechizes one about to be baptized, to teach and admonish him concerning morals. But if they had made answer to John, 'We will not at all produce worthy fruits of repentance, we will accuse falsely, we will do violence, we will exact those things which are not owed to us;' and yet

xiii.

Matt. 3, 7. 8.

Luke 3, 12—14.

DE FIDE notwithstanding he were to baptize them after this profession; yet not even thus could it be said, (what is the present question,) that it is not proper to the time at which each man is to be baptized, to discourse unto him first after what manner he ought to lead a good life.

20. What the Lord Himself, to pass over other things, when that rich man sought of Him, what good thing he should do, that he might attain life eternal, let them call to mind what He answered; *If thou wilt come*, said He, *unto life, keep the Commandments.* But he said, *What?* Then the Lord made mention of the Commandments of the Law, *Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery*, and the rest. Whereupon when he had made answer that he had performed these from his youth, He added also a Commandment of perfection, that he should sell all that he had, and give in alms unto the poor, and have treasure in heaven, and follow the same Lord. Let them then see that it was not said unto him that he should believe and be baptized, by the aid of which alone those men think that a man comes unto life; but commandments of morals were given unto the man, which certainly without faith cannot be guarded and observed. Neither, however, because in this place the Lord appears to have been silent as to the suggestion of faith, do we lay down and contend, that we are to state commandments of morals alone to men who desire to attain unto life. For both are connected the one with the other, as I said before; because neither can the love of God exist in a man who loveth not his neighbour, nor the love of his neighbour in him who loveth not God. And so at times we find that Scripture makes mention of the one without the other, either this or that, in place of the full doctrine, so that even in this way we may understand that the one cannot exist without the other: because both he who believes in God ought to do what God commands; and he who therefore does it because God commands it, must of necessity believe in God.

Mat. 19, 17.

xiv. 21. Wherefore let us now consider that, which ought to be cast forth from the hearts of religious persons, that they lose not their own salvation through evil security, if they shall think faith sufficient in order to attain to it, and shall

neglect to live well, and in good works to hold the way of God. For even in the times of the Apostles, through the not understanding certain rather obscure sentences of the Apostle Paul, certain judged that he thus spake, *Let us do evil things, that good things may come;* because he had said, *The law entered, that the offence might abound; but where the offence abounded, grace over-abounded.* Which is for this cause true, because men, who were most proudly presuming on their own strength, receiving the law, and not obtaining through right faith the Divine help for the overcoming of their evil desires, were weighed down by more and heavier offences through the further violation of the law: and thus, through compulsion of great guilt[1], fled for refuge unto faith, whereby to obtain[2] a merciful pardon, and *help from the Lord, Who made heaven and earth;* that, love being shed abroad in their hearts through the Holy Ghost, they might with affection perform those things which they were bidden against the lusts of this world, according to that which had been foretold in the Psalm, *Their weaknesses were multiplied; afterward they made haste.* When therefore the Apostle says, that he judges *that a man is justified through faith without the works of the law;* this is not his object, that, after the delivery and profession of faith, works of righteousness be despised, but that each man may know that he can be justified through faith, although the works of the law have not gone before. For they follow after one who is justified, not go before one who shall be justified. On which subject there is no need to discuss more fully in my present work, especially since I have very lately put forth a long work on this question, entitled '*Of the Letter and Spirit.*' Whereas therefore this opinion had at that time arisen, other Apostolic Epistles of Peter, John, James, and Jude, direct their aim chiefly against it, so as with vehemence to maintain[3] that faith without works profiteth not: in like manner as Paul himself hath laid down, that not any faith whatsoever whereby God is believed in, but that whose works proceed of love, is saving, and truly according to the Gospel; *And faith*, he says, *which worketh through love.* Whence that faith which seems to some to be sufficient unto salvation, he so asserts to be of no avail,

ET OPERIBUS.

Rom. 3, 8.

Rom. 5, 20.

[1] reatu, liability.

[2] mererentur. Ps. 121, 2.

Rom. 5, 5.

Ps. 16, 4.

Rom. 3, 28.

[3] astruant.

Gal. 5, 6.

DE FIDE as that he says, *If I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, and have not love*[1], *I am nothing.* But where faithful love worketh, there without doubt is a good life, for *love is the fulness of the law.*

1 Cor. 13, 2.

[1] *caritatem.* Rom. 13, 10.

22. Whence clearly Peter in his second Epistle, exhorting unto holiness of life and morals, and foretelling that this world is about to pass away, and that new heavens and a new earth is waited for, which should be given unto the righteous to inhabit, that from this they might observe how they ought to live, so as to be made worthy of that dwelling-place; knowing that of certain rather obscure sentences of the Apostle Paul certain unrighteous men had taken occasion, so as to be careless about a good life, as though secure of the salvation which is in faith, made mention that there are certain things difficult to understand in his Epistles, which men perverted, as also they did other Scriptures, unto their own destruction: when notwithstanding that Apostle held the same as the other Apostles, concerning eternal salvation, as what was not given save to them who live a good life. Thus then Peter; *Seeing therefore,* saith he, that all these things do pass away, *what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness, waiting for and hasting unto the presence of the day of the Lord, whereby the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements through fervent heat shall be melted away? but new heavens and a new earth according to His promises look we for, wherein righteousness dwelleth. Wherefore, most beloved, seeing that ye are looking for these things, be diligent that ye be found with Him in peace, unharmed, and without spot. And account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation, even as our most beloved brother Paul, according to the wisdom which was given unto him, wrote unto you, as also in all his Epistles, speaking in them of these things: in which are certain things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable pervert, in like manner as they do the rest of the Scriptures also, unto their own destruction. Ye therefore, most loving, seeing that ye know these things beforehand, beware lest being led astray by the error of unhappy men ye fall from your own stedfastness: but increase in grace and in the knowledge of our*

2 Pet. 3, 11—18.

Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To Him be glory, both now and unto the day of eternity. ET OPERIBUS.

23. But James is so vehemently opposed to them who think that faith without works avails unto salvation, that he likens them even unto devils; *Thou believest that there is One God; thou doest well: the devils also believe and tremble.* What could be said more shortly, more truly, more strongly, when in the Gospel also we read that the devils, when they confessed Christ and were rebuked by Him, said the same thing which obtained praise in the confession of Peter? *What will it profit*, saith James, *my brethren, if a man say that he hath faith, and have not works? will faith be able to save him?* He saith also that *faith without works is dead.* How long then are they to go on being deceived, who of a dead faith promise unto themselves life everlasting? James2, 19. Mark 1, 24. 25. Matt. 8, 29. 16, 16. 17. James2, 14. James2, 17.

XV.

24. Wherefore we ought diligently to take heed in what sense we are to take that sentence of the Apostle Paul, which is clearly hard to be understood, where he says: *But other foundation can no man lay, beside that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus. But if any one build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, each man's work shall be made manifest. For the day shall declare it, because in fire it shall be revealed, and the fire shall prove each man's work of what kind it is. If any man's work shall abide, which he shall have built upon it, he shall receive a reward. But if any man's work shall burn, he shall suffer loss: yet himself shall be saved, yet so as through fire.* Which some think is to be so understood, as that they should seem to build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, who unto the faith which is in Christ add good works: but they, on the other hand, hay, wood, stubble, who, possessing the same faith, are evil workers. Whence they judge that through certain fiery pains they may be cleansed unto the obtaining of salvation, by the merit of the foundation. 1 Cor. 3, 11—15.

25. If this be so, we confess that they with praiseworthy love do strive that all without distinction may be admitted unto Baptism, not only adulterers and adulteresses, against the sentence of the Lord putting forth the plea of false marriages; but also public prostitutes, continuing in their

DEFIDE most shameful profession, whom at any rate no Church, not even the most careless, has been wont to admit, unless after they were set free from such their prostitution. But on that view, why they are not altogether admitted, I am entirely unable to see. For who would not choose rather that they, having laid the foundation, although they should pile together wood, hay, and stubble, should be cleansed by a fire, although it be for a somewhat longer time, than that they should perish for ever? But then those things will be untrue, which have in them nothing obscure and ambiguous:

1 Cor. 13, 2. James 2, 14. *Although I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, and have not love, I am nothing:* and, *What will it profit, my brethren, if a man say that he have faith, and have not works? What, will faith be able to save him?* Untrue

1 Cor. 6, 9. 10. also will be that saying: *Be not deceived; neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with men, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the*

Gal. 5, 19—21. *kingdom of God?* Untrue also that other saying, *The works of the flesh are manifest, which are, fornications, uncleannesses, lasciviousness, luxury, idolatry, witchcrafts, wrath, strifes, emulations, hatreds, variances, heresies, envyings, drunkenness, revellings, and such like, of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* These things will be untrue. For if only they believe and are baptized, although they continue in such evil practices, they shall be saved through fire: and therefore, being baptized in Christ, even they who do such things shall inherit

1 Cor. 6, 11. the kingdom of God. But in vain is it said, *And such were some of you, but ye were washed;* seeing that even after they have been washed they are such. Vain also will appear

1 Pet. 3, 21. that saying of Peter, *Thus you also in a like manner*[1] *baptism doth save, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer*[2] *of a good conscience;* if indeed, even although they have most evil consciences full of all sins and wickednesses, and unchanged by repentance for these evil things, yet notwithstanding Baptism doth save them; for by reason of the foundation which is in this same Baptism laid, they shall be saved, although it be through fire. That other

[1] *forma*
[2] *interrogatio.*

also I see not wherefore the Lord said, *If thou wilt come unto life, keep the Commandments*; and made mention of those which pertain unto a good life and morals, if; even although these be not kept, a man may come unto life through faith alone, which *without works is dead.* Next, in what manner is that true which He will say unto them whom He will set on his left hand, *Go ye into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels?* Whom He rebukes, not because they have not believed in Him, but because they have not done good works. For assuredly, in order that no man may promise unto himself life everlasting, of faith, which without works is dead, therefore said He that He will separate all nations, which were mixed together, and were wont to use the same pastures: that it may be evident, that they will say unto Him, *Lord, when saw we Thee* suffering this and that, *and ministered not unto Thee*, who had believed in Him, but had not been careful to do good works, as if of their very dead faith they should attain unto eternal life. What? and will they haply, who have omitted to do works of mercy, go into everlasting fire, and will they not go who have taken away other men's goods, and by corrupting the Temple of God within them, have been unmerciful towards themselves? As if works of mercy were of any profit without love, whereas the Apostle says, *If I distribute all my goods to the poor, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing*; or as if any man love his neighbour as himself, who loves not himself? For *Whoso loveth unrighteousness hateth his own soul.* Nor will that allow of being here said, wherein some deceive themselves, saying, that the *fire* is said to be everlasting, not the punishment itself everlasting: insomuch as they judge that through fire, which is everlasting, they will pass, unto whom, on account of a dead faith, they promise salvation through fire: evidently, that the fire itself be everlasting, but that their burning, that is, the operation of the fire on them, be not everlasting; whereas the Lord, foreseeing this also, as the Lord, thus ended His sentence, saying, *Thus they shall go into everlasting burning*[1], *but the righteous into life everlasting.* Therefore the burning will be everlasting, in like manner as the fire; and the Truth hath said that into it they

ET OPERIBUS. Mat. 19, 17—19.

Mat. 25, 41.

Mat. 25, 44.

1 Cor. 13, 3.

Ps. 11, 5.

Mat. 25, 46.

[1] κόλασιν *Gr.* supplicium *V.*

DEFIDE will go, not whose faith, but whose good works, He hath declared to have been wanting.

26. If therefore all these sayings, and the rest which may be found without number throughout all the Scriptures, spoken without any doubtful sense, shall be untrue; then will it be possible that that interpretation be true concerning the wood, hay, and stubble, that they shall be saved through fire, who holding faith alone in Christ have neglected good works. But if those other are both true and clear, without doubt in that sentence of the Apostle we must look for another interpretation, and we must account it among those things, whereof Peter says, that there are certain in his writings hard to be understood, which men ought not to pervert unto their own destruction, so as in opposition to the most manifest testimonies of the Scriptures to set free from all anxiety concerning the obtaining of salvation the most wicked men, most obstinately clinging to their wickedness, and unchanged by amendment or repentance.

xvi. 27. Here perhaps I may be asked, what my own sense is of this same sentence of Paul, and in what way I think that it ought to be understood. I confess that on this point I should rather hear men of more understanding and learning than myself speak, who so expound it, as that there remain true and unshaken all those passages which I have made mention of above, and whatsoever other passages I have not made mention of, wherein Scripture most openly testifies that faith availeth nothing, save that faith which the Apostle hath defined, that is, *which worketh through love;* but that without works it cannot save, neither beside fire, nor through fire: because if it save through fire, then assuredly itself saves. But it is said absolutely and openly, *What doth it profit, if a man say that he hath faith, and have not works? What, will his faith be able to save him?* I will however declare, in as few words as I can, what my own sense is of that sentence, 'hard to be understood,' of the Apostle Paul: only let that be especially kept in mind, which belongs to the profession which I made, that I had rather on this subject hear persons speak who are better than myself. Christ is the Foundation in the building of a wise master-builder; this stands in no need of exposition; for it is openly

Gal. 5, 6.

James 2, 14.

said, *But other foundation can no man lay beside that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus.* But if Christ, then without doubt faith in Christ: forasmuch as through faith Christ dwelleth in our hearts, as the same Apostle says. Further, if faith in Christ, then surely that which the Apostle defined, *which worketh through love.* For not the faith of devils, whereas they themselves both believe and tremble, and confess that Jesus is the Son of God, can be taken as a foundation. For what reason, save because that is not faith which worketh through love, but which is wrung out through fear? Thus the faith in Christ, the faith which is of Christian grace, that is, that faith which worketh through love, being laid as a foundation, suffereth no one to perish. But what it is to build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, and wood, hay, stubble, this, if I endeavour to discuss more exactly, I fear lest there be more difficulty in understanding the exposition itself: yet I will strive, so far as the Lord helps me, shortly and, as much as I may, clearly to set forth what my own sense is. Lo, he who sought from the good Master, what good thing he should do, that he might have life everlasting; both heard it said, that, if he would come unto life, he must keep the Commandments; and, upon asking, what Commandments? had it said unto him, *Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Honour thy father and thy mother, and, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* These things doing in faith in Christ, he would without doubt hold faith which worketh through love. For neither would he love his neighbour as himself, save after having received the love of God, without which he would not love himself[1]. Further, if he were also to do what the Lord added, saying, *If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell all things which thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow Me;* he would build upon that foundation gold, silver, precious stones; for he would have no thoughts, save of the things which are God's, how to please God, and these thoughts are, as I think, gold, silver, precious stones. Further, if he were possessed by a certain carnal affection about his riches, although he should give much alms of them, and should

ET OPERIBUS.

Eph. 3, 17.

Mat. 19, 16—21.

[1] see §. 25.

DE FIDE neither form plans of fraud or violence in order to increase them, nor through fear of lessening or losing them fall into any sin or act of guilt, (were he to do otherwise, he would be thus now withdrawing himself from the assuredness of That Foundation,) still[1] by reason of a carnal affection, as I said, which he had in them, whereby he could not without pain suffer the loss of such good things; he would build upon That Foundation, wood, hay, stubble; chiefly if he possessed a wife too, so as for her sake also to have thoughts of the things which are of the world, how to please his wife. Therefore inasmuch as these things, being with carnal affection loved, are not lost without sorrow, for this reason, they who so have them, as to have as a foundation faith which worketh through love, and who do not in any way, or through any desire, prefer these things to that faith, having suffered harm in the loss of these things, attain unto salvation through a certain fire of sorrow. From which sorrow and loss each one is so much the more secure in proportion as he has loved them less, or had them as though he had them not. But he who for the sake of retaining or gaining these things, shall have been guilty of murder, adultery, fornication, idolatry, and such like, shall not, by reason of the foundation, be saved through fire, but having lost the foundation shall be in everlasting fire tormented.

[1] sed. The sentence is imperfect.

28. Wherefore also in that which they assert, as though desirous of proving of how great avail faith is, where the Apostle says, *But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart; for a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases;* that is, that on account of the faith of Christ even the very wife joined in lawful union may be left without any fault, if she shall be unwilling to continue with her husband being a Christian, for the reason that he is a Christian: they observe not that in this way she is most rightly suffered to depart, if she shall say to her husband, I will not be your wife, unless you heap me up riches even by robbery, or unless, even now that you are a Christian, you exercise the wonted lewd practices whereby you used to maintain our house-keeping[2]; or if she have known any thing else in her husband, either criminal or disgraceful, by the delight whereof she was wont to fill her lust, or had a more easy provision to

1 Cor. 7, 15.

[2] domum nostram transigebas.

for life, or, it may be, went more richly attired. For then he unto whom his wife says this, if he truly repented from dead works when he came unto Baptism, and hath as a foundation faith which worketh through love, will without any doubt be held more by love of divine grace, than of his wife's flesh, and the member, which causeth him to offend, he courageously cutteth off. But whatsoever sorrow of heart in this separation he shall sustain by reason of his carnal affection for his wife, this is the loss which he will suffer, this is the fire through which, the hay burning, he himself shall be saved. But if he already had his wife as though he had her not, not of desire, but of mercy, that haply[1] he might save her, rendering rather than exacting the debt of marriage; certainly neither will he grieve after the flesh, when such a marriage shall be taken from him: for neither in her[2] had he any thoughts, save of the things which are of God, how to please God. And thus in so far as he was by these thoughts building upon the foundation gold, silver, and precious stones, thus far he would suffer no loss, thus far his building, which was not of hay, would be consumed by no burning.

ET OPERIBUS.

[1] neforte

[2] so Mss. al. 'in it.' 1 Cor. 7, 29—34.

29. Whether therefore it be in this life only that men suffer these things, or whether after this life also certain such judgments follow, the sense in which I understand this sentence is not, as I judge, alien from the manner of truth. However, if there be another sense, which occurs not to myself, such as should be taken in preference; yet, so long as we hold this, we are not obliged to say to the unjust, the disobedient, the wicked, the impure, murderers of fathers, murderers of mothers, manslayers, whoremongers, defilers of themselves with mankind, menstealers, liars, perjured persons, and if there be any other thing which is contrary to sound doctrine, which is according to the Gospel of the glory of the Blessed God; 'if only ye believe in Christ, and receive the Sacrament of His Baptism, although ye change not that most evil life of yours, ye shall be saved.'

[3] v. note at the end of the treatise.

1 Tim. 1, 9—11.

30. Whence neither doth that woman of Canaan make precedent against us[4], because the Lord gave her what she asked, when He had before said, *It is not good to take away the children's bread, and to cast it unto dogs;* because He,

[4] 'Prescribit nobis.' Mat. 15, 27.

DEFIDE the Seer of the heart, saw her to be changed, when He praised her. And therefore He says not, O dog, great is thy faith; but, *O woman, great is thy faith.* He changed the term, because He saw a change in the affection, and understood that that rebuke had come to bear fruit. But it is a wonder to me if He praised in her faith without works, that is, faith not such as that it was already capable of working through love, dead faith, and, what the Apostle James had no hesitation in saying, faith, not of Christians, but of devils. Lastly, if they are unwilling to understand that the woman of Canaan changed her abandoned conduct[1], when Christ brought her to a sense of her guilt by His neglect and rebuke; whomsoever they shall find believing merely, and so far from even concealing, as that they make free profession of a most impure life; let them heal their sons, if they can, in like manner as the daughter of the woman of Canaan was healed; yet let them not make them members of Christ, when they themselves cease not to be members of an harlot. In this indeed they judge not ill, that he sins against the Holy Ghost, and is without pardon under condemnation[2] of everlasting sin, who even unto the end of his life shall refuse to believe in Christ; but this, provided they understood aright what to believe in Christ is. For this is not to have the faith of devils, which is rightly accounted dead; but faith which worketh through love.

Mat. 15, 28.

[1] perditos mores.

[2] reum.

xvii. 30. Such being the case, when we refuse to admit such persons to Baptism, it is not that we are endeavouring before the time to pluck out the tares, but that we are unwilling, like the devil, to sow tares upon the wheat: neither are we hindering them who are willing to come to Christ, but are by their own very profession convicting them of unwillingness to come to Christ: nor are we forbidding them to believe in Christ, but are shewing them that they are unwilling to believe in Christ, who either deny that to be adultery which He declares to be adultery, or believe that adulterers can be His members, who He declares through the Apostle inherit not the kingdom of God, and are *contrary to sound doctrine, which is according to the Gospel of the glory of the Blessed God.* Whence such are not to be accounted among them who came to the marriage feast; but among them who

1 Cor. 6, 9. 10.
1 Tim. 1, 10—11.
Luke 14, 16. &c.

were unwilling to come. For when these very men dare most openly to contradict the doctrine of Christ, and to be contrary to the holy Gospel, they are not thrust back from coming, but despise coming. But they who renounce the world, at least in words, even if not in deeds, come indeed and are numbered [h]among the wheat, and are heaped together into the garner, and are joined unto the same flock with the sheep, and enter the nets, and are mixed with the guests at the feast; but within, whether they lie hid, or appear, then will there be a reason of bearing with them, in case there be no power of correcting them, nor due grounds for a presumption of separating them. For far be it that we so understand that which is written, that there were brought unto the marriage feast, *whomsoever they found, good and bad*, as to believe that they brought unto it them who made profession of continuance in evil. Otherwise it was the very servants of the householder who sowed the tares, and that saying will be false, *But the enemy who sowed them is the devil.* But forasmuch as this cannot be untrue, *the servants* brought unto the feast *good and bad*, whether it be them who lay hid, or them who appeared after that they had been brought and let in; or whether the expression 'good and bad' be used according to a certain life and conversation of the natural man[1], wherein even they who have not yet believed, are wont to be either praised or blamed. Whence also is that advice which the Lord gives to the disciples, whom He originally sends to preach the Gospel, that into whatsoever city they come, they inquire who therein is worthy, that they may dwell at his house, until they go out thence. Who in truth will be this *man that is worthy*, save he that shall be accounted a good man in the judgment of his fellow-citizens? And who unworthy, save he who shall be known unto them as an evil man? Of both kinds men come unto the faith of Christ, and thus both good and bad are brought thither; because those bad ones also refuse not to repent from dead works. But, if they refuse, they are not thrust back when they are desirous to enter in, but of themselves by open contradiction depart from the entrance.

ET OPERIBUS.

Mat.22, 10.

Mat.13, 39.

[1] humanam

Mat.10, 11.

32. Therefore also that servant will be safe, and will not

DE FIDE

be condemned among the slothful, in that he would not expend[1] his Lord's talent; since in truth it was they who were unwilling to receive what he would expend. For it is for their sakes that this parable is set forth, who are unwilling to take upon themselves the office of steward in the Church, using as a pretext the slothful excuse, that they are unwilling to have to give an account for other men's sins; who hear and do not, that is, who receive and do not make a return. But when the faithful and diligent steward, being most ready in expending, and most greedy of the gain of his Lord, says to the adulterer, 'Be no longer an adulterer, if thou wilt be baptized; believe in Christ, Who declares that which thou art doing to be adultery, if thou wilt be baptized; be no longer a member of an harlot, if thou wilt be made a member of Christ;' and the other replies, 'I obey not, I do not:' it is he himself who will not receive the true money of the Lord, but will rather carry his own adulterated[3] money into the Lord's treasures. But in case he were to make profession of doing, and were not to do, and it were after impossible in any way to amend him; a way would be found of disposing of him, so as that he, who was of no use to himself, should not be hurtful[4] to others; so that if within the good nets of the Lord he were an evil fish, yet should he not ensnare the fishes of his Lord in evil nets; that is, so that, if he should in the Church retain an evil life, yet should he not there set up evil doctrine. For when such persons defend such their deeds, or making most open profession of their intention of continuing in them, are admitted unto Baptism; it seems that nothing else is proclaimed, than that fornicators and adulterers, even unto the end of this life continuing in that sin, shall inherit the kingdom of God, and by the merit of faith, which without works is dead, shall come unto everlasting life and salvation. These are evil nets which fishers especially ought to beware of: that is, if in that parable in the Gospel by fishers are to be understood bishops, or others of lower rank who are set over the Churches: because it is said, *Come, and I will make you fishers of men.* For by good nets may be caught fishes both good and evil; but by evil nets cannot be caught good fishes. Since in good doctrine there may be the good who

[1] erogare

Mat. 25, 14—30.

[2] S. Chrys. Hom. iii. in Prin. Actor.

[3] adulterinam.

[4] inutilis.

Matt. 4, 19.

hears and does, and the evil who hears and does not; but in evil doctrine, both he who thinks it true, although he obey it not, is evil; and he who obeys it, is worse. ET OPERIBUS.

33. This indeed is matter of wonder, that brethren, who think otherwise, whereas they ought to depart from that, whether old or new, at any rate pernicious opinion, of themselves assert moreover that the doctrine is novel, whereby men most wicked, making open profession of their intention of continuing in their scandalous sins, are not admitted unto Baptism; as though they were sojourning in a foreign land, I know not where, when harlots and stage-players, and any other persons whatsoever who are engaged publicly in shameful professions, are not allowed to approach the Christian Sacraments, save after they have set themselves free from, or broken off, such bonds: who certainly according to their view would all be admitted, were it not that Holy Church retained her ancient and unbending[1] custom, coming as it does from that most clear truth, whereby she knows of a surety, *that they who do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* And unless they shall have repented from these dead works, they are not allowed to approach unto Baptism: but in case they shall have crept in unawares, yet, unless, even after, they shall be converted and repent, they cannot be saved. But drunkards, covetous men, slanderers, and if there be any other damnable sins such as cannot by open deeds be brought to proof and conviction; yet are these strongly lashed by commandments and catechizings, and all such seem as having their wills changed for the better to approach unto Baptism. But if haply, as respects adulterers, whom not human law but divine condemns, that is, who have other men's wives for their own, or women, who have other women's husbands, they have observed these in any place to be admitted without due care; these things they should endeavour to amend from those other which are right, that is, so as not to admit even these persons; not from these latter, which are wrong, to make wrong those other, which are right, so as to hold that the Competentes are not to be catechized even on the subject of correction of life: and, in consequence, to judge, that even all those who publicly exercise those shameful and sinful

xviii.

[1] robustum.

Gal. 5, 19—21.

1 Cor. 6, 9. 10.

DE FIDE professions, that is, harlots, panders, gladiators, and such like, even whilst they continue in those evil practices, yet ought to be admitted. For all those things which the Apostle reckons up, saying at the end, *that they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God*, they who act more strongly rebuke, as is becoming, when brought to their knowledge, and admit not to receive Baptism them who oppose themselves, and make profession of their intention of continuing therein.

XIX. 34. But they who think that all other sins are easily atoned for by alms, yet have no doubt of three being deadly, and such as require to be punished by excommunications, until they be healed by a greater humility of penance, namely, unchastity, idolatry, murder. Nor is it now necessary to inquire of what nature that opinion of theirs is, and whether it be to be amended, or approved, that we lengthen not out the work which we have in hand, in order to that other question, which is no way necessary for the solution of this one. For it is enough, that if all sins are to be refused admission into the Sacrament of Baptism, among these all is adultery; or if only those three are to be excepted, even among those three is adultery, upon which the present discussion arose.

35. But because the conduct of evil Christians, which has been before this of the very worst character, yet seems not to have had in it this evil, that men married other men's wives, or women were wedded to other women's husbands; hence perhaps in certain Churches this neglect hath crept in unawares, that in the catechizings of the Competentes these sins were not inquired into or rebuked; and hence it hath come to pass, that they have begun even to be defended: which sins however among the baptized are rare as yet, if we ourselves by our neglect make them not to be frequent. In fact, it would appear probable that it was such neglect in some, want of skill in others, ignorance in others, that our Lord meant by the term sleep, where He says, *But while men slept, the enemy came, and sowed beside tares.* But from this fact we are to think that these things appeared not at the first in the conduct even of evil Christians, that the blessed Cyprian in his letter concerning the Lapsed,

Mat. 13. 25.

when making mention of many things by way of lamentation or rebuke, whereby he saith that the wrath of God hath been justly moved, so as to suffer His Church to be scourged by a persecution such as could not be borne, altogether omits to mention these in that place, when even on that other point he is not silent, and affirms that it pertaineth unto the same evil conduct, namely, to form the bond of marriage with unbelievers, affirming it to be nothing else than to prostitute unto the Gentiles the members of Christ: which in our times are not any longer thought to be sins; since in truth there is no commandment on the subject in the New Testament, and therefore it was either believed to be lawful, or left as doubtful. Just as that also is uncertain, whether Herod married the wife of his brother, after his death, or during his life[d]: and so it is not so clear, what John declared to be not lawful to him. Also in the case of a concubine, if she shall make profession that she will know no other man, even although she be put away by him unto whom she is in subjection, it is with reason doubted, whether she ought not to be admitted unto Baptism. Whosoever also shall have put away his wife, having taken her in adultery, and shall have married another, it seems not right to place him on a level with them who, for other causes save that of adultery, put away and marry: and in the divine sentences themselves it is so obscure, whether he also, who may without doubt lawfully put away an adulteress, is yet to be counted as an adulterer, if he shall marry another, that, as far as I think, each one who is in this matter deceived commits a venial fault[1]. Wherefore those which are manifest sins of unchastity, are in every way to be restrained from Baptism, unless they be amended by a change of will and by repentance: but where they are uncertain, we must every way endeavour that such unions be not formed. For what need is there to thrust one's self into so great danger of uncertainty? But if they have been formed, I know not whether it seem not that they who have formed them, ought in like manner to be admitted unto Baptism.

ET OPERIBUS.

Mat. 14, 3. 4.

[1] veniali-ter quisque fallatur.

[d] Josephus, Antiq. xviii. 7. states, that he married his brother's wife during his life, and the same is chanted in the Roman Breviary on the Feast of the Beheading of St. John Baptist. *Ben.*

DEFIDE XX. 36. So far therefore as pertains unto the wholesome doctrine of the truth, in order that unto any deadly sin there be not given a most destructive security, or even be assigned a most pestilent authority, the order of the process of healing is this, that they who are to be baptized believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in that form wherein the symbol is delivered; and that they repent from dead works, and doubt not that they shall receive entire remission of all past sins whatsoever: not that sin may be lawful unto them hereafter, but that past sin may not injure them; that there may be a remission of what was done, not a permission so to do. Then can it be truly said, even in a spiritual sense, *Behold, thou art made whole, sin no more:* which the Lord therefore spake of bodily soundness, because He knew, that in his case whom He had healed, the very sickness of the flesh had happened as what his sins deserved. But these men, where the man enters to receive Baptism an adulterer, and goes forth, being baptized, an adulterer, it is a wonder to me in what sense they think it said unto him, *Behold, thou art made whole.* For what is there that is a grievous and deadly disease, if adultery shall be soundness?

John 5, 14.

xxi. 37. But among the three thousand, say they, whom the Apostles baptized in one day, and among the so many thousands of believers, among whom, from Jerusalem even unto Illyricum, the Apostle fully preached the Gospel, there were surely some men united to other men's wives, or women united to other women's husbands: among whom the Apostles ought to have established a rule, to be after observed in the Churches, whether or not they should be refused admission unto Baptism, unless they amended those adulteries. As though it may not be said against them in like manner, that they find not mention made of any one, who, being such, was admitted. Or as though in truth the sins of individuals, a thing which were without any end, could be made mention of; whereas that general rule is enough and more than enough, where Peter, with many words testifying, said unto them that were to be baptized, *Save yourselves from this froward world.* For who can doubt that adulteries, and they who have chosen to persist in the same unrighteous way, pertain unto the untowardness of

Rom. 15, 19.

Acts 2, 40.

this world? But in like manner it may be said, that public prostitutes (whom assuredly no Church admits unto Baptism, save after they have been freed from that shameful state) might have been found among so many thousands of those who then believed throughout so many nations, and that the Apostles ought to have established precedents concerning the receiving or rejecting these. However, we may conjecture the greater from certain lesser things. For if publicans coming to John's Baptism were forbidden to ask any thing more than what had been appointed unto them; it were a wonder if unto them who came unto the Baptism of Christ adultery should be allowed. ET OPERIBUS. Luke 3, 13.

38. They have made mention also that the Israelites had committed many and grievous offences, and had shed much blood of the Prophets, and yet that not by reason of these things deserved they altogether to be blotted out, but by reason of unbelief alone, whereby they would not believe in Christ; not considering that their sin was not this alone, that they believed not in Christ, but also that they slew Christ; whereof the one pertains unto the charge of unbelief, the other unto the charge of cruelty. The one therefore is contrary to a right faith, the other is contrary to a good life. But he is free from both faults, who hath the faith of Christ, not that which without works is dead, which is found even in devils; but the FAITH OF GRACE, which worketh through love. James 2, 19.20. Gal. 5, 6.

39. This is that faith, concerning which it is declared; *The kingdom of heaven*[1] *is within you.* For this kingdom they take by force, who do violence by believing, asking and receiving the Spirit of Love, wherein is the fulfilling of the law, without which Love[2] the law in the letter made them to be under the condemnation because of transgression. We must not then think, that it was therefore declared, *The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and they who do violence, take it by force;* because even the bad, merely by believing and living the very worst lives, attain unto the kingdom of heaven; but because that state of condemnation by reason of transgression, which the law alone, that is, the letter, caused by giving commandment without the Spirit, is by believing done away, and by the violence of faith the Luke 17, 21. [1] Gr. and V. '*of God.*' Rom. 13, 10. [2] or, which fulfilling.' Mat. 11, 12.

DE FIDE Holy Spirit is asked and received; through Whom, Love
Rom. 5, being shed abroad in our hearts, the law is fulfilled, not from
5. fear of punishment, but from love of righteousness.

xxii. 40. Therefore let not the incautious mind be at all deceived, so as to think that it knows God, if it confess Him with a dead faith, that is, without good works, after the manner of devils: and on this account entertain no further doubt of attaining unto life everlasting, because the Lord
John 17, says, *But this is life everlasting, that they may know Thee,*
3. *the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent.* In truth, that other also ought to come into his mind, which
1 John is written, *Herein know we Him, if we keep His Command-*
2, 3. 4. *ments; whoso saith, I know Him, and keepeth not His Commandments, is a liar, and in him the truth is not.* And, that no one may think that His Commandments pertain only unto faith; (although no one has dared to assert this, especially in that He spake Commandments, and lest these
Mat. 22, by their number should dissipate the thought, *On these two*
40. *hangeth the whole Law and the Prophets;*) albeit it may be rightly said, that the Commandments of God pertain unto faith alone, if not dead faith, but that living faith be understood, which worketh through love; yet after did John himself
1 John declare his meaning, when he said, *This is His Command-*
3, 23. *ment, that we believe in the Name of His Son Jesus Christ, and love one another.*

41. This then is profitable, to believe in God with a right faith, to worship God, to know God, that we may both obtain
[1] mere- from Him help to live well, and, in case we sin, may earn [1]
amur. pardon from Him; not continuing carelessly in the things which He hates, but departing from them, and saying unto
Ps. 41, 4. Him, *I said, O Lord, have mercy on me; heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee:* whereas they have not any one to whom to say it, who believe not in Him; and they say it
[2] tam in vain, who, being so far [2] from Him, are alien from the grace
longe. of the Mediator. Whence are those words in the Book of Wisdom, which I know not how a security fraught with ruin
Wisd. interprets; *even though we sin, we are Thine;* since in truth
15, 2. we have a good and great God, Who is both willing and able to heal the sins of them who repent, not One Who dares not to destroy utterly them who continue in their evil mind.

Finally, after having said, *we are Thine;* he added, *knowing Thy power:* that power certainly from which the sinner cannot withdraw himself or hide himself. Therefore he went on, and added; *But we will not sin, knowing that we are accounted Thine.* For who that entertains worthy thoughts of the dwelling with God, wherein all are by predestination accounted, who according to the purpose are called, but must strive so to live, as is suitable to such a dwelling? Whereas therefore John also says, *These things I have written unto you, that ye sin not; and, if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and He is an effectual intercession*[1] *for our sins:* this is not his object, that we may sin with security; but that, departing from sin, if we have committed any, by reason of That Advocate, Whom unbelievers have not, we may in no way despair of pardon. ET OPERIBUS. 1 John 2, 1. 2. [1] exoratio.

42. Neither therefore out of these words are we to promise any milder condition to them who would so believe in God, as to continue in evil conduct; much less out of those where the Apostle says, *They who have sinned without law, shall perish without law, but they who have sinned in the law, shall be judged through the law;* as if in this place there were some difference between perishing and being judged, whereas it is the same thing expressed by another word. For the Scriptures use to put 'judgment' also for eternal damnation; as in the Gospel the Lord says, *The hour shall come, wherein all that are in the graves shall hear His voice; and they that have done well shall go forth unto the resurrection of life; but they that have done ill unto the resurrection of judgment.* Nor is it here said, 'They that have believed' shall do this, and 'they that have not believed' shall do that, but, *They that have done well* shall do this, *They that have done ill* that. That is to say, a good life cannot be separated from faith which worketh through love; yea rather the faith itself is a good life. We see therefore that the Lord said, *the resurrection of judgment*, in place of the resurrection of eternal damnation. Out of all, that is, who shall rise again (where without doubt will they also be who altogether believe not, for neither are they not in their graves) He made two parts, declaring that the one shall rise again *unto the* xxiii. Rom. 2, 12. John 5, 28. 29.

DEFIDE *resurrection of life*, the other *unto the resurrection of judgment.*

43. But if they say that we are not to understand in that place them also who altogether believe not, but them who shall be saved through fire, because they have believed, even although they have lived ill, so as to pronounce that by the term judgment is meant the punishment of these latter which is for a time. (Although this were a most bold assertion, when altogether the Lord hath divided all that shall rise again, among whom without doubt unbelievers also will be, into two portions, 'life' and 'judgment;' willing that the judgment be understood to be everlasting, although this He has not added, in like manner as the life also. For neither saith He, unto the resurrection of *everlasting* life; albeit He surely meant not that any thing else should be understood.) Let them however see to it, what answer they will make, where He saith, *But he that believeth not, is judged already.* For in this place without doubt they either understand that judgment is put for everlasting punishment, or will dare to assert that even unbelievers will be saved through fire; forasmuch as, *He that believeth not*, saith He, *is judged already;* that is, is already appointed unto judgment: and there will not be any thing for them to promise as a great largess to them who believe and live evil lives, seeing that they also who believe not, will not be destroyed, but judged[e]. And if they dare not assert this, let them not dare to promise any thing more gentle to them, of whom it is said, *they shall be judged through the law;* because it is certain that the term judgment is wont to be used for everlasting damnation. What, that we find that they who sin knowingly, are under terms not only in no sense more gentle, but even worse? For these are they especially who have received the law. For, as it is written, *Where law is not, neither is there transgression.* Hence also is that other, *Lust I was ignorant of, but that the Law said, Thou shalt not lust. Thus, having taken occasion, sin through the Commandment worked in me all manner of lust;* and many other things which the same Apostle says on this subject. From this more grievous

John 3, 18.

Rom. 4, 15.

Rom. 7, 7. 8.

[e] And therefore are in no such condition as to need Baptism without due preparation.

state of condemnation we are set free by the Grace of the Holy Spirit through Jesus Christ our Lord, which, by the shedding abroad of love in our hearts, bestoweth on us a delight in righteousness, whereby to overcome the inordinateness of lust. Hence therefore it is made certain, that we are not only to understand nothing more gentle, but something more grievous in their case, of whom it is said, *They, who have sinned in the law, shall be judged through the law;* than in their case, who, sinning without law, shall perish without law: nor is the word *judgment* in this place put for a punishment which passes away, but for that whereby they also that believe not shall be judged. ET OPERIBUS.

44. For they who make use of this sentence in order to promise salvation through fire, to them who, although believers, are living most evil lives, so as to say to them, *They who have sinned without law, shall perish without law; but they who have sinned in the law, shall be judged through the law;* as though it had been said, shall not perish, but shall be saved through fire; could not have observed this point either, that the Apostle spake this of them who without law, and of them who in the law, have sinned, when treating of the Gentiles and the Jews; that he might shew that not unto the Gentiles only, but unto both there was need of the grace of Christ to set them free: which the whole of the Epistle to the Romans evidently shews. Now then let them promise, if they will, salvation through fire, unto the Jews also sinning in the law, of whom it is said, *They shall be judged through the law*, the grace of Christ not setting them free, seeing that of these it is said, *They shall be judged through the law.* Which if they do not, lest they come into collision with themselves, asserting as they do that they are bound with a most grievous charge of unbelief; wherefore do they transfer unto unbelievers, and believers, in what relates to faith in Christ, what was said of them who without law, and of them who in the law, have sinned, when the subject treated of was concerning the Jews, and concerning the Gentiles, that both should be invited unto the grace of Christ? For neither was it said, They, who xxiv.
have sinned without faith, shall perish without faith; but they, who have sinned in the faith, shall be judged through

DE FIDE the faith; but it was said, 'without law,' and, 'in the law;' that it might sufficiently appear that it affected that cause, which was being treated of, between Gentiles and Jews, not that which is between good and evil Christians.

45. Although, even if they would have law in that place taken in the sense of faith, which were too absurd and out of place, yet even on this[1] they may read a most open sentence of Peter, who, (speaking of them who had taken for an occasion of the flesh, and a cloak of evil practice, that where it is written, that *we*, who pertain unto the New Testament, *are sons, not of the bond-woman, but of the free-woman, in the liberty wherein Christ hath set us free:* and had thought that this was to live freely, that, as though secure of so great redemption, they should think whatsoever pleased them to be lawful to them, not considering what is said, *Ye have been called into liberty, brethren; only make not your liberty an occasion of the flesh:* whence also Paul himself says, *As free, yet not having your liberty as a cloak of evil practice,*) says of them in his second Epistle also, *These are wells that are dry, and clouds tossed with a tempest; unto whom the gloom of darkness is reserved for ever; for, when they speak proud words of vanity, they entice in the lusts of the wantonness of the flesh them who are but just*[2] *escaped, after living in error, offering unto them liberty, whereas they themselves are slaves of corruption. For of whom one is overcome, unto him is he made over as a slave. For if, whilst fleeing from the pollutions of the world unto the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, they are again entangled therein, and overcome, the latter state becomes unto them worse than the former. For it were better for them not to know the way of righteousness, than, when they know it, to turn back from the holy Commandment delivered unto them. But it hath happened unto them, what is said in the true proverb, The dog is turned unto his own vomit again, and the sow which was washed unto her wallowing in the mire.* Why any longer, in opposition to this most manifest truth, is a better condition promised unto them who have known the way of righteousness, that is, the Lord Christ, and who live abandoned lives, than if they had altogether been ignorant of it; whereas it is most openly said, *It were better for them*

[1] hinc.

Gal. 4, 31.(5,1.) so Vulg.

Gal. 5, 13.

1 Pet. 2, 16.

2 Pet. 2, 17—22.

[2] marginal reading, and so Vulg. and some Mss.

not to know the way of righteousness, than, when they know it, to turn back from the holy Commandment delivered unto them. ET OPERIBUS.

46. For neither by the holy Commandment must he in this place understand that, wherein we were bidden to believe in God; although the whole be contained in this very thing, if we understand the faith of believers to be that which worketh through love; but he openly set forth, what he called the holy Commandment, that is, wherein we were bidden to depart from the pollutions of this world, and to live in a holy conversation. For thus he saith, *But if, fleeing from the pollutions of the world unto the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, they are again entangled therein and overcome, the latter state becomes unto them worse than the former.* He says not, fleeing from the ignorance of God, or fleeing from the unbelief of the world, or any other such thing; but *the pollutions of the world*, wherein is contained assuredly every uncleanness of shameful sins. For speaking above of these, he said, *Feasting together with you, having eyes full of adultery, and of sin unceasing.* Therefore also does he call them wells that are dry; *wells*, that is, in that they had received the knowledge of the Lord Christ; but *dry*, because they live not in a manner suitable thereunto. For of such the Apostle Jude also speaking, says, *They are they who in your feasts of charity, being full of spots, feast with you, feeding themselves without fear, clouds are they without water;* and the rest. For that which Peter says, *Feasting with you, having eyes full of adultery;* the same Jude, *In your feasts of charity, being full of spots, they feast with you.* For they are mingled with the good in the feasts of the Sacraments and in the feasts of charity of the poorer sort[t]. And whereof Peter says, *Fountains which are dry;* of the same Jude, *Clouds without water;* of the same James, *Faith that is dead.* XXV. 2 Pet. 2, 13. 14. Jude 12.

47. Let not therefore a promise be made of punishment, that is for a time, of fire, unto them who are living shameful and wicked lives, because they have 'known the way of righteousness;' unto whom it had been better not to know

[t] 'Dilectionibus plebium.' He calls the same 'Agapes,' contra Faustum, xx. 20.

DE FIDE it, as the most true Scripture testifies. For concerning such
Mat. 12, 45. the Lord also says, *And the last state of that man shall be worse than was the former:* since, by not receiving the Holy Spirit to be a dweller in his purified state, he hath made the unclean spirit to return into him manifold more. Unless haply they, of whom we are now treating, are therefore to be accounted better, because they have not returned unto the uncleanness of their adulteries, but have never departed from it; nor after cleansing have again defiled themselves, but have refused to be cleansed. For neither, in order that they may disburthen their conscience and enter unto Baptism, do they deign at least to cast forth their former impurities, again, after the manner of dogs, to suck them up; but in the holiness of the very Laver they obstinately persist to hold the undigested wickedness in their crude breast: nor do they hide it by any, even feigned, promise, but with a shamelessness of profession belch it forth; nor do they, when going
Gen. 19, 26. forth from Sodom, after the manner of Loth's wife, again look back on things past, but they altogether disdain to go forth from Sodom; yea they strive with Sodom to enter into
1 Tim. 1, 13. Christ. Paul the Apostle saith, *I who before was a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious; but I obtained mercy because I did it ignorantly in unbelief;* and unto these it is said, 'Then will ye rather obtain mercy, if knowingly ye shall live evil lives in the faith itself.' It is too long a task, and well nigh without end, to wish to bring together all the testimonies of the Scriptures, whereby it
[1] causam appears, that not only is the case[1] of them, who lead a most evil and unrighteous life knowingly, no wise lighter than that of them who do so unknowingly, but also that it is for this very cause more grievous; thus then let these be enough.

XXVI. 48. Let us therefore take diligent heed, by the help of our Lord God, that we cause not in men an evil security, by telling them, that, if they shall have been baptized in Christ, of what nature soever their lives in that faith shall have been, they shall come unto eternal salvation; that we make not Christians in the manner in which the Jews made proselytes,
Mat. 23, 15. unto whom the Lord says, *Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, who compass sea and land to make one proselyte; but after ye have made him, ye make him a child of hell*

twofold more than yourselves. But let us rather hold the sound doctrine of God our Master in both things; that there be a Christian life in harmony with holy Baptism, and that eternal life be promised to no man, if either be wanting. For He who said, *Except a man be born again of water*[1] *and of the Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven;* Himself also said, *Except your righteousness shall abound above that of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.* Of them it is that He saith, *The Scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses' seat; what things they say, do ye; but what they do, do ye not; for they say and do not.* Therefore their righteousness is to say and not do; and thus He willed that ours should be abundant above theirs, to say and do; which if it shall not be, there shall be no entrance into the kingdom of heaven. Not that any one ought to be so lifted up, as (I will not say to boast in the presence of others, but) to dare to think within himself, that he is in this life without sin; but, were there not certain things so grievous as to require even the stroke of excommunication, the Apostle would not say, *When ye are gathered together, and my spirit also, to deliver such an one unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.* Whence also he says, *Lest I bewail many, who have before sinned, and have not repented for the uncleanness and fornication which they have committed.* In like manner, were there not certain which required not to be healed by that humiliation of penance, such as is assigned in the Church to them who are properly called Penitents, but by certain medicines of rebukes, the Lord Himself would not say, *Rebuke him between thee and him alone; and, if he shall hearken unto thee, thou hast gained thy brother.* Finally, were there not certain, without which this life is not past, He would not set a daily healing in the prayer which He taught, that we should say, *Forgive us our debts, as we too forgive our debtors.*

ET OPERIBUS.

[1] some omit '*of water.*'

John 3, 5.

Matt. 5, 20.

Mat. 23, 2. 3.

1 Cor. 5, 4. 5.

2 Cor. 12, 21.

Mat. 18, 15.

Matt. 6, 12.

49. I have now sufficiently, as I judge, set forth my views on that whole opinion, wherein they have moved three questions; one, concerning the mixture in the Church of the good and evil, as of the wheat and tares; wherein we

XXVII.

DE FIDE must take heed, that we do not think that we have these figures proposed to us (either this, or that of the unclean animals in the ark, or whatsoever other things there are of the same signification) for this purpose, that the discipline of the Church may sleep, concerning whom it was said under the figure of the woman, *The ways of her house are severe;* but that rashness of madness, rather than severity of diligence, go not so far as to presume to separate, as it were, the good from the evil, by means of unlawful schisms. For neither through these figures and prophecies is counsel of sloth given unto the good, that they neglect what they ought to hinder; but of patience, that while they preserve entire the doctrine of the truth, they endure that which they cannot amend.

Prov. 31, 27. see LXX.

Gen. 7, 8. 9. Nor because it is written that there entered unto Noe into the ark unclean animals also, therefore ought not they who are set over the Church to forbid it, should any most unclean wish to enter unto Baptism dancing, which is surely a milder offence, than to do so in adultery; but through this figure of what was done, it was foretold that there will be unclean persons in the Church, in order that they may be borne with, not that doctrine may be corrupted, or discipline dissolved. For not wheresoever they would did unclean animals break through the frame of the ark and enter it, but it remained entire, and they entered in through one and the same door, which the builder had made. A second question is that, wherein it seemed to them right to deliver to them that are to be baptized faith only, but after, when they have already been baptized, to instruct them in life and conduct. But it hath been sufficiently shewn, unless I am deceived, that it then more especially appertains to the care of the watchman, when all who are seeking[1] the Sacrament of the faithful, listen to all that is said to them more intently and anxiously, not to be silent on the punishment which the Lord threatens to them who live evil lives; lest they become guilty under most grievous charges in their very Baptism, whither they come that there may be remitted unto them the guilt of all their sins. The third question is one very full of danger, whence, in that it hath been little considered, and not handled according to the divine sayings, it seems to me that all that opinion hath arisen, whereby promise is made unto

[1] competunt.

persons living most wicked and shameful lives, even although they go on so to live, and only believe in Christ, and receive His Sacraments, that they shall come unto salvation and life everlasting; in opposition to the most open sentence of the Lord, Who made answer unto him that was longing for life everlasting, *If thou wilt come unto life, keep the Commandments;* and made mention what Commandments, wherein those very sins are shunned[1], unto which is promised, I know not how, salvation everlasting, on account of faith without works dead. These three questions I have discussed, as I think, sufficiently: and have shewn, that we are so to bear with evil men in the Church, as not to neglect ecclesiastical discipline; are so to catechize them who ask for Baptism, as that they shall hear and receive, not only what they ought to believe, but also how they ought to live; that the promise of life everlasting is so made to believers, that each one judge not that he can attain unto it even through a dead faith, which without works cannot save, but through that faith of grace, which worketh through love. Let not therefore faithful stewards be blamed, not for their own neglect or sloth, but rather for the obstinacy of certain, who refuse to receive the Lord's money, and compel the Lord's servants to expend their own adulterate coin, whilst they are unwilling to be at least such evil persons, as holy Cyprian makes mention of, who renounce the world in words only, and not in deeds; whereas not even in words are they willing to renounce the works of the devil, when they with most open voice make profession of an intention to continue in adultery. If any thing is wont to be said by them, which haply I have not touched on in my disputation, I have judged it to be such as not to require me to answer it; either in that it belonged not to the matter under discussion, or that it was so slight, as that any one could very easily refute it.

ET OPERIBUS.

Mat. 19, 17.

[1] read 'retantur' 'forbidden.'

Ep. 11. ad Clerum de Prec. Deo. Tr. p. 24.

Thanks be to God.

NOTE.

St. Augustine in several places of his Commentary on the Psalms, as on Ps. vi. 1. and xxxviii. 1. speaks of punishment at the Judgment, or after this life, for those who are saved 'as by fire,' without expressing a doubt. However, in his answers to the questions of Dulcitius, written so late as about A. D. 420, he speaks of it most distinctly as a doubtful point. After stating nearly what he does in this Treatise about the pain arising from worldly affections, he adds, §. 13. 'Some such thing also it is not incredible may take place after this life, and whether it be so may be enquired, and may either be found out or remain hidden; that some believers through some sort of cleansing fire, in the degree they have more or less loved perishing goods, may attain salvation with more or less delay: not however such of whom it is said, that they shall not inherit the kingdom of God, unless on fitting penitence the same crimes be remitted.' De Civ. Dei, xx. 25. xxi. 13. written somewhat later, he expresses less doubt, but scarcely appears to have made up his mind. His principal object there is to contradict the notion that there would be *no* eternal punishments. In the same treatise, xxi. 26. he again writes thus doubtfully. "After the death of the body, until the arrival of that last day of condemnation and reward after the resurrection (of the body), should it be said that *in this interval* the spirits of the dead suffer a fire, such as they do not feel who had not habits and likings in the life of this body, which require their wood, hay, and stubble to be burned up, but they feel who have carried with them the like worldly tabernacles, whether there only, or here and there, or not there because here, though they experience the fire of transitory tribulation rescuing venial offences from damnation by consuming them, I do not oppose, for *perchance* it is true."

S. AUGUSTINE

ENCHIRIDION TO LAURENTIUS

ON

FAITH, HOPE, AND CHARITY.

St. Augustine enumerates the Enchiridion addressed to Laurentius amongst his latest works, and after the six books against Julianus written about 421, in his second book of Retractations. In cap. 87, he alludes to the death of St. Jerome, which took place Sept. 30, A.D. 420.

Laurentius is called the brother of Dulcitius in the book on Dulcitius' eight questions, q. 1. n. 10. Nothing is said that proves him not to have been a layman, though his learning and piety are highly praised. One Ms. in the heading calls him a Deacon, others Primicerius, or Primicerius Notariorum urbis Romæ, another Primicerius Romanæ Ecclesiæ.

The Author admits the name of Enchiridion, but usually speaks of the work as 'on Faith, Hope, and Charity,' to which heads he reduces the questions of Laurentius. The first he treats in the order of the Creed, refuting, without naming, the heresies of the Manichæans, Apollinarians, Priscillianists, Arians, and especially of the Pelagians. The second is in the form of a brief exposition of the Lord's Prayer. The third part is a short discourse on Charity. *Ab. from Ben.*

Retract. ii. 63. 'I also wrote a book on Faith, Hope, and Charity, on the request of the person to whom I addressed it, that he might have a work of mine which should never be out of his hands, such as the Greeks call an *Enchiridion*. In which I think I have pretty carefully treated of the manner in which God is to be worshipped, which knowledge divine Scripture defines to be the true wisdom of man.'

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1. BEYOND all expression am I pleased with your learning, my very dear son Laurentius, and long for you to be wise; not of the number of them concerning whom it is said, *Where is the wise? where the scribe? where the discoverer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of* 1 Cor. 1, 20. ENCHIRIDION DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

ENCHIRIDION Wisd. 6, 24. *this world?* but of them concerning whom it is written, *The multitude of the wise is the soundness of the world;* and such as the Apostle wishes them to become, to whom he writes, *But I wish you to be wise indeed in what is good, but simple in what is evil.* But as no one can of himself be, so no one can of himself be wise, but of Him, enlightening, concerning Whom it is written, *All wisdom is from God*[a]. Eccles. 1, 1.

ii. But man's wisdom is piety. You have this in the book of holy Job: for there we read, that Wisdom Herself said to man, *Behold, piety is wisdom.* But if you enquire, what piety she there spake of, you will find more clearly in the Greek, θεοσέβειαν, which is the worship of God. For in the Greek there is another word also for piety, that is, εὐσέβεια, by which word is signified good worship, although this too is especially referred to the worship of God. But there is nothing more suitable than that word, by which evidently the worship of God was expressed, when it was said, what was wisdom for man. Seek you any thing to be said more briefly, you who ask of me to speak briefly of great things? Or haply you desire to have this very point briefly opened, and brought together into a short discourse, in what manner

Job 28, 28.

iii. God is to be worshipped. Here if I shall answer that God is to be worshipped by Faith, Hope, and Love; you will certainly say, that this is a shorter statement than you wished; and then you will ask, that what things belong to each of these three, may be briefly explained to you; that is, what is to be believed, what to be hoped for, what to be loved. Which when I shall have done, therein will be all these things which in your letter you set down by way of enquiry[b], a copy of which if you have with you, you may easily turn over and read them again; if however you have

iv. not, you may remember them as I repeat them. For your wish, as you write, is, "that I should write you a book, which you may have as a manual[1], (as it is called,) and never suffer to leave your hands; containing the things demanded, that is, What is chiefly to be followed; what, by reason of diverse heresies, mainly to be avoided; how far reason contends for religion, or what in reason is unsuitable, when faith is

[1] Enchiridion.

[a] several Mss. omit 'But as no one,' &c.

[b] 'quærendo,' al. 'quærenda,' 'as questions to be asked.'

alone[c]; what is held first, what last; what is the sum of the whole prescribed form[1]; what the certain and proper foundation of the Catholic Faith." All these things which you inquire after you will without any doubt know, by knowing carefully what ought to be BELIEVED, what to be HOPED, what to be LOVED. For these things especially, nay rather alone, are in religion to be followed. These things whosoever contradicts, is either altogether an alien from the name of Christ, or an heretic. These things are to be defended by reasoning, either having[d] their foundation in the senses of the body, or discovered by the power of understanding in the mind. But what things we have neither experienced by corporeal sense, nor either have been, or are, able to attain to by mental powers, these without any doubt are to be believed on their testimony, by whom was composed that Scripture which hath by this time deservedly come[2] to be called divine; who, by divine help, whether through the body, or through the mind, were able either to see, or even to foresee these things. But when the mind hath been imbued with the beginning of faith, which worketh by love, it goes on by living well to arrive at sight[3] also, wherein is unspeakable beauty known to holy and perfect hearts, the full vision of which is the highest happiness. This is assuredly what you are inquiring after, "what is held first, what last:" to be begun in faith, to be made perfect in sight. This also is "the sum of the whole prescribed form." But the "certain and proper foundation of the Catholic Faith" is Christ. *For other foundation*, says the Apostle, *no one can lay, beside that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus.* Nor must that therefore be denied to be the proper foundation of the Catholic Faith, because it may be thought that this is in common to us with certain heretics. For if those things which pertain to Christ be carefully thought on, as far as the name, Christ is found among certain heretics, who wish to be called Christians; but in reality He is not among them. Which to shew is too long; inasmuch as all heresies have

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

[1] definitionis.

[2] meruit.

[3] speciem.

1 Cor. 3, 11.

v.

[c] 'Quid in ratione, cum fides sit sola, non conveniat.' al. 'quid in rationem, cum fides sit sola, non veniat.' 'why it is not taken account of when faith stands alone.' Arnaldus ap. Ben. conj. 'in ratione cum fide, si sit sola, non conveniat.' 'What in reason, by itself, agrees not with faith.'

[d] some Mss. 'quæ vel,' 'such as either have.'

ENCHIRIDION [1]al. shall be able.

to be noticed, which either have been, or are, or have been [1] able to be under the Christian name, and the truth of this to be pointed out in each: which discussion is one for so

vi. many volumes that it may seem even endless. You however demand of us "a manual," that is, "what may be grasped by the hand, not what may load the bookshelves." To return therefore to those three things, by which we said that God is to be worshipped, faith, hope, love; it is easily said, what is to be believed, what to be hoped for, what to be loved; but in what manner it may be defended against the false charges of those who think differently, is matter of more laborious and copious teaching; in order to possess which there needeth, not that the hand be filled with a short manual, but that the breast be inflamed with great zeal.

vii. 2. For see, you have the Creed and the Lord's Prayer: what shorter to hear or read? what more easy to commit to memory? For in that by reason of sin, the human race was weighed down by heavy misery, and needed the Divine mercy; the Prophet foretelling the time of the grace of

Joel 2, 32. God, says, *And it shall be, every one that shall call on the Name of the Lord, shall be saved:* for this reason is the Prayer [c]. But the Apostle, after that, for the recommending of Grace itself [f], he had recounted this testimony of the

Rom. 10, 14. Prophet, immediate adds, *But how shall they call on Him, in Whom they have not believed?* for this reason is the Creed. In these two things view those three; faith believes, hope and love pray. But without faith they cannot be; and by this means faith also prays. Hence in fact it was said, *How shall they call on Him, in Whom they have not*

viii. *believed?* But what can be hoped for, which is not believed? Further, something also which is not hoped for, may be believed. For who of the faithful does not believe the punishments of the ungodly? yet he hopes not for them; and whosoever believes them to hang over him, and shudders at them with a shrinking feeling of mind, is more rightly said to fear than to hope for them. Which two things a certain one [2] distinguishing between, says, 'May it be allowed one fearing to hope [3].' Another poet however, although a better, hath said, not properly, 'This so great grief if I have

[2] 2 Mss. 'Lucan.'

[3] Lucan. Phars. ii. 15.

[c] al. 'The Lord's Prayer.'

[f] i. e. as superior to the Law.

been able to hope for[1].' In short, certain in the art of grammar use this word as an instance to point out an improper expression, and say, he said "to hope," for "to fear." There is faith, then, both of evil things and of good; seeing that both good things are believed, and evil; and this by faith, itself good, not evil. There is also faith both of past things, and of present, and of future. For we believe that Christ was dead, which is now past: we believe that He is sitting at the right hand of the Father, which now is: we believe that He will come to judge, which is future. Also faith is both of one's own things, and of the things of others. For each man believes both himself at some time to have begun to be, and not certainly to have been from all eternity; and other men likewise, and other things: nor concerning other men only do we believe many things which pertain to religion, but concerning angels also. But hope is not, but only of things good, and also future, and relating to him who is considered to entertain hope of them. Which things being so, for these reasons it will be right to distinguish faith from hope, as by word, so also by reasonable difference. For as respects the not seeing, whether they be the things which are believed, or the things which are hoped for, this is common to faith and hope. In fact, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which illustrious defenders of the Catholic Rule[2] have used as a witness, faith is said to be 'the *proof*[3] of things not seen.' Although, when any one says, that he has believed, that is, hath lent[4] his faith to, not words, not witnesses, not in short any arguments, but the evidence of the things present, he does not seem so out of place[5], as rightly to be censured for the word, and to have it said to him, 'You saw, therefore you did not believe:' whence it may be thought not to follow, that whatsoever thing is believed is not seen. But we better call that faith, which the Divine Oracles have taught, that is, of such things as are not seen. Concerning hope also the Apostle says, *Hope which is seen is not hope; for what a man seeth, why doth he hope for? But if what we see not we hope for, through patience we wait for it.* When therefore good things are believed to be about to happen to us, they are nothing else but hoped for. Now concerning love[6] what shall I say, without which faith

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

[1] Virg. Æn. iv. 419.

[2] al. 'Faith and Rule.' Heb. 11, 1.

[3] *convictio.*

[4] accommodasse

[5] absurdus.

Rom. 8, 24. 25.

[6] amore.

ENCHIRIDION

profiteth nothing? but hope without love cannot be. Finally, as says the Apostle James, *The devils also believe, and tremble:* yet do they not hope or love; but rather what we hope for and love, they, in believing that it will come, dread. For which reason the Apostle Paul approves of and commends *faith which worketh by love*, which assuredly without hope cannot be. Wherefore neither is love without hope, nor hope without love, nor both without faith.

James 2, 19.

Gal. 5, 6.

ix. 3. When therefore it is asked, what is to be believed as matter relating to religion, we are not so to inquire into the nature of things, as is done by those whom the Greeks call *naturalists*[1]; nor are we to fear, lest the Christian be ignorant of any thing concerning the force and number of the elements; the motion and order and eclipses of the heavenly bodies; the figure of the heavens; the kinds and natures of animals, plants, stones, springs, rivers, mountains; intervals of places and times; the signs of coming storms; and other six hundred things concerning those matters, which they either have discovered, or suppose themselves to have discovered; in that neither have they themselves found out all things, excelling (as they do) in so great ability, burning with zeal, abounding in leisure, and prosecuting their enquiries, some by human conjecture, others again by experience of fact[2], and in those things which they boast to have discovered, on most subjects holding opinions rather than knowing. It is enough for the Christian to believe, that the cause of created things, whether heavenly or earthly, whether visible or invisible, is none other than the goodness of his Creator, Who is God, One and True; and that there is no nature which is not either Himself or from Himself: and that He Himself is a Trinity; the Father, that is, and the Son begotten by the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeding from the same Father[g], but one and the same Spirit of the

[1] Physicos.

[2] historica.

x. Father and of the Son. By this Trinity, supremely and equally and unchangeably good, all things were created, and that neither supremely, nor equally, nor unchangeably good,

[g] A few Mss. add 'and the Son,' but this is more likely to have been added than omitted. He affirms the *doctrine*, De Trin. iv. 29. 'We cannot say that the Holy Ghost does not proceed from the Son: for it is not without meaning that He is called at once the Spirit of the Father and of the Son.' See also xv. 45, &c.

but yet good even each one: but the whole together *very good;* in that out of all these is made an admirable beauty of the whole. In which even that which is called evil, being rightly set and put in its own place, commends more strikingly things that are good, so as that they are more pleasing and more praiseworthy through comparison with things that are evil. For neither would Almighty God, as even heathens confess, 'Ruler supreme of things[1],' being, as He is, supremely good, in any way suffer any evil to be in His works, were He not Almighty and good even to this, out of any evil to work what is good. But what else is that which is called evil, but a privation of good? For like as in the bodies of animals, to be affected by diseases and wounds is nothing else than to be deprived of health, (for the object is not, when a remedial system is applied, that those evils which were in the body, that is, diseases and wounds, may depart hence and be in some other place; but that they may not be at all. For wound or disease is not any substance, but the fault of a carnal substance; the substance itself being the flesh, certainly some good thing, to which those evils are accidents, that is, the privations of that good which is called health,) so also, whatsoever are the faults of minds, are privations of natural good things; which when they are healed are not transferred to any place, but those things which were there, will be no where, seeing that in that health they will not be.

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE. Gen. 1, 31. xi. [1] Virg. Æn. x. 100.

4. Therefore all natures, in that the Author of all natures whatsoever is supremely good, are good: but because they are not, as their Author, supremely and unchangeably good, therefore in them good may be both increased and diminished. But for good to be diminished is evil; although however much it be diminished, there must necessarily remain something (if it is still nature) whence it may be nature. For neither, if it be nature of what kind and how little soever, can the good be destroyed, by which it is[2] nature, unless the nature also itself be destroyed. Deservedly indeed is an uncorrupted nature praised: still further if it be uncorruptible also, such as cannot altogether be corrupted, without doubt it is much more deserving of praise. When, however, it is corrupted, its corruption is therefore an evil, in that it

xii. [2] al. 'which is nature.'

ENCHIRIDION

deprives it of good of some kind or other; for if it deprive it of no good, it harms it not: but it does harm it, therefore it takes away a good. As long therefore as a nature is undergoing corruption, there exists in it a good of which it may be deprived: and on this account if any thing of the nature shall remain such as cannot be any further corrupted, certainly the nature will be uncorruptible, and to this so great good it will arrive through corruption. But if it shall not cease to be corrupted, neither will it assuredly cease to possess good, such as corruption may be able to deprive it of. Which (nature) if it shall have consumed utterly and altogether, there will therefore be no good in it, because there will be no nature in it. Wherefore corruption cannot destroy what is good, except by destroying the nature. Every nature therefore is a good; a great, if it cannot be corrupted; a small, if it can: yet can it in no sense be denied to be a good, except foolishly and ignorantly. Which if it be destroyed by corruption, neither will the corruption itself remain, there existing no nature in which it may be.

xiii. And for this reason that which is called evil is not, if good be not. But good free from all evil is perfect good; that however in which evil is, is good marred or faulty[1]. Nor can evil ever be where good is not. Whence a wonderful thing is brought to pass, that, whereas every nature, as far as it is nature, is a good, nothing else would seem to be said, when a faulty nature is called an evil nature, but this, that that is an evil which is a good; and that neither is there any evil, but what is a good; since every nature is a good, nor would any thing be evil, if the thing itself that is evil were not a nature. There cannot therefore be evil, except it be some good. Which however it appear an absurd thing to say, yet the connection of this reasoning, as it were unavoidably, compels us to say it. And care is to be taken that we fall not under that saying of the Prophet, wherein we read, *Woe unto them who call that which is good evil, and that which is evil good; who call darkness light, and light darkness; who call sweet bitter, and bitter sweet.* And yet the Lord says, *An evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart, bringeth forth evil things.* But what is *an evil man*, but an evil nature; because man is a nature? Further,

[1] vitiatum vel vitiosum.

Is. 5,20.

Mat. 12, 35.

if a man is some good, because he is a nature, what is a bad man, but an evil good? Yet when we distinguish between these two things, we find that neither is he therefore an evil because a man, nor therefore a good because unrighteous; but a good, because a man; an evil, because unrighteous. Whosoever therefore says, it is evil to be a man; or, it is good to be unrighteous; falls himself under that sentence of the Prophet, *Woe unto them who call that which is good evil, and that which is evil good.* For he blames the work of God, which is man, and praises the fault of man, which is unrighteousness. Every nature therefore, although it be faulty, so far as it is nature, is good; so far as it is faulty, is evil. Wherefore in those contraries which are called evils and goods, that rule of logicians ceases to hold, by which they say that nothing has in it two contraries at the same time. For no air is at the same time both dark and bright; no meat or drink at the same time sweet and bitter; no body at the same time, in parts where it is white, is there black also; none at the same time, in parts where it is deformed, is there beautiful also. And this property is found in many, and nearly in all, contraries, that they cannot be at the same time in one thing. Yet, no one doubting that goods and evils are contraries, not only can they be at the same time, but evils cannot absolutely be without goods, and except in goods: although goods can without evils. For it is possible that a man or an angel may not be unjust; but except a man or an angel there cannot be that is unjust. And that he is a man is a good, that he is an angel is a good, that he is unjust is an evil. And these two contraries are so at the same time, that, were there not the good in which the evil might be, neither would the evil at all be, in that not only would the corruption not have where to exist, but not even whence to arise, were there not something that should be corrupted, and neither could this be corrupted, unless it were a good; since corruption is nothing else than the banishing a good. Out of goods therefore have evils arisen, and except in certain goods they are not. Nor was there any other source whence any nature of evil could arise. For if it were, so far as it was nature, it would assuredly be good: and either an incorruptible nature would

DEFIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

xiv.

ENCHIRIDION

be a great good, or even a corruptible nature could no way be otherwise than somewhat good, by corrupting which very good corruption might be able to injure it. But in asserting that evils have their origin from goods, let us not be thought to oppose the saying of the Lord, wherein He said, *A good tree cannot produce evil fruit.* For, as the Truth saith, 'the grape cannot be gathered of thorns,' because the grape cannot grow of thorns; but we see that both vines and thorns can grow of the good ground. And in the same manner, as it were, an evil tree cannot produce good fruit, that is, an evil will good works; but out of the good nature of man, will, both good and evil, can arise; nor was there absolutely any source whence originally evil will should arise, except from the good nature of Angel and Man. Which the Lord Himself most clearly shews in the same place, where He was speaking of the tree and its fruits: for He says, *Either make the tree good, and its fruit good, or make the tree evil, and its fruit evil:* sufficiently admonishing us, that indeed of a good tree evil fruits cannot grow, nor good of an evil tree; yet that from the earth itself, to which He was speaking, either tree may.

xv. Matt. 7, 18. 16. Mat. 12, 33.

xvi. Georg. ii. 490. Georg. ii. 479. 80.

5. These things being so, when we are pleased with that verse of Maro, "Happy, who hath been able to learn the causes of things;" let us not imagine that it hath an influence on the obtaining of happiness, if we know the causes of great movements of bodies in the world, which are concealed in the most hidden recesses of nature; "Whence trembling to the lands, by what force the deep seas swell, having burst their barriers, and again sink back into themselves," and all other things of this sort: but the causes of things good and evil we ought to know, and these so far as, in this life most full of errors and anxieties, it is granted to man to know them, in order to escape these same errors and miseries. That happiness assuredly is to be the end of our course, wherein we are to be shaken by no misery, deceived by no error. For if the causes of the motions of bodies were necessary for us to know, it would be right for us to know none rather than the causes of our own state of health. But inasmuch as, being ignorant of them, we betake ourselves to Physicians, who but must see with how

great patience we must be ignorant of what is hidden from us of the secrets of heaven and earth? For although error be to be avoided with all the care in our power, not only in greater, but also in lesser things, and, although except through ignorance of things, error cannot take place; yet it does not follow that he straightway errs whosoever is ignorant of any thing, but whosoever thinks himself to know what he knows not; seeing that he approves what is false as true, which properly belongs to error. Nevertheless it makes a great difference, in what each man errs. For in one and the same thing both he who knows is with good reason preferred to him who knows not, and he who errs not to him who errs. In different things however, that is, when this man knows certain things, and that others; and this man the more useful, that man the less so, or even hurtful; who will not in those things which that man knows, prefer before him the man who knows them not? For there are certain things which it is better not to know than to know. And also it hath been good to some at some time to err, but that in the way of the feet, not in the way of the life. For it happened to ourselves that we were deceived in a certain cross-way, and went not by that spot where an armed band of Donatists[h] lay in ambush waiting for us to pass; and so the result was that we came whither we were bound, by a circuit out of the way; and having learnt of them lying in wait, congratulated ourselves on our error, and returned thanks to God on occasion of it. Who therefore would hesitate to prefer a traveller erring thus, to a robber not erring thus? And it may be for this reason, that a certain wretched lover, speaking in the writings of our great poet, says, "When I saw, when I was lost, when evil error carried me away;" seeing that there is good error also, such as not only is no injury, but even some profit. But if the truth be carefully considered, when as to err is nothing else than to think that true which is false, and that false which is true; or to esteem as certain instead of uncertain, or as uncertain

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE. xvii.

Virg. Ecl. viii. 41.

[h] Possidius states that the 'Circumcelliones' more than once beset the road in arms, laying wait for St. Augustine, and mentions this instance of his being in danger from them. Life, c. 12. *Ben.*

ENCHIRIDION

instead of certain, whether it be false, or whether it be true: and this be in the mind as unshapely and unbecoming, as we esteem 'yea, yea; nay, nay;' to be beautiful and becoming, either in speaking, or in assenting: assuredly even on this very account is that life, wherein we now live, miserable, because that to it at times, in order that it be not lost, error is necessary. Far be it that such be that life, where the Truth itself is the life of our soul; where no one deceives, no one is deceived. But here men deceive and are deceived; and are more miserable when they deceive by lying, than when they are deceived by believing them who lie. Yet so greatly does reasonable nature shrink from what is untrue, and, as much as it can, avoid error, that even they who love to deceive are unwilling to be deceived. For he who lies seems not to himself to err, but to send another man into error who believes him. And in that matter indeed which he cloaks by a lie, he errs not, if he himself know what is true: but in this he is deceived, that he thinks that his own lie does him no injury: whereas every sin is more injury to him who does, than to him who suffers it.

Matt. 5, 37.

xviii. 6. But here arises a very difficult and obscure question, on which we have already concluded a large book, having had the necessity of reply laid upon us: whether it belong to the duty of a righteous man at times to lie. For certain[1] go so far, as to contend that it is at times a good and pious work, both to perjure themselves, and to speak what is false, on subjects relating to the worship of God, and on the very nature of God. But to me it seems that every lie is certainly a sin, but that it makes great difference, with what intention and on what subjects a man lie. For he does not so sin who lies with the wish to benefit, as he who lies with the wish to injure; neither again does he so greatly injure who by lying sends a traveller to a wrong road, as he who by a deceitful lie perverts the way of life. No one indeed is to be esteemed as lying, who speaks a falsehood, thinking it truth; since, as far as is in his power, he deceives not, but is deceived. Such an one then is not to be convicted of falsehood, but at times of rashness, who esteems as true,

[1] The Priscillianists. *Ben.* The work appears to be that 'Contra Mendacium ad Consentium.'

things false which he has incautiously believed. And, on the contrary, rather is he, as far as is in his power, guilty of lying, who speaks the truth, thinking it a lie. For as far as relates to his intention, in that he says not what he thinks, he speaks not the truth, although that which he speaks be found to be the truth: nor is he any way exempt from falsehood, who unwittingly speaks truth with the mouth, but knowingly lies with the mind. Not taking into account then the things themselves, concerning which any thing is said, but only the intention of the speaker, he is better who unwittingly says what is false, in that he thinks it true, than he who knowingly has the intention to deceive, not knowing that what he says is true. For the former has not one thing in his mind, and another in his speech; but the latter, whatever in fact that which is said by him may be of itself, yet has one thing shut up within his breast, and another ready on his tongue; which is the especial evil of lying. But taking into account the things themselves which are said, it makes so great difference, what that is in which each man is either deceived or lies, that whereas to be deceived is a less evil than to lie, as far as relates to the person's will; yet is it far more tolerable to lie in those things which are separate from religion, than to be deceived in those things, without the faith or knowledge of which God cannot be worshipped. To illustrate this by instances, let us consider what the case will be, if one man, speaking falsely, report that some man is alive who is dead; and another, being deceived, believe that Christ will again die after an interval however long; is it not beyond all comparison better to lie in the one way, than to be deceived in the other? and is it not a much less evil to lead any one into the one error, than to be led by any one into the other? Therefore in certain things we are deceived with great evil, in certain with little, in certain with no evil at all, nay in certain even with some good. For a man is deceived with great evil, when he believes not this which leads to eternal life, or believes this which leads to eternal death. But a man is deceived with little evil, who by affirming as true what is false falls into any temporal inconveniences, which yet, by the increase in them of faithful patience, he turns to good account. As if one by thinking a bad man

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

xix.

ENCHIRIDION

good should suffer any evil from him. But he who believes a bad man good, in such a way as to suffer no evil from him, is deceived with no evil: nor does that denunciation of the Prophet fall on him, *Woe unto them who call what is evil good.* For this must be understood as said of the things themselves wherein men are evil, not of the persons. Whence he who calls adultery good, is rightly convicted by that word of the Prophet. But he who calls the person good, whom he thinks to be chaste, and knows not that he is an adulterer, is deceived not in the doctrine of things good and evil, but in the secrets of human character; calling a man good, in whom he thinks is that which he doubts not is good; and calling an adulterer evil, and a chaste man good; but calling the particular person good, from not knowing that he is an adulterer, not a chaste man. Still further, if through error any one escape destruction, as I stated above happened to us on our journey, a man receives even some good from error. But when I say that in certain things a man may be deceived without any evil, and even with some good; I say not that the error itself is no evil or some good, but that that is evil at which a man comes not, or that good at which he comes through erring, that is, either what comes not to pass, or what does result from the error itself. For the error of itself, being either in a great thing a great evil, or in a small a small, is yet always an evil. For who except in error will deny that it is an evil, to approve of things false as true, or condemn things true as false, or to esteem things uncertain as certain, or things certain as uncertain? But it is one thing to think a man good who is evil, which comes of error; and another thing not to suffer from this evil another evil, if the evil man, who was thought good, do us no harm. Also it is one thing to think that the way which is not; and another thing for this evil of error to obtain some good, as it is to be delivered from the lying-in-wait of evil men.

Is. 5,20.

xx. 7. In truth, I know not whether errors of this kind also, when one thinks well of an evil man, not knowing what kind of man he is; or when, in place of those things which we are sensible of through the bodily senses, like things meet us, which are discerned by the spirit as if by the body, or by

the body as if by the spirit; such as the Apostle Peter thought it to be, when he *supposed that he saw a vision*, being on a sudden freed by the Angel from his bolts and chains; or when in actual bodily things, what is rough is thought smooth, or what is bitter is thought sweet, or what is rank is thought fragrant, or that it thunders when a cart passes, or that a certain one is the man when he is another, where two are very like each other, as is often the case in twins; whence he says, 'and a pleasing mistake to their parents[1]:' I know not, I say, whether these and such other are to have the name of faults[2] likewise. Nor have I now undertaken to solve that most knotty question, which has racked those most acute men, the Academicians; whether the wise man ought to approve any thing, that he fall not into error, if he shall approve as true what is false, in that all things, as they affirm, are either hidden or uncertain. Upon which at the beginning of my conversion I finished three volumes[3], that I might not be hindered by a question, which opposed, as it were, at the very entrance. And certainly there had been need to put away the despair of discovering truth, which seems to be confirmed by these arguments. In their school then every error is thought a sin, which they maintain cannot be avoided, unless by suspending all assent. That is, they say that whosoever assents to things which are uncertain is in error; and that nothing is certain in the things which men see, by reason of the undistinguishable likeness of falsehood, although what seems, may perhaps be, true; this they discourse of in controversies most acute but most shameless. But with us *the just liveth of faith*. But if assent be taken away, faith is taken away; because without assent nothing is believed. And there are truths, seen though they may not be, failing the belief of which, it is not possible to arrive at a life of blessedness, which is no other than life eternal. But I know not whether we ought to speak with those, who are ignorant, not that they shall live for ever, but that they are alive at the present moment; yea, who say that they are ignorant of that which they cannot be ignorant of. For no one is suffered to be ignorant that he is alive; since if he be not alive, he cannot even be ignorant of any thing; since not only to know, but also to be ignorant of, belongs

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

Acts 12, 9.

[1] Virg. Æn. x. 392.

[2] peccata 'sins.'

[3] Contra Academicos.

(Hab. 2, 4.) Rom. 1, 17.

ENCHIRIDION

to one who is alive. But it would seem by not assenting that they are alive, they seem to themselves to guard against error; when even by erring they are proved to be alive; seeing that he who is not alive cannot err. As therefore that we are alive is not only true, but also certain; so there are many things true and certain, to refuse assent to which, far

xxi. be it that it be called wisdom, and not rather madness. But in things, in which it matters not at all to the obtaining of the kingdom of God whether they be believed or not, or whether they either be, or be thought to be, true or false; in these to err, that is, to think one thing instead of another,

[1] peccatum

is not to be judged to be a fault[1]; or if it be, a very little and very light fault. In fine, let it be of what kind, and how great soever, it belongs not to that way by which we go to

Gal.5,6. God; which way is the faith of Christ, which worketh by love. For neither did that 'error pleasing to their parents' in the case of the twin sons, wander from this way; nor did the Apostle Peter wander from this way, when supposing that he saw a vision, he so thought one thing instead of another, as not to distinguish the real bodies, in the midst of which he was, from the images of bodies in the midst of which he supposed himself to be, until after that the Angel, by whom he had been freed, was departed from him. Nor did the Patriarch Jacob wander from this way, when he believed his son, who was yet alive, to have been slain by a wild beast. In these and such-like untruths, we are deceived without injury to the faith which we have towards God, and err without leaving the way which leads to Him: which errors, although they are not faults, are yet to be judged to be among the evils of this life, which has been so made subject to vanity, that here things false are approved as true, things true are rejected as false, things uncertain are held as certain. For although these things are separate from that faith, through which being true and certain we are on our way to eternal blessedness; yet are they not separate from that misery in which we yet are. For in no way should we be deceived in any mental or bodily sense, if we were already in the enjoyment of that true and perfect happiness.

xxii. But, moreover, every lie is therefore to be called a fault, in that a man, not only when he himself knows what is true, but.

also if at any time he err and is deceived as a man, ought to speak that which he has in his mind; whether it be true, or whether it be thought to be so, and be not. For every one who lies, speaks contrary to what he thinks in his mind, with the will to deceive. And surely words have therefore been appointed, not as means whereby men may deceive one another, but as means whereby each one may convey his own thoughts to another's knowledge. Therefore to use words for the purpose of deceit, not for what they were appointed, is a fault. Nor must we therefore think that any lie is not a fault, because we can at times benefit any one by lying. For this we can do also by stealing, if the poor man, to whom it is given openly, feel the benefit, and the rich man from whom it is taken secretly, does not feel the loss; yet no one on this account will say that such a theft is not a fault. And this we can do again by adultery, if it appear that any, unless we consent to her in this, will die through love, and, in case she live, will be cleansed through repentance; yet will not such an adultery be on this account denied to be a fault. But if chastity be deservingly pleasing to us, how does truth offend us, so that, in order to benefit another, the one may not be violated by adultery, while the other may be violated by lying? It is not to be denied that men have made very great progress towards what is good, who lie not except for another's safety, but in such their progress, it is their good-will which is praised, or even receives temporal rewards, not their deceit, which that it be pardoned is enough, not that it be published abroad, especially in heirs of the New Testament, to whom it is said, *Let it be in your mouth, yea, yea; nay, nay; for what is beyond is of evil.* On account of which evil, because it ceases not in this mortal state to steal upon us, even the very co-heirs of Christ say, *Forgive us our debts.*

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

Matt. 5, 37.

Matt. 6, 12.

8. These things therefore having been treated of as this present brevity required, seeing that the causes of things good and evil are to be known, as far as it is sufficient for the way which leads us to that kingdom, where will be life without death, truth without error, happiness without disquiet; we ought not at all to doubt, that of such good things as relate to us there is none other cause than the goodness of

xxiii.

ENCHIRIDION

God; but (the cause) of things evil is the will of a being mutably good[1] falling away from immutable good, first that of an angel, then of man. This is the first evil of a rational creature, that is, the first withdrawing of good: then after this there found way, now even against their will, ignorance of things necessary to be done, and desire of things hurtful; in company with which are brought in error and pain: which two evils when they are perceived to be hanging over us, the emotion of the mind endeavouring to flee from them is called fear. Further, the mind when it obtains things desired, although hurtful or empty, in that through error it perceives it not, is either overpowered by morbid delight, or fanned[2] it may be with vain joy. From these as it were the fountains of diseases, fountains not of plenty, but of want, all the misery of a rational nature issues. Which nature, however, in the midst of its evils could not lose the desire of blessedness. But these are the common evils, both of men, and of angels condemned by the justice of the Lord for their wickedness. But man has beside his own punishment, whereby he was punished by the death also of the body. Forasmuch as God had threatened him with the punishment of death if he sinned; thus gifting him with free will, as yet to rule him by His control, and affright him with destruction; and placed him in the happiness of Paradise as in the shadow of a life, from whence by observing righteousness he might ascend to better things. Hence after his sin being made an exile, his own race also, which by sinning he had corrupted in himself as in its root, he bound by the punishment of death and condemnation: so that whatever progeny should be born of him and of his wife, through whom he had sinned, condemned together with him, through carnal lust, wherein was repaid a punishment similar to the disobedience, should draw along with it original sin, whereby it should be drawn through various errors and pains, to that last never-ending punishment with the apostate angels, its corrupters, masters, and partners. Thus, *By one man sin entered into the world, and by sin death: and so death passed upon all men, in that all sinned.* By the world in that place the Apostle meaning the whole human race. This therefore was the case; the mass of the whole human race under condemnation was

[1] boni mutabilis.

[2] ventilatur.

xxiv. xxv. xxvi. Rom. 5, 12. xxvii.

lying in evils, or even was rolling on and going headlong from evils into evils; and joined to the side of those angels who had sinned, was paying the deserved penalty of impious apostacy. Forasmuch as it pertaineth to the just anger of God, whatsoever the wicked willingly commit through blind and unsubdued lust, and whatsoever they unwillingly suffer by manifest and secret[a] punishments: the goodness of the Creator ceasing not to minister even to evil angels life and vital power, which ministration being withdrawn, they would straightway perish; and as for men, although they be born from a corrupted and condemned stock, ceasing not to give form and life to their seeds, to dispose their members, through periods of time and distances of place to quicken their senses, to bestow on them nutriment. For He judged it better to work good out of things evil, than to allow no things evil to exist. And truly had He willed that there should be no renewing[1] at all of man for the better, even as there is none of impious angels, would it not be deservedly done, that the nature which deserted God, which, using evilly its own power, trampled upon and transgressed the command of its Creator, which it might most easily have kept, which corrupted in itself the image of its Creator, frowardly turning away from His light, which evilly broke off, by its free-will, its salutary subjection to His laws, should be all of it eternally deserted by Him, and suffer everlasting punishment according to its desert? Certainly He would thus act, were He only just, and not merciful also, and shewed not much more clearly His own free mercy rather in setting free the unworthy.

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

[1] reformationem.

9. Certain angels therefore through impious pride deserting God, and being cast down from their high heavenly habitation into the lowest darkness of this air, that number of angels which was left continued in eternal blessedness with God, and in holiness. For the rest of the angels were not descended from one who fell and was condemned, that so original evil should bind them, as in the case of man, with the chains of succession subject to it, and draw down all to deserved punishments; but when he, who became the devil, had become lifted up together with the partners in his impiety, and, by being thus lifted up, with them overthrown, xxviii.

[a] 'opertis.' Bened. 'apertis,' 'open,' most Mss.

ENCHIRIDION

the rest with pious obedience clave to the Lord, receiving also, what the others had not, a certain knowledge, to assure

xxix. them of their eternal and unfailing stedfastness. It therefore pleased God, the Creator and Governor of the universe, that, seeing that not the whole multitude of angels had perished by deserting God, the part which had perished should remain in eternal perdition; whilst the part which had continued firm with God, when the other forsook Him, should rejoice in the full and certain knowledge of the eternity of its future happiness: but that, in that the other rational creature which was in man, had perished entire through sins and punishments both original and actual, out of the renewal of a part of it should be supplied whatever loss that fall of the devil had brought on the fellowship of the Angels. For this has been promised to the Saints at

Luke20, 36. their resurrection, that 'they shall be equal to the Angels of God.' Thus Jerusalem which is above, our mother, the city of God, shall suffer no robbery of the multitude of her sons, or, it may be, shall reign with a yet fuller abundance[b]. For we know not the number either of holy men, or of unclean devils, into whose place the sons of our holy Mother succeeding, of her who appeared barren upon earth, shall abide without any limit of time in that peace from which they fell. But the number of those citizens, whether it be that which is now, or that which shall be, is contemplated by that Artificer

Rom. 4, 17. Who calls *the things which are not as the things which are,*

Wisd. 11, 20. and *orders all things in measure and number and weight.*

xxx. But this portion of the human race, to whom God hath promised deliverance and an eternal kingdom, whether can it at all be restored by the merits of its own works? Far be it. For what good does one who is lost work, except so far as he hath been delivered[c] from destruction? Can it by the free choice of its will? Far be this also: for man using evilly his free will hath lost both himself and it. For in like manner as he who kills himself, assuredly by living kills himself, but lives not by killing himself, nor will be able to raise himself up again after he has killed himself: so when through free-will sin was committed, sin being

[b] Cf. de Civ. Dei, l. xxii. c. 1.

[c] al. 'quando'—'reparatus,' 'when he hath been restored.'

conqueror, free-will was lost. *For of whom a man is over-come, to him is he made over as a slave also.* This is at any rate the judgment of Peter the Apostle: seeing then that this is true, what kind of liberty can that be of the slave who has been made over, except when it pleases him to sin? For he serves freely, who willingly does the will of his master. And thus he is free to commit sin, who is the slave of sin. Whence he will not be free to work righteousness, unless being set free from sin he shall begin to be the slave of righteousness. This is true liberty by reason of the joy in doing right, and at the same time godly slavery by reason of the obedience to the command. But this liberty to do well, when shall it be to man, made over and sold, unless He redeem him Whose is that saying, *If the Son hath set you free, then shall ye be truly free.* But before this begin to have place in man, how doth any one of free-will glory in any good work, who is not yet free to work what is good, unless he exalt himself, being puffed up with vain pride? Whom the Apostle restrains, saying, *By grace are ye saved through faith.* And lest they should so take to themselves at any rate the faith itself, as not to understand that it was given of God; (like as in another place the same Apostle says, that 'he had obtained mercy to be faithful;') here also he hath added, and says, ***And this not of yourselves, but it is the gift of God; not of works, lest haply any one be exalted.*** And lest it should be thought that good works will be wanting to believers, again he adds; *For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus in good works, which God hath before prepared, that in them we may walk.* Therefore then are we made truly free, when God fashions us, that is, forms and creates us, not that we may be men, which thing He hath already done; but that we may be good men, which thing His grace now does; that we may be *in Christ Jesus a new creature*, according to that which is said, *A clean heart create in me, O God.* For his heart, as far as respects the nature of the human heart, God hath not failed already to create. Also, that no one, although not of works, yet should glory of the very free choice of his will, as if the desert began of himself, which received the very liberty of working what is right, as a reward due; let him hear the same herald

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

2 Pet. 2, 19.

[1] al. 'the allowance of'

John 8, 36.

Eph. 2, 8—10.

XXXI.

1 Cor. 7, 25.

Gal. 6, 15. Ps. 51, 10.

XXXII.

ENCHIRIDION
Phil. 2, 13.
Rom. 9, 16.
Phil. 3, 14.
Prov. 8, 35. LXX.
Ps. 59, 10.
Ps. 23, 6.

of grace saying, *For it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do, according to His good pleasure.* And in another place: *Therefore is it, not of him who willeth, nor of him who runneth, but of God who sheweth mercy.* Seeing that without doubt, if man be of such age, as already to exercise his reason, he cannot believe, hope, love, unless he be willing, or arrive at the prize of the high calling of God, unless he have run with his will. How then is it *not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God who sheweth mercy*, except in that the will itself, as it is written, *is prepared before of the Lord.* Otherwise, if it was therefore said, *it is not of him who willeth, nor of him who runneth, but of God who sheweth mercy*, because it is brought to pass of both, both the will of man, and the mercy of God; and we understand it to be so said, *it is not of him who willeth, nor of him who runneth, but of God who sheweth mercy*, as if it were said, the will alone of man is not sufficient, unless there be also the mercy of God: therefore also the mercy alone of God is not sufficient, unless there be also the will of man; and thus if it be rightly said, *it is not of man who willeth, but of God who sheweth mercy*, because the will alone of man does not fulfil it; why is it not also on the other side rightly said, 'it is not of God who sheweth mercy, but of man who willeth, because the mercy alone of God does not fulfil it?' So then if no Christian will dare to say, 'it is not of God who sheweth mercy, but of man who willeth,' that he contradict not most openly the Apostle; it remains that it be understood therefore rightly to have been said, *it is not of him who willeth, nor of him who runneth, but of God who sheweth mercy*, that the whole may be given to God, who both prepares the good will of man hereafter to be assisted, and assists it when prepared. For the good will of man goes before many gifts of God, but not all[d]: but those which it goes not before, among them is itself. For both are read in the sacred writings, both, *His mercy shall prevent me*, and, *His mercy shall follow me.* It prevents him who

[d] See S. Greg. Mor. xvi. 30. and xviii. 62. Tr. p. 363. and note c. where, in the passage cited, 'promeruit' is of course to be taken according to the Christian notion of the relation of works to reward, and as 'mereri' is repeatedly used in the present volume.

has not the will, that he may have the will; it follows after him who hath, that he may not have the will in vain. For why are we charged to pray for our enemies, who assuredly have no will to live godly, except that God may work in them the will also? And, again, why are we charged to ask that we may receive, except that He, by Whom it was brought to pass that we have the will, may bring to pass that which we will? We pray, therefore, for our enemies, that the grace of God may prevent them, as it has prevented us also: but we pray for ourselves that His mercy may follow after us.

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

Matt. 5, 44.

Matt. 7, 7.

10. Therefore the human race was holden under just condemnation, and all were children of wrath. Concerning which wrath it is written, *Since all our days have failed, and in Thy wrath have we failed; our years shall be thought on as a spider.* Concerning which anger Job also says, *For man born of a woman, is short of life and full of wrath.* Concerning which wrath the Lord Jesus Christ also says, *He who believeth on the Son, hath eternal life; but he who believeth not on the Son, hath not life, but the wrath of God remaineth upon him.* He says not, shall come; but remaineth. Forasmuch as with this every man is born. Wherefore the Apostle says, *For we too were by nature sons of wrath, as the rest also.* In this wrath when men were through original sin, and in so much the more grievous and deadly wise, as they had added greater or more sins besides, a Mediator was required, that is, a reconciler, to appease this wrath by the offering of a singular Sacrifice, whereof all the sacrifices of the Law and the Prophets were shadows. Whence the Apostle says, *For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled now in His blood, shall we be saved from wrath through Him.* But when God is said to be angry, there is not implied of Him emotion, such as is in the mind of man when angry; but by a word transferred from human feelings, His vengeance, which is none other than just, hath received the name of Wrath. Therefore that through a Mediator we are reconciled to God, and receive the Holy Spirit, that of enemies we may be made sons; *For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God;*

xxxiii

Ps. 90, 9.

Job 14, 1.

John 3, 36.

Eph. 2, 3.

Rom. 5, 9. 10.

Rom. 8, 14.

ENCHIRIDION XXXIV.

this is the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord. Concerning which Mediator it were long to speak so great things as are worthy to be spoken, although by man they cannot worthily be spoken. For who can set forth this alone in suitable words, that *The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us*, that we should believe in the only Son of God the Father Almighty, born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary? Thus, that is, the Word was made flesh, the flesh being assumed by the Godhead, not the Godhead changed into flesh. Further in this place we ought to understand by 'flesh' man, the expression from a part signifying the whole; as it is said, *Since by the works of the Law no flesh shall be justified;* that is, no man. For it is unlawful to say that any thing of human nature was wanting in that assumption; but of nature every way free from every tie of sin: not such nature as is born of both sexes through the lust of the flesh with the bond of sin, the guilt[1] whereof is washed away by regeneration; but such as it was fitting that He should be born of a virgin, whom the faith of His mother, not her lust, had conceived; by whose very birth even were her virginity impaired, now no longer would He be born of a virgin; and falsely, which God forbid[2], would the whole Church confess Him born of the Virgin Mary; she who following His Mother daily brings forth His members, and is a virgin still. Read, if you will, on the virginity of holy Mary my letters to an illustrious man whose name I mention with honour and affection, Volusianus[3]. Wherefore

John 1, 14.

[1] reatus

[2] quod absit

[3] Ep. 137.

XXXV.

Christ Jesus the Son of God is both God and Man. God before all worlds[4], Man in our world. God, because the Word of God; for the *Word was God:* but Man, because unto unity of Person there was added to the Word a reasonable soul and flesh[c]. Wherefore inasmuch as He is God, 'He and the Father are one;' inasmuch as He is Man, 'The Father is greater than He.' For being the only Son of God, not by grace, but by nature, that He might be full of grace also, He was made the Son of Man likewise; and Himself the Same Both, of Both One Christ. For *being*

[4] sæcula

John 1, 1.

John 10, 30.

John 14, 28.

[c] In this, and some other expressions, we have the very language of the Athanasian Creed, which was evidently rather collected than invented by its author.

in the form of God, He thought it not robbery, what He was by nature, *to be equal with God.* Yet *He emptied Himself, receiving the form of a servant*, not losing or diminishing the form of God. And so He was both made less, and remained equal, Both in One[1], as has been said: but one thing by reason of the Word, the other by reason of His Manhood; by reason of the Word, equal with the Father, by reason of His Manhood, less. One the Son of God, and the same the Son of Man; One the Son of Man, and the same the Son of God: not two sons of God, God and Man, but One Son of God; God without beginning, Man from a certain beginning, one Lord Jesus Christ.

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE. Phil. 2, 6. 7.

[1] utrumque unus

xxxvi. 11. Here altogether greatly and evidently is God's grace commended. For what merit had human nature in the Man Christ, that it should be singularly assumed into the unity of Person of the only Son of God? What good will, what good and zealous purpose, what good works went before, such as that by them That Man should deserve to be made one Person with God? Whether at all was He Man before, and was this singular benefit afforded Him, in that He deserved singularly of God? Truly from the time that He began to be Man, He[2] began not to be any thing other than the Son of God; and this the only Son, and by reason of God the Word, Who by assuming Him was made flesh, assuredly God: so that, in like manner as any man whatever is one Person, that is, a reasonable soul and flesh, so Christ also may be one Person, the Word and Man. Whence to human nature so great glory, freely given undoubtedly with no merits going before, unless because in this the great and alone grace of God is evidently shewn to them who contemplate it faithfully and soberly, that men may understand that they are themselves justified from their sins through the same grace, through which it was brought to pass that the Man Christ might have no sin? Thus also the Angel saluted His mother, when he announced to her her future bringing-forth; *Hail*, said he, *full of grace!* And a little after, *Thou hast found*, says he, *grace with God.* And she indeed is said to be *full of grace*, and to have *found grace with God*, that she might be the mother of her Lord, yea, of the Lord of all. But of Christ Himself the Evangelist John, after having said, *And the*

[2] al. 'the Man'

Luke 1, 28. 30.

John 1, 14.

ENCHIRIDION

Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, says, *And we saw His glory, as of the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.* That which he says, *The Word was made flesh;* the same is, *full of grace:* that which he says, *The glory of the Only-begotten of the Father;* the same is, *full of truth.* For the Truth Itself, the Only-begotten Son of God, not by grace, but by nature, by grace took unto Him Man with so great unity of Person, that Himself the Same was also the Son of Man. For the same Jesus Christ the Only-begotten, that is, the only, Son of God, our Lord, was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary. And certainly the Holy Ghost is the gift of God, which indeed Itself also is equal to the Giver: and therefore the Holy Ghost also is God, not inferior to the Father and the Son. From this therefore, that of the Holy Ghost is the birth of Christ according to His Manhood[1], what else than very grace is shewn? For when the Virgin had enquired of the Angel, how that should be brought to pass which he announced to her, seeing that she knew not a man; the Angel answered, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; and therefore that Holy Thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.* And Joseph when he wished to put her away, suspecting her to be an adulteress, whom he knew to be with child not of himself, received such an answer from the Angel, *Fear not to take Mary thy wife; for that which in her is conceived*[2], *is of the Holy Ghost:* that is, What you suspect to be of another man, is of the Holy Ghost.

xxxvii.

[1] hominem

Luke 1, 35.

Matt. 1, 20.

[2] natum

xxxviii 12. Yet do we therefore at all intend to say, that the Holy Ghost is the Father of the Man Christ, so that God the Father begot the Word, the Holy Ghost the Man, of both which Substances should be one Christ, both the Son of God the Father as touching the Word, and the Son of the Holy Ghost as touching the Man; in that the Holy Ghost as His Father had begotten Him of His virgin Mother? Who will dare to say this? Nor is there need to shew by discussion what other great absurdities follow; when now this very thing is of itself so absurd, that no faithful ears are able to bear it. Wherefore, as we confess, our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is God of God, but as Man was born of the Holy Ghost and

the Virgin Mary, in both Substances, the divine, that is, and the human, is the only Son of God the Father Almighty, from Whom proceedeth the Holy Ghost. In what manner then do we say, that Christ was born of the Holy Ghost, if the Holy Ghost begat Him not? Was it because He made Him? Seeing that our Lord Jesus Christ, so far as He is God, *all things were made by Him*: so far however as He is Man, Himself also was made, as the Apostle says: *He was made of the seed of David according to the flesh.* But whereas that Creature which the Virgin conceived and brought forth, although It belong to the Person of the Son alone, yet the whole Trinity made; for neither do the works of the Trinity admit of being separated; why in the making of It was the Holy Spirit alone named? Whether is it that even as often as one of the Three is named in any work, the whole Trinity is understood to work? It is so indeed, and may be shewn to be so by examples. But we must not delay any longer on this. For that moves us, how it is said, Born of the Holy Ghost, when He is in no way the Son of the Holy Ghost. For neither, because God created this world, may it lawfully be said to be the Son of God, or born of God; but made, or created, or built, or founded by Him, or whatever other such expression we may rightly use. He, therefore, when we confess Him born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, how He be not the Son of the Holy Ghost, and yet be the Son of the Virgin Mary, is difficult to explain. Without any doubt, forasmuch as He was not so born of Him as of a father, and was so born of her as of a mother. It must not therefore be granted, that whatsoever is born of any thing, is straightway to be called the son of that same thing. For not to notice that a son is born of a man in one sense, and in another sense a hair, a louse, a stomach-worm, no one of which is a son: not to notice then these, seeing that they are with ill grace[1] compared to so great a thing; surely they who are born of water and of the Holy Ghost, no one would properly say that they are sons of the water; but they are expressly called sons of God their Father, and of their mother the Church. Thus, therefore, One born of the Holy Ghost is the Son of God the Father, not of the Holy Ghost. For what we said of hair and the rest, is only of use so far,

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

John 1, 3.

Rom. 1, 3.

xxxix.

[1] deformiter.

ENCHIRIDION

that we be put in mind, that not every thing which is born of any one, can also be called the son of that of which it is born; in like manner, as it follows not, that all, who are called sons of any one, be said to be also born of him: as there are who are adopted. There are also named sons of hell, not as born of it, but prepared for it, as sons of the Kingdom,

xl. who are being prepared for the Kingdom. Therefore seeing that one thing may be born of another thing, and yet not in such a manner as to be a son, and again, that not every one, who is called a son, is born of him whose son he is said to be; doubtless the manner in which Christ was born of the Holy Ghost not as a Son, and of the Virgin Mary as a Son, suggests to us the grace of God, whereby Man, without any merits going before, in the very beginning of his nature in which he began to exist, was joined to God the Word unto so great unity of Person, that Himself the Same should be the Son of God, Who was the Son of Man, and the Son of Man, Who was the Son of God: and that thus in the taking upon Him human nature, in a certain way the very grace should be made natural to that Man, which[1] should not be capable of admitting any sin. Which grace it was therefore necessary should be indicated by the Holy Ghost, because He properly is thus God, as to be called also the Gift of God. Whereof to speak sufficiently, even if it may be done, is matter for a very lengthened discussion.

[1] i. e. 'which grace.'

Acts 8, 20.

xli. 13. Thus begotten[2] or conceived through no pleasure of carnal lust, and therefore deriving no sin by way of descent; also by the grace of God in a wonderful and unspeakable manner joined, and grown together, in unity of Person, with the Word the Only-begotten of the Father, the Son, not by grace, but by nature, and so Himself also committing no sin; yet, by reason of the 'likeness of the flesh of sin' in which He had come, was He Himself also called sin, being to be sacrificed to wash away sins. Forasmuch as in the old Law sacrifices for sins were called 'sins;' which He truly was made, whereof they were shadows. Hence the Apostle, after he had said, *We beseech you for Christ to be reconciled to God;* straightway adds and says, *Him who knew no sin, He made sin for us, that we may be the righteousness of God*

[2] seminatus.

Rom. 8, 3.

Hos.4,8.

2 Cor. 5, 20. 21.

"He Who knew no sin, for us wrought sin;" as if Christ Himself had sinned for us: but he says, '*Him* who had not known sin,' that is, Christ, 'God, to Whom we are to be reconciled, *made sin for us*,' that is, a Sacrifice for sins, through Which we might be able to be reconciled. He therefore sin, as we righteousness; nor that our own, but of God; nor in us, but in Him: as He sin, not His own, but ours; which that it had place not in Him, but in us, He shewed by the likeness of the flesh of sin, in which He was crucified: that, whereas sin was not in Him, so in a certain way He might die to sin, in dying to the flesh, wherein was the likeness of sin; and whereas He had never Himself lived according to the oldness of sin, He might by His own resurrection signify our new life springing to life again, from the old death, whereby we had been dead in sin. This is that xlii. very thing which is solemnized among us, the great Sacrament[f] of Baptism, that whosoever pertain to that grace, may die unto sin, as He is said to have died unto sin, who died unto the flesh, that is, the likeness of sin: and may live, by being born again from the laver, as He also by rising again from the grave, of whatever age their bodies be. For from xliii. the little child but lately born even to the decrepit old man, as no one is to be prohibited from Baptism, so is there no one who in Baptism dies not unto sin: but little children only unto original sin, elder persons however die unto all those sins also whatsoever by ill living they had added to that which they derived by birth. But therefore are they also xliv. generally said to die unto sin, when without any doubt they die not to one, but to many and all sins, whatsoever now of their own they have committed, either by thought, or word, or deed; since also by the singular number the plural is wont to be signified: as the poet says[g], "And fill his belly with the warrior armed;" although they did this with many warriors. And in our own writings we read, *Pray therefore to the Lord that He may take away from us the serpent;* it says not, the serpents, from which the people were suffering, so as thus to speak: and numberless other such. Whereas, however, also that original (sin, which is) one, is signified by

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

Numb. 21, 7. LXX.

[f] 'Sacramentum,' perhaps here

[g] Of the Trojan Horse. Virg. Æn.

ENCHIRIDION

the plural number, when we say that little children are baptized for the remission of *sins*, and say not for the remission of *sin;* that is an opposite form of speech, whereby by the plural the singular number is signified. As in the Gospel, Herod being dead, it is said, *For they are dead who sought the child's life:* it is not said, he is dead: and in Exodus, *They have made*, says he, *unto themselves gods of gold;* whereas they had made one calf, of which they said, *These are thy Gods, O Israel, who led thee forth out of the land of Egypt:* here also putting the plural for the singular.

Mat. 2, 20.

Ex. 32, 31. 4.

xlv. Although in that one sin also, which by one man entered into the world, and passed upon all men, by reason of which young children also are baptized, more sins than one may be understood, if that one be divided, as it were, into its separate parts. For therein is both pride, in that man chose rather to be in his own power, than in that of God; and sacrilege, in that he believed not God; and murder, in that he cast himself headlong into death; and spiritual fornication, in that the purity of the human mind was corrupted by the persuasion of the serpent; and theft, in that forbidden food was taken; and covetousness, in that he desired more than what ought to have satisfied him; and whatever else in the commission of this one sin may by careful thought be discovered.

Rom. 5, 12.

xlvi. Also that little children are bound by the sins of their parents, not merely of the first human beings, but of their own parents, from whom they are themselves born, is said not without show of reason. Forasmuch as that divine saying, *I will repay the sins of the fathers upon the sons;* certainly is of force in them, before that by spiritual regeneration they begin to belong to the New Testament. Which Testament was prophesied of, when it was said by Ezekiel, that the sons should not receive the sins of their fathers; and that that parable should be no longer in Israel, *The fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the teeth of the children have become numbed*[h]. For therefore is each one born again, that in him may be loosened whatever of sin there be, with which he is born. For the sins which are afterwards committed by evil conduct, may also by repentance be healed, as also we see takes place after Baptis

Deut. 5, 9.

Ez. 18, 2.

[h] obstupuerunt, al. obstipuerunt.

And therefore regeneration was not appointed, except only because our generation is corrupted; so much so that even one begotten of lawful wedlock says, *In iniquities I was conceived, and in sins my mother nourished me in the womb.* Neither said he here, in iniquity, or, in sin, although this also might rightly be said; but he chose rather to say iniquities and sins. Because in that one sin also, which passed upon all men, and is so great, that by it human nature was changed and turned unto necessity of death, there are found, as I have shewn above, more sins than one; and other sins of our parents, which, although they cannot so change our nature, yet bind sons by a state of condemnation, unless the free grace and mercy of God come to their help. But not without good reason may it be questioned, concerning the sins of our other parents, whom each of us succeed to as ancestors from Adam down to his own parent; whether he who is born be involved in the evil actions of all, and multiplied original transgressions, so that each one is born in so much the worse estate, the later it is; or whether it be for this reason that God threatens the posterity unto the third and fourth generation, concerning the sins of their parents, because He extends not His anger, as far as relates to the offences of their ancestors, further, through the tempering of His merciful kindness; lest they, on whom the grace of regeneration is not bestowed, might be weighed down with too heavy a burthen in their very eternal damnation, if they were obliged from the beginning of the human race to draw together by way of descent the sins of all their parents who went before them, and to suffer the punishments due to them: or whether any thing else in so great a matter, by more careful examination and handling of holy Scripture, may or may not be discovered, I do not venture to affirm unadvisedly.

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE. Ps.51,5. xlvii.

14. That one sin, however, which was so great, and committed in a place and state of so great happiness, that in one man, by way of origin, and so to say, by way of root, the whole human race was condemned, is not loosed and washed away, but only through one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus, Who alone could so be born, as that to Him there were no need to be born again. xlviii. 1 Tim.2, 5.

ENCHIRIDION xlix.

For they were not born again, who were baptized by the baptism of John, by whom He also was baptized: but by a certain ministry of him, as of a forerunner, who said, *Prepare a way for the Lord*, were prepared for that One in Whom alone they could be born again. For His baptism is, not in water only, as was that of John, but also in the Holy Ghost; according as of That Spirit, whosoever believeth in Christ, is regenerate, of Which Christ being generated, needed not to be regenerate. Whence that voice of the Father which came over Him when baptized, *I to-day have begotten Thee;* pointed not out that one day of time in which He was baptized, but that of unchangeable eternity, to shew that That Man pertained to the Person of the Only-begotten. For wherein the day is neither begun by yesterday's ending, nor ended by to-morrow's beginning, it is ever to-day. Therefore He willed to be baptized by John in water, not that any iniquity in Him might be washed away, but that His great humility might be commended. For in like manner in Him Baptism found nothing to wash away, even as death found nothing to punish; that the devil, being overcome and vanquished by truth of justice, not by violence of power, in that he had most unjustly slain Him without any desert of sin, might through Him most justly lose them whom through desert of sin he had gotten in hold. Therefore He took upon Him both, both baptism and death, by reason of a determinate dispensation, not of pitiable necessity, but rather of pitying will; that One might take away the sin of the world, as one sent sin into the world, that is, upon the whole human race. Except only that that one sent one sin into the world, this One however took away not only that one sin, but at the same time all, which He found added to it. Whence the Apostle says, *Not as by one man sinning, so is the gift also: for the judgment indeed was of one unto condemnation, but the grace, of many offences unto justification.* Because assuredly that one sin which is derived by way of descent, even if it be alone, makes men liable to condemnation: but the grace justifies from many offences the man, who, beside that one which in common with all he hath derived by way of descent, hath added many of his own likewise. However, that which he says a little after,

Mat. 3, 6. 13. Is. 40, 3. Luke 3, 4.

Luke 3, 22. Ps. 2, 7. Heb. 5, 5. Heb. 1, 5.

Rom. 5, 16—18.

li.

As by the offence of one upon all men unto condemnation, so also by the righteousness of one upon all men unto justification of life; sufficiently shews, that no one born of Adam is otherwise than held under condemnation, and that no one is freed from condemnation otherwise than by being born again in Christ. Of which punishment through one man, and grace through one Man, having spoken as much as he judged sufficient for that place of his Epistle, next he commended the great mystery of holy Baptism in the Cross of Christ, in such manner as that we understand that Baptism in Christ is none other than the likeness of the death of Christ; and that the death of Christ crucified is none other than the likeness of the remission of sin: that, as in Him true death had place, so in us true remission of sin; and as in Him true resurrection, so in us true justification. For he says, *What shall we say then? shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound?* For he had said above, *For where sin abounded, grace abounded more.* And therefore he proposed to himself the question, whether one be to continue in sin, in order to obtain abundance of grace. But he answered, *Far be it:* and added, *If we are dead to sin, how shall we live therein?* Then, in order to shew that we are dead to sin: *What, know ye not*, says he, *how that we whosoever have been baptized in Jesus Christ, have been baptized in His death?* If therefore we are hence shewn to be dead to sin, in that we have been baptized in the death of Christ; assuredly little children also who are baptized in Christ, die unto sin, because they are baptized in His death. For without any exception it is said, *We whosoever have been baptized in Christ Jesus, have been baptized in His death.* And therefore is it said, that it may be shewn that we are dead to sin. But to what sin do little children die by being born again, except to that, which, by being born, they have derived? And thus to them also pertains what follows, wherein he says, *Therefore we have been buried together with Him through baptism unto death, that, in like manner as Christ rose from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life. For if we have become planted together with the likeness of His death, so shall we be also of His resurrection: knowing this, that our*

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

lii.

Rom. 6, 1—3.

Rom. 5, 20.

Rom. 6, 4—11.

ENCHIRIDION

old man hath been crucified together, that the body of sin may be made empty, that we serve not sin any longer. For he that hath died, hath been justified from sin. But if we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall also together live with Him: knowing that Christ rising from the dead, now dieth not, death shall no more have dominion over Him. For in that He hath died unto sin, He hath died once; but in that He liveth, He liveth unto God. Thus do ye also judge yourselves to have died indeed unto sin, but to live unto God in Christ Jesus. For hence he had begun to prove that we must not continue in sin, that grace may abound; and had said, *If we have died to sin, how shall we live in it?* and, to shew that we had died to sin, had added, *What, know ye not that we whosoever have been baptized in Christ Jesus, have been baptized in His death?* Thus then he closed that whole passage as he began. Seeing that he so introduced the death of Christ, as to say that even He died to sin. To what sin, except to the flesh, in which was, not sin, but the likeness of sin; and therefore it is called by the name of sin? Therefore to them who have been baptized in the death of Christ, in which not only older persons, but little children also are baptized, he says, *So do ye also*, that is, in like manner as Christ, *So do ye also judge yourselves to have died unto sin, but to live unto God in Christ Jesus.* Whatever therefore was done in the Cross of Christ, in His Burial, in His Resurrection on the third day, in His Ascension into Heaven, in His Sitting at the right hand of the Father; was done in such sort, as that to these things, not only as spoken after a mystical manner, but also as done, the Christian life which is here lived might be conformed. For by reason of His Cross it is said; *But they that are Jesus Christ's, have crucified their flesh with its passions and lusts.* By reason of His Burial: *We have been buried together with Christ through Baptism unto death.* By reason of His Resurrection: *That like as Christ rose again from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life.* By reason of His Ascension into Heaven, and Sitting at the right hand of the Father: *But if ye have risen again with Christ, seek the things which are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God, mind the things which are*

Rom. 6, 3.

liii.

Gal. 5, 24.

Rom. 6, 4.

Col. 3, 1—4.

above, not the things which are upon earth: for ye have died, and your life is hid with Christ in God. However, that which we confess concerning Christ as future; how that He is to come from Heaven, to judge the quick and dead, relates not to that life of ours which is lived here; in that neither is it among the things which He hath done, but among those which He is to do, at the end of the world. To this belongs what the Apostle goes on to add: *When Christ our life shall have appeared, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory.* But that He will judge the quick and the dead may be understood in two ways: either to understand by the quick them whom His coming shall find not yet dead, but still living in this flesh; but by the dead, them who, before His coming, have departed, or are to depart, from the body: or whether by the living the just, by the dead the unjust: since the just also shall be judged. For at times the judgment of God is used in an evil sense; whence is that saying, *But they who have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment*[1]: at times also in a good sense, according to that which is said, *O God, in Thy Name save me, and in Thy might judge me.* Forasmuch as by the judgment of God takes place that very separation of the good and bad, that the good, being to be freed from evil, not to be destroyed with the evil persons, may be set apart at the right hand. By reason of which he cried out, *Judge me, O God:* and as if setting forth what he had said, *And separate,* says he, *my cause from a nation not holy.*

DEFIDE SPE ET CARITATE. liv. lv.

[1] so Gr.

Ps.54,1.

Mat.25, 32. 33.

Ps.43,1.

15. But now when we have spoken concerning Jesus Christ the only Son of God, our Lord, what pertains to the brevity of confession, we thereunto add that we believe also in the Holy Ghost, that that Trinity may be complete, Which is God: then next the Holy Church is mentioned. Whereby it is given to understand, that, after mention made of the Creator, that is, of the supreme Trinity, it were fitting to subjoin the reasonable creation pertaining to that Jerusalem which is free. Seeing that whatsoever hath been spoken concerning the man Christ, pertaineth unto the unity of Person of the Only-begotten. Therefore the right order of confession demanded, that to the Trinity the Church should be subjoined, as to Him that dwelleth therein His own house,

lvi.

Gal. 4, 26.

ENCHIRIDION

to God His own Temple, to the Founder His own city. Which is here to be understood as a whole, not only in respect of that part wherein she sojourneth[1] upon earth, from the rising of the sun even unto its setting praising the name of the Lord, and after its captivity of the old estate singing a new song; but also of that which in Heaven ever, from the time that it was created, hath cleaved unto God, neither hath experienced in itself any evil of falling. This in the holy Angels continueth blessed, and, as is fitting, helpeth that part of itself which is a sojourner: because both will be one by partaking in common of eternity, and are now one by the bond of charity, being that it was wholly instituted for the worship of the One God. Wherefore neither doth the whole, nor any part of it, will that it be worshipped in the place of God, nor that it be a God to any one who belongs to the Temple of God, which is built out of gods whom the uncreated God creates. And so the Holy Ghost, if He were creature, not Creator, would assuredly be a reasonable creature; for that is the highest creature. And therefore in the Rule of Faith He would not be placed before the Church, in that He Himself also would pertain unto the Church in respect of that part of it which is in Heaven. Nor would He have a temple, but Himself also would be a temple. But a temple He hath, concerning Whom the Apostle says, *Know ye not, that your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God?* Concerning whom in another place he says, *Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?* How then is not He God, Who hath a temple? or less than Christ, Whose members He hath as a temple? For neither is His temple other than the temple of God, in that the same Apostle says, *Know ye not that ye are the temple of God?* in order to prove which He adds, *and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you.* God therefore dwelleth in His temple, not only the Holy Ghost, but also the Father and the Son, Who also concerning His own Body, (whereby He was made the Head of the Church, which is among men, *that He may be in all things holding the preeminence,*) says, *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.* The temple therefore of God, that is, of the whole supreme Trinity, is the Holy Church, [the Church,] that is, universal

[1] al. 'which sojourneth.' Ps. 113, 3.

1 Cor. 6, 19.

1 Cor. 6, 15.

1 Cor. 3, 16.

Col. 1, 18.

John 2, 19.

in Heaven and on earth. But concerning that which is in Heaven, what can we affirm, but only that there is in it no one that is evil, nor hath any one since fallen thence, or is about to fall, from the time that *God spared not the Angels sinning*, as writes the Apostle Peter, *but thrusting them forth delivered them unto prisons of darkness of hell, to be reserved unto punishment in judgment.* But of what nature that most blessed and lofty society is, what differences there are there of preeminencies in them, so that, all being named, as it were, by a general name Angels, (as in the Epistle to the Hebrews we read: *For to which of the Angels said He at any time, Sit on My right hand*, seeing that in this manner he shewed universally that all are called Angels,) there yet are there Archangels, and whether these same Archangels are called Powers; and so it was said, *Praise Him, all His Angels; Praise Him, all His Powers*[1]; as if it were said, 'Praise Him all His Angels, Praise Him all His Archangels;' and how those four words differ one from another, wherein the Apostle seems to have embraced the whole of that heavenly society, saying, *Whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers*[2], let them speak who are able, yet so that they be able to prove what they say: I confess that I am ignorant of these things. But neither am I assured of that other, whether the sun and moon and all stars belong to that same society; although to some they seem to be shining bodies, not bodies possessing sense and understanding. And also of Angels, who can explain, with what kind of bodies they have appeared to men, so as not only to be seen, but also to be touched; and, again, not by bodily bulk, but by spiritual power, they bring certain visions, not to the bodily eyes, but to the spiritual, i. e. to minds; or speak something not to the ear from without, but within to the soul[1] of man, themselves also having their place there: as is written in the Book of the Prophets, *And the Angel who was speaking in me said unto me;* for he says not, who was speaking to me, but *in me*, or also appear in dreams, and converse after the manner of dreams; we have for example in the Gospel, *Behold, the Angel of the Lord appeared unto him in dreams, saying?*

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

lvii. 2 Pet. 2, 4.

lviii. Heb. 1, 13. Ps. 148, 2. [1] *virtutes* E. V. *Hosts.* Col. 1, 16. [2] *Potestates.*

lix. Zech. 1, 9. Mat. 1, 20.

[1] Ben. 'in animo,' 'in the mind.' Mss. animæ.

ENCHIRIDION

Gen. 18, 4. and 19, 2.

[1] 'tam solidâ.'

Gen. 32, 24.

For in this manner the Angels as it were point out that they have not bodies which may be handled: and cause it to be a difficult question, how the Fathers washed their feet, how Jacob wrestled with the Angel with handling so palpable[1]. When these inquiries are made, and each one, as he can, conjectures concerning them, the abilities are exercised not without profit, if only the disputation be moderate, and there be not there the error of them who think that they know what they know not. For what need is there, that these and such like things be affirmed, or denied, or defined with contention[2], when without reprehension[3] one may be ignorant of them?

[2] 'cum discrimine.'

[3] 'sine crimine.'

lx. 2 Cor. 11, 14.

16. It is more necessary to distinguish and discern when Satan transforms himself as an angel of light, lest deceiving us, he lead us astray unto some hurtful things. For when he deceives the bodily senses, and yet moves not the mind from that true and right thinking, whereby each one lives the life of faith, there is no danger in religion: or when feigning himself to be good, he says or does those things which are suitable with good angels, even if he be believed to be good, it is not an error which endangers or infects Christian faith. When, however, by means of these things which are not his, he begins to lead us unto his own, then to discern him, and not to follow after him, is matter of great and necessary watchfulness. But how few of men are able to escape his deadly guiles, unless God do guide and protect them! And the very difficulty in this matter is hereunto useful, that each man be not a hope unto himself, neither one man unto another, but God unto all that are His. For that this is rather expedient for us, no pious person at all can doubt.

lxi. This Church then which standeth in the holy Angels and Powers of God, will then at length become known to us as it is, when at the last we shall have been joined with it, to possess together with it eternal blessedness. That part however which is separate from it and sojourning upon earth, is thereby the more known to us, in that we are in it, and in that it is of men, which we also are. This, by the Blood of a Mediator Who had no sin, hath been redeemed from all sin, and her words are, *If God for us, who against us? Who hath not spared His own Son, but hath delivered Him up for us all.* For not for the Angels hath Christ died. But

Rom. 8, 31. 32.

therefore is it done even for Angels, whosoever of men are by His death redeemed and freed from evil, in that they in some sort return into favour with them, after the enmities which their sins have caused between men and the holy Angels, and from the very redemption of men the losses of the fall of the Angels are repaired. And assuredly the holy Angels know, being taught of God, in the eternal contemplation of Whose truth they are blessed, what number from among the human race to fill it up, that City waiteth for ere it be complete. Wherefore the Apostle says, *That all things are restored in Christ, which are in heaven, and which are in earth, in Him.* Inasmuch as they are restored which are in heaven, when that which in the Angels hath fallen thence, is given back from among men: but they are restored which are in earth, when the very men who have been predestinated to eternal life, are renewed from their old state of corruption. And so by that single Sacrifice wherein a Mediator hath been slain, of which one Sacrifice many victims in the Law were figures, things heavenly are set at peace with things earthly, and things earthly with things heavenly. Since, as the same Apostle says, *In Him it hath pleased Him that all fulness should dwell, and that by Him all things should be reconciled unto Himself, making peace by the Blood of His Cross, whether they that be in earth or that be in heaven.* That *peace surpasseth*, as it is written, *all understanding*, nor can it be known by us, save only when we shall have come unto those things. For how are heavenly things made at peace, except with us, that is, by agreeing with us? For there is peace there ever, to the whole of the reasonable creatures, both one with another, and with their Creator. Which peace *surpasseth*, as has been said, *all understanding;* surely, however, ours, not that of them who see the face of the Father. But we, however great human understanding there be in us, know in part, and see now as by a glass in a riddle: but when we shall be equal with the Angels of God, then, in like manner as they, we shall see face to face: and shall have as great peace towards them, as they also towards us, in that we shall love them as greatly as we are loved by them. And so their peace will be known to us, in that ours also will be such and so great, nor will it then surpass our under-

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

lxii.

Eph. 1, 10.

Col. 1, 19. 20.

lxiii.

Phil. 4, 7.

1 Cor. 13, 12. Luke 20, 36.

ENCHIRIDION

standing; but the peace of God, which is then towards them, will without doubt surpass both our and their understanding. Forasmuch as every rational creature whatsoever which is blessed, is blessed of Him, not He of it. Wherefore in this sense that is better taken which is written, *The peace of God, which surpasseth all understanding.* So that, in that he said *all*, not even the understanding of the holy Angels may be excepted, but of God alone: for His peace surpasseth not His own understanding.

lxiv. **17. But the holy Angels are at one with us even now, when our sins are remitted.** Wherefore, after mention made of the holy Church, is placed in the order of confession the remission of sins. For by this the Church which is in earth standeth: by this that is not lost, which had been lost and has been found. Forasmuch as the gift of Baptism being excepted, which hath been granted against original sin, in order that what by our generation hath been drawn to us, by our regeneration may be taken away from us; and yet actual sins also it taketh away, whatsoever it hath found committed in heart, mouth, or deed: this great remission[1] then being excepted, whence man's renewal begins, wherein all guilt both inborn and added is done away; the very rest of life of such an age as already useth reason, however strong it be in fruitfulness of righteousness, is not past without remission of sins. Seeing that the sons of God, so long as they live a mortal life, have a conflict with death. And although of them it may have been truly said, *As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God*; yet are they so animated by the Spirit of God, and as sons of God make progress towards God, that even in their own spirit, especially as their corruptible body weighs them down, as sons of men they in[2] certain human feelings fall away unto themselves, and so sin. It matters, indeed, how much; for neither because every crime[3] is sin, therefore also is every sin a crime. Therefore the life of holy men, as long as they continue in this mortal life, we say may be found without crime: But *if we shall say that we have no sin*, as so great an Apostle saith, *we lead ourselves astray, and the truth is not in us.* But neither in the matter of remission of crimes themselves in the holy Church, must they despair of the

Luke 15, 24.

[1] indulgentia

Rom. 8, 14.

Wisd. 9, 15.

[2] 'hominis in,' Mss. ap. Ben.

[3] crimen

1 John 1, 8.

lxv.

mercy of God who exercise repentance, each according to the measure of his own sin. But in the act of repentance, when any thing hath been committed of such sort, as that he who committed it is even separated from the body of Christ, the measure of time is not to be taken into account so much as of sorrow: for God despiseth not a contrite and humbled heart. But forasmuch as the sorrow of one man's heart is usually hidden from another, and cometh not forth for others to know it by words or any other signs whatever; whereas it is open before Him, to Whom it is said, *My groaning is not hid from Thee:* times of penitence are rightly appointed by those who are set over the Churches, that satisfaction may be made also to the Church, wherein the sins themselves are remitted; forasmuch as without her they are not remitted. For she hath specially received the Holy Spirit as a pledge, without Whom no sins are remitted, so that they to whom they are remitted may obtain eternal life. For remission of sins takes place rather with reference to future judgment. But in this life so entirely does that hold good which is written, *A heavy yoke upon the sons of Adam, from the day that they go forth from the womb of their mother even unto the day that they are buried in the mother of all,* that we see even little ones after the washing of regeneration tortured with afflictions of various pains; in order that we may understand, that the whole of that which is wrought by the saving Sacraments, pertaineth rather unto the hope of good things to come, than unto the retaining or receiving of things present. Many things even seem here to be pardoned, and visited by no punishments; but their penalties are reserved for hereafter. For not in vain is that especially called the Day of Judgment, when the Judge of the living and of the dead shall come. As, on the other hand, some things are here visited, and yet if they be remitted, they shall assuredly not injure in the world to come. Wherefore concerning certain temporal punishments, which are inflicted in this life on those sinners whose sins are blotted out, that they be not kept unto the end, the Apostle says, *For if we would judge our own selves, we should not be judged of the Lord; but when we are judged we are chastened by the Lord, that we be not condemned with the world.*

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

Ps. 51, 17.

Ps. 38, 9.

lxvi.

Ecclus. 40, 1.

1 Cor. 11, 31. 32.

ENCHIRIDION lxvii.

18. It is, however, believed by certain, that even those who depart not from the name of Christ, and are baptized in His laver in the Church, and are not cut off from it by any schism or heresy, in what sins soever they may live, neither washing them away by repentance, nor redeeming them by alms, but continuing in them most obstinately even up to the last day of this life, being about to be saved by fire, are punished by a fire, lasting indeed in proportion to the greatness of their sins and offences, yet not eternal. But they who hold this belief and yet are Catholics, seem to me to be deceived by a certain human feeling of kindness, for divine Scripture when consulted answers otherwise. I have, however, composed a book on this subject, the title of which is, *Of Faith and Works*[k]: wherein according to the holy Scriptures, as far as by the help of God I have been enabled, that that faith maketh us to be saved, which the Apostle Paul hath sufficiently clearly set forth, saying, *For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love.* But if it worketh ill and not well, without doubt, according to the Apostle James, *it is dead in itself.* Who again saith, *If any one say that he have faith, and have not works, shall his faith be able in any wise to save him?* But further, if a wicked man on account of his faith alone shall be saved by fire, and that is so to be understood which blessed Paul saith, *But he himself shall be saved, but so as by fire;* then will faith without works be able to save, and that will be false which his fellow Apostle James hath said; moreover, that also will be false which the same Paul himself hath said; *Be not*, he says, *deceived; neither fornicators, nor idol-worshippers, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the Kingdom of God.* For if, even though they continue in these crimes, they shall yet be saved by reason of their faith in Christ, how shall they not be 'in the Kingdom of God?' But because these most clear and open testimonies of the Apostles cannot be false, that which hath been spoken obscurely concerning those who build upon the foundation, which is Christ, not gold, silver, precious

Gal. 5, 6.

James 2, 17. ver. 14.

1 Cor. 6, 9. 10.

lxviii.

1 Cor. 3, 11. 12.

[k] See the Notice at the head of that Work in the present Volume.

stones, but wood, hay, stubble, (for of these it is said that they shall be 'saved by fire,' seeing that for the merit of the foundation they shall not perish,) is so to be understood, as that it be not found to contradict these manifest truths. Forasmuch as wood and hay and stubble may not unreasonably be understood of such desires of things that are of this life, although lawful and conceded, that they cannot be lost without pain of mind. But when that pain inflames, if Christ have in the heart the place of a foundation, that is, so that nothing be preferred to him, and the man who is burned with such pain, had rather lose those things which he so loves than Christ; he is saved by fire. But if in time of trial he had rather retain temporal and worldly things of this kind than Christ, he hath not had Him as a foundation; because he hath had these things placed before Him, whereas in a building nothing is before the foundation. For the fire, whereof in that place the Apostle spake, ought to be understood to be such, as that both pass through it; that is, both he who builds upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones; and he who builds wood, hay, stubble. For, after having thus said, he adds, *The fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work shall abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. But if any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire.* The fire therefore shall prove, not the work of one of them, but of both. One sort of fire is the trial of affliction, concerning which it is in another place plainly written, *The furnace proveth the potter's vessels, and just men the trial of affliction.* This fire in the mean time in this life does what the Apostle said, if it happen to two believers, the one 'having in mind the things of God, how he may please God,' that is, building upon Christ the foundation, gold, silver, precious stones; the other 'having in mind the things of the world, how he may please his wife,' that is, building upon the same foundation wood, hay, stubble: for the work of the one is not burned up, because he hath not loved those things by the loss of which to suffer pain; but the work of the other is burned up, seeing that those things are not lost without pain, which have been possessed with love. But since, upon the

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

1 Cor. 3, 13—15.

Ecclus. 27, 5.

1 Cor. 7, 32. 33.

ENCHIRIDION

one of two conditions being proposed, he would prefer rather to lose them than Christ, nor from fear of losing such things deserts Christ, although he be pained when he loses them, he is however saved, yet so as by fire: because the pain of the loss of those things which he had loved burns him; but overthrows not, nor consumes him, fortified by the stability
lxix. and incorruption of the foundation. That some such thing takes place after this life also, is not incredible, and it may be a matter of inquiry, whether it be so or not, and it may either be discovered, or remain hidden, that some believers through a certain fire of cleansing[1], in proportion as they have more or less loved perishing goods, are so much the more slowly or speedily saved: not however such, concerning whom it is said, that they shall not inherit the Kingdom of God, unless these same crimes be remitted to them, repenting after a suitable manner. But I said, 'after a suitable manner,' that they be not barren in alms, to which divine Scripture assigns so much, that the Lord declares beforehand that fruit of them alone will be imputed to those at the right hand, and barrenness of them alone to those at His left
Mat. 25, 34—36. 41—43. hand; when to the one He will say, *Come, ye blessed of My Father, receive the Kingdom*, and to the other, *Go ye into eternal fire.*

lxx. 19. Indeed it is to be shunned that any one think that those heinous crimes, the doers of which shall not inherit the Kingdom of God, are daily to be done, and daily to be redeemed by alms. Forasmuch as the life is to be changed for the better, and God is to be propitiated through alms for sins past, not in a manner to be bought for this end, that it may be lawful to commit them at all times with
Ecclus. 15, 20. impunity, for *To no man hath He given license to sin:* albeit by shewing mercy He blot out sins already done, if
lxxi. suitable satisfaction be not neglected. But for our daily momentary[1] and light sins, from which we pass not this life free, the daily prayer of believers is sufficient[2]. For it is theirs to say, *Our Father, Who art in Heaven*, who have
John 3, 5. been already begotten again, unto such a Father, of water and of the Spirit. This prayer altogether blots out very little and daily sins. It blots out those also from which the

[1] brevibus.
[2] satisfacit.

[1] 'ignem quendam purgatorium.' see p. 84.

*life of believers, spent even wickedly, but changed for the better by repentance, departs: if, as it is truly said, *Forgive us our debts*, seeing that there are not wanting to be forgiven; so it be truly said, *As we also forgive our debtors:* that is, if that which is said be done; seeing it is very alms, to forgive a man who asks pardon. And so with reference to all things which are done with profitable pity, that holds good which the Lord says, *Give alms, and behold all things are clean unto you.* Therefore not only he who ministers food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, lodging to the stranger, a hiding-place to the fugitive, who visits the sick or the prisoner, redeems the captive, bears the weak, leads the blind, consoles the sorrowful, heals the diseased, leads the wanderer into the way, ministers counsel to him that doubts, and to each man who is in want what is necessary; but he also gives alms who pardons one who sins; and he who chastens with a stripe one over whom power is given him, or who restrains him by any discipline, and yet forgives from his heart that sin of his, whereby he hath been injured or offended by him, or prays that it may be forgiven him, not only in that he forgives and prays, but also in that he chastens, and visits him with some punishment in the way of correction, he also gives alms; for he shews mercy. For many benefits are bestowed on men against their will, when their advantage is consulted, not their wishes, in that they are found to be their own enemies, but those rather their friends whom they think enemies; and they mistaking return evil for good, whereas a Christian ought not to return evil, even for evil. Thus there are many kinds of alms, which when we do, we obtain help that our sins be forgiven us.

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

Mat. 6, 9. 12.

lxxii.

Luke 11, 41.

But there is nothing greater than that, whereby we from the heart forgive that which each man hath committed against us. For it is less a great act to be kindly disposed, or even to do kind actions, towards that man, who has done you no evil: that is much greater, and an act of most exalted goodness, that you love your enemy also, and that you always wish, and, when you can, do, good to him who wishes you evil, and, when he can, does it: hearing God saying, *Love your enemies, do good to them who hate you, and pray for*

lxxiii.

Mat. 5, 44.

ENCHIRIDION

them who persecute you. But forasmuch as these things belong to the perfect sons of God, whereunto indeed every believer ought to press forward to attain, and to bring his human mind unto this disposition, by praying unto God, and by pleading and striving with himself: yet because this so great good belongs not to so great a multitude, as we believe are heard, when it is said in prayer, *Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors;* without doubt, the words of this pledge are fulfilled, if a man who hath not yet advanced so far as already to love his enemy, yet, when he is entreated by one who hath sinned against him, to forgive him, forgives him from his heart: seeing that he also himself seeks to be forgiven upon his entreaty, in that he prays and says, *As we also forgive our debtors*, that is, so forgive us our debts when we entreat it, as we forgive our debtors when they entreat it.

lxxiv. Now he who entreats the man, against whom he hath sinned, if he is moved by his sin to entreat him, is no longer to be esteemed an enemy, so that it should be a hard thing to love him, as it was a hard thing at the time when he was exercising enmity. But whosoever forgives not from his heart one who entreats for pardon, and who repents him of his sin, let him no way think that his sins are forgiven him of the Lord; inasmuch as the Truth cannot lie. But what hearer and reader of the Gospel can be ignorant, Who it is that said, *I am the Truth.* Who, after He had taught a prayer, greatly recommended this sentence which He set in it, saying, *For if ye shall forgive men their trespasses, your Heavenly Father will also forgive you your trespasses. But if ye shall not forgive men, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.* Whoso at such a thunder ariseth not, is not sleeping, but is dead: and yet He is able to raise up even the dead.

John 14, 6.

Mat. 6, 14. 15.

lxxv. 20. Certainly they, who live very wickedly, and take no heed to amend a life and manners of this kind, and in the very midst of their sins and offences, intermit not the frequency of their alms, in vain therefore flatter themselves, because the Lord hath said, *Give alms, and behold all things are clean unto you.* For they understand not how wide a meaning this has. But, that they may understand, let them note to whom He said it. Now in the Gospel it is thus written: *As He was speaking, a certain Pharisee asked Him to dine*

Luke 11, 41.

Luke 11, 37—41.

with him, and He went in and sate down. But the Pharisee began, thinking within himself, to say, why had He not washed before dinner? And the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees make clean that which is without the cup and platter; but your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness. Fools, did not He who made that which is without, make also that which is within? However, as to what remains, give alms, and behold all things are clean unto you. Are we so to understand this, as that to the Pharisees not having faith in Christ, albeit they have not believed in Him, nor been born again of water and of the Spirit, all things are clean, if only they shall have given alms, according as they themselves think that they ought to be given? whereas they all are unclean whom the faith of Christ cleanseth not, concerning which it is written, *cleansing their hearts by faith;* and whereas the Apostle says, *But to them that are unclean and unbelieving nothing is clean, but both their mind and conscience are polluted.* How then to the Pharisees should all things be clean, if they gave alms, and were not believers? or how should they be believers, if they were unwilling to believe in Christ, and to be born again in His Grace? And yet that is true which they heard, *Give alms, and behold all things are clean unto you.* For he who wishes to give alms in due order, ought to begin with himself, and to give alms first to himself. For alms is a work of mercy; and most truly is it said, *Have mercy upon thine own soul, pleasing God.* For this cause are we born again, that we may please God, unto Whom that is deservedly displeasing which by our birth we have contracted. This is the first alms, which we have given ourselves, in that ourselves, miserable as we were, we by the mercy of God having pity on us have sought again, confessing His just judgment, whereby we have been made miserable, concerning which the Apostle says, *the judgment indeed of one unto condemnation;* and returning thanks unto His great love, concerning which the same preacher of grace says, *But God commendeth His love in us, in that whilst we were yet sinners, Christ died for us;* that we also judging truly of our own misery, and loving God with that love which Himself hath bestowed upon us, may live piously and rightly. Which judgment and love of God

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

Luke 11, 39-41.

Tit. 1, 15.

Acts 15, 9.

lxxvi.

Ecclus. 30, 23. (as V.)

Rom. 5, 16.

Rom. 5, 8. 9.

ENCHIRIDION

the Pharisees passing by, they yet, on account of the alms which they used to make, gave tithes even of the very least of their fruits; and so they gave not their alms beginning with themselves, and having mercy first on themselves. On account of which order in love it is said, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* When therefore He had rebuked those who were washing themselves without, but within were full of ravening and wickedness, admonishing them that their inner parts be cleansed by a kind of alms, that which a man bestows first of all upon himself; *However*, He says, *as to what remains*[1], *give alms, and behold all things are clean unto you.* Then, in order to shew what He had advised, and what they cared not to do, that they might not think that He was ignorant of their alms; *But woe unto you, Pharisees,* He says; as if He should say, I indeed have admonished you that alms are to be given, whereby all things may be clean unto you; *But woe unto you, who give tithes of mint and rue and all herbs;* for these alms of yours I know, that ye may not think that I have now admonished you concerning them; *and pass over judgment and the love God;* by which alms ye might be cleansed from all defilement within, that so your bodies also, which ye wash, might be clean: for this is the meaning of *all*, that is, both things within, and things without; as we read in another place, *Cleanse those things which are within, and those which are without will be clean.* But lest He should seem to have rejected those alms which are done of the fruits of the earth; *These things,* says He, *ye ought to do*, that is, judgment and the love of God, *and those others not to leave undone*, that is, alms of the earth's fruits. Let not those therefore deceive themselves, who by alms, be they as large as they will, of their fruits or of wealth of any kind, think that they purchase impunity of remaining in their excess of crime and heinousness of sins: for they not only do these things, but so love them, as to desire to continue in them ever, if only they may with impunity. *For he who loveth iniquity, hateth his own soul*, and he who hateth his own soul is not merciful unto it, but cruel: seeing that by loving it after the world, he hateth it after God. If therefore he should wish to give alms unto it, whereby all things might be clean unto him, he would

[1] *quod superest*

Matt. 22, 37. Luke 10, 27.

Mat. 23, 26.

Luke 11, 42.

lxxvii.

Ps. 11, 5.

hate it after the world, and love it after God. No one however gives any alms whatever, unless he receive whence he may give from Him Who wants not; therefore it is said, *His mercy shall prevent me.* DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE. Ps. 59, 10.

21. But it is not human, but the Divine judgment, which must weigh what sins are light and what heavy. For we see that the very Apostles themselves have, by pardoning, conceded some: of which character is that which venerable Paul says to married persons, *Defraud ye not one the other, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may have time for prayer, and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinence.* Which very thing might be thought not to be sin, to have intercourse, that is, not for the sake of the begetting of children, which is the good thing in marriage, but also for the sake of carnal pleasure: that the weakness of them who cannot contain may avoid the deadly evil of fornication, or of adultery, or of any other impurity, which it is shameful even to speak of, unto which through the temptation of Satan lust may carry them. It might therefore, as I have said, be thought that this was not sin, unless he had added, *But this I speak by way of pardon*[1], *and not of commandment.* But who can any longer deny that to be sin, when he confesses that *pardon* is granted to it by Apostolic authority. Some such also is it, when he says, *Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the Saints?* And a little after, *If ye then have judgments of things pertaining to this life,* says he, *set them that are contemned in the Church. I speak to you to put you to shame; is it so that there is among you no wise man who is able to judge between his brother? But brother goeth to law with brother, and that before unbelievers.* For here also it might be thought, that to have a suit against another was not sin, but to wish to have it decided without the Church, did he not go on to add, *Now truly it is utterly a fault, that ye have suits one with another.* And lest any one should endeavour to excuse this by saying that he had a just matter, but that he was suffering injustice, which he wished removed by the sentence of the judges, he straightway meets such thoughts and excuses, and says, *Wherefore do ye not rather suffer wrong? Wherefore*

lxxviii

1 Cor. 7, 5. 6.

[1] E. V. 'permission'

1 Cor. 6, 1—7.

ENCHIRIDION

are ye not rather defrauded? In order to return to that which the Lord said, *If any one will take away thy coat, and sue thee at the law, let him have thy cloak also;* and in another place He saith, *Of him that hath taken away thy goods, ask them not back.* He hath therefore forbidden them that are His from going to law with other men in matters of this life: from which teaching the Apostle says that it is a fault. Yet when he allows such suits to be concluded in the Church, brothers judging between brothers, but awfully forbids their being concluded out of the Church; it is clear also here what concession is made to the weak by way of pardon[1]. By reason of these and such-like sins, and others, although less than these, which take place by offences in words or thoughts, as the Apostle James confesses and says, *for in many things we offend all;* it behoveth that we every day and oft pray unto the Lord, and say, *Forgive us our debts,* and lie not in that which follows, *as we also ourselves forgive our debtors.* But there are certain which would be judged very light, were they not in the Scriptures shewn to be heavier than we think. For who would think one who said to his brother, *Thou fool,* to be in danger of hell, unless The Truth said so? For which wound however He straightway added a remedy, connecting with it a precept of brotherly reconciliation: in that He soon after says, *If therefore thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there remember that thy brother hath ought against thee, &c.* Or who judge how great a sin it is, to observe days and months, and years and times, as they observe them who are either willing or unwilling to begin something on certain days, or months, or years, because that according to the false doctrines of men they think them lucky or unlucky times; unless we were to weigh the greatness of this evil from the fear of the Apostle, who says to such, *I am afraid of you, lest haply I may have laboured among you in vain.* To this is added, that sins, although great and dreadful, after that they have become habitual, are believed to be either small sins or not sins at all, so as to appear not only not such things as are to be concealed, but even to be proclaimed and spread abroad, seeing that, as it is written, *The sinner is praised in the desires of his soul, and he who carrieth on unrighteous things*

Matt. 5, 40.

Luke 6, 30.

[1] 'veniam,' as above.

James 3, 2.

Matt. 6, 12.

lxxix.

Matt. 5, 22. 23.

Gal. 4, 11.

lxxx.

cf. Ps. 10, 3.

is blessed. Such unrighteousness in the divine books is called 'a cry,' as you have in the Prophet Isaiah concerning the evil vine, *I looked*, says He, *that it should produce judgment, but it produced unrighteousness, and not righteousness, but a cry.* Whence also is that in Genesis, *The cry of Sodom and of Gomorrah hath increased manifold.* Because not only were those crimes by this time not punished among them, but also were publicly, as if by law, in use. So in our times, so many evils, although not of the same character, have by this time come into open use, that we not only dare not to excommunicate any of the laity for them, but even dare not to degrade one of the clergy. Whence when a few years back I was expounding the Epistle to the Galatians, on that very place where the Apostle says, *I fear lest haply I may have laboured among you in vain;* I was compelled to exclaim, "Woe unto the sins of men, which only when they are unusual we shudder at; but when usual, those for the washing away of which the Blood of the Son of God was shed, although they be so great as that they cause that the Kingdom of God be altogether shut against them, yet by seeing them oft, we are forced to bear with them all, and by often bearing with, even to commit some. And O that, O Lord, we may not be doing all, which we have proved unable to prohibit!" But I will consider whether or not immoderate grief compelled me to speak any thing incautiously.

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

Is. 5, 7.

Gen. 18, 20.

Gal. 4, 11.

Ed. Ben. Tom. 3.

lxxxi. 22. This I will now say, which indeed I have already often said in other places of my little works. We sin from two causes; either from not yet seeing what we ought to do, or from not doing what we already see ought to be done. Of which two, the one is an evil of ignorance, the other of weakness. Against which it is truly fitting that we strive; but we are assuredly overcome, unless we obtain Divine help, that we may not only see what ought to be done, but also, soundness of mind[m] being added, the delight in righteousness may overcome in us the delights in those things, through the desire of having, or fear of losing which, we sin knowingly and with our eyes open: now no longer merely sinners, which we were even when we were sinning through ignorance, but also transgressors of the law, as often as we

[m] 'sanitate,' al. 'suavitate,' 'pleasantness.'

ENCHIRIDION

either omit to do what we now know ought to be done, or do what we now know ought not to be done. Wherefore not only, if we have sinned, that He may pardon us, (for
Matt. 6, 12. 13. which cause we say, *Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors*;) but also that He may so rule us that we sin not, (for which cause we say, *Lead us not into temptation*,) must we pray to Him, to Whom it is said in the Psalms,
Ps. 27, 1. [1] or 'health' *The Lord is my light and my salvation*[1], that light may take away ignorance, and salvation weakness. For penance itself,
lxxxii. as often as there is a just cause why it should be undergone according to the custom of the Church, is generally through weakness not undergone; since also shame is a fear of displeasing, the good opinion of men being more delighted in than righteousness, wherein each man humbles himself by repentance. Wherefore is the mercy of God necessary not only when penance is being undergone, but also that it may be undergone. Otherwise the Apostle would not say of
2 Tim. 2, 25. certain, *Lest*[n] *haply God give unto them repentance.* And in order to Peter's weeping bitterly, the Evangelist premised
Luke 22, 61. and said, *The Lord looked upon him.* But he who through
lxxxiii. disbelief of the remission of sins in the Church, despises so great fulness of the Divine gift, and in this hardened state of mind closes his last day, is guilty of that sin which may not be forgiven, against the Holy Ghost, in Whom Christ forgives. Concerning which difficult question I have discussed, as clearly as I could, in a little work[o] written on this one subject.

lxxxiv. 23. But now concerning the resurrection of the flesh, not as some have returned to life, and again died, but unto eternal life, like as the flesh of Christ Himself rose again, how to discuss briefly, and to answer all questions which are usually named in this matter, I know not. Yet that the flesh of all men whosoever have been, and shall be, born, and have died, and shall die, will rise again, a Christian ought no way to
lxxxv. doubt. Whence there first meets us a question concerning abortions, who are now already born in the wombs of their mothers, but not yet so as that they might now be born again. For if we shall say that they will rise again, this assertion may be borne with in some sort as regards those

[n] Meaning perhaps, '*if haply*,' as p. 65.

[o] Serm. LXXI. de verbis Domini. Ben.

who are already formed; but unformed abortions, who would not be more inclined to think that they perish, as seeds which have not been quickened? But who would dare to deny, although he dare not affirm, that the resurrection will bring it to pass, that whatsoever hath been wanting to the form be supplied? And that so there fail not that perfection which time would have brought, in like manner as those faults will not exist which time had brought; that so neither in that which, being suitable and congruous, days were to bring with them, nature suffer loss; nor, in that which, being adverse and contrary, days had brought with them, nature suffer deformity: but that that be made entire which was not yet entire, just as that will be renewed which had been vitiated. And for this reason it may be made a lxxxvi. subject of most nice inquiry and discussion among very learned men, (which whether or not man can discover, I know not,) when a man begins to live in the womb? whether there be even a certain hidden life, such as not yet to appear by the motions of a living being? For to deny that those births have lived, who are cut out limb by limb and cast forth from the wombs of pregnant women, for this reason, that they kill not their mothers also if they are left there dead, seems excess of boldness. But from the time that a man begins to live, from that time certainly he is already capable of death. But for one dead, wheresoever death hath been able to happen to him, how he pertain not unto the resurrection of the dead, I cannot discover. For neither in lxxxvii the case of monsters which are born and live, how quickly soever they die, will it be denied that they will rise again, or is it to be believed that they will rise again so, and not rather with their nature corrected and freed from fault. For far be it that concerning that double-shape[1], who was lately born in the East, of whom both very trustworthy brethren have related, and Jerome, of sacred memory, the Presbyter, hath left it written, that they saw him: far be it, I say, that we think that there will rise again one double man, and not rather two, which would have been the case, had they been born twins. So all other births which are called monsters, as each singly possessing something more or less, or by a certain excessive deformity, will be recalled by the resur-

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

[1] bimembrem Ep. ad Vitalim. De Civ. Dei, xvi. 8.

ENCHIRIDION

rection to the figure of human nature, so that each soul shall have its own one body; none being joined together, even where they were born joined together: but each separately bearing its own members, of which the perfection of the human body is made up.

lxxxviii. But the earthly matter, out of which is created the flesh of mortals, perishes not unto God: but into whatsoever dust or ashes it be dissolved, into whatsoever of air or breath it flee away, into whatsoever substance of other bodies it be changed, even unto the very elements themselves, the food of whatsoever animals, even of men, it become, and be changed into their flesh, in an instant of time it returns to that human soul, which originally animated it, so that it lxxxix. became man, and lived, and increased. Thus the very earthly matter, which by the departure of the soul becomes a corpse, will not be so restored in the resurrection, as that of necessity those things which melt away, and are changed into various forms and shapes of other things, although they return to the body whence they have melted away, will yet return to the same parts of the body where they were. Otherwise supposing that to return to the hair, which clipping, so frequent as it is, has taken off, to the nails what cutting hath so often severed; there occurs an excessive and unbecoming depravation to those who think on it, and who are thus led to disbelieve in the resurrection of the flesh. But as, if a statue of any metal capable of being melted were either melted by fire, or pounded into dust, or bruised into one mass, and a workman wished to restore it again from the mass[1] of the same material; it would not in any way affect its perfection, what particle of matter was restored to what member of the statue: provided only that being restored it received again the whole of that of which it had been originally composed; so God, Who worketh after a wonderful and unspeakable sort, will with wonderful and unspeakable speed restore our flesh out of the whole of that whereof it had been composed; nor will it have any thing to do with its perfect restoration, whether hair return to hair, and nails to nails, or whether whatsoever of them had perished be changed into flesh, and be recalled into other parts of the body, the providence of the Worker taking

[1] quantitate.

care that nothing unseemly take place. Nor is it a necessary consequence, that the stature of each when they return to life be different, because it had been different when they were alive, or that the lean return to life with the same leanness, the fat with the same fatness. But if this be in the counsel of the Creator, that in each one's image that which is proper to himself and a likeness such as may be discerned be preserved, but that in all other goods of the body all things be granted equal; thus will that matter which is in each be admeasured, so that neither any thing of it perish, and that what is wanting to any He supply, Who even out of nothing was able to work what He would. But if in the bodies of those who rise again, there shall exist a reasonable inequality, such as there is in voices which compose a full chant; this shall be done for each, out of the matter of his own body, which may at once place him a man among Angelic assemblies, and bring in nothing unsuitable to their perceptions. Assuredly there will be there nothing unseemly, but whatsoever will be there will be suitable, because neither will it be there except it be suitable. Therefore the bodies of the Saints will rise without any fault, without any depravity, as without any corruption, burden, difficulty: in which there will be as great facility of action as felicity. For which reason also they have been called spiritual, when, without any doubt, they will be hereafter bodies, not spirits. But as now that is called an animate body, which yet is body, not soul[1], so will it then be a spiritual body, and yet body, not spirit. Wherefore as far as respects corruption which now weighs down the soul, and faults, whereby the flesh lusteth against the spirit, then it will not be flesh, but body; because there are also said to be celestial bodies. For which reason it is said, *Flesh and blood shall not inherit the Kingdom of God:* and, as if expounding what he had said, he says, *Neither shall corruption inherit incorruption.* Of the same that he said before, *flesh and blood*, he says after, *corruption;* and of the same as before *the kingdom of God*, he says after, *incorruption.* But as far as respects substance, even then it will be flesh. Wherefore also after His resurrection the Body of Christ is called flesh. But therefore does the Apostle say,

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE. XC.

XCI.

1 Cor. 15, 44.

[1] anima.

Wisd. 9, 15.

Gal. 5, 17.

1 Cor. 15, 50.

Luke 24, 39.

ENCHIRIDION 1Cor.15, 44. *It is sown an animal body, it will rise again a spiritual body:* seeing that there will then be so great harmony of the flesh and spirit, the spirit quickening without need of any support, the flesh subdued to it, that there shall be nothing from out of ourselves to strive with ourselves; but as we shall have no enemy without, so neither within shall we have to endure our own selves as enemies.

xcii. But whosoever are not through the one Mediator between God and man set free from that mass of perdition which was caused through the first man, they too themselves also will rise again each with his own flesh, but only that they may be punished together with the devil and his angels. Whether they indeed rise again with the faults and deformities of their own bodies, whatsoever in them they may have borne of faulty and deformed members, what need is there to fret one's self in inquiring? For neither ought the uncertainty concerning their form or beauty to weary us, seeing that their condemnation will be certain and eternal. Nor let it move us, how there will be in them an incorruptible body, seeing it will be capable of pain, or how a corruptible, seeing it will be incapable of death. For that is not true life, save only where it is spent happily, nor true incorruption, save only where a sound state is corrupted by no pain. But where the unhappy being is not suffered to die, so to say, death itself dieth not: and where unceasing pain destroys not, but afflicts, corruption itself is not ended. This in the Holy Scriptures is called the *second death*. And yet neither would the first, whereby the soul is compelled to leave its own body, nor the second, whereby the soul is not allowed to leave the body under punishment, have happened to man, if no one had sinned. Most lenient of all will be their punishment, who beside that sin which they have derived by descent, have added no further sin; and in the rest who have so added, the more tolerable will be the condemnation which each man will there undergo, the less iniquity he has committed here.

Rev. 2, 11; 20, 6. 14.

xciii.

xciv. 24. Thus, whilst Angels and men being reprobate continue in eternal punishment, then will the Saints know more fully what of good grace hath conferred upon them. Then will the facts themselves make to appear more clearly what is

written in the Psalms, *Of mercy and judgment will I sing unto Thee, O Lord,* seeing that no one is set free, but only through undeserved mercy; no one condemned, but only through due judgment. Then will that be no longer hidden, which is now hidden, when of two little ones[p], one was to be taken through mercy, the other to be left through judgment, so that he, who should be taken, should recognise what was through judgment due to him, unless mercy should interpose; why he rather than the other should have been to be taken, when the case of both was one and the same: why mighty works were not wrought among certain, which had they been wrought, those men would have repented, and were wrought among those who were not about to believe. For most openly does the Lord say, *Woe unto thee, Corozaim; woe unto thee, Bethsaida; for if in Tyre and Sidon had been wrought the mighty works which have been wrought in you, long ago in sackcloth and ashes would they have repented.* Nor assuredly hath God unjustly been unwilling that they should be saved, when they might be saved, if He would[q]. Then will be seen in the most clear light of wisdom, what now the faith of the pious holds, before that it be seen by open knowledge. How certain, unchangeable, all-effectual is the will of God: how many things It may do and wills not, yet wills nothing which It may not do; and how true is that which is sung in the Psalm, *But our God is in Heaven above, in Heaven and in earth all things whatsoever He would He hath done.* Which certainly is not true, if there be any thing which He hath willed and not done; and what is yet more derogatory, hath therefore not done them, because the will of man hindered that being done which the Almighty willed. There is no thing done, then, unless the Almighty will it to be done, either by allowing it to be done, or Himself doing it. Nor is it to be doubted that God does well, even in suffering those things to be done which are done ill. For this He

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE. Ps. 101, 1. XCV. Mat. 11, 21. Ps. 115, 3. XCVI.

[p] S. Greg. Mor. ix. §. 32. has the same doctrine about unbaptized infants, and so most of the later Fathers. St. Ambrose on the death of Valentinian, §. 47. is cited on the other hand as saying that the infant of David, (who died uncircumcised,) was known by him to be with Christ. Authors differ as to the extent of what may be inferred from such a case, as may be seen in Forbes's Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ, Book x. 5. and following chapters. See also S. Greg. Mor. iv. Pref. §. iii. and note, in Oxf. Tr. p. 179.

[q] So most Mss. Ben. 'vellent.' 'whereas they might have been saved if *they* would.'

ENCHIRIDION

suffers not, but only by just judgment; and assuredly whatever is just is good. Wherefore, although those things which are ill, so far as they are ill, are not good, yet is it good that there be not only things good, but things ill also. For unless this were good, that things ill also should be, this would not be allowed by the Almighty Good, unto whom doubtless it is as easy not to allow that which He wills not to be, as it is easy to do what He wills. Unless we believe this, the very beginning of our Confession is in danger, wherein we confess that we believe in 'God the Father Almighty.' For neither is He for any other reason truly called Almighty, except forasmuch as whatsoever He will He can, nor does the will of any creature whatsoever hinder

xcvii. the effectual working of the will of the Almighty. Wherefore we must see in what sense it is said of God, seeing that the

1 Tim. 2, 4. Apostle hath this also most truly said, *Who willeth that all men be saved.* For whereas not all are saved, nay, by far the greater part are not, it seems certainly that that is not done which God wills to be done, the will of man, it should seem, hindering the will of God. For when a reason is asked why all are not saved, the answer usually is, because they themselves are unwilling. Which yet cannot be said of little ones, to whom it belongeth not yet to will or nill. For were we to judge it to be referable to their will, what by infantile motions they do, at the time of being baptized, when they resist as far as they can, we should say that they were saved even against their will. But more openly does the Lord speak in

Mat.23, 37. the Gospel, addressing the impious city, *How often would I have gathered together thy sons as a hen her chickens, and thou wouldest not!* as if the will of God had been overcome by the will of man, and through hindrance of their unwillingness who were most weak, He, Who was most mighty, were unable to effect what He would. And where is that Almighty power, whereby *in heaven and in earth all things whatsoever He would, He did*, if He would have gathered together the sons of Jerusalem, and did not? Or was it rather, that she indeed would not that her sons should be gathered together by Him, yet that, although she was unwilling, those sons of hers whom He would, Himself gathered together? Because it is not that *in Heaven and in earth* He hath willed and

done certain things, and other things He hath willed and not done, but *all things whatsoever He would, He hath done.* DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

25. Who still further is there of such impious folly, as to assert that God cannot change to good the evil wills of men, which, when, and where He will? But when He does it, through pity He does it: when He does it not, through judgment He does it not. Seeing that *upon whom He will, He hath pity; and whom He will, He pardoneth.* This the Apostle was led to say, in setting forth grace: to set forth which he had already spoken concerning those twins in the womb of Rebecca, *Who not yet being born, nor doing any thing of good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of Him that calleth*[1] *it was said unto her, that the elder shall serve the younger.* For which cause he introduced another witness of prophecy, where it is written, *Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.* But perceiving how this saying might greatly move them, who are unable by the understanding to arrive at this depth of grace, he says, *What then shall we say? is there unrighteousness with God?* For it seems unrighteous that without any deserts of good or evil works, God should love one and hate another. In which matter, if he wished to have understood the future works, whether the good works of the one, or the evil works of the other, which God certainly foreknew, he would by no means say, *not of works;* but would say, of future works, and thus would solve that question; nay rather, would leave no question which required to be solved. But now, after having answered, *far be it*, that is, far be it that there be unrighteousness with God; immediately after, in order to prove that this was done through no unrighteousness of God, he says, *For He says to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will shew compassion to whom I will be compassionate.* For who, except a fool, would think God unrighteous, whether He inflict penal judgment on one worthy, or shew compassion to one unworthy? Finally, he concludes and says, *Therefore it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy.* For the twins were both by nature born *children of wrath*, through no works indeed of their own, but by their

xcviii.

Rom. 9, 18.

Rom. 9, 11—13.

[1] Vulg. has no stop.

Mal. 1, 2. 3.

Rom. 9, 14—16.

Eph. 2, 3.

ENCHIRIDION

descent from Adam bound by the chain of condemnation. But He who said, *I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy*, loved Jacob through free mercy, and hated Esau through just judgment. Which being due to both, the one recognised in the other that he was not to glory in his own merits differing from the other's, because that being in the same case he incurs not the same punishment; but of the bounty of the Divine Grace, because *it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God That hath mercy.* In fact, by a most deep and most wholesome mystery, the whole face, and, so to say, countenance of Holy Scripture, is found to convey this admonition to them that look well unto it. *He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.* But after having set forth the mercy of God, in that he said, *Therefore it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy*, next, in order that he may set forth His judgment also, (since where mercy taketh not place, there taketh place not unrighteousness, but judgment; in that there is not unrighteousness with God,) he straightway subjoins and says, *For the Scripture saith unto Pharaoh, that for this end have I raised thee up, that I may shew in thee My power, and that My Name may be declared throughout all the earth.* After having said which, concluding as respects both, that is, both as respects mercy, and as respects judgment; *Therefore*, says he, *on whom He will He hath mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth.* That is to say, He hath mercy through His great goodness, He hardens by no unrighteousness: that neither he who is set free may glory of his own deserts, nor he who is condemned complain of aught save his own deserts. For grace alone separates the redeemed from the lost, whom a common cause derived from their first origin had made to grow together into one mass of perdition. But this whoso so hears, as to say, *Why doth He yet complain? for His will who hath resisted?* As if on that account he who is evil seem not to be deserving of blame, because God *on whom He will hath mercy, and whom He will hardeneth:* far be it that we be ashamed to make answer what we see that the Apostle made answer, *O man, then, who art thou to make answer to God? Doth the thing formed say to Him who formed it, Why hast Thou*

1 Cor. 1, 31.

xcix.

Rom. 9, 17—21.

made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, another unto disgrace? For in this place certain foolish ones think that the Apostle hath failed in making answer, and through the want of a reason to give hath reproved the boldness of the gainsayer. But that hath much weight which is said, *O man, then, who art thou?* And in such questions he recals a man to the consideration of his own capacity by a short word, yet in reality there is a great reason assigned. For if he comprehend not these things, who is he, to make answer to God? But if he comprehend them, the more doth he fail to find what to make answer. For he sees, if he comprehend, the whole human race condemned in their apostatising by so just judgment of God, as that, although none were thence set free, yet no one could justly blame the justice of God; and that it was fitting that they who are set free, should be so set free, as that of more not set free, and left under most just condemnation, might be shewn what the whole mass had deserved, and whither the just judgment of God would lead them also, but that His free mercy came to their aid, that of them, who would boast of their own deserts, *every mouth may be stopped*, and *that he that glorieth may glory in the Lord.* Rom. 3, 19.

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

26. These are *the great works of the Lord, sought out unto all His will:* and so wisely sought out, that, when the angelic and human creature had sinned, that is, had done, not what He, but what itself willed, even through that same will of the creature, whereby that was done which the Creator willed not, Himself fulfilled what He willed; using well even the ill, as Himself supremely good, unto the condemnation of them whom He justly predestined to punishment, and unto the salvation of them whom He mercifully predestined to grace. For as far as respects themselves, they did that which God willed not: but as far as respects the Almighty power of God, they could in no way so bring it to pass. For in that very thing that they did against His Will, His Will was done on them. For on this account are *the works of the Lord great, sought out unto all His will*, that in a wonderful and unspeakable way even that which is done against His Will be not done beside His Will:

c. Ps. 111, 2. Vulg.

ENCHIRIDION

for it would not be done unless he permitted it; nor assuredly does He permit it unwillingly, but willingly: nor could He in His Goodness allow ill to be done, unless in His Almighty Power He could work good even out of ill.—

ci. But at times man by a good will wills something, which God wills not, Himself by a will much more, and much more certainly, good; for at nō time can His Will be ill. As if a good son were to will his father to live, whom God by a good will wills to die. And again it may happen that man by an ill will may will that which God wills by a good: as if an evil son should will the death of his father, and God should will it also. Certainly the one wills what God wills not, the other wills that which God also wills, and yet the filial piety of the one is more in harmony with the good Will of God, although he will what is different, than the impiety of the other, although he will the same. So great difference is there between what is fitting for man to will, and what fitting for God, and what is that end unto which each man refers his will, so that it be either praised or blamed. For certain of His wills, assuredly good, God accomplishes through the evil wills of evil men. As through the Jews willing evil, by the good will of the Father, Christ was put to death for us: which event was so good, that the Apostle Peter, when he willed it not to take place, was called Satan by Him who had come to be put to death. How good appeared the wills of the pious believers, who were unwilling that the Apostle Paul should go up to Jerusalem, that he might not there suffer ills which Agabus the Prophet had foretold. And yet God willed that He should suffer there for the preaching of the faith of Christ, so exercising a Witness[1] for Christ. Neither accomplished He that good will of His through the good wills of Christians, but through the evil wills of Jews. And they rather were His, who willed not what He willed, than they by means of whose willing that was done which He willed; in that they wrought indeed the same thing, but

Mat. 16, 23.

Acts 21, 10—12.

[1] Martyrem.

cii. He through them by good, they by evil will. But how great soever the wills be, whether of Angels, or of men, whether of the good, or evil, whether willing the same with God, or other than God, the Will of the Almighty is ever unconquered; which at no time can be evil; because even when it inflicts

evil, it is just, and assuredly that Will which is just is not evil. Almighty God therefore, whether through His mercy He have mercy on whom He will, or through His judgment harden whom He will, neither doth any thing unrighteously, nor doth any thing unless He will it, and all things whatsoever He will, He doeth. DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

27. And for this reason when we hear or read in the holy Scriptures, that He wills all men to be saved, although we know certainly that all men are not saved, yet ought we not therefore to derogate any thing from the supremely Almighty Will of God; but so to understand what is written, *Who wills all men to be saved*, as though it were said, that no man is saved, except whom He hath willed to be saved; not that there is no man, except whom He wills to be saved; but that there is no man saved, except whom He wills; and that therefore is He to be entreated that He may will, because if He will, it must be done. The Apostle in fact was treating of prayer to God, and so came thus to speak. For so also we understand that which is written in the Gospel, *Which lighteth every man;* not that there is no man who is not lighted, but that there is no man lighted except by Him. Or, at any rate, it hath been so said, *Who wills all men to be saved;* not that there was no man whom He willed not to be saved, seeing that He would not do mighty works of miracles among those of whom He says that they would have repented if He had done them; but that by *all men* we may understand every kind of man spread throughout how many differences soever, kings, private persons, nobles, ignoble, high, low, learned, unlearned, persons of sound body, weak, men of ability, slow-minded, foolish, rich, poor, those of mean estate, men, women, in infancy, childhood, boyhood, youth, early manhood, in advanced life, in old age; men of all languages, all habits, all arts, all professions, throughout all the unnumbered variety of wills and consciences, and if there exist any other difference among men. For what is there of them, out of which God wills not that through His Only-begotten Son our Lord throughout all nations men be saved, and therefore brings it to pass, because the Almighty cannot will in vain whatsoever He shall will. For the Apostle had enjoined that prayer

CIII. John 1, 9.

ENCHIRIDION 1 Tim. 2, 1—4.

should be made *for all men*, and had added especially, *for kings and for all those who are in high places*, who might be thought, through arrogance and pride of this world, to be alien from the humility of the Christian faith. Therefore saying, *For this is good in the sight of God our Saviour*, that is, that for such also prayer be made; immediately, to remove despair, he added, *Who wills all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth.* This, namely, God hath judged good, that to the prayers of the lowly He should deign to grant the salvation of the high and exalted: which assuredly we now see fulfilled. This manner of speech the Lord also used in the Gospel, where He said to the Pharisees, *Ye tithe mint and rue and every herb.* For neither did the Pharisees tithe both what belonged to others, and all herbs of all foreign nations throughout all lands. As therefore here by *every herb*, we may understand every kind of herb, so in that other place by *all men*, we may understand every kind of men: and in whatsoever other sense it may be understood, provided only that we be not compelled to believe that the Almighty God hath willed any thing to be done, and that it hath not been done; Who in no equivocal sense, if in *Heaven and in earth*, as the Truth says of Him, *All things whatsoever He would, He did*, hath assuredly willed not to do whatsoever He hath not done.

Luke 11, 42.

Ps. 115, 3. (113, 11. Vulg.)

28. Wherefore also God would have willed to keep the first man in that state of salvation in which he was formed, and to bring him at a fitting season, after he had begotten sons, without the intervention of death, unto better things, wherein now he not only might not commit sin, but might not even have the will to sin, if He had foreknown that he would have the abiding will to continue without sin as he had been created. But in that He foreknew that he would use ill his free-will, that is, that he would sin; He prepared His own will in order for this rather, that He Himself might work good even of him working evil, and so by the evil will of man the good will of the Almighty might not be rendered of none effect, but nevertheless fulfilled. For so it behoved that man should at first be created, as that he might have the power both of willing well and ill; and that not without reward, if well, nor without punishment, if ill; hereafter

cv.

however he will be so, as no longer to have the power of willing ill; and yet will he not on that account be without free-will. Much more free in fact will the will be, when it shall be altogether incapable of being a servant of sin. For neither is that will to be blamed, nor does it cease to be will, nor is its freedom to be denied, whereby we so will to be happy, as that we not only are unwilling to be miserable, but absolutely have not the power to will it. As therefore our soul even now hath an unwillingness of unhappiness, so will it ever have an unwillingness of unrighteousness. But the ordered course was not to be past by, wherein God willed to shew how good is a reasonable animal, even with the power of not sinning, although that be better which is without the power of sinning; in like manner as that was less immortality, and yet was such, wherein he had the power of not dying, although that will be greater wherein he will not have the power of dying. The former human nature lost through free-will; the latter it is about to receive through grace, which, if it had not sinned, it would have been about to receive through desert: although not even then could any desert have existed without grace. Because, although sin had its place in free-will alone, yet was not free-will sufficient for the retaining of righteousness, unless Divine aid were rendered it by participation of the unchangeable Good. For as to die is in the power of man when he wills it; for there is no man but may kill himself, to say nothing more, even by abstaining from food, yet for the preservation of life the will is not enough, if there be wanting the helps either of food or of any other means of preservation whatsoever; so man in Paradise was by his will sufficient for his own destruction by deserting righteousness, but in order that he might continue in the life of righteousness, it was little to will, unless He should keep him Who had created him. But after that fall the mercy of God is yet greater, in that the will itself is to be set free from slavery, as now ruled over by sin together with death. Nor is it set free at all by itself, but by the alone grace of God, which is set in the faith of Christ; that the will itself, as it is written, may be prepared of the Lord, whereby the other gifts of God may be received, through which one cometh unto His eternal gift.

DEFIDE SPE ET CARI-TATE.

evi.

Prov. 8,

ENCHIRIDION cvii.

[1] merces.

[2] stipendium.

Wherefore eternal life itself too, which certainly is the reward[1] of good works, the Apostle calls the grace of God; *For the wages*[2], says he, *of sin is death, but the grace of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord.* For wages are paid as due for military service, not given: therefore he said, *the wages of sin is death;* that he might shew that death was not undeservedly brought upon sin, but due. But grace unless it be gratuitous is not grace. Therefore we are to understand that even the very good deserts of man are the gifts of God; unto which when eternal life is rendered, what is it but that grace is rendered for grace? Thus therefore was man created upright, as that he should possess the power both of continuing in that uprightness, yet not without divine aid, and, of becoming perverse by his own will. Whichever of these he had chosen, the will of God would be done, either also by him, or at any rate concerning him. Then because he chose rather to do his own will than the will of God, the will of God was done concerning him, Who out of one and the same mass of perdition, which flowed from his stock, makes one vessel unto honour, another vessel unto dishonour: unto honour, through mercy; unto dishonour, through judgment: that no one may glory in man, and so, neither in himself. For neither should we be set free through that one Mediator between God and men the man Jesus Christ, unless also He were God. But when Adam was created, that is when man was created upright, there was no need of a Mediator. But when their sins had separated the human race far from God, it behoved that through a Mediator, Who alone was born without sin, lived, and was put to death, we should be reconciled unto God even unto the resurrection of the flesh unto eternal life: that human pride might be convinced and healed through the humiliation of God, that it might be shewn unto man how far he had departed from God, when by God Incarnate he was called back, and that an example of obedience might be given unto stubborn man by Man-God, and that the Only-begotten taking unto Himself the form of a servant, which had before no merits, a fount of grace might be opened; and that also the resurrection of the flesh promised to the redeemed might be foreshewn in the Redeemer Him-

John 1, 16.

Rom. 9, 21.

cviii.

1 Tim. 2, 5.

self, and that by means of that very same nature which he exulted in being deceived, the devil might be overcome; and yet that man should not glory, lest again pride should spring up: and if there be any thing else concerning the so great mystery of a Mediator which they who make progress can see and speak, or which can be seen only, although it cannot be spoken. DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

29. But the time, which lies between the death of man and the last resurrection, holds the souls in hidden receptacles, as each is worthy of rest or of misery, according to that which it hath gotten in the body when alive. Nor is it to be denied that the souls of the dead are relieved by the piety of their living friends, when for them the Sacrifice of the Mediator is offered, or alms are done in the Church. But these things are profitable to them who, when alive, deserved that these things might hereafter profit them. For there is a certain manner of life, neither so good as not to stand in need of these things after death; nor yet so bad as that these things profit not after death: but there is such in goodness, as not to stand in need of these, and again such in wickedness, as that neither by these things can one be assisted, after he have departed out of this life. Wherefore here is all desert provided, whereby any one may after this life be relieved or oppressed. But let no one hope[1] after death to merit in the sight of God what he hath here neglected. Those things therefore which for the commending (unto mercy) of the dead the Church is wont to use, are not opposed to that sentence of the Apostle, wherein it is said, *For we shall all stand before the Judgment-seat of Christ, that each may receive according to the things which he hath done in the body, whether it be good, or whether it be ill;* because each man hath for himself whilst living in the body procured this desert, that there things may be able to profit him. For they profit not all; and wherefore profit they not all, unless by reason of the difference of the life which each hath lived in the body? When therefore sacrifices, whether of the Altar or of any alms whatsoever, are offered for all baptized persons deceased, for the very good they are givings of thanks; for the not very bad they are propitiations; for the very bad, although they be no helps

cix.

cx.

[1] al. 'prepare.'

Rom. 14, 10. 2 Cor. 5, 10.

ENCHIRIDION CXI.

of the dead, yet are they consolations, such as they are, of the living. But those whom they profit, they either profit unto this, that there be a full remission, or, at any rate, that their very condemnation be more tolerable[a]. But after the resurrection, when the general Judgment hath been made and finished, then shall the two kingdoms have their accomplishment; the one, that is, the kingdom of Christ, the other, the kingdom of the devil; the one of the good, the other of the evil; either, however, both of angels and men. To the one there shall not be possible the will, to the other the power of sinning, or any occasion[1] of death; the one in eternal life living truly and happily, the other abiding unhappily in eternal death without the power of dying; since both are without end. Yet of these continuing in their blessedness, will one man be in a higher state than another, of those in their misery, will one man be in a more tolerable state than another. For in vain certain, or rather very many, with human feelings compassionate the eternal punishment of the damned, and their continual torments without intermission, and so believe not that it will take place: not indeed in the way of opposing themselves to the divine Scriptures, but by softening, according to their own feelings, all the hard sayings, and by turning unto a more gentle meaning, such things in them as they think to be said rather to excite terror than as the true. For *God forgetteth not*, they say, *to be gracious, neither will He in His anger shut up His tender mercies.* This is indeed read in the sacred Psalm; and is understood without any doubt of those, who are called vessels of mercy, because that they themselves, not for their merits, but by the mercy of God, are

[1] conditio.

cxii.

v. Civ. D. xxi. 18. 24. Ps. 77, 9.

[a] Ed. Ben. quotes P. Lombard. Sent. vi. Dist. 45. c. *neque negandum est*, as taking this to be said of the finally lost, but rather approves the interpretation of Albertus Magnus, who takes it of those under temporary punishment. See his com. on Sent. iv. Dist. 45. c. 3. where he quotes St. Aug. de Civ. Dei, xxii. (xxi. 18—24. the sentiment quoted is not in book xxii.) as saying that the Church would not pray for the reprobate, if known, any more than for the devil. It may be added that St. Aug. speaks of *novissima* damnatio, as if there were other, and certainly uses 'damnatio' for other punishment on Ps. ix. 5. and says that there must be a remission after temporary punishment beyond this life to satisfy the text Matt. xii. 32. See note p. 84, and p. 128. observe also the end of the present paragraph, which looks as if he meant that some that would else be lost are saved at last by the Church's prayers, and that some of the reprobate may perhaps have less suffering before the Judgment owing to such prayers.

set free from misery. Or if they think that this belongs to all, it is not therefore necessary that they think that their condemnation may have an end, concerning whom it is written, *And they shall go unto eternal punishment;* lest in this way it come to be thought that an end will one day come to their happiness also, concerning whom on the other hand it is said, *But the just unto life eternal.* But they may judge, if this pleases them, that the pains of the damned are at certain intervals of time in some measure mitigated. Seeing that even thus the wrath of God may be understood to abide on them, that is, their condemnation itself, (for this is meant by the wrath of God, not any perturbation of the divine mind,) so that in His anger, that is, His anger continuing, He yet may "not shut up His tender mercies," not by putting an end to their eternal punishment, but by applying, or interposing between their tortures some alleviation. For neither does the Psalm say, to put an end to His anger, or, after His anger, but, *in His anger.* Which if it were alone the very least that there can be conceived; to perish from the Kingdom of God, to be an exile from the City of God, to be an alien from the Life of God, to want "so great multitude of God's sweetness which He hath laid up for them that fear Him, but hath wrought for them that hope in Him," is so great a punishment, that no torments of which we know can be compared to it, if it be eternal, and they continue through how many ages soever. There will therefore continue without end that eternal death of the damned, that is, alienation from the life of God, and itself will be common to all, whatever men according to their human feelings may imagine concerning variety of punishments, or concerning relief or intermission of pains; as the eternal life of the Saints will remain in common the life of all, in whatever distinction of honours they harmoniously shine.

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

Mat. 25, 46.

John 3, 36.

Ps. 31, 19. cf. S. Aug. in loc.

cxiii.

30. From this confession of Faith, which is briefly contained in the Creed, and which carnally understood is the milk of babes, but spiritually considered and handled is the meat of strong men, arises the good Hope of the faithful, which is always accompanied by holy Charity. But of all these things which are to be faithfully believed, those only appertain unto

cxiv.

ENCHIRIDION Jer. 17, 5.

Hope which are contained in the Lord's Prayer. For, *Cursed is every one*, as the divine words testify, *who placeth his hope in man:* and thus he also who placeth his hope in himself, is bound by the bond of this curse. Therefore we ought to seek from no other than God, whatsoever we hope that we ourselves shall either do of good works, or obtain in return for[1] our good works. Wherefore in the Evangelist

[1] al. 'by.'

CXV. Mat. 6, 9—13.

S. Matthew the Lord's Prayer seems to contain seven petitions; by three whereof things eternal are asked, by the other four, things temporal, which yet are necessary in order to obtain things eternal. For in that we say, *Hallowed be Thy Name, Thy Kingdom come, Thy Will be done as in Heaven so also on earth*, (by which some have understood not ill, in spirit, and body,) the things are wholly to be retained without any end; and being begun here, how great progress soever we make, are increased in us; but when perfected, which is to be hoped for in another life, will be kept for ever. But in that we say, *Give us this day our daily bread, And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors, And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil;* who but must see that they pertain to the state of want of this present life? Therefore in that eternal life, where we hope that we shall ever be, both the hallowing of the Name of God, and His Kingdom, and His Will in our spirit and body will abide perfectly and immortally. But our daily bread is therefore so called, because here is necessary so much as is to be assigned to our soul and flesh, whether it be understood spiritually, or carnally, or in both ways. Here also is the remission which we ask, where is the commission of sins; here the temptations which either entice or drive us to sin; here finally that evil from which we wish to be delivered, but There is no one of those things.

CXVI. Luke 11, 2.

But the Evangelist Luke in the Lord's Prayer has comprehended not seven petitions, but five[2]: and yet is he not assuredly at variance with that other, but by his very brevity hath admonished us how those seven are to be understood. That is to say, the Name of God is hallowed in the spirit, but the Kingdom of God is to come in the resurrection of the flesh. S. Luke, therefore, shewing that the third petition is in a certain way a repetition of the two first,

[2] so Lat. and some Mss.

causeth it more to be understood by passing it by. Then he adds three others, concerning daily bread, concerning forgiveness of sins, concerning avoiding temptation. But that which S. Matthew set down last, *But deliver us from evil;* S. Luke hath not set down, that we might understand that that which was said concerning temptation pertained to what came before. For this very reason, that is, S. Matthew says, *But* deliver us; and says not, *And* deliver us, (Do not this, *but* this): that each may understand that he is therein delivered from evil, in that he is not led into temptation. DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

31. Now further Love, which the Apostle hath declared to be greater than these two, that is, than faith and hope, by how much the more it be in any one, by so much is he better in whom it is. For when it is asked, whether any one be a good man, it is not asked, what he believes, or hopes, but what he loves. For he who loves aright, without doubt believes and hopes aright: but he who loves not believes in vain, even if those things, which he believes, be true; hopes in vain, even if those things which he hopes be taught to appertain unto true happiness: unless also he believe and hope this which it may be given to him, asking it, that he may love. For although one cannot hope without love, yet it may happen that he love not that, without which he cannot arrive at that which he hopes. As if one should hope for eternal life, (which who loves not?) and love not righteousness, without which no one arriveth at it. But this is that faith of Christ, which the Apostle commends, *which worketh by love;* and what in love it yet hath not, it asks, that it may receive, seeks, that it may find, knocks, that it may be opened unto it. For faith obtaineth, what the law obligeth. For without the gift of God, that is, without the Holy Ghost, through Whom love is shed abroad in our hearts, the law may bid, but it cannot aid, and may moreover make a man a transgressor, in that he cannot excuse himself on the plea of ignorance. For carnal lust reigneth, where the love of God is not. But when in the deepest darkness of ignorance, without any reason to resist, man lives according to the flesh, this is the first state of a man. Next when by the law hath been wrought acknowledge of sin, if the Divine Spirit as yet help not, the man willing to live cxvii. Gal. 5, 6. Mat. 7, 7. Rom. 5, 5. cxviii.

ENCHIRIDION
2 Pet. 2, 19.

according to the law is overcome, and sins knowingly, and is brought under and made the servant of sin, *For by whom a man is overcome, unto the same also is he made over as a slave;* the knowledge of the commandment bringing this to pass, that sin works in man all lust, the aggravation of transgression being added, and so that which is written be fulfilled, *The law entered, that the offence might abound.* This is the second state of a man. But if God shall look upon him, so that He may be believed Himself to help him to fulfil what He commands, and man shall begin to be led by the Spirit of God, he lusteth against the flesh, with stronger might of love; so that, although there still be that which proceeding from a man fighteth against the man, his whole disease not yet being healed, yet doth *the just live by faith*, and lives justly, in so far as he yieldeth not to evil lust, the delight in righteousness prevailing. This is the third state of good hope of a man; wherein if any one make progress by pious perseverance, there remaineth peace at last, which shall be fulfilled after this life, in the rest of the spirit, and afterwards in the resurrection also of the flesh. Of these four different states, the first is before the Law, the second under the Law, the third under grace, the fourth in full and perfect peace. Thus also hath the people of God been appointed at intervals of times, according as it hath pleased God, *Who appointeth all things in measure and number and weight.* For it was at first before the Law; secondly under the Law, which was given by means of Moyses; next under grace, which was revealed by means of the first coming of the Mediator. Which very grace was yet not wanting before, to those to whom it behoved that it should be imparted, although veiled and hidden according to the dispensation of the time. For neither could any of the elder just men find salvation otherwise than through the faith of Christ; nor yet, unless He had been known to them also, could He have been through their ministry prophesied of unto us, at one time more openly, at another time more obscurely. But in whatsoever of those four, as it were, ages, the grace of regeneration hath found any man, there are all his past sins forgiven him, and that state of condemnation which he hath contracted by his birth,

Rom. 5, 20.

Gal. 5, 17.

Hab. 2, 4.

Rom. 1, 17.

Wisd. 11, 20.

John 1, 17.

cxix.

is done away by his second birth. And so availing is it that *the Spirit bloweth where It will*, that some have never known that second servitude under the Law, but together with the command begin to possess a divine help. But before a man can be capable of the commandment, he must of necessity live according to the flesh: but if he have been already imbued in the sacrament of regeneration, it will in no way harm him, if he shall then pass out of this life. Because, *Therefore hath Christ died and risen again, that He may be Lord of the living and of the dead.* Nor shall the kingdom of death detain him, for whom He died Who is *free among the dead.*

DE FIDE SPE ET CARITATE.

John 3, 8.

CXX.

Rom. 14, 9.

Ps. 88, 5.

32. All the divine commandments therefore are referred to Love, of which the Apostle says, *But the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned.* The end therefore of every commandment is Charity; that is, every commandment is referred to Charity. But that which is so done, either from fear of punishment, or from any carnal design, as that it be not referred unto that Love which the Holy Ghost sheds abroad in our hearts, is not yet done as it behoves it to be done, although it seem so to be done. That is to say, this Love is the love of God and of one's neighbour, and assuredly, *on these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets.* Add the Gospel, add the Apostles; for from no other source is that saying, *The end of the commandment is charity*, and *God is love.* Whatsoever things therefore God commands, whereof one is, *Thou shalt not commit adultery*, and whatsoever things are not commanded, but by spiritual counsel advised[1], whereof is one, *It is good for a man not to touch a woman*, are then done aright, when they are referred to the love of God and of our neighbour for the sake of God, both in this world, and in that which is to come: now God by faith, then by sight, and our very neighbour now by faith. For we mortals know not the hearts of mortals, but then, *the Lord shall bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and make manifest the thoughts of the heart, and every man shall have praise of God:* because that shall be praised and loved by one neighbour in another, which God Himself shall bring to light, that it be not hid.

CXXI.

1 Tim. 1, 5.

Rom. 5, 5.

Mat. 22, 40.

1 John 4, 8. 16.

Ex. 20, 14.

Matt. 5, 27.

[1] al. 'vowed.'

1 Cor. 7, 1.

1 Cor. 4, 5.

ENCHIRIDION John 15, 13. But lust decreases as charity increases, until it arrive here at such greatness, as that it cannot be greater. *For greater love hath no man, than that a man lay down his life for his friends.* But There who can unfold how great Charity will be, where shall be no lust for it even by restraining to overcome? since the greatest soundness shall be, when there shall be no strife of death.

cxxii. 33. But let this book at length come to an end, which you yourself will see to, whether you ought to call it, or to have it as, a Manual. But I judging your zeal in Christ not to be despised, believing and hoping good things of you with the help of our Redeemer, and loving you much in His members, have according to my ability, composed for you a book (I would it were as useful as it is long) concerning FAITH, HOPE, and CHARITY.

S. AUGUSTINE

ON

THE CHRISTIAN CONFLICT.

This treatise must have been written A. D. 396 or 397, as it occurs in the 3d place in the 2d book of his Retractations, amongst his earliest works in the office of Bishop, which he received late in 395. In cap. 29, where he urges as a reason for not joining the Donatists, that as Donatus had tried to divide Christ, so was he himself divided by the frequent subdividing of his party, he yet does not mention the reception of Prætextatus and Felicianus by the Donatists, after they had been expelled by him for their crimes by the well-known sentence of the Council of Bagaia. Now this reception took place about the beginning of 397.

The book is entitled 'on the Christian Conflict,' as instructing Christians for their warfare with the devil. The invisible enemy, he teaches, is to be overcome by right faith and good practice. Hence he begins by warning us to fight against our desires, and bring our body into subjection, and make ourselves subject to God. Then since we begin to be subject to God by Faith, he exhorts us to hold the Rule of the Catholic Faith, rejecting the contrary heresies, mentioning several sects, but especially aiming at the Manichees, as in the first part he refutes their notion of the Race of darkness fighting against God, and in the latter part defends against their ridicule the simplicity of the Christian Faith. It is mentioned by the Senator Cassiodorus in his book 'De institutione Divinarum Literarum,' c. 16, as 'most needful to those who have trodden the world underfoot, and labour in the Christian contest.' *Ab. from Ben.*

Retr. ii. §. 3. 'My book on the Christian conflict was written in a humble style for brethren not learned in the Latin tongue. It contains the Rule of Faith and precepts of life. In which the statement, "Neither c. 32.
let us hear those who deny that there will be a resurrection of the body, and allege what the Apostle Paul says, *Flesh and blood shall not inherit*

the kingdom of God; not understanding what the same Apostle says, *This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality;* for when this is done, it will be no more flesh and blood, but a celestial body;" is not to be understood as though there should be no substance of flesh; but by the name of flesh and blood the Apostle is to be understood to have meant the very corruption of flesh and blood, which will assuredly be no more in that kingdom where the flesh will be incorruptible. Though it may also be otherwise understood, taking the Apostle to have called the works of flesh and blood, *flesh and blood*, and meant that those who persevered in loving these should not inherit the kingdom of God. The book begins, "A crown of victory."

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

1. A CROWN of victory is not promised, save to them who strive. But in the divine Scriptures we constantly find a crown promised to us, if we shall have overcome. But, not to mention many places, which were tedious; in the Apostle Paul we most clearly read, *I have accomplished my work*[1], *I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; there now remaineth for me a crown of righteousness.* We ought then to understand who is that very adversary, whom if we shall have overcome, we shall be crowned. For it is he himself whom our Lord hath overcome before us, that we also abiding in Him may overcome. And certainly the Power and Wisdom of God, and the Word by whom all things were made, Who is the Only Son of God, continueth ever unchangeable above every creature. And seeing that beneath Him is even that creature which hath not sinned, how much more beneath Him is every creature that sinneth? Wherefore seeing that beneath Him are all the holy Angels, much more beneath Him are all angels who are transgressors, whereof the devil is chief. But because he had deceived our nature, the Only-begotten Son of God deigned to take upon Him that our very nature, that of that very nature the devil might be overcome, and that He might make him, whom He Himself hath ever beneath Him, to be beneath us also. He it is whom He signifieth, when He saith, *The prince of this world is cast out.* Not that he was cast out beyond the world, as some heretics suppose, but out from the souls of those who adhere to the Word of God, and love not the world whereof he is prince: because he ruleth over them who love temporal goods, which

2Tim.6, 7. 8.

[1]Gr. and E. V. *I have fought the good fight.* and so Vulg.

John12, 31.

are contained in this visible world: not because he is himself the Lord of this world, but the prince of those lusts whereby every thing that passeth away is lusted after; so that they are subject to him, who neglect the everlasting God, and love things which change and have no abiding. *For the root of all evils is lust; which certain coveting after, have erred from the faith, and have brought themselves into many sorrows.* Through this lust the devil reigns in man, and keeps possession of his heart. Such are all those who love this world. But the devil is cast out, when with the whole heart renunciation is made of this world. For thus renunciation is made of the devil, who is the prince of this world, when renunciation is made of his seductions, his pomps, and his angels. And therefore the Lord Himself, bearing man's nature even now triumphant, says, *Know ye, that I have overcome the world.* DE AGONE CHRISTIANO. 1 Tim. 6, 10. John 16, 33.

2. But many say, How can we overcome the devil whom we see not? But we have a Master, Who hath deigned to shew us, how invisible enemies may be overcome. For concerning Him saith the Apostle; *Unclothing Himself of flesh*[1], *He made a show of principalities and powers, confidently triumphing over them in Himself.* There therefore are overcome the invisible powers hostile to us, where are overcome the invisible lusts: and therefore because within ourselves we overcome the lusts of temporal things, of necessity within ourselves also must we overcome him, who through those very lusts reigneth in man. For when it was said to the devil, *earth shalt thou feed on;* it was said to the sinner, *earth art thou, and into earth shalt thou go.* Wherefore the sinner was given as food unto the devil. Let us not be earth, if we would not be fed on by the serpent. For as that which we feed on we turn into our own body, so that the very food according to the body is made that which we ourselves are: thus by evil habits through wickedness, and pride, and impiety, each one is made that which the devil is, that is, like him; and is made subject to him, as our own body is subject unto us. And this is that which is said, 'To be fed on[2] by the serpent.' Whosoever therefore fears that fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels, let him take ii. Col. 2, 15. [1] taking the Gr. in the reflex. Gen. 3, 14. 19. [2] manducari, cf. Mark 9.

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

those who assault us without, we overcome within, by overcoming the lusts whereby they rule over us. And those whom they shall find like unto themselves, they drag with them into punishment.

iii. 3. Thus also the Apostle says, that within himself he warreth against powers without. For he so speaks, *We have not to wrestle against flesh and blood, but against princes and powers of this world, the rulers of this darkness, against spiritual things of wickedness in heavenly places.* For the name of heaven is given also to this air, wherein winds and clouds and storms and whirlwinds have place; as also Scripture saith in many places, *and the Lord thundered from heaven;* and *birds of heaven*, and *fowls of heaven*, when it is clear that the birds fly in the air. And we also are in the habit of calling this air heaven; for when we inquire whether it be clear or cloudy, we say at times, How is the air? at times, How is the heaven? I have noticed this, that no one may think that the evil demons dwell there where God hath set in their order the sun and moon as[1] stars. Which evil demons the Apostle therefore calls spiritual, because in the divine Scriptures even evil angels are called spirits. But therefore doth he call them the rulers of this darkness, because he calls sinful men darkness, over whom these rule. Therefore also in another place he says, *For ye were sometime darkness, but now light in the Lord:* because from being sinners they had been justified. Let us not therefore suppose that the devil with his angels dwells in the highest heaven, whence we believe him to have fallen.

Eph. 6, 12.

Ps. 18, 13.

Ps. 8, 8.

Mat. 6, 26. Lat.

[1] al. and

Eph. 5, 8.

iv. 4. For such has been the error of the Manichees, who assert, that before the world was framed there existed a nation of darkness, which was in rebellion against God; and in this war the wretched men believe that the Almighty God could in no other way succour Himself, save only by sending a portion of Himself against them. And, as these state, the princes of this nation ate up a portion of God, and were attempered so as that of them the world might be formed. Thus they assert that God attained unto the victory with great losses and tortures and miseries of His own members; which members they assert were mixed up with the dark entrails of those princes, in order to attemper them, and

restrain them from their fury. And they understand not that so sacrilegious is their sect, as to believe that that whereby Almighty God warred with darkness was not a created being which He made, but His own very Nature; which thing it is impious to believe. Nor merely this, but further also, that those who were conquered were made better, in that their fury were restrained, but that God's Nature which conquered was made most miserable. Also they assert that it by its very admixture lost its proper understanding and happiness, and became entangled in great errors and losses. Now, even if they should assert that at some time or other, this Nature were cleansed, even the whole of it, yet would they affirm what is a great impiety against Almighty God, in believing a part of Him to have been so long time tost to and fro in errors and pains without any charge of offence. But, as it is, the unhappy men dare yet further to assert, that neither can the whole be cleansed; and that that very part, which cannot be cleansed, makes progress towards a chain, that so it may be bound, and tied into a grave of wickedness[a]; and that thus there be even there the very portion of God miserable, (albeit it hath never sinned,) and be evil entreated for ever in[b] the prison-house of darkness. Thus these affirm, in order to deceive simple souls. But who is there so simple, as not to perceive that these things are impious, wherein they affirm that Almighty God hath been overcome by necessity, so as to give up a part of Himself, good and innocent, to be overwhelmed with so great losses, and defiled by so great impurity, and to be unable to set the whole free; and that, which He could not set free, to bind with everlasting chains. Who then but must execrate these things? Who but must perceive them to be impious and not to be uttered? But when those men seek to carry others away with them; these are not the first things which they affirm; for if they affirmed these, all men would mock them or flee from them: but they choose out certain passages from the Scriptures, which simple men do not understand; and by means of these deceive souls unused to them, inquiring, 'Whence is evil? As is their wont to do

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

[a] So Ben. sepulcro. MSS. 'sepulchrum,' 'that therewith the grave of wickedness may be enrolled and bound.'

[b] al. 'fastened for ever unto.'

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

in that passage, where the Apostle writes, *Rulers of this darkness, and spiritual things of wickedness in heavenly places.* For those deceivers inquire, and ask of one who understands not the divine Scriptures, How it comes to pass that there are in Heaven *rulers of darkness?* in order that, when he shall be unable to answer, he may be seduced by them through curiosity; for every unlearned soul is curious. But he who hath learnt well the Catholic Faith, and is fortified by right habits and true piety, although he be ignorant of their heresy, yet answers them. For neither can he be deceived who already knoweth what pertains to the Christian Faith, which is called Catholic, spread abroad over the whole world, and against all impious men and sinners, yea and against those of her own who neglect her, by the governance of the Lord, secure.

Eph. 6, 21.

5. Since then we were saying that the Apostle Paul had said that we have to wrestle against *rulers of darkness, and spiritual things of wickedness in heavenly places*, and have shewn that that very air which is nearest the earth is called Heaven: we ought to believe that we are striving against the devil and his angels, who rejoice in our being disturbed. For the Apostle himself also in another place calls the devil *the prince of the power of this air.* Although that place, in which he says, *Spiritual things of wickedness in heavenly places*, may also be understood in another manner, as that he said, not that the offending Angels themselves are in heavenly places, but rather ourselves, of whom in another place he affirms, *Our conversation is in Heaven*, that we, being settled in heavenly places, that is, walking in the spiritual commandments of God, may strive against *spiritual things of wickedness*, who labour to withdraw us thence. That therefore is rather the question, in what manner we may be enabled to fight against, and overcome those whom we see not; that fools think not that we have to fight against the air.

Eph. 2, 2.

Phil. 3, 20.

vi. 6. Therefore the Apostle himself teaches us, saying, *Not so fight I, as beating the air; but I chasten my body, and bring it into subjection, lest haply, preaching unto others, I myself be found a reprobate.* Also he says; *Be ye followers of me, as I also of Christ.* Wherefore we are to

1 Cor. 9, 26. 27.

1 Cor. 11, 1.

understand that the Apostle also himself in himself triumphed over the powers of this world, as he had asserted of the Lord, of Whom he professes himself to be follower. Therefore let us also follow him, as he exhorts us, and let us chasten our body, and reduce it unto subjection, if we would overcome the world. Forasmuch as by means of its unlawful delights, and pomps, and deadly curiosity, this world may have rule over us, that is, those things which are in this world by the destructive delight which they minister bind captive the lovers of things temporal, and compel them to serve the devil and his angels; wherefore, if we have renounced these, let us reduce our body unto subjection.

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

2 Cor. 2, 14. Col. 3,5.

vii. 7. But, in order that we have not this very question put to us, how it is brought to pass, that we submit our bodies unto subjection: it may easily be understood and done, if we first subject ourselves to God, with a good will, and sincere love. For every created being, whether he will it, or not, is made subject to his one God and Lord. But this we are admonished, that with our whole will we serve the Lord our God. Seeing that the just man serves as a freeman, the unjust in fetters. Yet do all serve the Divine Providence: but the one obey as sons, and with It do what is good; the other are bound as slaves, and there is done of them what is just. Thus Almighty God, the Lord of the whole creation, *Who made all things*, as it is written, *very good*, hath so appointed them, as both of the good and of the evil to do well. For that which is done justly, is done well. But justly are the good blessed, and justly do the evil suffer punishment. Wherefore both of the good and of the evil God doeth well, seeing that justly He doeth all things. But they are good, who with their whole will serve God; but the evil serve of necessity; for no one escapes the laws of the Almighty. But it is one thing to do what the law commands, another, to suffer what the law commands. Wherefore it is according to the laws that the good do, according to the laws the evil suffer.

Gen. 1, 31.

8. Nor let it move us, that, in this life, according to the flesh which they bear, the first suffer many things grievous and harsh. For no ill do they suffer, who can already say that wherein that spiritual man the Apostle exults and pro-

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

Rom. 5, 3—5.

claims, saying, *But we glory in tribulations; knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience*[1], *and experience hope, and hope confoundeth not: because the love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts, through the Holy Spirit, who hath been given unto us.* If therefore in this life, wherein are so great torments, good and just men are enabled, when suffering such things, not only to endure them with equanimity, but also to glory in the love of God; what ought we to think of that life, which is promised to us, wherein we shall feel no annoyance from the body? Inasmuch as the body of the just will not rise again for that, whereunto will rise again the body of the ungodly: as it is written, *We shall all rise again, but we shall not all be changed.* And, that no one may think that that not to the just that change is promised, but rather to the unjust, and may think it to be penal, he goes on and says, *And the dead shall rise again incorrupt, and we shall be changed.* Whosoever therefore are evil, have been thus placed[2]; because both doth each one injure himself, and all injure one another. For they desire that, the love of which is fraught with death, and which may easily be taken away from them; and this they take away one from another, when they persecute one another. And so they, from whom things temporal are taken away, are greatly pained, because of their love of them: but they who take them away, rejoice. But such joy is blindness and supreme misery: for this very joy involves the soul the more, and leads it unto greater torments. For the fish also rejoices, when, not seeing the hook, it swallows the bait. But, when the fisher hath begun to draw it unto himself, its entrails are tormented first; next, from all its joy, by means of that very bait wherein it joyed, it is dragged unto destruction. In such like condition are all, who think themselves blessed by reason of temporal goods; for they have received a hook, and with it they wander their own way[3]: a time will come, for them to perceive how great torments they have greedily swallowed. And therefore not at all do they injure the good; seeing that they take from them this which they love not: for that which they love, and whence they are blessed, no one can take away from them. But bodily torture miserably afflicts

1 Cor. 15, 51. 52.

[1] Lat. rather *proof.*

[2] 'ordinati.'

[3] 'sibi vagantur.'

evil souls, but the good it strongly cleanses. Thus is it brought to pass, that both the evil man and the evil angel serve under the Divine Providence; yet know not what good God worketh of them. Therefore not according to their deserts of service, but according to their deserts of sin, do they receive wages. DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

viii. 9. But, as these souls, which possess a will whereby to injure, and reason whereby to reflect, have been set in place under the divine laws, that each man suffer not any thing unjust; so all things, both those which have souls and those which have bodies, in their own kind and in their own order, are set under the laws of Divine Providence, and are so governed. Therefore the Lord saith, *Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing*[1], *and one of them falleth not to the ground without the will of your Father*. For this He spake, willing to shew that whatsoever men esteem to be of least value, is governed by the Almighty Power of God. For thus, that both the fowls of the Heaven are fed by Him, and the lilies of the field clothed by Him, the Truth speaketh, Which saith that even our hairs are numbered. But since pure[2] reasonable souls God Himself by Himself taketh care of, whether it be in His most good and great Angels, or in men who serve Him with their whole will; and all other things He governs by their means; most truly could that also be said by the Apostle, *For not for oxen hath God care*. For in the Holy Scriptures God teaches men how to act in their doings with men, and how to serve God Himself; but how to act in their doings with their cattle, they know of themselves, that is, how to administer the well-being of their own cattle; by use, and experience, and natural reason; all which things indeed they have received out of the great riches of their Creator. Whoever therefore can understand how God the Creator of the whole creation governs it by means of holy souls, who are His ministers in the Heavens and in the earth; because both the holy souls were themselves created by Him, and in His creation hold the first place: whosoever therefore can understand, let him understand, and let him enter into the joy of his Lord.

Mat. 10, 29.
[1] *asse*
Mat. 6, 26—30.
Mat. 10, 30.
[2] *mundas.*
1 Cor. 9, 9.
Mat. 25, 21.

ix. 10. But, if this we cannot, so long as we are in the body, and are absent from the Lord, let us at least taste how

2 Cor. 5, 6.

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

sweet the Lord is, Who hath given unto us as a pledge the Spirit, that in Him we may perceive His sweetness: and may long for the fount of life Itself, that therein with a sober inebriation we may be overflowed and watered, like the tree which is planted by the water-courses, and giveth fruit in its season, and its leaves shall not fall off. For the Holy Spirit saith, *But the sons of men, beneath the covering of Thy wings shall they hope; they shall be made drunken with the fatness of Thy House, and of the full river of Thy pleasure shalt Thou make them to drink. For with Thee is the Fount of Life.* Such drunkenness overthroweth not the mind, and yet carryeth it by force upward, and causeth a forgetfulness of all earthly things: but only provided we can already say with entire affection, *Like as the hart longeth unto the founts of waters, so longeth my soul unto Thee, O God.*

Ps.34,8. 2 Cor. 1, 22. Ps. 1, 3. Ps. 36, 7. 8. 9. Ps.42,1.

x. **11. But if haply as yet, by reason of the sicknesses of the soul, which from the love of the world it hath contracted, we are unable even to taste how sweet the Lord is; let us however believe the divine testimony, which He hath willed should be in the Holy Scriptures concerning His Son, *Who was made unto Him of the seed of David according to the flesh;* as the Apostle speaks. *For all things were made by Him,* as in the Gospel it is written, *and without Him was nothing made.* Who had compassion on our weakness, which weakness not by work of His, but by our own will we have deservedly gotten. *For God created man not liable to be destroyed,* and gave unto him the free choice of will. For he would not be most excellent, were he to obey the commands of God of necessity, not of his own will. It is altogether an easy thing, as far as I suppose, which they are unwilling to believe, who have deserted the Catholic Faith, and wish to be called Christians. For whereas they confess with us, that our nature is not healed except by acting aright; they must confess that it is not weakened except by sinning. And therefore it is not to be believed that our soul is this same thing which God is; for if it were this, neither by its own will, nor by any necessity whatever would it suffer change for the worse; forasmuch as God is understood to be in every way unchangeable, by those,**

Rom. 1, 3. John 1, 3. Wisd. 2, 23.

however, who do not in contention and rivalry and desire of vain glory love to speak of that of which they know not, but in Christian humility *have thoughts concerning God in goodness, and in simplicity of heart seek Him.* This weakness therefore of ours the Son of God deigned to take upon Himself, and *The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us;* not because that Eternity was changed, but because unto men's eyes that are subject to change, a Creature subject to change He shewed, Which in unchangeable majesty He took upon Himself.

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

Wisd. 1, 1.

John 1, 14.

xi.

12. But there are fools who say, Could not the Wisdom of God any otherwise set men free, than by taking man's nature[1] upon Him, and being born of a woman, and suffering all those things at the hands of sinners? To whom we say, He could assuredly, but were He to do it in other manner, He would in like manner be displeasing unto your folly. For were He not to appear unto the eyes of sinners, assuredly His eternal light, which is seen through the inner eyes, would not be able to be seen by polluted minds. But now because He hath deigned in a visible form to admonish us, that He may prepare us for things invisible, He is displeasing unto the covetous, because He had not a body of gold: He is displeasing unto the unchaste, because He was born of a woman; (for the unchaste hate greatly, that women conceive and bear children;) He is displeasing unto the proud, because He most patiently endured insults. He is displeasing to them of soft lives, because He was put to the torture of the Cross[2]; He is displeasing to the fearful, because He died. And, in order that they may not seem to defend their own vices, they say that this is displeasing to them, not in a man, but in the Son of God. For they understand not what is the Eternity of God, Which assumed to Itself human nature, and what that very human creature which by the changes which it underwent was being recalled unto its ancient stedfastness, that so we might learn, by the teaching of the Lord Himself, that the weaknesses, which by committing sin we have gathered around us, can by acting aright be healed. For it was to be shewn unto us, unto what frailty man by his own fault had arrived, and out of what frailty by the Divine help he is set free. Therefore the Son

[1] hominem.

[2] cruciatus.

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

of God assumed unto Himself Man, and therein suffered the things which belong unto man. This Medicine for men is so great, as that thought cannot reach unto it. For what pride can be healed, if it be not healed by the humiliation of the Son of God? What covetousness can be healed, if it be not healed by the poverty of the Son of God? What wrath can be healed, if it be not healed by the long-suffering of the Son of God? What ungodliness can be healed, if it be not healed by the love of the Son of God? Finally, what fearfulness can be healed, if it be not healed by the Resurrection of the Body of Christ the Lord? Let the race of man lift up its hope, and learn to know its own nature; let it see how great a place it has in the works of God. Despise not yourselves, ye men; the Son of God took upon Him the nature of a man. Despise not yourselves, ye women; the Son of God was born of a woman. Yet love not the things of the flesh. For in the Son of God are we

Gal. 3, 28. *neither male nor female.* Love not the things of time; for if it were well to love them, the Manhood[a] which the Son of God took upon Himself, would love them. All this exhortation, which is now every where preached, every where reverently received, which heals every soul that obeys, would not be in human affairs, unless all those things had been done, at which men most foolish are displeased. Whom doth corrupt boasting deign to imitate, that so it may be led unto the partaking of virtue, if it blush to imitate Him, of Whom, before yet He was born, it was said, that

Luke 1, 32. *He shall be called the Son of the Most High*, and Who now, throughout all nations, (as no one can deny,) is called the Son of the Most High? If we think much of ourselves, let us deign to imitate Him, Who is called the Son of the Most High: if we think little of ourselves, let us dare to follow fishermen and publicans, who followed Him. O Medicine, that provideth for all, that restraineth all swelling things, that restoreth all things that are wasting away, that cutteth off all things needless, and guardeth all things needful, that re-

[a] 'Homo.' It has been thought well to translate this 'Manhood' rather than 'Man,' where it might otherwise bear the appearance of a distinct personality. St. Aug. corrects in his Retractations a phrase of like appearance, in his commentary on the Psalms. But the Latin idiom will bear it better than English.

neweth all things that be lost, and correcteth all things that be amiss. Who now shall set himself up against the Son of God? Who despair of himself, for whom the Son of God willed to be made so low? Who shall judge a blessed life to stand in those things, which the Son of God hath taught us are to be despised? To what adversities shall he give way, who believes that man's nature in so great persecutions was guarded in [the Person of] the Son of God? Who shall think that the kingdom of God is shut against him, who understands that publicans and harlots followed the Son of God? From what going astray shall not he be free, who looks into and loves and follows the actions and sayings of that Manhood[1], wherein the Son of God rendered Himself unto us as an ensample of life? DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

[1] hominis.

13. Therefore already both males and females, and every age, and every rank of this world, hath been moved unto the hope of eternal life. Some, neglecting temporal goods, fly together unto divine. Others yield to the excellencies of those who thus act, and praise what they dare not follow. But some few yet murmur, and are tormented with fruitless envy; either they who seek their own things in the Church, although they seem Catholics, or heretics seeking glory from the very name of Christ, or Jews desiring to defend the sin of their ungodliness, or Pagans fearing to lose their over-curiousness of vain licence[2]. But the Church Catholic, throughout the whole world far and wide spread abroad, in former times breaking in pieces their assaults, hath been more and more strengthened; not by resisting, but by long-suffering. But now these crafty questions by her faith she mocks at, by her diligence she dispels, by her understanding she unravels: them who charge her chaff she heeds not; for the time of harvest, and the time of the threshing-floors, and the time of the garners she cautiously and carefully distinguishes: but them who charge her wheat, she either corrects, if in error, or if through envy, counts among the thorns and tares. xii.

[2] one Ms. 'science.'

14. Therefore let us subject the soul to God, if we would subject our body unto obedience, and triumph over the devil. It is Faith which first bows down the soul to God; next precepts concerning life, by observing which our hope is strengthened, and our love nourished, and that begins to xiii.

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

beam on the sight, which before was only believed. For, whereas knowledge and action make a man blessed; as in knowledge we must shun error, so in action must we shun wickedness. But he is in error, whosoever supposes that he can know truth, whilst as yet he is living wickedly. But it is wickedness to love this world, and to esteem as great, those things which are born and pass away; and to lust after these things, and to labour for them, in order to acquire them; and to rejoice, when they are abundant; and to fear, lest they perish; and to be rendered sad, when they perish. Such a life cannot see That pure, and undefiled, and unchangeable Truth, and cleave unto It, and for ever now no more be moved. Therefore before our mind be cleansed, we ought to believe what we are not yet able to understand; since most truly is it said by the Prophet, *Unless ye shall believe, ye shall not understand.*

Is. 7, 9. LXX.

15. In very few words is the Faith delivered in the Church, and in it are set forth things eternal, which cannot as yet be understood by carnal men; and temporal things, past and future, which the Eternity of the Divine Providence hath accomplished, and will hereafter accomplish, for man's salvation. Let us therefore believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost: these things are eternal and unchangeable, that is, One God, of one Substance a Trinity eternal; God *of Whom are all things, through Whom are all things, in Whom are all things.*

Rom. 11, 36.

xiv. 16. Nor let us listen to them who say that there is only the Father, and that He has not a Son, and that there is not with Him the Holy Ghost; but that the Father Himself is called, at times the Son, at times the Holy Ghost. For such are ignorant of the Beginning, of Whom are all things, and of His Image, through Whom are all things, and of His Holiness, in Whom are all things set in order.

xv. 17. Nor let us listen to them who are indignant and angry, because we say that there are not three Gods to be worshipped. For they are ignorant what one and the same Substance is; and are mocked by their own phantasms, because they are wont to see after a bodily manner, either three animals, or any three bodies whatsoever, to be set in their places apart one from the other; in this sense they think that they are to understand the Substance of God:

and are much in error, because they are proud; and are unable to learn, because they are unwilling to believe. DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

18. Nor let us listen to them who say that the Father alone is True God and Eternal; but that the Son was not Begotten of Him, but made by Him out of nothing, and that there was a time when He was not, and yet notwithstanding that He hath the first place in all creation[1]; and that the Holy Ghost is of less Majesty than the Son, and was Himself made after the Son; and that of These Three there are different substances, just as gold, and silver, and brass. But they know not what they say, and of those things which they are wont to see through the eyes of the flesh they transfer vain images unto their disputations. Forasmuch as in reality it is a great thing to behold with the mind a Generation, which takes not place from any time, but which is eternal; and that very Love and Holiness, whereby the Begetter and the Begotten are in an unspeakable manner joined together; it is a great and difficult thing to behold these things with the mind, even although it be at peace and still. It cannot therefore be that they should see these things, who look too much to earthly generations, and unto that darkness add further the smoke which they unceasingly cause to arise unto themselves by their daily strifes and contentions; having souls flowing abroad in carnal affections, as logs of wood saturated with moisture, in which the fire vomits forth smoke alone, and cannot have bright flames. And this indeed may most rightly be said concerning all heretics. xvi.

[1] 'in omni creatura.' Col. 1, 15.

19. Believing therefore in the Unchangeable Trinity, let us believe also in the Dispensation in time for the salvation of the human race. Nor let us listen to them who say that the Son of God, JESUS CHRIST, is none other than Man, yet so righteous as to be worthy of being called the Son of God. For these also the discipline of the Church Catholic hath cast forth; forasmuch as, being deceived by a desire of vain glory, they have willed to contend in a spirit of strife, before that they understood what is *the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God*, and *in the beginning the Word*, through Whom *all things were made*, and how *the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.* xvii.

1 Cor. 1, 24. John 1, 1. 3. 14.

20. Nor let us listen to them who say that the Son of God xviii.

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

took not upon Him true Man, neither was born of a woman, but shewed unto them that beheld Him an unreal flesh and a feigned image. For they know not how the Substance of God administering the whole Creation is altogether incapable of being polluted: and yet they profess that that sun which we see scatters its rays through all dregs and filth in bodies, and preserves those rays every where clean and pure. Seeing therefore clean things which are seen can be touched by unclean things which are seen, and yet not be polluted; how much more the Unseen and Unchangeable Truth, taking upon Him through the Spirit a Soul, and through the Soul a Body, having assumed the whole of Manhood[1], hath He, without any contamination of Himself, set it free from all weaknesses? Therefore they are in great straits, and, whereas they fear, (what cannot happen,) lest by human flesh the Truth be defiled, they assert that the Truth hath lied. And whereas He gave command, saying, *Let there be in your mouth, Yea, Yea; Nay, Nay;* and the Apostle crieth aloud, *There was not in Him Yea and Nay, but in Him was Yea;* they contend that His whole body was an unreal flesh, and seem not to themselves to follow Christ, unless they lie to their hearers.

[1] lit. 'Man.'

Matt. 5, 37.

2 Cor. 1, 19.

xix. 21. Nor let us listen to them who confess indeed a Trinity in One Eternal Substance; but dare to say that the Manhood, Which in the Dispensation in time was assumed, Itself had not the mind of a man, but only the animal soul and body. That is to say, It was not man, but had the bodily members of a man. For beasts also have a soul and body, but have not reason, which is the peculiar property of mind. But if they are execrable who deny that He had a human body, which is the lowest thing in man; I wonder that they blush not, who deny that He had that which is the best thing in man. For great must be our mourning for the mind of man, seeing that it is overcome of its own body; if in very truth it hath not been formed again in that Man, in Whom the human body itself hath already received the dignity of an heavenly form. But far be it from us that we believe this, which rash blindness and proud talkativeness hath devised.

xx. 22. Nor let us listen to them who say, that the Man which

was born of a Virgin, was by That Eternal Wisdom so taken unto Himself, in like manner as by It other men also become wise, who are perfectly wise. For they know not the peculiar mystery of That Man, and think that this alone It had more among the rest which are most blessed, that It was born of a Virgin. Which very thing if they consider aright, haply they may come to believe that therefore It obtained this beside the rest, because that very taking unto Himself hath in it somewhat peculiar beside the rest. For it is one thing merely to become wise through the Wisdom of God, and another thing to bear the very Person of the Wisdom of God. For although the nature of the body of the Church be the same, who understands not that there is a great interval between the Head and the rest of the members? For if the Head of the Church is that Man by the taking unto Himself of Which the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us; but the rest of the members are all Saints, by whom the Church is perfected and made up. In such manner therefore as the soul animates and gives life to our whole body, but in the head perceives both by sight, and hearing, and smell, and taste, and touch, but in the rest of the members only by touch; and therefore all are set under the head to labour, but it is set above to exercise forethought; because in a certain manner the head bears the person of the soul itself, which exercises forethought for the body; for in it every sense is seen: thus unto the universal people of the Saints as unto one body the Head is *the Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus.* And therefore the Wisdom of God, and the Word in the beginning through Whom all things were made, did not so take unto Himself that Man as the rest of the Saints: but in a way much more excellent, and much more sublime; in the way in which it behoved that It alone should be assumed, that therein Wisdom should appear unto men, as it was fitting that It should be visibly shewn forth. Wherefore in one sense are they wise, the rest of men whosoever are so, or have been, or shall be, enabled to be so; and in another sense The One Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus, Who of That very Wisdom, through Which are made wise whosoever of men are made so, not only hath the benefit done unto Him, but

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

[1] 'merusisse.'

[2] 'Sustinere.'

1 Tim. 2, 5.

DE AGONE CHRIS. TIANO.

also beareth the Person. For of the rest of wise and spiritual souls it may rightly be said, that they have in them the Word of God through Whom all things were made: but in none of them can it rightly be said, that *the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us;* which is rightly said in our Lord Jesus Christ alone.

xxi. 23. Nor let us listen to them who say that a human body alone was taken unto Himself by the Word of God, and so understand what is said, *And the Word was made flesh*, as to deny that that Man possessed either soul or any thing of man, except the flesh alone. For they err greatly, and understand not that therefore was the flesh alone named in that which was said, *The Word was made flesh*, because unto the eyes of men, for whose sake that taking unto Himself had place, the flesh alone could appear. For if it is absurd and highly unworthy, that that man should have possessed not a human spirit, as we have treated of above; how much more absurd and unworthy is it that It should have possessed neither spirit nor soul, and possessed that only which even in cattle is the viler and the remoter part, that is, the body? From our faith therefore let that ungodly doctrine also be excluded, and let us believe that whole and perfect Man was taken unto Himself by the Word of God.

xxii. 24. Nor let us listen to them who say that our Lord had such a body as appeared in the Dove, which John the Baptist saw descending from heaven and abiding upon Him in sign of the Holy Ghost. For thus they essay to persuade that the Son of God was not born of a woman; 'Because if it behoved that He should be shewn unto carnal eyes, He could, they say, thus assume a body, in like manner as the Holy Ghost.' For neither was that Dove, say they, born of an egg; and yet It could appear to human eyes. To whom this first is to be made answer, that we read that the Holy Ghost appeared unto John in the form of a Dove, there, where we read that Christ was born of a woman; and it behoveth not in part to believe the Gospel, and in part not to believe it. For whence believest thou that the Holy Ghost was shewn in the form of a Dove, save because thou hast read it in the Gospel? Wherefore I also thence believe that

John 1, 32.

Matt. 3, 16.

Matt. 1, 18—25.

Christ was born of a Virgin, because I have read it in the Gospel. But wherefore the Holy Ghost was not born of a dove[1], in such manner as Christ was born of a woman, the reason is this, because the Holy Spirit came not to set free doves[2], but to signify unto men innocent and spiritual love, which was visibly figured in the form of a Dove. But the Lord Jesus Christ Who came to set free men, in the number of whom both males and females pertain unto salvation, disdained neither males, in that He took on Him the male; nor females, in that He was born of a female. Unto this is added a great mystery, that, since through a female death had happened unto us, life unto us through a female should be born: that so of either nature, that is, the female and male, the devil being overcome might be put to torment, seeing that he was rejoicing in the overthrow of both; unto whom it had not been enough for punishment, if both natures in us were set free, unless also through both we were set free. Nor this do we so say, as to say that the Lord Jesus Christ alone had a true body, but that the Holy Ghost after a deceitful manner appeared unto the eyes of men: but both those bodies we believe to have been real bodies. For as it behoved not that the Son of God should deceive men, so it was not seemly that the Holy Ghost should deceive men; but to Almighty God, Who framed out of nothing the whole creation, it was not hard to form the true body of a Dove without the help of other Doves, as to Him it was not hard to frame a true body in the womb of Mary without the seed of a man; whereas bodily nature[3] was servant of the power and will of God, both in the bowels of the female in order to form the Man, and in the world itself in order to form the Dove. But men, fools and wretched, what either themselves are not able to do, or what in their own lives they have never seen, that even by Almighty God they believe not could have been done.

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

[1] columba.

[2] columbos.

[3] al creatura.

25. Nor let us listen to them, who therefore would compel us to number the Son of God among creatures, because He suffered. For they say: If He suffered, He is subject to change; and if He is subject to change, He is a creature, because the Substance of God cannot be changed. With whom we also say, both that the Substance of God cannot be xxiii.

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

changed, and that a creature is subject to change. But it is one thing to be a creature, and another thing to take unto Himself a creature. Therefore the Only-Begotten Son of God, Who is the Power and Wisdom of God, and the Word through Whom all things were made, because He is altogether incapable of change, took upon Himself the created nature of man[1], which He deigned to set up now that it was fallen, to renew now that it was grown old. Nor in it through His passion was He changed for the worse, but it rather through His resurrection He changed for the better. Nor on that account must we deny that the Word of the Father, that is, the Only Son of God, through Whom all things were made, was born and suffered for us. For of Martyrs also we say, that they have suffered and died for the kingdom of heaven's sake; and yet neither in that their passion and death were their souls slain. For the Lord says, *Fear not them which kill the body, but can do nothing to the soul.* As therefore we say that the Martyrs suffered and died in those bodies which they bore about with them, without any slaughter or death of the souls: so we say that the Son of God suffered and died in that Manhood[2] which He bore, without any change or death of His Divine Nature.

[1] 'humanam creaturam.'

Mat. 10, 28. Luke 12, 4.

[2] lit. 'Man.'

xxiv. 26. Nor let us listen to them who deny that there arose such a body of our Lord, as was laid in the sepulchre. For had it not been such, He would not Himself have said to the disciples after His resurrection, *Handle, and see, for a spirit hath not bones and flesh, as ye see Me have.* For it is a sacrilegious act, to believe that our Lord, being Himself the Truth, hath in any thing lied. Nor let it move us, that it is written, that when the doors were shut on a sudden He appeared unto His disciples, that therefore we should deny it to have been a human body, because we see it to be contrary to the nature of this body to enter through closed doors. For all things are possible unto God. For it is clear that the walking upon the waters also is contrary to the nature of this body; and yet not only did the Lord Himself before His passion walk, but also He caused Peter to walk. Thus therefore after His resurrection also He made of His own body what He would. For if He was able before His passion to make His body to shine as the brightness of the

Luke 24, 39.

John 20, 26.

Mat. 19, 26.

Mat. 14, 25. 29.

Mat. 17, 2.

sun; wherefore could He not also after His passion in an instant of time reduce it unto how subtile a nature He would, so as to be able to enter through closed doors? DE AGONE CHRISTIANO. XXV.

27. Nor let us listen to them, who deny that our Lord raised His very body with Him up into heaven, and repeat what is written in the Gospel, *No one hath ascended into heaven, save He Who came down from heaven;* and say, because His body descended not from heaven, that it could not ascend into heaven. For they understand not, how that the body ascended not into heaven: for the Lord ascended, but the body ascended not, but was raised up into heaven, He raising it up Who Himself ascended. For if one descend, for example, from a mountain naked, but after having descended clothe one's self, and being clothed again ascend, surely we say rightly, No one ascended, save he who descended, nor do we regard the clothes which he took up with him, but say that he who was clothed alone ascended. John 3, 13.

28. Nor let us listen to them, who deny that the Son sitteth at the right hand of the Father. For they say, 'What, hath God the Father a right or left side, in like manner as bodies have?' 'Neither do we conceive thus of God the Father: for by no form of body is God inclosed and shut in. But the right hand of the Father is everlasting blessedness, which is promised to the Saints; as that is most rightly called His left hand, everlasting misery, which is assigned to the ungodly: so that not in God Himself, but in His creatures, in this way whereof I have spoken is understood the right hand and the left hand. Because also the body of Christ, which is the Church, will be hereafter at the very right hand, that is, in very blessedness, as the Apostle says, that He hath both raised us together, and made us sit together in heavenly places.' For although our body be not yet there, yet is our hope there already. Wherefore also the Lord Himself after His resurrection bade His disciples, whom He found fishing, to cast their nets on the right side. Which, when they had done, they caught fishes, and these all were great, that is, signified the just, unto whom the right hand is promised. And this is also signified, in that He said that in the Judg- XXVI. John 21, 6—11. Mat. 25, 33.

DE AGÔNE CHRISTIANO. XXVII.

ment He will set the sheep on His right hand, and the goats on His left hand.

29. Nor let us listen to them, who deny that there will be a day of Judgment, and repeat what is written in the Gospel, John 3, 18. that he 'who believeth in Christ, *is not judged; but whoso believeth not in Him hath been already judged.*' For they say, If both he who believeth shall not come into judgment, and he who believeth not hath been already judged; where are they whom He will hereafter judge in the Day of Judgment? They understand not that the Scriptures so speak, as that they represent[1] a past time for a future; as we said above, what the Apostle spake concerning us, that *He made us sit together in heavenly places*, is not yet brought to pass, but, because it will most surely be hereafter, it is so spoken, as if it were already brought to pass. In such manner as the Lord also Himself said to the disciples, *All things which I have heard of My Father, I have made known unto you:* and a little after He says, *I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them yet.* How then had He said, *All things which I have heard of My Father, I have made known unto you*, save that because of that, which through the Holy Ghost He was most surely about to do, He spake, as if He had already done it? In like sort therefore when we hear, 'He that believeth in Christ shall not come into judgment;' let us understand, shall not come into condemnation. For judgment is put for condemnation, as the Apostle says, *Whoso eateth not, let him not judge him that eateth:* that is, let him not think evil of him: and the Lord saith, *Judge not, that ye be not judged.* For He taketh not away from us the understanding of judging, whereas also the Prophet saith, *If of a truth ye love righteousness, judge things which be right, ye sons of men.* And the Lord Himself saith, *Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment.* But in that place where He forbids us to judge, He gives us this admonition, that we condemn not any one, either whose thoughts are not laid open to us, or of whom we know not what kind of person he may be about hereafter to be. Thus therefore when He said, 'shall not come into judgment;' He said this, that he shall not come into con-

[1] 'insinuent.'

Eph. 2, 6.

John15, 15.

John16, 12.

Rom.14, 3.

*Matt. 7, 1.

Ps.58,1.

John 7, 24.

demnation. *But whoso believeth not hath been judged already;* this He said, that he hath been already condemned by the foreknowledge of God, Who knoweth what hangeth over them that believe not. DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

30. Nor let us listen to them, who say that the Holy Ghost, xxviii. Whom in the Gospel the Lord promised to the disciples, came either in Paul the Apostle, or in Montanus and Priscilla, as the Cataphryges say, or in some, I know not who, Manes or Manichæus, as the Manichæans say. For so blind are these, that they understand not clear Scriptures; or so careless of their own salvation, that they altogether read them not. For who, when he hath read, but must understand even in the Gospel that which after the Lord's resurrection was written, the Lord saying, *I send the promise of My Father upon you; but do ye remain here in the city, until ye be endued with power from on high?* Luke 24, 49. And in the Acts of the Apostles, after that the Lord departed from the eyes of the disciples into heaven, after ten days were past, on the day of Pentecost they mark not that the Holy Ghost in a most open manner came: and when the disciples were in the city, as He had before admonished them, filled them, so that they spake with tongues. For different nations, which were then there, understood, each hearer his own tongue. Acts 2, 1—11. But those men deceive such, as neglecting the Catholic Faith, and that their very Faith which is in the Scriptures most clearly set forth, are unwilling to learn, and, (what is worthy of heavier and great sorrow,) living heedlessly in the Catholic (Church[1]) lend a heedful ear to heretics.

[1] or in the (learning of) the Catholic (faith.)

31. Nor let us listen to them, who deny that the Holy Church, which alone is Catholic, is scattered throughout the world, and judge that it prevails in Africa alone, that is, in the portion[2] of Donatus. So deaf are they against the words of the Prophet, *My Son art Thou, I this day have begotten Thee: Demand of Me, and I will give unto Thee the nations for Thine inheritance, and for Thy possession the bounds of the earth.* Ps. 2, 7. 8. And many other things, in the books whether of the Old or of the New Testament, which were written in order most openly to set forth that the Church of Christ hath been spread abroad throughout the whole world. Which thing when we object to them, they say that all those things had been xxix.

[2] parte.

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

already fulfilled before the portion[1] of Donatus existed, but afterwards they contend that the whole Church perished, and that in the portion of Donatus did remains of it continue. O tongue proud and impious! no not even if they truly so lived, as even among themselves afterward to maintain peace! But now they mark not that already in Donatus himself hath that been fulfilled which was said, *In whatsoever measure ye shall have measured, in that shall it be measured unto you again.* For in like manner as he strove to divide Christ, so is he by his own followers daily cut in sunder and divided. To this pertains also that saying of the Lord, *For whosoever shall strike with the sword, by the sword shall he die.* For the sword in that place, seeing that it is put in an evil sense, signifies a tongue which causeth discord, wherewith at that time the wretched man struck the Church, but slew it not. For the Lord said not, Whosoever shall slay with the sword, by the sword shall he die; but, Whosoever shall use the sword, saith He, by the sword shall die. Wherefore he struck the Church with a tongue full of strife, whereby now himself is cut in pieces, that he may altogether perish and die. And yet at that time the Apostle Peter had thus acted, not through any pride of his own, but through affection, although carnal, for his Lord. Therefore he, being admonished, put again his sword into its sheath; but the other did not so, no not when vanquished. Forasmuch as, when he pleaded his cause with the Bishop Cæcilianus, in the hearing of the Bishops at Rome, whom he himself had sought, he was unable to prove any of the charges which he had brought; and so he remained in schism, that by his own sword he might die. But his own people, in that they hear not the Prophets and the Gospel, wherein it is most openly written that the Church of Christ is spread abroad throughout all nations; and hear schismatics, who seek not the glory of God, but their own; give sufficient signs that they are a servant, not a free man, and that they have the right ear cut off. For Peter, erring in affection for the Lord, cut off the right ear of the servant, not of the free man. Whence it signifies, that they, who are cut off by the sword of schism, both are the servants of the desires of the flesh, not yet led forth into the liberty of the Holy Ghost, that so

[1] pars.

Matt. 7, 2.

Mat. 26, 52.

they may now not trust in man[1]; and hear not what is on the right[2], that is, the glory of the Lord, through the Catholic Church most widely caused to traverse, but hear the left hand error of human inflation. But yet when the Lord says in the Gospel, that, when the Gospel shall have been preached throughout all nations, then shall the end be; in what manner do they assert that already the rest of the nations have fallen from the faith, and that in the portion of Donatus alone the Church hath continued, seeing that it is manifest, that, since the time that that part was cut off from unity, certain nations have afterwards believed, and that there are yet some who have not yet believed, unto whom daily the Gospel ceases not to be preached? Who but must wonder that there is any one, who would have himself called a Christian, and yet be carried away by so great impiety against the glory of Christ, as to dare to assert that all the peoples of the nations, who only now are approaching unto the Church of God, and are hasting to believe in the Son of God, do so to no purpose, because some Donatist baptizes them not? Without doubt men would execrate these things, and leave them without delay, if only they were seeking Christ, if they loved the Church, if they were free, if they had the right ear sound.

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

[1] see S. Aug. on Ps. 10.

[2] dextrum.

32. Neither let us hear them, who, although they rebaptize no one, have yet cut themselves off from unity, and have preferred to be called Luciferians rather than Catholics. For in that they understand that the Baptism of Christ is not to be repeated, they do right. For they perceive that the Sacrament of the holy Laver is no where, save of the Catholic Church; but that the branches when cut off have with them that form, which in the very vine, before they were cut off, they had received. For these are they of whom the Apostle says, *Having the form of godliness, but denying the power thereof.* For it is a great power of godliness, peace, and unity; because God is One. This these have not, because they are cut off from unity. Wherefore if any of them come into the Catholic Church, they repeat not the form of godliness which they have, but they receive the power of godliness which they have not. For that even branches which have been cut off may be graffed in afresh, if they shall not

xxx.

2 Tim. 3, 5.

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

continue in unbelief, the Apostle most openly teaches. Now whereas the Luciferians understand this and rebaptize not, we blame them not: but that they have willed themselves also to be cut off from the root, who but must perceive it to be a thing to be abhorred? And on this account especially, because this hath displeased them in the Church Catholic, which truly belongeth unto Catholic holiness. For no where ought the bowels of mercy to be so strong as in the Catholic Church, that, as a true mother, she neither proudly trample on her sons when in sin, nor hardly pardon them upon amendment. For not without cause among all the Apostles doth Peter sustain the person of this Church Catholic; for unto this Church were the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven given, when they were given unto Peter: and when it is said unto him, it is said unto all, *Lovest thou Me? Feed My sheep.* Therefore the Church Catholic ought willingly to pardon her sons, upon their amendment, and confirmation in godliness; when we see that Peter himself, bearing her person, both when he had tottered on the sea, and when with carnal feeling he had sought to call back the Lord from suffering, and when he had cut off the ear of the servant with the sword, and when he had thrice denied the Lord Himself, and when afterwards he had fallen into superstitious dissembling, had pardon granted unto him, and after amendment and strengthening attained at last unto the glory of the Lord's suffering. • Therefore after the persecution which was brought about by means of the Arian heretics, after that peace, which truly the Church Catholic holds in the Lord, was by the rules also of this world restored, the Bishops who in that persecution had consented to the faithlessness of the Arians, many of them were amended and chose to return into the Catholic Church, condemning that which they had either believed or feigned to believe. These the Church Catholic received in her maternal bosom, like Peter after his tears for his denial, when admonished by the crowing of the cock, or as the same, after his evil dissembling, amended by the voice of Paul. This, their mother's charity, they proudly taking, and impiously blaming, because they have not welcomed Peter rising after the cock-crowing, have deserved to fall with Lucifer, who arose in the morning.

Rom. 11, 23.

Mat. 16, 19.

John 21, 17.

Mat. 14, 30.

Mat. 26, 75.

Is. 14, 12.

33. Nor let us hear them, who deny that the Church of God can remit all sins. Therefore they wretched, not understanding in Peter the Rock, and being unwilling to believe that unto the Church have been given the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, have themselves lost them out of their hands. These are they who condemn as adulteresses their widows, if they marry again, and proclaim that they are more pure above the teaching of the Apostles. Who, if they would recognise their own name, would call themselves worldly[1] rather than pure[2]. For in that they are unwilling, if they have sinned, to receive correction, they have chosen nothing else than to be condemned with this world. For them, to whom they deny forgiveness of their sins, they guard not with any healthful discipline, but being sick they withdraw from them their medicine, and compel their widows to burn, as not allowing them to marry. For they are not to be esteemed more prudent than the Apostle Paul, who had rather that they should marry than burn. DE AGONE CHRISTIANO. XXXi. 1 Tim. 5, 14. [1] 'mundanos.' [2] 'mundos.' 1 Cor. 7, 9.

34. Nor let us hear them, who deny that there will be a resurrection of the flesh, and make mention of that which the Apostle Paul says, *Flesh and blood shall not inherit the Kingdom of God;* not understanding what the Apostle himself says, *This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.* For when this shall have taken place, it will no longer be flesh and blood, but an heavenly body[3]. Which the Lord also promises, when He says, *They shall neither be given in marriage, nor marry wives, but shall be equal to the Angels of God.* For not any longer unto men, but unto God shall they live, when they shall have been made equal unto the Angels. Therefore flesh and blood shall be changed, and shall be made a heavenly and angelic body. *For the dead also shall rise again uncorrupted, and we shall be changed;* that both the one may be true, that the flesh shall rise again; and the other be true, that *flesh and blood shall not inherit the Kingdom of God.* XXXII. 1 Cor. 15, 50-53. [3] see Retract. l. ii. c. 3. Mat. 22, 30.

35. With this simple and pure faith fed as with milk be we nourished in Christ; and, being little ones, seek we not the food of elders, but with most wholesome nourishments grow we in Christ, a good life and Christian righteousness XXXIII.

DE AGONE CHRISTIANO.

being added, wherein is the love of God and of our neighbour perfected and confirmed: that each one of us may triumph in himself over our enemy the devil and his angels, in Christ Whom he hath put on. Because perfect love hath neither the desire of this world nor the fear of this world; that is, neither desire, that it may obtain things temporal, nor fear, lest it lose things temporal. By which two doors the enemy enters in and reigns, whom we must drive forth, first by the fear of God, next by love. We ought therefore so much the more eagerly to seek a most open and clear knowledge of the truth, the more we find ourselves to make progress in love, and in its simplicity to have our heart purified, for it is with the very inner eye that truth is seen: for, *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. That, being rooted and grounded in love, we may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth; to know also the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that we may be filled unto all the fulness of God:* that, after these contests with an unseen enemy, since to them who are willing, and love, the yoke of Christ is easy, and his burthen light, we may win a crown of victory.

Matt. 5, 8.

Eph. 3, 17. 18. 19.

Mat. 11, 30.

S. AUGUSTINE

OF

THE CATECHIZING OF THE UNLEARNED[a].

Retr. ii. 14. There is also a book of mine 'on the catechizing of the unlearned,' so entitled. In which book where I have said, 'Nor did the Angel, who, with other spirits his servants, in pride left the obedience of God, and became the devil, in any wise harm God, but himself. For God knoweth how to order souls that leave Him:' it were more fitly said, 'spirits that leave Him,' since angels were in question. This book begins, 'You have asked me, brother Deogratias.'

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS. i.

You have asked me, brother Deogratias[b], to write you something which might be of use to you, on the subject of catechising the unlearned. For you have told me, that at Carthage, where you hold the office of a deacon, persons are often brought to you, to receive instruction in the first rudiments of the Christian Faith, in consequence of your being judged to possess a rich power of catechizing, the result both of knowledge in the Faith, and of sweetness of speech: but that you yourself on almost every occasion feel yourself to be in a strait, in what manner profitably to set forth that very doctrine, by the belief of which we are Christians; at what point to commence, and up to what point to carry on the narration; whether when the narration

[a] Written about the year 400. *Ben.*

[b] This Deogratias is perhaps the same with the Priest to whom St. Augustine writes about 406, in answer to questions from Pagans sent to him from Carthage. Ep. cii. *Ben.*

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

is ended we ought to use any exhortation, or merely to add those precepts, by the future observance of which he whom we are addressing may understand that the Christian life and profession is maintained. Then again you have confessed and complained that it hath often happened to you, that in a long and luke-warm discourse you grew to be worthless and wearisome to yourself, much more to him whom you were by your speech endeavouring to instruct, and to the rest who were present as hearers: and that this necessity hath compelled you to press upon me, by that love which I owe you, that I refuse not among my occupations to write you something on the present subject.

2. I for my part am bound not only by that love and service which I owe to you as my friend, but also by that which I owe on all occasions to my mother the Church, if in any thing by help of mine, which by the bounty of our Lord I am enabled to render, that same Lord commands me to assist those whom He himself hath made my brethren, in no way to refuse, but rather to undertake it with a ready and devoted will. For the more widely I desire that the riches of our Lord may be dispensed abroad, the more is it my duty, if I perceive the stewards who are my fellow-servants feeling any difficulty in dispensing it, to do all that lies in me, that they may be enabled to perform easily and readily what they desire strenuously and zealously.

ii. 3. But to return to that which respects your own opinion of yourself, I would not have you be moved because that frequently your discourse has appeared to you to be mean and wearisome. For it is possible, that it may not have appeared so to him whom you were instructing, but that because you felt desirous that something better should be heard, therefore, what you were saying appeared to you unworthy the ears of others. For I too am almost always displeased with my own discourse. For I am greedy of something better, the sense of which I often enjoy in my mind, before I commence setting it forth in actual[1] words; and then, when I find that I cannot express it adequately as I know it, I am grieved that my tongue hath not availed to prove sufficient for my heart. For all that

[1] sonantibus.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

I understand myself, I wish him who hears me to understand also, and I perceive that I do not so speak as to effect this, principally because conception, as by a rapid flash, spreads itself over the mind, but speech on the other hand is slow and long and far other, and whilst it is being put forth, the conception hath by this time hid itself in its secret recesses; yet inasmuch as it hath in a wonderful manner impressed certain traces of itself upon the memory, those traces continue together with the pauses[1] of syllables; and for these same traces we form vocal signs, which are called either the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or any other language, whether their signs be thought on, or whether they be also uttered by the voice; whereas those traces are neither Latin, nor Greek, nor Hebrew, nor peculiar to any other nation whatever, but are so made in the mind, as looks in the body. For anger has one word to express it in Latin, and another in Greek, and is again expressed differently in different languages. But the look of the angry man is not Latin or Greek. Therefore all nations understand not, if any one say, I am angry, *Iratus sum*, but the Latins only; but, if the feeling of the mind becoming enraged go forth into the face, and produce a certain look, then all who see the angry man understand. But neither is it so in our power to lead forth, and, as it were, to hold out to the senses of the hearers by the sound of the voice those traces which this conception impresses on the memory, in the same manner as the look is clear and evident; for they are within in the mind, this without in the body. Wherefore we must conjecture how greatly the sound of our mouth differs from that rapid stroke of conception, since it corresponds not even to the impression made in the memory. But we for the most part, greatly desiring to benefit our hearer, wish so to speak as our conception then is, when by reason of its very intensity we are unable to speak at all; and because this fails us, we are pained, and, as though we were labouring to no purpose, we are wearied and pine away, and then this very weariness makes our discourse more languid and more dead, even than it was when it of itself led to weariness.

[1] morulis

4. But in my own case, I often perceive by the eagerness of them who desire to hear me, that my discourse is not so

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

frigid as to myself it appears; and that my hearers derive from it some advantage, I understand from their taking pleasure; and I do my utmost with myself not to be wanting in offering a service, in which I see that they take kindly what is offered. And so you also, from the very fact that persons are very frequently brought to you to be instructed in the Faith, ought to understand that your discourse does not fail in pleasing others, in the same manner as it fails in pleasing yourself; nor ought you to esteem yourself unfruitful because you do not explain, as you wish, those things which you see, since it may be neither are you able to see as you wish. For who in this life sees, save only as in a riddle and in a glass? Nor is love itself so mighty, as that, having burst through the darkness of the flesh, it should penetrate into that eternally calm heaven, whence even the things which pass away draw whatever brightness they possess. But because good men are day by day advancing onward to see day wherein is no cloud in the sky, no inroad of night, *which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man:* there exists no greater reason why whilst we are occupied in teaching the unlearned, our discourse should grow to seem worthless to us, than this; that it is pleasing to see in an unwonted manner, and tedious to utter to others in an ordinary way. And in reality we are listened to with much greater pleasure, when we ourselves are at the same time delighted with our occupation; for the thread of our discourse is affected by the very joy which we feel, and goes forth more easily and more acceptably. Wherefore it is no difficult task, in respect of those things which are sought to be taught as the objects of Faith, to advise, from and up to what point they are to be set forth, nor again in what way the narration is to be varied; so that at one time it may be shorter, at another longer, and yet at times full and perfect; also when it will be suitable to use the longer and when the shorter; but by what means it is to be brought about, that each man may catechize with pleasure to himself, (for the more he shall be able to effect this, the more pleasing will he be to others,) this is a subject of very great care. The precept indeed for this is easily found. For if in carnal wealth, how much more in spiritual does God love

1 Cor. 13, 12.

1 Cor. 2, 9.

a cheerful giver? But that this cheerfulness may be present at the time when it is needed, is the gift of His pity Who hath given us these precepts. First therefore, as I know you wish to be done, concerning the manner of narration, next, concerning precept and exhortation, afterward concerning the obtaining this cheerfulness, we will discourse, so far as God shall put it into our mind. DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

5. The Narration is full, when each is at first catechized from that which is written, *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*, down to the present times of the Church. It does not, however, follow that we ought either, if we have learnt the whole Pentateuch, the whole of the books of Judges and Kings and Esdras, and the whole of the Gospel and of the Acts of the Apostles, to repeat them by memory, or by narrating in our own words all things which are contained in these volumes, to put them forth and expound them. Which neither the time allows of, nor does any necessity demand it of us, but to embrace all things summarily and generally, in such a way as to select certain of a more wonderful character, which are listened to with more pleasure, and which were set in the very turning periods in such wise, as that it is not fitting to shew them, as it were, wrapped up, and straightway to hurry them out of sight, but by delaying on them somewhat as it were to open and unfold them, and to hold them forth as objects for the minds of our hearers to inspect and admire; but for the rest, rapidly running them over to insert and weave them into the narration. So both those things, which we wish to be especially urged upon the attention, stand forth the more from the others being kept back, and he whose interest we are wishing by our narration to excite, does not come to them with feelings of weariness, nor again do we render confused his memory whom by our teaching we ought to instruct. iii. Gen. 1, 1.

6. In all things indeed not only ought we ourselves to look to the end of the commandment, which is *charity out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned*, to which to refer all things which we speak, but to this we must turn and thitherward direct his gaze also whom we are instructing by our words. For of a truth for no other purpose before the coming of our Lord were all things written which 1 Tim. 1, 5.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

we read in the Holy Scriptures, than that His coming might be urged upon our attention, and the future Church be pointed out beforehand, that is, the people of God throughout all nations, which is His body, having joined and numbered with it all the Saints, who even before His coming lived in this world, so believing that He should one day come, as we believe that He is come already. For as Jacob, at the time of his birth, sent forth his hand first out of the womb, by which also he was holding the foot of his brother that was having birth before him, next the head followed, and then of necessity the rest of the members. But yet the head in dignity and power precedes not only those members which followed, but even the very hand which in the time of birth went before, and, although not in time of appearing, yet in order of nature, is first: so also the Lord Jesus Christ, although before He appeared in the flesh, and in a certain manner out of the womb of His mystery came forth before the eyes of men, the Mediator between God and men, Man, and Prophets sent before Him a certain portion of His body, by which, as by a hand, announcing His own future birth, by the bonds of the Law, as by five fingers, He supplanted the people going before Him in their pride, (in that both [1] during five periods of times His future coming ceased not to be the subject of preaching and of prophecy, and agreeably to this he through whom the Law was given wrote five books; and proud men, being carnally minded, and *seeking to establish their own righteousness*, were not filled with blessing from Christ's open hand, but had that hand closed and shut, and were thereby restrained. Therefore their feet were tied, and they fell, *but we are risen, and stand upright;*) although, therefore, as I have said, the Lord Christ sent before Him a certain portion of His body, in the Saints, who in respect of their time of birth were before Him, yet is He Himself the Head of the body, the Church, and all they have been joined together to that same body, of which He is the Head, by believing in Him Whom they foretold. For they were not separated from Him in that they went before Him, but rather fixed to Him in that they obeyed Him. For although the hand may be sent before by the head, yet is its connection

Gen. 25, 26.

[1] Enchir. §. 31.

Rom. 9, 5.

Rom. 10, 3.

Ps. 20, 8.

Col. 1, 18.

beneath the head. Wherefore all things which were written before, were written that we might be taught thereby, and were figures of us, and happened in their case in a figure; and were written for our sake, *upon whom the end of times hath come.*

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

Rom. 15, 4. 1 Cor. 10, 11.

7. But what greater reason exists then of our Lord's coming, than that God might shew in us His Love, commending it mightily, in that *whilst we were yet enemies Christ died for us?* And that for this cause, seeing that love is the *end of the commandment* and *the fulfilling of the Law,* that we also may love one another, and in like manner as *He laid down His life for us,* so we also may lay down our life for the brethren; and in respect of God Himself, since *He first loved us,* and *spared not His own only Son, but gave Him up for us all,* that, even if to love Him were irksome, yet that, now at least, it may not be irksome to return His love. For there is no greater invitation to love, than loving first, and that soul is sterner than it ought, which, even if it were unwilling to bestow love, is also unwilling to repay it. But if, even in evil and sordid loves, we see that they who seek to be loved in return, make nothing else their business than to shew and declare, by all the proofs in their power, how much they themselves love, and endeavour to cloak what they do with that appearance of justice, as in some sort to demand that a return be made them by those souls which they are aiming to ensnare: and themselves are the more enkindled, when now they see those minds also which they are aiming to affect, moved by the same fire: if, therefore, both the soul which was before torpid, is aroused as soon as it hath perceived itself to be the object of love, and that which was already warm, is the more enkindled as it hath learnt that its love is returned, it is clear that there exists no greater cause either for the beginning or for the increase of love, than when he who as yet loves not perceives that he is beloved, or he who loves before, either hopes that he may be, or is already assured that he is, loved in return: and if this is the case even in shameful loves, how much more in friendship? For what else do we guard against in that which causes discontent in friendship, but this, that our friend may not judge that we either do not love him at all, or love

1 Tim. 1, 5. and Rom. 13, 10. 1 John 3, 16. 1 John 4, 10. Rom. 8, 32. IV. Rom. 5, 8. 10.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

him less than he loves us?* If he shall come to believe this, he will be more cold in that love in which men enjoy mutual intimacy with one another; and if he be not so weak of purpose, as that this cause of discontent make him to grow cold in all manner of affection, he yet confines himself to that, in which he so loves, as to seek to benefit rather than to enjoy. But it is worth while to observe, how, (although superiors too are willing to be objects of affection to inferiors, and are pleased with their zealous service paid to themselves, and the more they perceive this, the more do they love them,) notwithstanding with how great love the heart of the inferior burns, when he perceives himself beloved by his superior. For there is love more pleasing, where it is not parched from the dryness of want, but flows forth from the fulness of goodness. For the one comes from misery, the other from commiseration. Still further, supposing the inferior to have despaired even of the possibility of being the object of his superior's love, he will be unspeakably moved to love, if that superior shall have deigned of his own accord to shew how much he loves him who dared not in any way to promise to himself so great a good. But what is there superior to God as judging? what more desperate than man as sinning? who had so much the more surrendered himself up to the dominion and yoke of proud powers, which cannot bless him, as he had been led to despair of the possibility of his being an object of care to that Power, Which doth not in evil will aim to be exalted, but is in goodness exalted.

8. If therefore for this cause especially Christ came, that man might understand how greatly he is beloved of God; and to this end might understand it, that he might grow fervent in the love of Him, by Whom he was first loved, and might love his neighbour, at His bidding and His shewing, Who was made man's neighbour, in that He loved him when not his neighbour, but far off sojourning; and if all divine Scripture which was written before, was written to proclaim beforehand the coming of the Lord; and whatever afterwards was committed to writing, and confirmed by divine authority, telleth of Christ, and admonisheth of love: it is clear that on these two commandments, of the love of God, and of our neighbour, hang not only the whole Law and the Prophets,

Mat. 22, 40.

which as yet, when our Lord thus spake, formed the whole of Holy Scripture, but also whatsoever portions of the divine volume have since been written for our health, and committed to our remembrance. Wherefore in the Old Testament there is a veiling of the New, in the New Testament there is an unveiling of the Old. According to that veiling carnal men understanding after a carnal manner, both then and now, have been bowed down by a penal yoke of fear. But according to this revelation spiritual men, both then as many as knocking piously had even hidden things opened to them, and now as many as seek not proudly, lest even open things be closed to them, understanding after a spiritual manner, have been made free by that love with which they have been gifted. Wherefore seeing nothing is more opposed to love than envying, and that the mother of envying is pride, that same our Lord Jesus Christ, God-Man, is both a token of the divine love towards us, and an example of the divine humility among us, that thus our great swelling might be healed by a more powerful remedy counteracting it. Great misery indeed is it, proud man; but greater commiseration, God humbled! This love therefore being taken by you as your proposed end, to which to refer all things which you say, whatever you narrate, do you so narrate it, as that he whom you are addressing may by hearing believe, by believing hope, by hoping love.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

9. On the foundation also of the very severity of God, by which men's minds are affected with most salutary fear, is love to be builded up; in order that, rejoicing that he is beloved of Him Whom he fears, he may dare to love Him in return, and even might he do it with impunity, may yet religiously fear to displease His love towards himself. For it very rarely happens, or rather, one should say, never, that any one comes with the wish to be made a Christian, but who hath been stricken with some fear of God. For if in the expectation of some good from men, whom he judges not that he shall please by any other means, or for the avoidance of any evil from men, whose displeasure or enmity he dreads, a man wish to be made a Christian; it is not to be made a Christian that he wishes, but to feign to be one. For Faith is a matter not of the body which does reverence[1],

[1] salutantis

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

but of the mind which believes. But evidently the mercy of God is often present through the ministry of him who catechizes, so that, moved by the discourse, one now wishes to be made that which he had determined within himself to feign: when he shall begin thus to wish, we may then judge him [really] to have come. And indeed it is hidden from us, at what time he comes to us with the mind, even when in the body he is already present before us. Notwithstanding we ought so to treat him, as to produce this wish to him, even although at present it do not exist. For nothing of this sort is lost, seeing that, if the wish exist, it is certainly strengthened by this act of ours, although possibly we may be ignorant of the exact time or hour at which it began. It is indeed of use to receive information beforehand, if possible, from those who know him, of the state of mind of our hearer, and of the causes which moved him to embrace religion. But in the case of there being no other person from whom we may learn this, then the hearer himself is to be questioned, that from his replies we may draw the commencement of our address. But if he is come with a feigned heart, desiring human advantages, or seeking to avoid human losses, in that case he will certainly speak what is false, and yet from this his very falsehood you should take your beginning, not with the view of convicting his falsehood, as if that were known to you, but, supposing him to say that he came with such a purpose as is of itself truly praiseworthy, (whether he speak truly or falsely,) in order that, by an approval and praise of such a purpose as that with which he states himself to have come, we may bring it to pass that he takes pleasure in being such, as he is desirous of appearing to be. And if, on the other hand, he shall answer other than what ought to be present in the mind of one who is about to receive instruction in the Christian Faith, by gently and kindly reproving him as though he were unlearned and ignorant, and again by pointing-out, and commending in few and serious words, that which is the very true end of Christian doctrine, in order neither to occupy the time designed for your coming discourse, nor again to venture to impose it on a mind not first duly set to receive it, you will essay to make him wish that, which through error, or through dissimulation, he did not as yet wish.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS. VI.

10. But if it shall so happen that he shall answer, that he hath been led to become a Christian by some divine admonition or alarming warning, he herein affords us a most welcome point at which to commence our discourse, on the greatness of God's care for us. Certainly it will be for us to turn his attention from things of this nature, be they miracles or dreams, to the more sure path and more certain oracles of the Scriptures, so that he have understood, before applying himself to the study of Holy Scripture, how mercifully that very admonition also hath been first granted him[1]. And he must by all means be shewn, how that the Lord Himself would not thus admonish him, or urge him to become a Christian and to be incorporated into the Church, or teach him by signs and revelations of this nature, had He not willed him to enter upon a more secure and sure path, a path, already prepared in Holy Scripture, wherein he should not seek after visible miracles, but accustom himself to hope for things invisible, and receive admonition not in sleep, but awake. From this point we must now commence our discourse, how God in the beginning made all things very good, and continue it down, as we have stated, even to the present times of the Church, in such sort, as that we give the causes and reasons of each of the things and events which we relate, so as by them to refer them to that end of love, whence neither the eye of him that doeth any thing nor of him that speaketh is to be turned away. For if, in respect of feigned fables of the Poets, and such as are devised to please minds which feed on trifles of this sort, such as are esteemed and called good grammarians do notwithstanding endeavour to refer them to some use, although that use be itself vain, and greedy of the grossness of this world; how much more careful ought we to be, lest those very truths, which we relate, (there being no well-ordered setting-forth of their proper causes made,) be believed with a pleasure which is without fruit, and, it may be, an eagerness which is fatal. Not however that we are so to append their causes, as that, leaving the course of the narration, we allow either our heart or our tongue to digress into knotty points more difficult of discussion; but so that the very truth of the reason which we employ may be, as it

[1] prærogata.

Gen. 1, 31.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

were, gold linking together a chain of jewels, and yet not disturbing by any excess of itself the order and series of the ornament.

vii. 11. When the narration is finished, the hope of the Resurrection must next be signified, and according to the capacity and powers of the hearer, and according to the measure of the time allowed, discourse must be had, in opposition to the vain scoffs of unbelievers, concerning the Resurrection of the body, and concerning the future Judgment, its goodness in respect of the good, its severity in respect of the bad, its truth in respect of all; and when the punishments of the ungodly have been declared with loathing and horror, then must we preach with longing desire concerning the kingdom of the just and faithful, and that City which is above, and its joy. And this will be the time to fortify and animate man's weakness against temptations, and causes of offence, whether from without, or from within in the Church itself: from without, against Gentiles, or Jews, or Heretics: from within, against the chaff of the Lord's threshing-floor. Not so as to dispute against every particular class of perverse men, or to refute all the erroneous opinions by propounding definite subjects for arguing, but shortly, according to the time allowed, we must shew that it was so foretold. And again, of what benefit temptations are in the instructing of the faithful, and what remedy is to be found in the example of the patience of God, Who hath determined to allow them even to the end. At the same time also that he is fortified against those, of whom the perverse multitudes fill with their persons the Churches, let there be briefly and in due order set forth the commandments of a Christian and honest conversation, that he suffer not men that are drunkards, covetous, deceivers, gamesters, adulterers, fornicators, lovers of the public shows, who bind on their bodies profane charms, enchanters, astrologers, or diviners using any such evil and vain arts, and all other such like, thus easily to lead him astray; or allow himself to think that it shall be unpunished in himself, because he sees many who are called Christians loving these things, making them their business, defending

[c] Of the character of these see Tertullian De Spect. Tr. p. 187. S. Cypr. On the grace of God. Tr. p. 5, 6. S. Aug. Conf. vi. §. 7, 8.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

their use, and endeavouring to persuade, and actually persuading others. For he is to be fully instructed by proofs out of the divine books, what is that end appointed for them that persevere in such a manner of life, and how they must be endured in the very Church, out of which they are in the end to be separated. He must be told also beforehand, that he will find in the Church many good Christians, most true citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, if only he himself shall begin to be such. And finally, he is to be admonished diligently, that he place not his hope in man: because neither is it easy for man to judge, what man is just; and even were it easy to be done, the examples of just men are not therefore proposed to us, in order that by them we may be justified; but that imitating them we may understand that we also are justified by Him Who is their Justifier. For by this it will be brought to pass, (what especially merits approval,) that when he who hears us, or rather who by our mouth hears God, shall have begun to advance in disposition and knowledge, and to enter upon the way of Christ with alacrity, he will neither venture to ascribe it to us, nor to himself; but both himself, and us, and whomsoever else, being his friends, he loves, he will love in Him and for His sake, Who loved him when an enemy, that by justifying him He might make him a friend. And here I conceive that you have no further need of any one to advise you, that, when either your own time, or that of those who hear you, is occupied, you treat briefly; and, on the other hand, speak more fully when more abundant time is allowed you. For this the very necessity of the case , without your having any one to advise you.

viii. 12. But another case I must certainly not pass over; supposing one to come to you to be catechized, instructed in all liberal knowledge, who hath already determined within himself to be a Christian, and hath come with the purpose of being made one; it can hardly be, but that he hath acquainted himself with much of our Scriptures and our literature, from which having already received instruction, he is now come only to be made to share in the Sacraments. For it is the custom of such men, not at the very time at which they are made Christians, but before, to inquire

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

diligently into all things, and to communicate and discuss with whomsoever they can the feelings of their own minds. Your mode of proceeding therefore with these must be brief, and that not in the way of tediously urging upon them what they already know, but modestly and lightly touching on such points; saying, that we believe that they already know this and that point, so as in this way to go through cursorily all which require to be urged upon the ignorant and unlearned; so that, in case the man of education shall already know any thing, he may not hear it as from a teacher; or, in case he be yet ignorant, he may learn it, whilst we are recounting those things which we already believe him to know. Nor indeed is it without its use to inquire of such an one, by what circumstances he was moved to wish to become a Christian, in order that, if you shall perceive that he was moved thereto by books, whether canonical, or written by profitable expounders[1], you may in the first place speak somewhat of these, commending them according to the different claims, of canonical authority, and of the ablest diligence on the part of those who expound; and in the canonical Scriptures especially commending that most salutary lowering down of their admirable loftiness, and in those others, according to the proper ability of each, a style of more sounding, and, as it were, of more well-turned eloquence, fitted for minds which are prouder and therein weaker. He must also draw from him what author he chiefly read, and with what books he was more intimately conversant, which wrought in him the wish of becoming a member of the Church. Upon his telling us this, then, if the books are known to us, or if even by the common report of the Church we have understood that they are the writings of any one well-known Catholic man, let us gladly express our approval. If, on the other hand, he hath fallen upon the writings of any heretic, and, in ignorance, it may be, hath laid hold in his mind of what the true faith condemns, and supposes it to be Catholic, in that case we must diligently teach him, setting above such opinions the authority of the Universal Church, and of other most learned men, esteemed highly both as disputants and writers in its truth. Although even they who have passed out of this life in the Catholic Faith, and

[1] 'Tractatorum.'

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

have left to posterity any Christian writings, in certain places of their works, either through not being understood, or (such is human infirmity) unable with the mind's eye to penetrate into the more hidden things, and erring from the truth whilst following what was like the truth, have by the presumptuous and bold been made occasion for projecting and giving birth to some heresy. Which is not to be wondered at, seeing that in the very canonical Scriptures, in which all things are spoken with perfect soundness, not indeed through understanding certain things in a way other than the writer thought, or than the true meaning is, (for if there were nothing but this, who would not willingly pardon human infirmity willing to admit correction?) but by taking all opportunity of upholding with sharpest vehemence and obstinate conceit the opinion which they have erroneously and ill conceived, many men have given birth to many fatal doctrines, having cut asunder the unity of Communion. All these things we are to discuss in modest conference with him who seeks to enter the society of the Christian People, not as an illiterate man[1], so to say, but with his mind polished and cultivated by the works of the learned, so far assuming authority in advising that he guard against the errors of vain confidence, as his humility, which led him to us, is now seen to admit of. All other things however according to the rules of saving doctrine, whether it be concerning the Faith, whatever we have need to state or discuss, or whether it be concerning conduct, or concerning temptations, going through them in the manner I have said, we must endeavour to refer to that more excellent way[2].

[1] 'idiota'

[2] see § 9.

ix. 13. There are also certain, who come from the ordinary schools of grammarians and rhetoricians, whom you can neither venture to class among the uneducated, nor, on the other hand, among the very learned men just noticed, whose minds have been exercised in questions of great moment. When therefore these men, who seem by their art in speaking to excel the rest of mankind, come for the purpose of being made Christians, this difference we ought to make in what we communicate to them above what we do to those other unlearned men, in that it is our duty carefully to admonish them, that, being clothed with Christian humility,

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

they learn not to despise them whom they shall find more careful in avoiding faults in conduct than in language; and that they venture not even to compare with a pure heart, what they have been accustomed even to prefer to it, a practised tongue. But especially are such to be taught to listen to the divine Scriptures, that so solid eloquence grow not vile in their eyes, because it is not inflated; and that they judge not, that the words or actions of men, which are read in these books, and which are wrapped up and concealed in carnal coverings, are to be so taken, as the very words sound, and not rather to be unfolded and opened, that they may be understood. And on the subject of the real use of the hidden meaning, (whence also such are called mysteries,) what power dark and obscure sayings possess of sharpening the love of the truth, and of shaking off the torpid feelings of weariness, such men must have this taught them by actual experience, when some doctrine, which, when openly set before them, failed to affect them, is drawn forth by the unravelling of some allegory. To such men it were of great use to understand, that meanings are to be preferred to words, in the same way as the soul is preferred to the body. A consequence of which is, that they ought in like manner to prefer to hear discourses which are true, rather than such as are eloquent, as they ought to prefer friends who excel in wisdom to such as excel in personal beauty.

Let them also understand, that the only voice which reacheth to the ears of God, is the affection of the soul; for so they will not be disposed to mock, if haply they shall perceive any prelates or ministers of the Church, either calling upon God in barbarous or ungrammatical language, or failing to understand the very words which they utter, and using their pauses so as to disturb the sense. Not because there exists not every necessity for such things being corrected, that the people may say Amen to that which they clearly understand, but it is the duty of all to bear with these things in a spirit of piety, who have learnt, that, as in the Forum it is the sound, so in the Church it is the wish, that makes the benediction[3]. Therefore that of the Forum may haply sometimes be called *bona dictio*, [good speaking,] yet never *bene-dictio*. Now concerning the Sacrament which

[3] or 'the well-speaking,' 'benedici.'

they are about to receive[1], it suffices for the more intelligent, that they hear what is the meaning of the act; it will be necessary however, with those who are duller of apprehension, to treat at greater length, and to employ similitudes, in order that they may not despise what they see.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS. X.

[1] i.e. the making catechumens.

14. Here perhaps you require some discourse by way of example, in order that I may shew you by an actual instance, in what manner what I advise is to be effected. And this I will do, as far as, with the Lord's assistance, I shall be able. But first I ought, according to promise, to speak on the subject of acquiring that cheerfulness which I mentioned. For in respect of delivering rules for forming your discourse, in the case of catechizing a person who comes to you with the purpose of being made a Christian, I have already, as far as seemed to me sufficient, performed my promise. For surely I am under no promise myself to do in this volume, what I advise as fitting to be done. In case therefore of my doing thus, it will be in the way of over-measure; but how can I possibly pour on an over-measure, before I have fulfilled the measure of what I owe? And indeed your chief complaint which I hear is no other than this, that your discourse seems to you poor and worthless, as often as you are employed in instructing any one in the Christian name. Now this I know is caused not so much by want of matter necessary to speak of, (with which I know that you are sufficiently prepared and furnished,) nor again of language, but by weariness of mind, either from that cause, which I have noticed, that we are more pleased, and have our attention more fixed, by that which we perceive mentally and in silence, and wish not to be called away from it to a noise of words which is very unequal to it; or because, even when discourse is pleasant, we are more pleased to listen to, or read, such things as have been better expressed, and which are uttered without any care or anxiety on our part, than to combine suitable words on the sudden for the understanding of another, without knowing the issue; whether, on the one hand, we find such as will express our meaning, or, on the other, whether they be received so as to profit; or because, from the very fact that those things which are communicated to the unlearned, are such as are every

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

way well-known to us, and no longer necessary for our own advancement, we feel it irksome to be thus constantly recurring to them, and our mind, now of somewhat more advanced growth, experiences no kind of pleasure in going through things so common-place, and, as it were, childish. And again, it creates a sense of weariness in him who speaks, to have a hearer whom he cannot move; either because such an one is moved by no feeling, or because he gives no bodily sign of understanding, or being pleased with what is said. Not because it is fitting that we be greedy of human praise, but because what things we minister are of God, and the more we love them to whom we speak, the more anxious are we that those things be pleasing to them which are held forth for their salvation; and when this fails to take place, we feel pained, and are weakened and dispirited in the midst of our course. Sometimes also when we are called away from some other business which we wish to proceed with, and which either was a more pleasing occupation, or appeared more necessary; and are compelled, either by the command of one whom we are unwilling to offend, or by some persons' importunity, such as we cannot escape from, to catechize any one, we approach a matter which requires great calmness, with feelings already disturbed; pained, that it is neither allowed us to continue that order in our occupations which we wish, nor again can we possibly be sufficient for all things: and so out of very sorrow our discourse which proceeds is less pleasing, in that out of the dry soil of sadness the stream issues not full and overflowing. At times again sorrow hath taken possession of our breast in consequence of some cause of offence, and then it is said to us, 'Come, speak with this man, he wishes to be made a Christian.' For they, who speak to us, know not what is consuming us within; if therefore they are such as that we ought not to disclose to them our feelings, we undertake what they wish with no pleasure, and feeble indeed and unpleasing will that discourse be, which has past through the channel of a chafing and reeking heart. From among so many causes therefore, whatever it be which clouds the clear calm of our heart, we must seek in accordance with God's will for remedies, such as may make to expand the heart which is shrunk up, and cause that we rejoice in

fervor of spirit, and be glad in the calm of a good work, *For God loveth a cheerful giver.*

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

15. For if the cause of our sadness be this, that our hearer does not enter into our conception, so that descending in a way from its lofty summit, we are compelled to linger in the tediousness of syllables on a much lower level, and are full of anxiety how that shall proceed out of our mouth of flesh by long and perplexed windings, which the mind drinks in with a most quick draught, and then because our utterance is so unlike, speech is made irksome and silence pleasing; let us meditate on what we have received from Him Who has shewed us an example that we may follow His steps. For however much our articulate speech may differ from the vividness of our perception, much more does mortal flesh differ from equality with God. And yet when He was in the same *form*, He *emptied Himself, receiving the form of a servant*[1], *&c.* so far as to *the death of the Cross*. Wherefore, but that to the weak He became weak, that He might gain the weak? Hear His follower in another place also saying, *For whether we be beside ourselves, it is to God; or whether we be sober, it is for your cause. For the love of Christ constraineth us, judging this, that one died for all.* For how could he be prepared to be spent for their souls, if he were unwilling to bend himself to their ears? Hence therefore was he made a little child in the midst of us, as a nurse cherishing her children. For whether is it pleasing, unless affection bid us, to lisp in short and broken words? And yet men desire to have infants to whom to render this office. And it is sweeter to a mother to feed her little son with small pieces of meat, moistened and prepared by her own mouth, than to eat and swallow large pieces herself. Neither let your heart ever lose the thought of the hen, who covers her tender young with her ruffled feathers, and calls to her her chirping brood with a broken voice, from whose kind wings they who in their pride turn away, become a prey to birds. For if understanding be pleasing in its purest recesses, let it be pleasing also to understand this, how that charity, the more readily it descend to the lowest things, so much the more strengthened does it return to the most

2 Cor. 9, 7.

1 Pet. 2, 21.

[1] the omission is perhaps by the copyist. *Ben.* Phil. 2, 6—8. cf. 1 Cor. 9, 22. 2 Cor. 5, 13. 14. 1 Thess. 2, 7.

Mat. 23, 37.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

inner things, through good conscience, in that it seeks nothing from those to whom it has descended, but their eternal welfare.

16. But if we are anxious rather either to read or to listen to such things as have been already prepared and better expressed, and therefore feel it irksome in ignorance of the issue to put together for the time what we have to say, only let not our mind err from the truth in the things themselves, and it is easy, supposing any thing in our minds to offend our hearer, for him to learn from the very circumstance, how entirely unimportant it is, when the matter itself is rightly understood, whether there were any thing imperfect or incorrect in sounds which had utterance given them solely for this cause, that the matter might be understood. But if the aim of human frailty have erred even from the truth in the things themselves; (although in catechizing the unlearned, where one must keep the most beaten path, this can hardly happen;) yet supposing it by any chance so to happen that even on this ground our hearer is offended, this also we should judge to have befallen us from no other quarter, than that God hath willed to prove us, whether we receive correction with gentleness of mind, that so we be not carried headlong by a worse error into the defence of our error. But in the case that no one tell us of it, and that it have escaped altogether the notice both of ourselves and of those who hear us, there is then no cause for sorrow, unless it take place again. But for the most part we ourselves, when we think over what we have said, discover something wrong, and are in doubt, how it was received at the moment it was said, and are the more pained, in that love is fervent within us, if, being false, it was received readily. And therefore having found an opportunity, as we find fault with ourselves in private, so must we take heed that they also be by degrees set right, as many as, not by the words of God, but evidently by our own, have fallen into any error. But if again certain blinded by mad envy rejoice that we have erred, whisperers, slanderers, hateful to God, let such afford us matter for the exercise of patience with pity; because that also the patience of God leadeth

Xi.

Rom. 1, 30.

them to repentance. For what is there more detestable, and more of a character to treasure up wrath in the day of wrath, and of the revelation of the just judgment of God, than to rejoice in the evil of another, therein evilly following the likeness and pattern of the devil. Again at times, even when all things are truly and rightly stated, something which is either not understood, or which, as opposed to some ancient erroneous opinion or habit, sounds harshly, offends and disturbs the hearer. In case this is seen, and he shew himself capable of cure, it is our place to heal him by abundance of authorities and reasons. If on the other hand the offence be secret and hid, the medicine of God is able to relieve it. But if he shall start back, and refuse to be healed, let that example of our Lord be our comfort, Who, when men were offended at His word, and shrunk from it as a hard saying, said thus even to them that remained, *Will ye also go away?* For this ought to be retained fully fixed and immoveable in our hearts, that Jerusalem which is in captivity is in the full course of times freed from the Babylon of this world, and that no one from out of her shall perish, because whosoever shall perish was not of her. For *the foundation of God standeth firm, having this seal, The Lord knoweth who are His, and, Let every one that nameth the Name of the Lord depart from iniquity.* Whilst we think on these things, and call upon the Lord to enter into our hearts, we shall less fear the uncertainty of the issues of our discourse caused by the uncertainty of the feelings of our hearers, and even the very suffering annoyances in a charitable work will be pleasing to us, if only we seek not our own glory in it. For then is a work truly good, when the purpose of the doer is shot forth from love, and, as if returning to its own place, again rests in love. But the reading with which we are pleased, or any listening to eloquence better than our own, (through preference of which to the discourse which we ourselves have to deliver, we speak unwillingly and with pain,) will find us in better spirits, and will come to us more pleasantly after our labour, and we shall with more full assurance pray that God will speak to us as we will, if we submit cheerfully that He speak by us as we are able; so is it

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

Rom. 2, 4. 5.

John 6, 67.

2 Tim. 2, 19.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

Xii.

brought to pass that to them that love God all things come together for good.

17. Then again if we feel it irksome frequently to repeat things commonplace and suited to children, let us unite ourselves to them by a brother's, a father's, a mother's love, and then when our hearts are linked with theirs, to us also will these things appear new. For so powerful is the feeling of the mind which sympathises, that, whilst they are moved as we speak, and we as they learn, we have our dwelling in one another, and so, both they as it were in us speak what they hear, and we in a certain way in them learn what we teach. Is not this constantly the case, that, when we are shewing to persons who have never before seen them, certain
a. large and beautiful prospects[1] either of cities or fields, which we from often seeing had come to pass by without any pleasure, our own delight is renewed in the delight which novelty causes to them. And so much the more in proportion as they are our friends, because in proportion as by the bond of love we are in them, so to us also do things become new which before were old. But, if we have made any progress at all in contemplation, we seek not that those whom we love feel delight and astonishment, when contemplating the works of human hands, but we seek to lift them up to the very skill and counsel of their author, and hence to rise to the admiration and praise of the all-creating God, in Whom is the most fruitful end of love: how much more therefore ought we to feel delight, when men approach us now to learn to know God Himself, in order to Whom all things, whatsoever are to be learnt, are to be learnt, and ourselves to be renewed in their newness of feeling, so that, if our usual preaching be chilled, it may grow warm by their unusual hearing. And there is this additional to cause delight, that we consider and reflect, from out of what death of error the person is passing into the life of faith. And if we are wont to pass through streets to which we are most accustomed with the cheerfulness of doing good, when we are shewing the way to any one who before was distressed from having lost his way; how much more readily, and with how much greater joy, in that which is saving doctrine, ought we to go up and down even those paths which for

our own sakes it is unnecessary to go over again; when we are leading a wretched soul, and wearied by the wanderings of this world, through the ways of peace, at His bidding Who Himself gave us that peace? DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS. xiii.

18. But indeed it is much to continue speaking on to the set period, when we see our hearer continue unmoved, because he either dares not, as being restrained by religious awe, express his approval by word, or motion of body, or is repressed by reverence for man, or fails to understand, or despises what we say. Since this must be matter of uncertainty to us, in that we see not his mind, it behoves us in our address to make trial of all things, which may possibly avail to rouse him, and, as it were, draw him forth from his hiding-place. For both such fear as is excessive, and hinders his expressing his opinion, we must remove by kind and cheering words, and suggest our common brotherhood so as to attemper his reverence for us, and seek to ascertain by questioning whether he understand us, and inspire him with confidence to utter freely any objection which he has to make. We must also ask him whether he has already at any time heard these things, and so they fail to move him as being well-known and commonplace. And we must be guided by his answer, either to speak more simply, and more by way of explanation, or to refute some opinion opposed to us, or, omitting the fuller unfolding of such things as are known to him, to embrace them briefly in a few words, and to select certain of those things which are spoken in a mystical sense in the sacred books, and especially in the narrative, by opening and unfolding which to make our discourse more pleasing. But if he be very slow of understanding, and unsuited for and disinclined to all such methods of pleasing, then must we bear with him in pity, and, having briefly gone through all other points, we must carefully impress upon him such things as are especially necessary, concerning the unity of the Catholic [Church], concerning temptations, concerning Christian conversation with a view to Judgment hereafter, and must rather speak to God for him, than speak many things to him of God.

19. But it often happens, that he who at first was a willing hearer, through being fatigued either by listening or

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

by standing, now yawns and gapes instead of expressing approval, and even against his will shews his wish to depart. Upon perceiving this, we ought either to refresh his mind by saying something seasoned with discreet cheerfulness, and suited to the matter in hand, or something very wonderful and amusing, or, it may be, something painful and mournful: and such as may affect himself rather than another, in order that being pinched by concern for self he may continue watchful; and yet such as not by any harshness to give offence to his spirit of reverence, but rather by a friendly manner to conciliate him; or we ought to relieve him by offering him a seat, although without doubt it were better, where it can be done with due regard to propriety, that from the first he sit and listen; and certain Churches beyond sea act with much greater wisdom and foresight, in which not only the chief ministers address the people sitting, but seats are provided also for the people themselves, that so the weak be not wearied with standing, and thus have their minds withdrawn from that attention which is most profitable, or even be compelled to depart. And yet it makes a great difference, whether it be one of a great multitude who withdraws himself to recruit his strength, such an one being already bound by participation in the Sacraments, or whether the person departing be one who has to be admitted to the first Sacraments, (for the most part unavoidably compelled, lest he even fall to the ground, overcome by weakness within,) for such an one through shame does not state the reason of his going, and by weakness is not allowed to stand. I speak this from experience, for a certain man from the country acted in this way, when I was catechizing, whence I have learned how greatly it is to be guarded against. For who can put up with our haughtiness, when we suffer not to sit in our presence men who are our brethren; or, what calls for even greater care, who are thus to be made our brethren, and yet a woman sat and listened to the Lord Himself, Whom angels stand and minister to. Certainly if there is to be only a short discourse, or the place be inconvenient for sitting, let them stand and listen; but then, let it be when the hearers are many, and are not then to be admitted[1]. For when they are one, or two,

Luke 10, 39.

[1] 'initi- andi.'

or a few, who are come for the purpose of being made Christians, it is dangerous to speak with them standing. However if we have begun to speak with them in that way, at any rate, when we see that our hearer is wearied, we ought both to offer him a seat, nay, rather to urge him by all means to sit down, and to address to him some remark which may refresh him, and at the same time, if any anxiety haply hath entered into his mind and begun to withdraw his attention, may put it to flight. For, seeing that the reasons are unknown to us, why he still continues silent and refuses to listen, now that he is seated, we may speak to him against the thoughts of temporal affairs which suggest themselves, either in a cheerful, as stated above, or in a serious manner, in order that, if these are the very thoughts which have occupied his mind, they may give way, as if arraigned by name; or, if they are not, and he is wearied with listening, then that, when he hears us speaking of them as if they were (since in truth we know not) in an unexpected and unusual way, as I have stated, his attention be restored from weariness. But let it be short, especially seeing it is inserted out of order, lest the medicine even increase the disease of weariness which we wish to relieve; and we should do right to hasten forward what remains, and to promise and hold out a nearer end.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

20. But if the omitting some other employment, on which as more necessary, your mind was now set, hath broken your spirit, and therefore sorrowing you catechize without pleasure; you ought to reflect, that, excepting that we know, that, in all our dealings with men, we are to deal mercifully, and out of the purest charity; with this one exception, it is quite matter of uncertainty to us, what is more useful to be done, or what again more fitting to be postponed, or altogether omitted. For in that we know not of what sort with God are the deserts of men, for whose good we are acting; what may be expedient for them at a given time, this we cannot be said to understand, but rather to guess, with none, or very slight, and very uncertain conjecture to guide us. Wherefore it is indeed fitting that we order what things we have to do according to our ability; xiv.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

then if we are enabled to effect them in the manner in which we have proposed, let us be glad, not that it hath been our will, but that it hath been God's will that they be so effected; but if any necessity happen to disturb that order of ours, let us readily submit to be bowed that we be not broken, and let us make that order ours, which God hath preferred to ours. For it is more just that we follow His will, than He ours. Seeing that, as respects order of proceeding, which we wish to maintain according to our own will, that surely is to be approved in which such things as are more excellent come first. Why then do we feel pained that the Lord God, Who is so much more excellent, should come before us men, so as out of very love for our own order to wish to violate order? For no one orders for the better what to do, unless it be he who is prepared rather to leave undone what he is by the Divine power prevented from doing, than eager to do what his own thoughts, which are human, design. For *many are the thoughts in the heart of a man, but the counsel of the Lord abideth for ever.*

Prov. 19, 21.

21. But if our mind, disturbed by some cause of offence, be unable to deliver a calm and pleasant discourse; so great ought our love to be towards those for whom Christ died, willing by the price of His own blood to redeem them from the death of the errors of this world; that this very fact, that word is brought us in our sorrow, that there is at hand one who desires to become a Christian, ought to avail to console and dissipate that sorrow, as joy caused by gains is wont to soothe grief for losses. For we are not pained by the offence of any but only as we either believe or see him to be perishing himself, or made the occasion that some weak one perish. Let then him who comes to us to be admitted, in that he leads us to hope that he may go forward, wipe off the sorrow for him who fails us. Because even if that fear suggest itself to us, lest our disciple be made a child of Hell, seeing that many such are before our eyes, from whom arise those offences by which we are concerned, this ought not to go to keep us back, but rather to excite us and spur us on, so far forth as we admonish him whom we are instructing, that he shun to follow those who are Christians, not in very truth, but in name only: nor be so moved by their numbers,

Mat. 23, 15.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

as either to wish to follow them, or to be unwilling to follow Christ on their account; and either be unwilling to be in the Church of God, where they are, or wish to be there such as they are. And, I know not how it is, in admonitions of this sort, that discourse is ever more glowing which has fuel furnished it by a present sense of pain; so that, so far are we from being rendered more dull, that this very thing makes us utter with more enkindled and vehement feelings, what in time of greater security we should speak with coldness rather and tardiness; and causes us to rejoice that opportunity is given us, that the feelings of our minds pass not away without bearing fruit.

22. But if for any fault or sin of our own sorrow hath taken possession of us, let us not only remember that 'the sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit,' but also that saying, that *like as water quencheth fire, so alms sin*, and that *I will have mercy*, says He, *rather than sacrifice*. As therefore, if we were in danger from fire, we should certainly run to obtain water, that it might be quenched, and should be thankful if one offered it to us near at hand, so if from our own stack any flame of sin hath risen up, and we are thereby troubled, when occasion has been given us for a most charitable work, let us rejoice as if a fountain were offered us, whereby to extinguish the flame which had burst forth. Unless haply we are so foolish, as to believe that we ought to be more ready to run with bread, to fill the belly of him that is hungry, than with the word of God, to instruct the mind of him that eateth it. And there is this further, that, if it would merely benefit us if we did it, and not injure us in any way to leave it undone, we might despise a remedy offered us at an unhappy moment, when now the salvation not of our neighbour, but of ourself, was in danger. But when out of the mouth of the Lord that so threatening voice is heard, *Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou shouldest give my money to the exchangers;* what madness, I pray you, is it, because our sin torments us, therefore to wish to sin again is not giving the Lord's money to one who wishes and seeks to receive it? When by these and such like thoughts and considerations the mist of irksomeness which overshadows has been dispelled, the attention is fitted to the

Ps. 51, 17.

Ecclus. 3, 30. Hos. 6, 6.

Mat. 25, 26. 27.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

work of catechizing, so that the hearer pleasantly drinks in what bursts forth readily and cheerfully out of the rich fulness of love. And this it is not so much I that say to you, as the love itself says to us all, which hath been shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost Which hath been given us.

XV. 23. But perhaps, what before I made any promise I was under no obligation to render, you now demand as a debt, that I consent to unfold and submit to your view some discourse by way of example, as if I were myself catechizing. Now before I do this, I wish you to bear in mind, that the mental effort is other, when one is dictating with a future reader in one's thoughts, than what it is when one is speaking with the presence of a hearer to draw one's attention; and in this latter case again, that it is different when one is admonishing privately, with no other person near to form a judgment of us, from that, when one is teaching openly, surrounded by an auditory of persons who hold very different opinions: then again, when we thus teach, there is a difference whether one is being taught, and the rest stand by as listeners judging or attesting what they well know, or all in common be expecting what we shall set before them; and then again in this very case, whether it be, as it were, a private meeting for the purpose of mutual conference, or the people in silence and attention be looking to an individual to speak from a higher position; and it makes much difference also, when we are thus speaking whether there be few present or many, learned or unlearned, or made up of both; citizens or rustics, or both together, or again, a people mingled of all classes. For it cannot be, but that they affect in different ways the man who has to speak and address them, and that both the discourse which is delivered carries as it were a certain stamp of feature expressive of the feeling of the mind from which it issues, and according to this same difference affects the hearers in different ways, they again in their turn by their very presence affecting each other in different ways. But since we are now speaking of instructing the unlearned, I can testify to you of myself, that I feel differently when I see standing before me to be catechized, an educated man, a dull man, a citizen, a stranger, a rich, poor, private, noble, man, one set in some office of authority, a person of this or

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

that nation, of this or that age or sex, coming from this or that school, coming from this or that common error, and accordingly as I feel differently moved, does my discourse set out, advance, and conclude. And because, when all have a claim on us for the same love, yet is not the same medicine to be used for all; so love itself in like manner is in travail with some, is made weak together with others, some it seeks to edify, others it trembles to cause to offend, to some it stoops, to others it carries itself erect, to some it is gentle, to others severe, to none as an enemy, to all as a mother. And he who has not tried what I say with the same feeling of love, when he sees us, because some little ability bestowed upon us affords pleasure, become known with praise in the mouth of the multitude, hence thinks us happy: but may God, into Whose presence the groaning of them that are in bondage enters, behold our humiliation and labour, and pardon us all our sins. Wherefore if any thing in us has pleased you, so as to make you seek from us some directions for your discourse, you would be better able to learn thoroughly by seeing and hearing us when actually so employed, than by reading when we thus dictate.

Ps. 79, 11. Ps. 54, 18.

xvi. 24. But let us suppose one come to us, who wishes to be a Christian, one of the class of ordinary persons, yet not a rustic, but a citizen, such of whom you must necessarily meet with many in Carthage, and that, upon being asked whether it be for the sake of any advantage in this present life, or for the sake of that rest which is hoped for after this life, that he desires to become a Christian, he have answered that it is for the sake of rest hereafter, we might perhaps proceed to instruct him in some such address as this: "Thanks be to God, brother: I heartily give you joy, and am glad on your behalf, that in the so great and so dangerous storms of this present world you have come to think on some true and assured safety. For even in this life men endure great labours seeking rest and safety, but through evil lusts find them not. For they seek to rest in things which are unquiet and which abide not, and because as time passes on, these are withdrawn from them and pass away, therefore are they disturbed by fears and griefs, nor suffered to remain at rest. For whether a man seek to rest in riches, he is rendered proud rather than

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

secure. See we not how many have lost them on a sudden, how many also have perished because of them, either through desiring to possess them, or through being overcome and spoiled of them by men more covetous than themselves. And even if they continued with a man through his whole life, and never deserted their lover, yet would he desert them at his death. For what is the life of man, even if he grow to be old? Or, when men wish for old age for themselves, what else do they wish for, but lengthened infirmity? So also the honours of this world, what are they but puff, and emptiness, and peril of falling? For thus says holy Scripture, *All flesh is grass, and the brightness of man as the flower of grass. The grass is withered, the flower fallen, but the word of the Lord abideth for ever.* Wherefore he who desires true rest and true happiness, ought to remove his hope from things that are mortal and pass away, and to set it upon the word of God, so that cleaving to that which abides for ever, he also himself may with it abide for ever.

Isa. 40, 6—8.

25. "There are also men who neither seek to be rich, nor go about to obtain the vain splendours of the honours of office; but who seek to have their pleasure and rest in places of feasting and fornications, and in theatres and spectacles of frivolity, such as in great cities they have without cost. But so these also either consume in luxury their poor means, and then afterwards through want break out into thefts and burglaries, and some even into open robberies; and so on a sudden are filled with many and great fears, and they who a little before were singing gaily in the tavern, are now dreaming of the wailings of the prison. But so eagerly are their minds set on the games, that they become like unto devils, by their cries exciting men to wound one another, and to have violent conflicts with those who have never harmed them, seeking to gratify thereby a maddened people, and then, if they perceive them to be peaceably-minded, they hate and persecute them, and demand by their cries that they be beaten with clubs, as if they had combined to deceive them, and this iniquity they compel even the Judge, who is the avenger of all iniquity, to commit: but if, on the other hand, they perceive them practising fearful acts of hatred against one another, whether they be what are called Sintæ, or actors

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

or buffoons, or charioteers, or hunters, wretches whom they cause to contend and fight, not only men with men, but also men with beasts; the greater the hatred with which they perceive them to rage one against another, the more they like them, and are pleased with them, and applaud them when thus set on, and set them on by their very plaudits, the very spectators madly raging one against another, each in behalf of some one, even more than those whose madness they madly are provoking, and in their madness desire to be spectators of. How then can the mind retain the soundness of peace, which thus feeds on strifes and contests? For such as the food is which is taken in, such will be the state of health which is consequent on it. Finally, although frantic joys are not joys, yet let them be what they will, and delight how much soever they may, the boastfulness of riches, and the swelling of honours, the riotous expenditure of the tavern, and the contests of the theatres, the impurity of fornication, and the lust of the baths, all these things one slight fever takes away, and withdraws from men even yet continuing in life all their false happiness: there remains a void and wounded conscience, about to feel that God as a Judge, whom it would not have as a Protector, and to find a stern Lord, in Him whom it would not seek and love as a gracious Father. But thou, in that thou seekest the true rest which is promised to Christians, after this life, shalt even have among the most bitter troubles of this life, taste of its sweetness and pleasantness, if only thou love His commandments, Who hath promised thee that rest. For you will soon feel that the fruits of righteousness are sweeter than those of iniquity, and that a man has more true and pleasant joy in a good conscience in the midst of troubles, than in an evil conscience in the midst of delights, seeing that you have not come to be joined to the Church of God, with the view of seeking any temporal advantage from it.

xvii. 26. "For there are those who therefore wish to be Christians either that they may oblige men, from whom they expect temporal advantages; or because they are unwilling to offend those whom they fear. But such are reprobate; and, although for a time the Church bears them, as the threshing-floor the chaff even until the time of winnowing:

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

such if they amend not themselves, and begin to be Christians in order to that future eternal rest, shall in the end be separated. Nor let them flatter themselves, because that in the threshing-floor they may be together with the wheat of God: seeing that they shall not be together with it in the barn, but are designed for the fire which is their due. There are also others of better hope indeed, yet in no less danger; such as already fear God, and do not mock the Christian name, nor enter the Church of God with feigned heart, but who expect happiness in this life, who look to be more happy in earthly things, than those who do not worship God: and therefore when they see certain wicked and impious persons prevailing and excelling in that worldly prosperity, and themselves either in a less degree possessing, or else losing these things, they are disturbed, as if their worship of God were without cause, and readily fall away from the faith.

Matt. 3, 12.

27. "But he who seeks to become a Christian in order to that eternal blessedness and perpetual rest, which after this life, it is promised, shall be for the Saints, that he go not into fire everlasting with the devil, but enter with Christ into His everlasting kingdom, he truly is a Christian; watchful in every trial, that he be not corrupted by prosperity, and that he be not overcome by adversity; both sober and temperate in the abundance of worldly goods, and strong and patient in tribulations. And such an one will go forward and come at last to such a mind, as to love God more than he fears hell; so that, although God were to say to him, Enjoy the pleasures of the flesh for ever, and sin as much as you can, you shall neither die nor be sent into hell, only you shall not be with Me, he would be greatly afraid, and altogether refuse to sin, not now to avoid falling into that which he once feared, but to avoid offending Him Whom he so loves, in Whom alone is rest, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what God hath prepared for them that love Him.

Mat. 25, 34. 41.

1 Cor. 2, 9.

28. "Concerning which rest Scripture signifies, and is not silent, how that from the beginning of the world, from the time that God made the heaven and the earth and all things that are in them, in six days He worked, and on the seventh day rested. For it was in the power of the Omnipotent even

Gen. 2, 1—3.

in one moment of time to create all things. For He had not laboured, that He should require rest, for *He spake, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created;* but to signify, that after six ages of this present world, in the seventh age, as though on the seventh day, he will hereafter rest in His Saints, in that they also will rest in Him after all the good works, wherein they have served Him, which Himself worketh in them, Who calls them, and charges them, and puts away their past sins, and justifies him who before was ungodly. But as, when they, of His gift, work what is good, He is rightly said Himself to work in them; so when they rest in Him, He is rightly said Himself to rest. For as far as concerns Himself, He, in that He feels not labour, seeks not for cessation. For He created all things by His Word; and His Word is Christ Himself, in Whom the Angels and all the spirits of heaven most pure do rest in holy silence. But man fallen by sin, lost that rest which he possessed in His Godhead, and receives it again in His Manhood: and therefore in due time, when He Himself knew it fitting to be done, He was made Man, and born of a woman. From the flesh assuredly He could receive no defilement, being about rather Himself to cleanse the flesh. His future coming the ancient Saints by the revelation of the Spirit knew and prophesied of: and so were saved by believing that He will come, as we are saved by believing that He is come: that we might love God Who hath so loved us, as to send His only Son, that He, clothed in the humiliation of our mortal nature, might die both by sinners and for sinners. For now long ago from the earliest ages, the depth of this mystery ceases not to be prefigured and prophesied of.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS. Ps. 148, 5.

29. "Seeing that Almighty God, Who is both good, and just, and merciful, Who made all things good, whether they be great or small, whether they be high or low, whether they be the things which are seen, as are the heavens, the earth, and the sea; and in the heavens the sun and the moon and the rest of the stars, and in the earth, and in the sea, trees and plants and animals each after their kind, and all bodies whether celestial or terrestrial; or whether they be the things which are not seen, as are spirits by which bodies are xviii.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

fraught with motion and life; He made man also after His own image, that, as He Himself by His Almighty power rules over the whole creation, so man by his understanding, by which also he knows and worships his Maker, might rule over all animals of the earth. And He made woman also as a helpmate for him, not for carnal concupiscence: since neither did they then possess corruptible bodies, before that mortality came upon them as the punishment of sin; but that both the man might have glory of the woman in going before her to God, and might be to her an example of sanctity and piety, as he himself was the glory of God in following His wisdom.

30. "Therefore he set them in a certain place of perpetual blessedness, which Scripture calls Paradise; and gave them a command, which if they transgressed not, they were to continue ever in that blessedness of immortality; but if they transgressed it, they were to pay the penalties of mortality. God however knew before that they would transgress; but, in that He is the Creator and Author of all good, He the rather created them, seeing that He created beasts also, that He might fill the earth with earthly good things. And assuredly man, even a sinner, is better than the beast; and His command, which they were not about to obey, He the rather gave them, that they might be without excuse, when He began to execute judgment upon them. For whatsoever man doeth, he findeth God in all His doings worthy of praise; if He do well, he findeth Him worthy of praise for His righteous rewards, if he sin, he findeth Him worthy of praise for His righteous punishments; if he confess his sins and return to a right life, he findeth Him worthy of praise for His merciful indulgence. towards him. Why then should God not create man, although knowing before that he would sin, whom standing firm He might crown, falling correct, arising assist, Himself at all times and in all circumstances glorious in His goodness, justice, clemency? especially in that he foresaw this also, that from the lineage of his mortality there would be born Saints, who should not seek their own, but give glory to their Creator, and being, through the worshipping of Him, freed from all corruption, should merit to live for ever, and to live in blessedness with the holy

Angels. For He Who gave to men freedom of choice, that they might serve God, not, as slaves, of compulsion, but, as free men, voluntarily, gave it also to Angels, and therefore neither did that Angel, who with other spirits his followers in his pride, deserted the service of God, and became a devil, in any sort harm God, but himself. For God knew how to correct the souls[1] which deserted Him, and out of their just misery to furnish the inferior parts of His creation with most fitting and suitable laws in His marvellous dispensation. Therefore neither did the devil in any sort harm God, either in that he fell himself, or in that he seduced man to his death; nor did man himself in any sort take away from the truth, or power, or blessedness of his Creator, in that, when his wife had been seduced by the devil, he of his own will consented unto her to do that which God had forbidden. For by the most just laws of God all were condemned, God shewing Himself glorious in the justice of His retribution, they being put to shame by the disgrace of their punishment, that so both man turning away from his Creator might be subdued and made subject to the devil, and the devil might be set forth for man hereafter returning to his Creator to overcome; in order that whosoever should continue with the devil even to the end, might with him go into eternal punishment; and, on the other hand, whosoever should humble themselves before God, and by His grace overcome the devil, might merit eternal rewards.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

[1] rather 'spirits,' see Retract. l.2.c.14. cited at the beginning of this treatise p. 187.

31. "Neither ought this to move us, that many continue with the devil, and few follow God, seeing that the wheat also, in comparison of the chaff, is very much less in number[2]. But as the husbandman knows what to do with a vast heap of chaff, so is the multitude of sinners nothing in the eye of God, Who knows what to do with them, so as in no way to disturb and defile the government of His kingdom. Nor must we therefore think that the devil hath prevailed, because he hath taken with him many, that with them he be overcome by a few. Thus two cities, one of the wicked, the other of the Saints, are carried down from the beginning of the human race even to the end of the world; now united in their bodies, but separated in their wills, but in the day of Judgment destined to be separated in their

xix.

[2] Butler, Anal. part. i. c. 5. Gen. 2, 3.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

bodies also. For all men who love pride and temporal rule, with vainglorying and pomp of arrogance, and all spirits who delight in such things, and seek their own glory in the having mankind as their subjects, are all found together in one fellowship, nay although they often strive one with another for these things, yet are they cast headlong into the same abyss by like weight of desire, and united to one another by similarity in habits and deserts. And again, all men and all spirits who humbly seek the glory of God, not their own, and religiously follow Him, belong to one fellowship. And yet God is most full of mercy, and is long-suffering with ungodly men, and affords them place for repentance and amendment.

32. "For in that also He destroyed by a flood all men, except one just man and his family, who He willed should be saved by the ark, He knew assuredly that they would not amend themselves; nevertheless, whiles during a hundred years the ark was built, herein certainly was still preached to them the wrath of God about to come upon them; and if they would return to God, He would spare them, as He spared in after times the city of Nineveh upon its doing penance, when by His Prophet He had foretold their coming destruction. But this God does, granting opportunity for repentance even to them who He knows will go on and continue in their sin, in order by His own example to exercise and instruct us in patience; that we may understand with how great long-suffering we ought to bear with the bad, seeing that we know not what kind of men they will hereafter be, since He spares them and suffers them to live, from Whom nothing future is hidden. And yet further in that Sacrament of the Flood, wherein the just were delivered by the Wood, the future Church was prophesied of, which Christ its King and God hath by the mystery of His Cross upheld and kept from the drowning of this world. For God was not ignorant, that even from them who had been preserved in the ark, evil men would be born, who should a second time fill the face of the earth with their iniquities, yet notwithstanding He both set forth a pattern of the future Judgment, and foretold the setting free of His Saints by the Sacrament of the Wood. For even after these things evil

Gen. 6, 7.

Jonah 3.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

ceased not to spring up again through pride and lusts and unlawful impieties, when men having deserted their Creator, not only fell as low as the creature which God had created, so as to worship in the place of God that which God had made; but they also bowed down their souls even to the works of men's hands, and to the devices of craftsmen, that herein the devil and evil spirits might triumph over them more shamefully, who take pleasure in that themselves in such vain devices receive adoration and worship, feeding their own errors by the errors of mankind.

33. "Nor were there wanting then just men, such as sought God devoutly and overcame the pride of the devil, citizens of that holy City, whom the coming humiliation of their King Christ, revealed to them by the Spirit, healed. From among whom Abraham the devout and faithful servant of God was chosen, that to him should be shewed the Sacrament of the Son of God, that so in following his faith, all the faithful of all nations might be called in future ages his children. From him was born a People who should worship the One true God, Who made heaven and earth, at a time when all other nations served idols and demons. And manifestly in this People was the future Church much more clearly prefigured. For in it there was a multitude who were carnal, and who worshipped God in order to obtain blessings such as may be seen; but in it also there were a few, whose thoughts were of a future rest, their desires set on a heavenly country, to whom was revealed in prophecy the future humiliation of God, our King and Lord Jesus Christ, in order that by that faith they might be healed from all pride and haughtiness. But of these Saints, who lived before the time of the birth of our Lord, not only their discourse, but their life also, their marriages, their sons, their actions, were a prophecy of this present time, in which through faith in the Passion of Christ, the Church is gathered together from among the nations. By the hands of those holy Patriarchs and Prophets were ministered to the carnal People of Israel, who afterwards were called Jews, both these visible blessings which they carnally desired of the Lord, and such chastisements of punishments for the body as might for a time affright them, as was fitting

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

for their hardness of heart. And yet, in all these, spiritual mysteries were signified, such as related to Christ and His Church; of which Church these very Saints also were members, although in this life they were before that Christ our Lord was born according to the flesh. For He Himself, the only-begotten Son of God, The Word of the Father, equal and coeternal with the Father, by Whom all things were made, was made Man for us, that of the Church, as of the whole body, He might be the Head. But as at the time of the birth of the whole man, although the hand be put forth first in the birth, yet is it united and joined together with the whole body under the head, as certain also among the Patriarchs themselves, to signify this very thing, were born when the hand had been sent forth first: so all the Saints who were upon earth before the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, although born before, yet to that one Body, of which He is the Head, they were united under the Head.

Gen. 25, 26. & 38, 27—30.

xx. 34. "This People then having gone down into Egypt were in subjection to a very cruel King; and taught by their grievous labours, sought for God to be their Deliverer; and there was sent unto them one from among the people themselves, God's holy servant Moses, who in the might of God terrifying by miracles the then ungodly nation of the Egyptians, led out thence the People of God through the Red Sea, where the water divided and made a way for them to pass through; but when the Egyptians pursued them, the waters returned upon them, and overwhelmed them, and they perished. So, in like manner as by the flood the earth by water was cleansed from the wickedness of sinners, who were then in that overflowing of waters blotted out, and the Just escaped by the Wood: so when the People of God went out of Egypt, they found a path through the very waters by which their enemies were swallowed up. Nor was the Sacrament of the Wood wanting there also. For Moses smote with a rod, that so that miracle might come to pass. Now both these things are a sign of holy Baptism, in which the faithful pass into a new life, and their sins, as it were their enemies, are blotted out and die. But more openly was the Passion of Christ prefigured among that People, in that they were commanded to slay and eat a

lamb, and with part of his blood to mark their door-posts, and to celebrate this every year, and to call it the Lord's Passover. Surely most clearly does prophecy say of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, *He was led as a lamb to the slaughter*. With the Sign of Whose Passion and of Whose Cross thou art to-day to be signed in thy forehead, as on the door-post, and all Christian people are thus signed.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS. Is. 53, 7.

35. "After this, that People were led during forty years through the Wilderness; they also received the Law written by the Finger of God, by which word the Holy Spirit is signified, as is most clearly shewn in the Gospel. For God is not limited by any bodily form, nor are we to conceive of parts and fingers in Him in the same manner as we see them in ourselves; but because through the Holy Spirit God's gifts are divided to the Saints, in order that, being endued with different powers they yet may not separate from the bond of love, and that in fingers especially is seen a certain division, and yet no cutting off from unity; whether it be for this, or for whatsoever other cause, the Holy Ghost is called the Finger of God, yet must we not, when we hear this, have in our thoughts the form of a human body. This People, then, received the Law written by the Finger of God, and that in tables of stone, to signify the hardness of their hearts, in that they were not about to fulfil the Law; seeing that through desiring temporal gifts at the hand of the Lord, they were held by carnal fear rather than by spiritual love; but the Law, nothing save charity can fulfil. Therefore were they laden with many visible sacraments, that so they might be weighed down by a servile yoke, in observances of meats; and in sacrifices of animals, and numberless other things; which yet were signs of spiritual things relating to our Lord Jesus Christ and the Church; which at that time a few Saints both understood so as to gain from them the fruit of salvation, and observed as was suited to the times, whereas the multitude of carnal men merely observed, and did not understand them.

Numb. 14, 33. Deut. 29, 5. Exodus 24, 12; 31, 18. Luke 11, 20.

36. "Thus through many and various signs of future things, all which things it would take time to mention, and which we now see fulfilled in the Church, that People were led to the Land of Promise, wherein to reign after a temporal

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

and carnal fashion according as was their desire; which very earthly kingdom notwithstanding bore an image of an heavenly Kingdom. There was built Jerusalem, that most famous City of God, serving in bondage as a sign of that free City which is called the Heavenly Jerusalem, which is a Hebrew word, and by interpretation the 'Vision of Peace.' The citizens of which are all sanctified men, who have been, and who are, and who hereafter shall be; and all sanctified spirits, even all whosoever in the highest heavens obey God with godly devotion, and follow not the impious pride of the devil and his angels. The King of this City is our Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, by Whom the highest Angels are ruled, and the Word taking to Himself Man, that by Him men also might be ruled, who all together with Him shall reign in eternal peace. To prefigure this King in that earthly kingdom of the people of Israel king David was especially set forth, of whose seed according to the flesh should come our very and true King, the Lord Jesus Christ,

Gal. 4, 25. 26.

Rom. 9, 5. *Who is over all, God blessed for ever.* Many things in that Land of Promise were done to be a figure of Christ Who should come, and of the Church, which you will be able to learn by degrees in the sacred Books themselves.

xxi. 37. "Again, some generations after, God shewed another type, relating greatly to the matter of which we are speaking. For that city was brought into captivity, and a great portion led away into Babylon. But as Jerusalem signifies the city and fellowship of the Saints, so does Babylon signify the city and fellowship of the wicked, being by interpretation 'confusion.' Concerning which two cities from the beginning of the human race even to the end of the world moving on, the one blended with the other, in all changes of times, and hereafter in the last Judgment appointed to be separated, we have already spoken a little above. That captivity then of the city of Jerusalem, and that People led away to Babylon, are commanded to go into slavery by the Lord, through Jeremiah, a Prophet of that time. And there were found kings of Babylon, under whom they were in bondage, who by occasion of their captivity, moved by certain miracles, learned to know, and worshipped, and commanded to be worshipped, the One true God, Who framed the whole creation. And

Jer. 29, 5—7.

Dan. 2, 47; 3, 29; 6, 26. Bel 41.

they were also ordered both to pray for those by whom they were kept captives, and in their peace to hope for peace, to beget children, and to build houses, and to plant gardens and vineyards. But after seventy years there is promised them delivery from that captivity. But all this signified under a figure that the Church of Christ in all its Saints, who are citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, was to be in bondage under the kings of this world. For the teaching also of the Apostle says, that *every soul be subject to the higher powers*, and that there be rendered *all things to all men, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom;* and all other things which, saving our duty of worship to God, we render to the princes of the order of human society: since the Lord Himself, that He might give us an example of this sound teaching, refused not to vouchsafe to pay tribute for that individual Manhood[1] wherein he was clothed. Still further, Christian servants and good believers are commanded to serve their temporal masters faithfully and with willing minds, whom hereafter they will judge, if even to the last they shall find them unrighteous, or with whom they shall reign together in common, if they too shall turn unto the true God. Yet all are commanded to be subject to the powers that are of man and of this earth, until at the end of an appointed time, which is signified by the seventy years, the Church be set free from the confusion of this world, as Jerusalem from the captivity of Babylon. By occasion of which captivity the kings of the earth themselves, having deserted their idols, in whose behalf they used to persecute the Christians, have learned to know, and do worship, the one true God and the Lord Christ; for whom the Apostle Paul orders prayer to be made, even when they persecuted the Church. For he thus says, *I beseech therefore that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for kings, for all men, and all that are in high station, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life with all godliness and love.* Thus by these very persons peace has been given to the Church, although it be only temporal, temporal quiet to build up houses after a spiritual manner, and to plant gardens and vineyards. For see, you yourself, at this very instant, we are by this discourse building

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

Jer. 25, 12.

Rom. 13, 1. 7.

Mat. 17, 26. 27.

[1] 'capite hominis'

1 Tim. 2, 1. 2.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

up and planting. And this is doing all over the world, with peaceable allowance of Christian kings, as the same Apostle says, *Ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building.*

1 Cor. 3, 9.

38. 'And after seventy years, the number which Jeremiah had prophesied of in a mystery, to prefigure the end of times, to the end that the figure itself might be made perfect, there was in Jerusalem a rebuilding of the Temple of God: but in that the whole was done in a figure, there was no sure peace and liberty given to the Jews. Therefore they were afterwards conquered by the Romans, and made tributary. In truth from that very period at which they received the Land of Promise, and began to have kings, that they might not suppose that the promise of Christ as their Deliverer was fulfilled in the person of any of their kings, Christ was in many prophecies prophesied of more openly; not only by David himself in the book of Psalms, but by the rest both great and holy Prophets, even to the time of their going captive to Babylonia; and in the very captivity there were Prophets who prophesied of the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Deliverer of all. And after that the seventy years were past, and the Temple was restored, the Jews suffered at the hands of the kings of the Gentiles so great oppression and distress, that they might understand that their Deliverer was not yet come, concerning Whom they understood not that He should deliver them after a spiritual manner, but longed for Him in order to a carnal deliverance.

xxii.

Gen. 6, 22.

Gen. 17, 4. Rom. 12, 16.

39. "Now when five ages of the world were accomplished, of which the first is from the beginning of the human race, that is, from Adam, who was the first man created, down to Noe, who made the ark at the time of the flood: after this the second extends down to Abraham, who was called the Father of all nations, which should follow his faith, but who yet in the way of descent from his own flesh, was the Father of the future Jewish People, which one People, before the Christian Faith was embraced by the Gentiles, alone among all those in all the earth worshipped the One True God, of which very People according to the flesh our Saviour Christ should come. For these distinct periods of two ages are very prominent to the old Books, but those of the other three are declared likewise in the Gospel, where the descent ac-

cording to the flesh of the Lord Jesus Christ is stated. For the third is from Abraham down to king David: the fourth from David down to that captivity in which the People of God passed into Babylon; the fifth from that passing into Babylon down to the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, from the time of Whose coming is the sixth age; that now that spiritual grace, which then was known to a few Patriarchs and Prophets, might be made manifest to all nations: that no man might worship God except freely[1], not seeking at His hands such rewards for the service as are seen, and happiness in the present life, but only life eternal, in which to enjoy God Himself: in order that in this sixth age man's mind may be renewed after the image of God, as on the sixth day man was created after the image of God. For then also is the Law fulfilled, when, not through desire of temporal things, but through love of Him Who hath commanded, all things whatsoever He commanded are done. But who but must desire earnestly to love in return a most just and merciful God, Who so first loved men, that were most unjust and proud, as for their sake to send His only Son, by Whom He made all things: Who being made Man, not by any change of Himself, but by taking unto Himself Man, might not only live with them, but also be slain for them and by them?

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS. Matt. 1, 17.

[1] gratis

Gen. 1, 27.

40. "Therefore making known the New Testament of our eternal inheritance, wherein man renewed by the grace of God might live a new life, that is, a spiritual life; that He might shew the first to be old, wherein a carnal people, in the character of the old man, (excepting a few Patriarchs and Prophets who understood, and certain hidden Saints,) living after a carnal manner desired carnal rewards at the hand of the Lord God, and received them as a figure of spiritual good things: therefore the Lord Christ being made Man, despised all the good things of the earth, in order to shew us that they are to be despised: and endured all the evils of the earth which He enjoined us are to be endured: that neither happiness might be sought in the one, nor unhappiness feared in the other. For being born of a mother, who, (although she had conceived undefiled by man, and continued ever undefiled, virgin in her conception, virgin in her bringing forth, virgin in her death,) yet had been espoused to a

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

carpenter, He extinguished all the pride of nobility of birth after the flesh. And in that He was born also in the city of Bethlehem, which among all the cities of Judah was so small, that it is at this day called a village, it was not His will that any should glory in the greatness of any earthly city. Also He was made poor, Whose are all things, and by Whom all things were made, that no one, who believed in Him, might dare to be elated on account of earthly riches. He would not be made a King by men; because He was shewing the way of humility to wretched beings, whom pride had separated from Him, although all creation bear witness to His ever eternal reign. He was hungry, Who feeds all men: He was thirsty, by Whom is created every thing that is drunk, and Who is spiritually the bread of the hungry, and the fountain of the thirsty: He was wearied with His earthly journey, Who hath made Himself the way for us to heaven: He was, as it were, dumb and deaf before His revilers, by Whom the dumb spake, and the deaf heard: He was bound, Who loosed from the bands of infirmities: He was scourged, Who drave out of men's bodies the scourges of all pains: He was put to the torment of the Cross[1], Who put an end to all our torments[2]: He died, Who raised the dead. But He arose also never more to die, that no one from Him might learn so to despise death, as if he were never hereafter to live.

[1] 'crucifixus.'
[2] 'cruciatus.'

xxiii. 41. "Then having confirmed the Disciples, and having conversed with them during forty days, in the sight of these same He ascended up into heaven: and when fifty days were accomplished after His resurrection, He sent to them the Holy Spirit, (for so He had promised,) by Whom having love shed abroad in their hearts, they might fulfil the law not only without feeling it a burden, but even with gladness of heart. Now this Law was given to the Jews in ten Commandments, which they call the Decalogue. And these again are reduced to two, that we love God with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and that we love our neighbour as ourselves. For that on these two Commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets, our Lord Himself hath both said in the Gospel, and by His own example shewn. For in the case likewise of the People of Israel, from the day on

Mat. 22, 37—40.

which they first celebrated the Passover in a figure, killing and eating the lamb, with whose blood their door-posts were marked as a safeguard: from this very day then the fiftieth day was fulfilled, and they received the Law written by the Finger of God, by which word we have already said that the Holy Spirit is signified: so after the Passion and Resurrection of the Lord, which is the true Passover, on the fiftieth day the Holy Spirit Himself was sent to the Disciples, now no longer by tables of stone signifying the hardness of their hearts; but when they were assembled together in one place at Jerusalem itself, there was on a sudden a sound from heaven, as of the rushing of a mighty blast, and there appeared unto them tongues divided as of fire, and they began to speak with tongues, so that all who had come to them recognised each his own tongue, (for to that city there were wont to assemble Jews from every land, wheresoever they had been dispersed, and had learnt the different tongues of the different nations.) After this, preaching Christ with all confidence, they worked many signs in His Name, insomuch that, as Peter passed by a certain dead man, his shadow touched him, and he arose again.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

Ex. 12. Ex. 19, l. 16; see §. 35.

Acts 2, 1—11.

Acts 5, 15.

42. But when the Jews saw that so great signs were being done in His Name, Whom, partly through envy, and partly through ignorance, they had crucified, some were provoked to persecute the Apostles who preached Him; others, however, wondering the more at that very thing, that in His Name, Whom they had mocked as borne down and overcome by themselves, so great miracles were being done, repenting, were converted, and believed on Him, to the number of some thousands of the Jews. These were no longer desiring at the hand of God temporal benefits and an earthly kingdom, nor looking for Christ, their promised King, after a carnal manner: but understanding in the way of immortality, and loving Him Who had endured so great things in the way of mortality for them at their own hands, and had forgiven them their sins even to the sin of His own bloodshedding, and by the example of His resurrection had held forth immortality as what they were to hope for and desire of Him. Therefore now, mortifying the earthly desires of the old man, and burning with the newness of spiritual life, according as the

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

Lord in the Gospel had enjoined, they sold all that they had, and laid the prices of their properties at the feet of the Apostles, that they might distribute to each as each had need, and living in Christian love and concord, they said not that any thing was their own, but they had all things common, and were of one soul and of one heart towards God. Afterwards themselves also suffered persecution in the flesh from the Jews, their carnal fellow-citizens, and were dispersed abroad, that so by their being dispersed the name of Christ might be preached more widely, and themselves likewise imitate the patience of their Lord: in that He Who had meekly suffered them[1], commanded them to become meek and to suffer for His sake.

Acts 2, 44. 4, 34.

Acts 4, 32—35.

Acts 8, 1. 4.

[1] 'eos.' See Heb. 12, 3.

43. "Of the number of these persecutors of the Saints was the Apostle Paul, who also raged extremely against the Christians: but afterwards, believing and being made an Apostle, he was sent to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, enduring more grievous things for the name of Christ than he had done against the name of Christ. But when he was founding Churches throughout all the nations where he preached the Gospel, he earnestly enjoined them, that, (since they, coming from the worship of idols, and unskilled to worship the one true God, could not easily serve God with selling and making distribution of their property,) they should make collections for those poor ones of the Saints who were in the Churches of Judæa which had believed in Christ; thus the teaching of the Apostle appointed the one to be, as it were, soldiers, the others, as it were, tributaries of the provinces: placing Christ in the midst as a corner-stone, (according as had been foretold of Him by the Prophet,) in Whom both, as walls coming together from different points, that is to say, from the Jews and from the Gentiles, might be united in true kindred affection. But afterwards more grievous and frequent persecutions arose from the nations who believed not against the Church of Christ, and day by day was the Lord's saying fulfilled, when He prophesied, *Behold, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves.*

Ps. 118, 22.

Is. 28, 16.

Mat. 10, 16.

xxiv. 44. "But that vine which was spreading abroad her fruitful branches throughout the whole world, as had been prophesied of her, and as the Lord Himself had foretold, made

larger shoots, the more richly she was watered with the blood of the martyrs. And as throughout all lands countless numbers died for the truth of the faith, the very persecuting kingdoms gave way, and bowed the neck of pride, and turned themselves to know and worship Christ. But it was fitting that this same vine, as had been often foretold by the Lord, should be pruned, and the unfruitful branches cut off from it, by which heresies and schisms in different places were caused under the name of Christ, by men who sought not His glory, but their own, by whose differences the Church might be more and more exercised, and both its doctrine and its patience be proved and made clear.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

John 15, 2.

45. "All these things therefore, as we read of them foretold so long before, so also do we perceive them accomplished; and as the first Christians, in that they as yet saw not the coming to pass of these things, were by miracles moved to believe; so we, in that all these things have been so fulfilled, as we read them in the Books, which were written long before these things were fulfilled, wherein all things were spoken of as future, and are now seen as present, are built up unto faith, to believe, enduring and abiding in the Lord, that those things also which remain will without any doubt come to pass. Seeing that we still read of future tribulations in the same Scriptures, and of that last day, the Day of Judgment, wherein all the citizens of both these cities will receive again their bodies and arise, and give an account of their life before the Judgment-seat of Christ the Judge. For He will come in the brightness of His power, Who before deigned to come in the humiliation of His humanity, and will separate all the godly from the ungodly, not only from them who altogether would not believe in Him, but from them also who believed in Him in vain and without fruit; about to give to the one an eternal kingdom with Himself, to the others eternal punishment with the devil. But as no joy springing from temporal things can be found in any way like the Joy of Eternal Life, which the Saints are hereafter to receive; so no torment of temporal punishments can be compared to the eternal torments of the wicked.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

XXV.

46. "Wherefore, brother, strengthen yourself in His Name and His help, in Whom you believe, against the tongues of them who make a mock at our faith, by whose mouth the devil speaketh seducing words, chiefly seeking to make a mock at faith in the resurrection. But do you, of yourself, believe that you will be, now that you have been, seeing that, whereas before you were not, you now see that you are. For where was that bulk of body, and that form and knitting-together of limbs a few years ago, before you were born, or even before you were conceived in your mother's womb? where was this bulk and this stature of your body? Came it not forth to light from the hidden secrets of this creation, the Lord God invisibly forming it, and rose up to this greatness and figure, by the determinate increase which each age ministered? How then is it at all matter of difficulty with God, Who in a moment draws together the very piles of the clouds out of His secret place, and covers the heavens in an instant of time, to restore that quantity of thy body as it was, in that He was able to make it as it was not? Let thy belief therefore be strong and unshaken, that things which seem, as though they perished, to be withdrawn from human eyes, are safe and entire to the omnipotence of God; Who when He shall so will, will renew them without any delay or difficulty, that is, such only as his Justice judges meet to be renewed: in order that men may give an account of their actions in these very bodies in which they performed them; and in these may deserve either the change unto heavenly incorruption according to the deserts of their godliness, or a condition of body subject to corruption according to the deserts of their unrighteousness, not such as death may bring to dissolution, but such as may afford material for eternal pains.

47. "Flee therefore by faith unmoveable and a good life, flee, brother, those torments, wherein neither do the tormentors fail, nor the tormented die; to whom it is never-ending death, to be unable, in the midst of torments, to die. And go on to glow with love and desire of the life eternal of the Saints, wherein neither action will be attended with toil, nor rest with sloth; wherein will be the praise of God continuing and unfailing; no irksome feeling in the

mind, no sense of fatigue in the body, no want, either of your own for you to desire relief, or of your neighbour's for you to hasten to administer it. God will be all the delight and fulness of that holy City, in Him and of Him living in wisdom and blessedness. For we shall be made, as, according to His promise, we hope and look for, equal to the Angels of God, and equally with them have the enjoyment of that Trinity then by sight, in Which we now walk by faith. For we believe what we see not, that by the very merits of this our faith we may deserve to see also, and to cleave to, that which we believe; that so the equality of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and the Unity of the very Trinity, in what manner these three are One God; these things, we may now no longer cause to be heard in the words of Faith, and in syllables of loud utterance, but may in that silence drink them in by most pure and glowing contemplation.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

Luke 20, 36. 2 Cor. 5, 7.

48. "These things keep fixed in thy heart, and call upon that God in Whom thou believest, that He defend thee against the temptations of the devil: and be on thy guard, lest that enemy creep upon thee secretly from any quarter, who for a most malicious comfort in his own damnation seeks for others with whom he may be condemned. For he dares to tempt the Christian, not by means of them only, who hate the Christian name, and grieve that the world hath been overspread by that Name, and who wish still to be servants of idols, and of the curious superstitions of demons; but by means of those also whom a little above we mentioned, as cut off from the unity of the Church, as when the vine is pruned, who are called heretics or schismatics, does he attempt at times the very same thing. Notwithstanding at times also he attempts it, and endeavours to seduce men by means of the Jews. But especially is this to be guarded against, that each man be not tempted and deceived by means of men who are in the Catholic Church itself, whom it bears like the chaff until the time of its winnowing. For on this account is God long-suffering towards them, both that He may by means of their frowardness confirm, by exercising, the faith and wisdom of His elect, and because of their number many go forward, and taking pity upon their

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

own souls are turned with great earnestness to do things pleasing to God. For not all by reason of the longsuffering of God treasure up unto themselves wrath in the day of wrath of His righteous judgment; but many this same longsuffering of the Almighty leads to most wholesome sorrow of repentance. And until this take place, by means of them is tried not only the longsuffering of them who already hold the right way, but also their pity. You are about therefore to see many drunkards, covetous, deceivers, gamesters, adulterers, fornicators, men who bind on themselves sacrilegious charms, given up to enchanters, astrologers, diviners, using all kinds of impious acts. You will notice also that the very crowds fill the churches on the festival-days of the Christians, which fill the theatres also on the solemn days of the Pagans: and as you see these things, you will be tempted to imitate them. And why say I, you will see, what even now assuredly you are aware of? For you are not ignorant, that many who are called Christians are workers of all these evil works, which I have briefly noticed. And at times, perhaps, you are not unaware that men, whom you know to be called Christians, do more grievous things than these. But if the mind with which you have come be this, to do these things as if safe, you are in much error: nor will the name of Christ profit you, when He shall have begun to execute most severe Judgment, Who before deigned to aid us with the greatest mercy. For He Himself foretold these things, and thus speaks in the Gospel; *Not every one that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doeth the will of My Father. Many shall say unto Me in that day, Lord, Lord, in Thy Name we have eaten and drunken.* To all therefore who continue in such works the end is condemnation. When therefore you shall see many not only doing these things, but even defending and counselling them, keep thyself close to the law of God, and follow not those that transgress it. For not according to their understanding, but according to His truth, thou shalt be judged.

Matt. 7, 21. 22.

49. " Unite yourself to the good, whom you see love with you your King. For you will find many, if you also begin to be such yourself. For if at spectacles you used to wish

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

to be with them, and to cleave to them who joined with you in loving charioteer, or hunter, or player of any kind; how much more ought you to be pleased to be united to those, who join with you in loving God, Who never will put any man that loves Him to the blush of shame, in that not only is He incapable of being overcome, but He will also render them that love Him unconquerable. And yet not even in good men themselves, who either go before you, or go with you to God, ought you to place your hope, seeing that neither ought you to place it in your own self, however great progress you may make, but in Him Who by justifying you maketh them and you such. For thou art sure of God, in that He changes not; but of man, no one is wisely sure. But if we ought to love those who are not yet just, in order that they may be so, with how much greater warmth of affection are they to be loved, who are already so? But it is one thing to love man, another thing to place our hope in man: and the difference is so great, as that God commands the one, forbids the other. But if you shall suffer any either insults or troubles for the name of Christ, and not fall from the faith, nor err from the good way, you will receive a greater reward; but they who in these things yield to the devil, lose even the less. But be thou humble before God, that he suffer thee not to be tempted beyond thy strength."

50. After this discourse he is to be asked whether he xxvi.
believe these things, and desire to observe them. And upon his replying that he does, then must he be duly signed, and treated after the manner of the Church. Concerning the Sacrament indeed[a] which he is receiving, when it hath been well impressed upon him, that things visible are indeed signs of things invisible, but that in them the things invisible themselves are honoured: and that that kind[1] consecrated by prayer is not so to be esteemed of, as it is esteemed of in any ordinary use, it is to be mentioned what signifies also the language[2] which he has heard, and what in him That

[1] 'speciem.'

[2] i. e. the form of words used.

[a] 'sane.' Ben. suggests 'salis,' 'of salt,' (which is the meaning, but cannot well be the *reading*,) quoting Conf. i. §. 11. "And now was I signed with the sign of His Cross, and seasoned with His salt, even from my mother's womb." Of the ceremonies used in making a catechumen, see Martene, b. i. c. i. art. 6 & 7. Rituale Romanum de Sacr. Bapt. Goar, Euch. Gr. p. 334.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

doth season, the likeness of Which that matter bears. Afterwards taking occasion from this we must admonish him, that if he hear any thing even in the Scriptures which has a carnal sound, although he understand it not, yet that he believe that something spiritual is signified, relating to holiness of conduct, and a future life. This however he learns thus briefly, that, whatever he shall hear out of the Canonical books, which he is not able to refer to the love of eternity and of truth and of holiness, and to the love of our neighbour, this he believes to have been spoken or done under a figure; and that he endeavour so to understand it, as to refer it to that twofold love. So also that he understand not his 'neighbour' after a carnal sense, but every one who may be with himself in that holy City, whether already so, or whether he be not yet seen: and that he despair of no man's amendment, whom he sees living through the long-suffering of God for no other end, as the Apostle says, except this, that he be brought to repentance.

Rom. 2, 4.

51. If this discourse appear to you long, in which I have supposed myself instructing an unlearned man, it is in your power to state these things more briefly; longer however than this I think not it ought to be; although it makes a great difference what the case itself at the time may suggest, and what our auditors actually present may shew, that they not only endure, but even desire. When however it is necessary to be quick, observe how easily the whole matter may be set forth. Again, suppose one to come, who wishes to be a Christian; then that upon being questioned, he have given the same answer as the former; seeing that even if he do not make this answer, we must say that he ought to have made it; upon this we must put together all else we have to say in the manner following.

52. 'Truly, brother, that is great and true blessedness which is promised to the Saints in another life: whilst all visible things pass away, and all the pomp of this world, and its overcarefulness, will perish, and are drawing with them to destruction those who love them. From which destruction, that is, from eternal punishment, God in His mercy willing to deliver men, if they be not their own enemies, and resist not the mercy of their Creator, sent His only-begotten Son,

that is, His Word coequal with Himself, by Which He made all things. And He, continuing indeed in His own Divinity, and departing not from the Father, neither changed in any thing, yet by taking unto Himself Man, and appearing unto men in mortal flesh, came to men: and as by one man who was first created, that is, Adam, death entered into the human race, in that he consented unto his wife, when she was seduced by the devil, to transgress together the commandment of God; so by one Man, Who is also God, the Son of God, Jesus Christ, all past sins being blotted out, all that believe in Him might enter into eternal life. DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

53. 'For all things which you now see taking place in the Church of God, and in the Name of Christ throughout the whole world, were already foretold ages before, and as we read of them, so do we see them, and are thence built up unto faith. At one time there came a flood over the whole earth, that sinners might be blotted out; and yet they who escaped in the ark, shewed a sacrament of the future Church, which now is floating on the waves of this world, and by the wood of the Cross of Christ is delivered from being overwhelmed. It was prophesied to Abraham, a faithful servant of God, one single man, that of him should be born a People, who should worship the one God, among the rest of the nations who worshipped idols; and all things which were foretold to happen to that People, came to pass even as they were foretold. For Christ also, Who is King of all Saints, and God, was prophesied of among that People, as about to come of the seed of Abraham himself, according to the flesh, which He took to Himself, that all might be sons likewise of Abraham who should follow his faith: Christ was born of Mary, a virgin, who was of that race. It was foretold by the Prophets that He should suffer on the Cross by that very People of the Jews, of whose race according to the flesh He came: and so it was done. It was foretold that He should rise again: He rose again, and, according to the very predictions of the Prophets, He ascended into heaven, and sent to His disciples the Holy Spirit. It was foretold not only by the Prophets, but also by the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, that His Church should be over the whole world, spread abroad by martyrdoms and sufferings of the Saints: xxvii.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

and foretold then, when as yet His Name was both hidden from the nations, and made a mock at, where known; and yet in the might of His miracles, whether those which of Himself, or which through His servants He wrought, whilst these things are being proclaimed and believed, we now see what was foretold fulfilled, and the very kings of the earth, who before persecuted Christians, brought into subjection to the yoke of Christ. It was foretold also that schisms and heresies would go forth out of His Church, and in His name, in places where they were able, would seek their own glory, not Christ's. And these things have been fulfilled.

54. 'Whether then will not those things which remain come to pass? It is clear that, as they being foretold came to pass, so also will these things: whatsoever afflictions of the righteous yet remain, and the day of Judgment, which will separate all the ungodly from the righteous in the resurrection of the dead: and not only them that are without the Church, but also the chaff of the Church itself, which she must endure with all long-suffering until the last winnowing, will it separate unto the fire which is their due. But they who make a mock at the resurrection, as thinking that this flesh, in that it becomes corrupt, cannot rise again, will rise again in it to punishment: and God will shew them, how that He Who could make their bodies before they were, can in a moment restore them as they were. But all the faithful, about to reign with Christ, shall so rise again in the same body, as to deserve also to be changed unto angelic incorruption; that they may be made equal to the Angels of God, as the Lord Himself promised; and may praise Him without any failing, and without any weariness, ever living in Him, and of Him, with such joy and blessedness, as can neither be spoken of, nor thought of by man.

Luke20, 36.

55. 'Do you therefore, believing these things, beware of temptations, (because the devil seeks them who may perish with him,) that not only by means of those who are without the Church, whether they be Pagans, or Jews, or Heretics, that enemy deceive thee not; but also that you follow not those whom you shall see in the very Catholic Church living ill, either without moderation in the pleasures of the belly and the throat, or unchaste, or given up to vain, over-curious,

or unlawful acts, whether they be of the nature of spectacles, or charms, or divinations by means of devils, or living in the pomp and arrogance of covetousness and pride, or in any life which the law condemns and punishes: but rather that you join yourself to the good, whom you will easily discover, if you also begin to be such; that together you may worship and love God without looking for reward; because He Himself will be all our reward, to enjoy in that life His goodness and beauty. But He is to be loved, not in the same manner as any thing which is seen with the eyes, but as wisdom is loved, and truth, and holiness, and righteousness, and charity, and if there be any thing else which we call of this sort, not after the manner in which these things exist among men, but as they exist in the very well-spring of incorruptible and unchangeable Wisdom. Whomsoever therefore you shall see love these things, join thyself to them, that through Christ, Who was made Man, that He might be the Mediator between God and men, thou mayest be reconciled to God. But perverse men, although they enter the walls of the Church, yet think not that they will enter into the kingdom of heaven, because when their time comes they will be separated, if they change not for the better. Follow therefore good men, bear with evil men, love all; since you know not what he will be to-morrow, who to-day is evil. Yet love not their unrighteousness, but therefore love themselves, that they may lay hold of righteousness; because not only is the love of God commanded us, but the love of our neighbour also, on which two commandments hangs the whole Law and the Prophets. Which no man fulfils, but he only who hath received the Gift, the Holy Spirit, Who is assuredly coequal with the Father and the Son, seeing that this very Trinity is God; in Which God is to be placed all our hope. For in man it must not be placed, let him be of what sort soever he will. For He by Whom we are justified, is one thing; they, with whom we are justified, are another. But the devil tempts not only through lusts, but also through terrors of insults, and of pains, and of death itself. But whatever a man shall have suffered for the name of Christ, and for the hope of eternal life, and shall have endured continuing firm, the greater reward shall be

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

Mat. 22, 37—40.

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.

given him; but if he shall yield to the devil, he shall be condemned with him. But works of mercy, together with godly humility, obtain from the Lord, that He suffer not His servants to be tempted more than they are able to bear.

S. AUGUSTINE

OF

CONTINENCE.

St. Augustine speaks of his work on Continence in Ep. 262, *ad Darium Comitem.* Possidius Ind. c. 10. mentions it, and it is cited in the Collectanea of Bede or Florus, and by Eugypius. Erasmus is therefore wrong in ascribing it to Hugo on the ground of the style, which is not unlike that of the earlier discourses. It is evidently a discourse, and probably for that reason unnoticed in the Retractations. The Manichæan heresy is impugned after the manner of his early works. *Ab. from Ben.*

DE CONTINENTIA. i.

1. It is difficult to treat of the virtue of the soul, which is called Continence, in a manner fully suitable and worthy; but He, Whose great gift this virtue is, will help our littleness under the burden of so great a weight. For He, Who bestows it upon His faithful ones when they are continent, Himself gives discourse of it to His ministers when they speak. Lastly, of so great a matter purposing to speak what Himself shall grant, in the first place we say and prove that Continence is the gift of God. We have it written in the Book of Wisdom, that no one can be continent, unless God grant it. But the Lord, concerning that greater and more glorious Continence itself, whereby there is continence from the marriage bond, says, *Not all can receive this saying, but they to whom it is given.* And since marriage chastity also itself cannot be guarded, unless there be Continence from unlawful intercourse, the Apostle declared both to be the gift of God, when He spake of both lives, that is, both that of marriage and that without marriage, saying, *I would that all men were so as myself; but each hath his own gift from God; one in this manner, another in that manner.* Wisd. 8, 21. Mat. 19, 11. 1 Cor. 7, 7.

2. And lest it should seem that necessary Continence was to be hoped for from the Lord only in respect of the lust of the lower parts of the flesh, it is also sung in the Psalm; *Set, O Lord, a watch to my mouth, and a door of Continence around my lips.* But in this witness of the divine Ps. 141, 3.

DE CONTINENTIA.

speech, if we understand 'mouth' as we ought to understand it, we perceive how great a gift of God Continence there set is. Forsooth it is little to contain the mouth of the body, lest any thing burst forth thence, which is not for the better, through the sound of the voice. For there is, within, the mouth of the heart, where he, who spake these words, and wrote them for us to speak, desired of the Lord that the watch and door of Continence should be set for him. For many things we say not with the mouth of the body, and cry aloud with the heart: but there goes forth from the mouth of the body no word of any thing, whereof there is silence in the heart. Therefore what flows not forth thence, sounds not abroad: but what flows forth thence, if it be evil, although it move not the tongue, defiles the soul. Therefore Continence must be set there, where the conscience even of them who are silent speaks. For it is brought to pass by means of the door of Continence, that there go not forth thence that, which, even when the lips of the flesh are closed, pollutes the life of him that hath the thought.

ii. 3. Lastly, to shew more plainly the inner mouth, which
Ps. 141, 4. by these words he meant, after having said, *Set a watch, O Lord, to my mouth, and a door of Continence around my lips*, he added straightway, *Cause not my heart to fall aside into evil words.* The falling aside of the heart, what is it but the consent? For he hath not yet spoken, whosoever in his heart hath with no falling aside of the heart consented unto suggestions that meet him of each several thing that is seen. But, if he hath consented, he hath already spoken in his heart, although he hath not uttered sound by the mouth; although he hath not done with hand or any part whatever of the body, yet hath he done what in his thought he hath already determined that he is to do: guilty by the divine laws, although hidden to human senses; the word having been spoken in the heart, no deed having been committed through the body. But in no case would he have moved the limb without, in a deed, the beginning of which deed had not gone before within in word. For it is no lie that is written, that *The beginning of every work is a word.* Forsooth men do many things with mouth closed, tongue quiet, voice bridled; but yet they do nothing by work of the body,

Ecclus. 37, 16. LXX.

which they have not before spoken in the heart. And through this since there are many sins in inward sayings which are not in outward deeds, whereas there are none in outward deeds, which do not go before in inward sayings, there will be purity of innocence from both, if the door of Continence be set around the inward lips. DE CONTINENTIA.

4. For which cause our Lord Himself also with His own mouth saith, *Cleanse what are within, and what are without will be clean.* And, also, in another place, when He was refuting the foolish speeches of the Jews, in that they spake evil against His disciples eating with unwashen hands; *Not what entereth into the mouth*, said He, *defileth the man: but what cometh forth out of the mouth, that defileth the man.* Which sentence, if the whole of it be taken of the mouth of the body, is absurd. For neither doth vomit defile him, whom food defileth not. Forsooth food entereth into the mouth, vomit proceedeth forth out of the mouth. But without doubt the former words relate to the mouth of the flesh, where He says, *Not what entereth into the mouth defileth the man*, but the latter words to the mouth of the heart, where He saith, *But what proceedeth forth out of the mouth, this defileth the man.* Lastly, when the Apostle Peter sought of Him an explanation of this as of a parable, He answered, *Are ye also yet without understanding? understand ye not, that whatsoever entereth into the mouth, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught?* Here surely we perceive the mouth of the flesh, into which the food enters. But in what He next adds, in order that we might recognise the mouth of the heart, the slowness of our heart would not follow, did not the Truth deign to walk even with the slow. For He saith, *But what things go forth from the mouth, go out of the heart;* as though He should say, When you hear it said *from the mouth*, understand 'from the heart.' I say both, but I set forth one by the other. The inner man hath an inner mouth, and this the inner ear discerns: what things go forth from this mouth, go out of the heart, and they defile the man. Then having left the term mouth, which may be understood also of the body, He shews more openly what He is saying. *For from the heart go out*, saith He, *evil*

Mat. 23, 26.

Mat. 15, 11.

Mat. 15, 17—20.

DE CONTINENTIA.

thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies; these are what defile the man. There is surely no one of those evils, which can be committed also by the members of the body, but that the evil thoughts go before and defile the man, although something hinder the sinful and wicked deeds of the body from following. For if, because power is not given, the hand is free from the murder of a man, is the heart of the murderer forsooth therefore clean from sin? Or if she be chaste, whom one unchaste wishes to commit adultery with, hath he on that account failed to commit adultery with her in his heart? Or if the harlot be not found in the brothel, doth he, who seeks her, on that account fail to commit fornication in his heart? Or if time and place be wanting to one who wishes to hurt his neighbour by a lie, hath he on that account failed already to speak false witness with his inner mouth? Or if any one fearing men, dare not utter aloud blasphemy with tongue of flesh, is he on this account guiltless of this crime, who saith in his heart, *There is no God.* Thus all the other evil deeds of men, which no motion of the body performs, of which no sense of the body is conscious, have their own secret criminals, who are also polluted by consent alone in thought, that is, by evil words of the inner mouth. Into which he (the Psalmist) fearing lest his heart should fall aside, asks of the Lord that the door of Continence be set around the lips of this mouth, to contain the heart, that it fall not aside into evil words: but contain it, by not suffering thought to proceed to consent: for thus, according to the precept of the Apostle, sin reigneth not in our mortal body, nor do we yield our members as weapons of unrighteousness unto sin. From fulfilling which precept they are surely far removed, who on this account turn not their members to sin, because no power is allowed them: and if this be present, straightway by the motions of their members, as of weapons, they shew, who reigneth in them within. Wherefore, so far as is in themselves, they yield their members weapons of unrighteousness unto sin; because this is what they wish, which for this reason they yield not, because they are not able.

Ps. 14, 1.

Rom. 6, 12. 13.

5. And on this account that, which, the parts that beget being bridled by modesty, is most chiefly and properly to be

called Continence, is violated by no transgression, if the higher Continence, concerning which we have been some time speaking, be preserved in the heart. For this reason the Lord, after He had said, *For from the heart go forth evil thoughts*, then went on to add what it is that belongs to evil thoughts, *murders*, *adulteries*, and the rest. He spake not of all; but, having named certain by way of instance, He taught that we are to understand others also. Of which there is no one that can take place, unless an evil thought have gone before, whereby that is prepared within, which is done without, and going forth out of the mouth of the heart already defiles the man, although, through no power being granted, it be not done without by means of the members of the body. When therefore a door of Continence hath been set in the mouth of the heart, whence go out all that defile the man, if nothing such be permitted to go out thence, there followeth a purity, wherein now the conscience may rejoice; although there be not as yet that perfection, wherein Continence shall not strive with vice. But now, so long as *the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh*, it is enough for us not to consent unto the evils which we feel in us. But, when that consent takes place, then there goeth out of the mouth of the heart what defileth the man. But when through Continence consent is withheld, the evil of the lust of the flesh, against which the lust of the spirit fights, is not suffered to harm. DE CONTINENTIA. Gal. 5, 17.

6. But it is one thing to fight well, which now is, when the strife[1] of death is resisted; another thing not to have an adversary, which will then be, when death, *the last enemy*, shall be destroyed. For Continence also itself, when it curbs and restrains lusts, at once both seeks the good unto the immortality of which we aim, and rejects the evil with which in this mortality we contend. Of the one it is forsooth the lover and beholder, but of the other both the enemy and witness: both seeking what becomes, and fleeing what misbecomes. Assuredly Continence would not labour in curbing lusts, if we had no wishes contrary to what is becoming, if there were no opposition on the part of evil lust unto our good will. The Apostle cries aloud, *I know*, saith he, *that there dwelleth not in me, that is in my flesh, good. For to* iii. [1] (reading *ini-mícus*) 1 Cor. 15, 55. ib. 26. Rom. 7, 18.

DE CONTINENTIA.

will lieth near to me, but to accomplish good I find not. For now good can be done, so far as that there be no assent given unto evil lust: but good will be accomplished, when the evil lust itself shall come to an end. And also the same teacher of the Gentiles cries aloud, *I take pleasure together with the law of God after the inner man: but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind.*

Rom. 7, 22. 23.

7. This conflict none experience in themselves, save such as war on the side of the virtues, and war down the vices: nor doth any thing storm the evil of lust, save the good of Continence. But there are, who, being utterly ignorant of the law of God, account not evil lusts among their enemies, and through wretched blindness being slaves to them, over and above think themselves also blessed, by satisfying them rather than taming them. But whoso through the Law have come to know them, (*For through the Law is the knowledge of sin*, and, *Lust*, saith he, *I knew not, unless the Law should say, Thou shalt not lust after*,) and yet are overcome by their assault, because they live under the Law, whereby what is good is commanded, but not also given: they live not under Grace, which gives through the Holy Spirit what is commanded through the Law: unto these the Law therefore entered, that in them the offence might abound. The prohibition increased the lust, and made it unconquered: that there might be transgression also, which without the Law was not, although there was sin, *For where there is not Law, neither is there transgression.* Thus the Law, Grace not helping, forbidding sin, became over and above the strength of sin: whence the Apostle saith, *The Law is the strength of sin.* Nor is it to be wondered at, that man's weakness even from the good Law added strength to evil, whilst it trusts to fulfil the Law itself of its own strength. Forsooth being ignorant of the righteousness of God, which He gives unto the weak, and wishing to establish his own, of which the weak is void, he was not made subject to the righteousness of God, reprobate and proud. But if the Law, as a schoolmaster, lead unto Grace one made an offender, as though for this purpose more grievously wounded, that he may desire a Physician; against the baneful sweetness, whereby lust prevailed, the Lord gives a sweetness that

Rom. 3, 20.
Rom. 7, 7.
Rom. 5, 20.
Rom. 4, 15.
1 Cor. 15, 56.
Rom. 10, 3.

worketh good, that by it Continence may the more delight, and *our land giveth her fruit*, whereby the soldier is fed, who by the help of the Lord wars down sin. DE CONTINENTIA. Ps. 85, 12.

8. Such soldiers the Apostolic trumpet enkindles for battle with that sound, *Therefore let not*, saith he, *sin reign in your mortal body to obey its lusts; nor yield your members weapons of unrighteousness unto sin; but yield yourselves unto God, as living in place of dead, and your members weapons of righteousness unto God. For sin shall not rule over you. For ye are not under the Law, but under Grace.* And in another place, *Therefore*, saith he, *brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh. For if ye shall live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if by the Spirit ye shall mortify the deeds of the flesh, ye shall live. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God.* This therefore is the business in hand, so long as this our mortal life under Grace lasts, that sin, that is the lust of sin, (for this he in this place calls by the name of sin,) reign not in this our mortal body. But it is then shewn to reign, if obedience be yielded to its desires. There is therefore in us lust of sin, which must not be suffered to reign; there are its desires, which we must not obey, lest obeying it reign over us. Wherefore let not lust usurp our members, but let Continence claim them for herself; that they be weapons of righteousness unto God, that they be not weapons of unrighteousness unto sin; for thus sin shall not rule over us. For we are not under the Law, which indeed commandeth what is good yet giveth it not: but we are under Grace, which, making us to love that which the Law commands, is able to rule over the free. Rom. 6, 12. 13. 14. Rom. 8, 12. 13. 14.

9. And also, when he exhorts us, that we live not after the flesh, lest we die, but that by the Spirit we mortify the deeds of the flesh, that we may live; surely the trumpet which sounds, shews the war in which we are engaged, and enkindles us to contend keenly, and to do our enemies to death[1], that we be not done to death by them. But who those enemies are, it hath set forth plainly enough. For those are they, whom it willed should be done to death by us, that is to say, the works of the flesh. For so it saith, *But if by the Spirit ye shall mortify the deeds of the flesh, ye shall live.* And in order that we may know what these

[1] mortificare

DE CONTINENTIA.

are, let us hear the same in like manner writing unto the Galatians, and saying, *But the works of the flesh are manifest, which are, fornications, uncleannesses, luxuries, idolatry, witchcrafts, hatreds, contentions, emulations, wraths, strifes, heresies, envyings, drunkennesses, revellings, and such like; of which I foretel to you, as I have foretold, that they who do such things shall not possess the kingdom of God.* For the very war there also was he shewing, that he should speak of these, and unto the death-doing of these enemies was he calling up the soldiers of Christ by the same heavenly and spiritual trumpet. For he had said above, *But I say, walk in the Spirit, and perform ye not the lusts of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh. For these are opposed one to the other, that ye do not what ye would. But if ye are led by the Spirit, ye are not under the Law.* Therefore being set under Grace, he would have them have that conflict against the works of the flesh. And in order to point out these works of the flesh, he added what I have mentioned above. *But the works of the flesh are manifest, which are, fornications,* and the rest, whether what he mentioned, or whether what he admonished were to be understood, chiefly as he added, *and such like.* Lastly, in this battle, against what is in a manner the carnal army leading forth as it were another spiritual line, *But the fruit of the Spirit is,* saith he, *charity, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faith, gentleness, continence; against such there is no law.* He saith not 'against these,' lest they should be thought to be alone: although even were he to say this, we ought to understand all, whatever goods of the same kind we could think of: but he saith, *against such,* that is to say, both these and whatsoever are such like. However, in that among the goods of which he made mention, he set Continence in the last[a] place, (concerning which we have now undertaken to treat, and on account of which we have already said much,) he willed that it should in an especial manner cleave to our minds. Forsooth this same is of great avail in this case, wherein the Spirit lusteth against the flesh; forasmuch as in a certain way it crucifies the lusts of the

Gal. 5, 19—21.

Gal. 5, 16—18.

Gal. 5, 22. 23.

[a] Vulg. adds, '*patientia, modestia, castitas.*'

flesh. Whence, after the Apostle had thus spoken, he added straightway, *But they who are Jesus Christ's have crucified their own flesh, with the passions and lusts.* This is the acting of Continence: thus the works of the flesh are done to death. But they do to death those, whom falling away from Continence lust draweth into consent to do such works. DE CONTINENTIA. Gal. 5, 24.

10. But in order that we fall not away from Continence, we ought to watch specially against those snares of the suggestions of the devil, that we presume not of our own strength. For, *Cursed is every one that setteth his hope in man.* And who is he, but man? We cannot therefore truly say that he setteth not his hope in man, who setteth it in himself. For this also, to 'live after man,' what is it but to 'live after the flesh?' Whoso therefore is tempted by such a suggestion, let him hear, and, if he have any Christian feeling, let him tremble. Let him hear, I say, *If ye shall live after the flesh, ye shall die.* iv. Jer. 17, 5.

11. But some one will say to me that it is one thing to live after man, another thing to live after the flesh; because man forsooth is a rational creature, and there is in him a rational soul, whereby he differs from the beast: but the flesh is the lowest and earthly part of man, and thus to live after it is faulty: and for this reason, he who lives after man, assuredly lives not after the flesh, but rather after that part of man, whereby he is man, that is, after the spirit of the mind whereby he excels the beasts. But this discussion is perhaps of some force in the schools of philosophers: but we, in order to understand the Apostle of Christ, ought to observe in what manner the Christian books are used to speak; at any rate it is the belief of all of us, to whom to live is Christ, that Man was taken unto Himself by the Word of God, not surely without a rational soul, as certain heretics will have it; and yet we read, *The Word was made flesh.* What is to be here understood by 'flesh,' but Man? *And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.* What can be understood, but all men? *Unto Thee shall all flesh come.* What is it, but all men? *Thou hast given unto Him power over all flesh.* What is it, but all men? *Of the works of the Law shall no flesh be justified.* What is it, but no man shall John 1, 14. Luke 3, 6. Ps. 65, 2. John 17, 2. Rom. 3, 20.

DE CONTINENTIA.

be justified? And this the same Apostle in another place confessing more plainly saith, *Man shall not be justified of the works of the Law.* The Corinthians also he rebukes, saying, *Are ye not carnal, and walk after man?* After he had called them carnal, he saith not, ye walk after the flesh, but after man, forasmuch as by this also what would he have understood, but after the flesh? For surely if to walk, that is, to live, after the flesh deserved blame, but after man deserved praise, he would not say by way of rebuke, *ye walk after man.* Let man recognise the reproach; let him change his purpose, let him shun destruction. Hear thou man: walk not thou after man, but after Him Who made man. Fall not thou away from Him Who made thee, even unto thyself. For a man said, who yet lived not after man, *Not that we are sufficient to think any thing from ourselves, as though of ourselves: but our sufficiency is of God.* Consider if he lived after man, who spake these things with truth. Therefore the Apostle, admonishing man not to live after man, restores man to God. But whoso liveth not after man, but after God, assuredly liveth not even after himself, because himself also is a man. But he is therefore said also to live after the flesh, when he so lives; because also when the flesh alone hath been named, man is understood, as we have already shewn: just as when the soul alone hath been named, man is understood: whence it is said, *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers*, that is, every man; and, *Seventy-five souls went down into Egypt with Jacob*, that is, seventy-five men. Therefore live thou not after thyself, O man: thou hadst thence perished, but thou wast sought. Live not then, I say, after thyself, O man; thou hadst thence perished, but thou wast found. Accuse not thou the nature of the flesh, when you hear it said, *If ye shall live after the flesh, ye shall die.* For thus could it be said, and most truly could it, If ye shall live after yourselves, ye shall die. For the devil hath not flesh, and yet, because he would live after himself, *he abode not in the truth.* What wonder therefore, if, living after himself, *when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own*, which the Truth spake truly of him.

Gal. 2, 16.
1 Cor. 3, 3.
2 Cor. 3, 5.
Rom. 13, 1.
Gen. 46, 27.
Rom. 8, 13.
John 8, 44.

V.

12. When, therefore, you hear it said, *Sin shall not reign*

Rom. 6, 14.

over you; have not thou confidence of thyself, that sin reign not over thee, but of Him, unto Whom a certain Saint saith in prayer, *Direct my paths after Thy Word, and let no iniquity have dominion over me.* For lest haply, after that we had heard, *sin shall not reign over you,* we should lift up ourselves, and lay this to our own strength, straightway the Apostle saw this, and added, *For ye are not under the Law, but under Grace.* Therefore, Grace causeth that sin reign not over you. Do not thou, therefore, have confidence of thyself, lest it thence reign much more over thee. And, when we hear it said, *If by the Spirit ye shall mortify the deeds of the flesh, ye shall live,* let us not lay this so great good unto our own spirit, as though of itself it can do this. For, in order that we should not entertain that carnal sense, the spirit being dead rather than that which putteth others to death, straightway he added, *For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God.* Therefore that by our spirit we may mortify the works of the flesh, we are led by the Spirit of God, Who gives Continence, whereby to curb, tame, overcome lust.

DE CONTINENTIA.

Ps. 119, 133.

Rom. 8, 13.

Rom. 8, 14.

13. In this so great conflict, wherein man under Grace lives, and when, being aided, he fights well, rejoices in the Lord with trembling, there yet are not wanting even to valiant warriors, and mortifiers however unconquered of the works of the flesh, some wounds of sins, for the healing of which they may say daily, *Forgive us our debts:* against the same vices, and against the devil the prince and king of vices, striving with much greater watchfulness and keenness by the very prayer, that his deadly suggestions avail not aught, whereby he further urges the sinner to excuse rather than accuse his own sins; and thus those wounds not only be not healed, but also, although they were not deadly, yet may be pressed home to grievous and fatal harm. And here therefore there is need of a more cautious Continence, whereby to restrain the proud appetite of man; whereby he is self-pleased, and unwilling to be found worthy of blame, and disdains, when he sins, to be convicted that he himself has sinned; not with healthful humility taking upon him to accuse himself, but rather with fatal arrogance seeking to find an excuse. In order to restrain this pride, he, whose

Matt. 6, 12.

DE CONTINENTIA.

Ps. 141, 3. 4.

words I have already set down above, and, as I could, commended, sought Continence from the Lord. For, after that he had said, *Set, O Lord, a watch to my mouth, and a door of Continence around my lips. Make not my heart to fall aside unto evil words;* explaining more clearly whereof he spake this, he saith, *to make excuses in sins.* For what more evil than these words, whereby the evil man denies that he is evil, although convicted of an evil work, which he cannot deny. And since he cannot hide the deed, or say that it is well done, and still sees that it is clear that it was done by him, he seeks to refer to another what he hath done, as though he could remove thence what he hath deserved. Being unwilling that himself be guilty, he rather adds to his guilt, and by excusing, not accusing, his own sins, he knows not that he is putting from him, not punishment, but pardon. For before human judges, forasmuch as they may be deceived, it seems to profit somewhat for the time, to cleanse as it were what hath been done amiss by any deceit whatever; but before God, Who cannot be deceived, we are to use, not a deceitful defence, but a true confession of sins.

14. And some indeed, who are used to excuse their own sins, complain that they are driven to sin by fate, as though the stars had decreed this, and heaven had first sinned by decreeing such, in order that man should after sin by committing such, and thus had rather impute their sin to fortune: who think that all things are driven to and fro by chance accidents, and yet contend that this their wisdom and assertion is not of chance rashness, but of ascertained reason. What madness then is it, to lay to reason their discussions, and to make their actions subject to accidents! Others refer to the devil the whole of what they do ill: and will not have even a share with him, whereas they may suspect whether he by hidden suggestions hath persuaded them to evil, and on the other hand cannot doubt that they have consented to those suggestions, from whatever source they have come. There are also they who extend their defence of self unto an accusation of God, wretched by the divine judgment, but blasphemers by their own madness. For against Him they bring in from a contrary principle a substance of evil rebelling, which He could not have resisted, had He not blended with

that same that was rebelling a portion of His own Substance and Nature, for it to contaminate and corrupt; and they say that they then sin when the nature of evil prevails over the nature of God. This is that most unclean madness of the Manichæans, whose devilish devices the undoubted truth most easily overthrows; which confesses that the nature of God is incapable of contamination and corruption. But what wicked contamination and corruption do they not deserve to have believed of them, by whom God, Who is good in the very highest degree, and in a way that admits not of comparison, is believed to be capable of contamination and corruption? DE CONTINENTIA.

15. And there are also they who in excuse of their sins so accuse God, as to say that sins are pleasing to Him. For, if they were displeasing, say they, surely by His most Almighty power He would by no means suffer them to take place. As though indeed God suffered sins to be unpunished, even in the case of those whom by remission of sins He frees from eternal punishment! No one forsooth receives pardon of more grievous punishment due, unless he hath suffered some punishment, be it what it may, although far less than what was due: and the fulness of mercy is so conveyed, as that the justice also of discipline is not abandoned. For also sin, which seems unavenged, hath its own attendant punishment, so that there is no one but by reason of what he hath done either suffers pain from bitterness, or suffers not through blindness. As therefore you say, Why doth He permit those things, if they are displeasing? so I say, Why doth He punish them, if they are pleasing? And thus, as I confess that those things would not take place at all, unless they were permitted by the Almighty, so confess thou that what are punished by the Just One ought not to be done; in order that, by not doing what He punishes, we may deserve to learn of Him, why He permits to exist what He punishes. For, as it is written, *solid food is for the perfect*, wherein they who have made good progress already understand, that it pertained rather unto the Almighty power of God, to allow the existence of evils coming from the free choice of the will. So great forsooth is His Almighty goodness, as that even of evil He can make good, either by pardoning, or by vi. Heb. 5, 14.

DE CONTINENTIA.

healing, or by fitting and turning unto the profit of the pious, or even by most justly taking vengeance. For all these are good, and most worthy a good and Almighty God: and yet they are not made save of evils. What therefore better, what more Almighty, than He, Who, whereas He maketh no evil, even of evils maketh well? They who have done ill cry unto Him, *Forgive us our debts;* He hears, He pardons. Their own evils have hurt the sinners; He helps and heals their sicknesses. The enemies of His people rage; of their rage He makes martyrs. Lastly, also, He condemns those, whom He judges worthy of condemnation; although they suffer their own evils, yet He doeth what is good. For what is just cannot but be good, and assuredly as sin is unjust, so the punishment of sin is just.

Matt. 6, 12.

16. But God wanted not power to make man such as that he should not be able to sin: but He chose rather to make him such, as that it should lie in his power[1] to sin, if he would; not to sin, if he would not; forbidding the one, enjoining the other; that it might be to him first a good desert not to sin, and after a just reward not to be able to sin. For such also at the last will He make His Saints, as to be without all power to sin. Such forsooth even now hath He His Angels, whom in Him we so love, as to have no fear for any of them, lest by sinning he become a devil. And this we presume not of any just man in this mortal life. But we trust that all will be such in that immortal life. For Almighty God Who worketh good even of our evils, what good will He give, when He shall have set us free from all evils? Much may be said more fully and more subtilly on the good use of evil; but this is not what we have undertaken in our present discourse, and we must avoid in it excess of length.

[1] cui adjaceret.

vii. 17. Now therefore let us return to that, wherefore we have said what we have. We have need of Continence, and we know it to be a divine gift, that our heart fall not away unto evil words, to make excuses in sins. But what sin is there but that we have need of Continence to restrain it from being committed, since it is this very Continence which, in case it have been committed, restrains it from being defended by wicked pride? Universally therefore we have

need of Continence, in order to turn away from evil. But to do good seems to pertain to another virtue, that is, to righteousness[1]. This the sacred Psalm admonishes us, where we read, *Turn away from evil, and do good.* But with what end we do this, it adds bye and bye, saying, *Seek peace, and ensue it.* For we shall then have perfect peace, when, our nature cleaving inseparably to its Creator, we shall have nothing of ourselves opposed to ourselves. This our Saviour also Himself would have us to understand, so far as seems to me, when He said, *Let your loins be girt, and your lamps burning.* What is it, to gird the loins? To restrain lusts, which is the work of continence. But to have lamps burning is to shine and glow with good works, which is the work of righteousness. Nor was He here silent with what end we do these things, adding and saying, *And you like unto men waiting for their Lord, when He cometh from the marriage.* But, when He shall have come, He will reward us, who have kept ourselves from those things which lust, and have done those things which charity hath bidden us: that we may reign in His perfect and eternal peace, without any strife of evil, and with the highest delight of good.

DE CONTINENTIA.

[1] justitiam.

Ps. 34, 14.

Luke 12, 35.

Luke 12, 36.

18. All we therefore, who believe in the Living and True God, Whose Nature, being in the highest sense good and incapable of change, neither doth any evil, nor suffers any evil, from Whom is every good, even that which admits of decrease, and Who admits not at all of decrease in His own Good, Which is Himself, when we hear the Apostle saying, *Walk in the Spirit, and perform ye not the lusts of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: For these are opposed one to another, that ye do not what ye would.* Far be it from us to believe, what the madness of the Manichees believes, that there are here shewn two natures or principles contrary one to another at strife, the one nature of good, the other of evil. Altogether these two are both good; both the Spirit is a good, and the flesh a good: and man, who is composed of both, one ruling, the other obeying, is assuredly a good, but a good capable of change, which yet could not be made save by a Good incapable of change, by Whom was created every good,

Gal. 5, 16. 17.

DE CONTINENTIA.

whether small or great; but how small soever, yet made by What is Great; and how great soever, yet no way to be compared with the greatness of the Maker. But in this nature of man, that is good, and well formed and ordered by One That is Good, there is now war, since there is not yet health. Let the sickness be healed, there is peace. But that sickness fault hath deserved, not nature hath had. And this fault indeed through the laver of regeneration the grace of God hath already remitted unto the faithful; but under the hands of the same Physician nature as yet striveth with its sickness. But in such a conflict victory will be entire soundness; and that, soundness not for a time, but for ever: wherein not only this sickness is to come to an end, but also none to arise after it. Wherefore the just man addresseth his soul

Ps. 103, 2. 3. and saith, *Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His returns; Who becometh propitious to all thy iniquities, Who healeth all thy sicknesses.* He becometh propitious to our iniquities, when He pardons sins: He heals sicknesses when He restrains evil desires. He becometh propitious unto iniquities by the grant of forgiveness: He heals sicknesses, by the grant of continence. The one was done in Baptism to persons confessing; the other is done in the strife to persons contending; wherein through His help we are to overcome our disease. Even now the one is done, when we

Matt. 6, 12. 13. James 1, 14. are heard, saying, *Forgive us our debts;* but the other, when we are heard, saying, *Lead us not into temptation. For every one is tempted,* saith the Apostle James, *being drawn away and enticed by his own lust.* And against this fault there is sought the help of medicine from Him, Who can heal all such sicknesses, not by the removal of a nature that is alien from us, but in the renewal of our own nature. Whence also the above-mentioned Apostle saith not, *Every one is tempted* by lust, but added, *by his own:* that he who hears

Ps. 41, 4. this may understand, how he ought to cry, *I said, Lord, have mercy upon me, heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee.* For it would not have needed healing, had it not

[1] vitiasset. corrupted[1] itself by sinning, so that its own flesh should lust against it, that is, itself should be opposed to itself, on that side, wherein in the flesh it was made sick.

viii. 19. For the flesh lusts after nothing save through the soul,

but the flesh is said to lust against the spirit, when the soul with fleshly lust wrestles against the spirit. This whole are we: and the flesh itself, which on the departure of the soul dies, the lowest part of us is not put away as what we are to flee from, but is laid aside as what we are to receive again, and, after having received it, never again to leave. But *there is sown an animal body, there shall rise again a spiritual body.* Then from that time the flesh will not lust after any thing against the spirit, when as itself also shall be called spiritual, forasmuch as not only without any opposition, but also without any need of bodily aliment, it shall be for ever made subject unto the spirit, to be quickened by Christ. Therefore these two things, which are now opposed the one to the other within us, since we exist in both, let us pray and endeavour that they may agree. For we ought not to think the one of them an enemy, but the fault, whereby the flesh lusteth against the spirit: and this, when healed, will itself cease to exist, and either substance will be safe, and no strife between either. Let us hear the Apostle; *I know,* saith he, *that there dwelleth not in me, that is, in my flesh, any good.* This certainly he saith; that the fault of the flesh, in a good thing, is not good; and, when this shall have ceased to exist, it will be flesh, but it will not be now corrupted, or faulty[1] flesh. And yet that this pertains to our nature the same teacher shews, by saying, first, *I know that there dwelleth not in me,* in order to expound which, he added, *that is, in my flesh, any good.* Therefore he saith that his flesh is himself. It is not then itself that is our enemy: and when its faults are resisted, itself is loved, because itself is cared for; *For no one ever hated his own flesh,* as the Apostle himself saith. And in another place he saith, *So then I myself with the mind serve the Law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin.* Let them hear that have ears. *So then I myself;* I with the mind, I with the flesh, but *with the mind I serve the Law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin.* How *with the flesh the law of sin?* was it at all by consenting unto fleshly lust? Far be it! but by having there motions of desires which he would not have, and yet had. But, by not consenting to them, with the mind he served the Law of God, and kept his members from becoming weapons of sins.

DE CONTINENTIA.

1 Cor. 15, 44.

Rom. 7, 18.

[1] vitiata vel vitiosa.

Eph. 5, 29.

Rom. 7, 25.

DE CONTINENTIA.

20. There are therefore in us evil desires, by consenting not unto which we live not ill: there are in us lusts of sins, by obeying not which we perfect not evil, but by having them do not as yet perfect good. The Apostle shews both, that neither is good here perfected, where evil is so lusted after, nor evil here perfected, whereas such lust is not obeyed. The one forsooth he shews, where he says, *To will is present with me, but to perfect good is not;* the other, where he says, *Walk in the Spirit, and perfect not the lusts of the flesh.* For neither in the former place doth he say that to do good is not with him, but *to perfect*, nor here doth he say, Have not *lusts of the flesh*, but *perfect not.* Therefore there take place in us evil lusts, when that pleases which is not lawful; but they are not perfected, when evil lusts are restrained by the mind serving the Law of God. And good takes place, when that, which wrongly pleases, takes not place through the good delight prevailing. But the perfection of good is not fulfilled, so long as by the flesh serving the law of sin, evil lust entices, and, although it be restrained, is yet moved. For there would be no need for it to be restrained, were it not moved. There will be at some time also the perfection of good, when the destruction of evil: the one will be highest, the other will be no more. And if we think that this is to be hoped for in this mortal state, we are deceived. For it shall be then, when death shall not be; and it shall be there, where shall be life eternal. For in that world[1], and in that kingdom, there shall be highest good, no evil: when there shall be, and where there shall be, highest love of wisdom, no labour of continence. Therefore the flesh is not evil, if it be void of evil, that is, of fault, whereby man was rendered faulty, not made ill, but himself making. For on either part, that is, both soul and body, being made good by the good God, himself made the evil, whereby he was made evil. From the guilt of which evil being already also set free through forgiveness[2], that he may not think what he hath done to be light, he yet wars with his own fault through continence. But far be it that there be any faults in such as reign in that peace which shall be hereafter; since in this state of war there are lessened daily in such as make progress, not sins only, but the very lusts also, with which, by not

Rom. 7, 18.

Gal. 5, 16.

[1] sæculo.

[2] indulgentiam

consenting, we strive, and by consenting unto which we sin. DE CONTINENTIA.

21. That, therefore, the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, that there dwelleth not in our flesh good, that the law in our members is opposed to the law of the mind, is not a mingling of two natures caused of contrary principles, but a division of one against itself caused through desert of sin. We were not so in Adam, before that nature, having listened to and followed its deceiver, had despised and offended its Creator: that is, not the former life of man created, but the latter punishment of man condemned. From which condemnation when set free by Grace, through Jesus Christ, being free they contend with their punishment, having received not as yet full salvation, but already a pledge of salvation: but when not set free, they are both guilty by reason of sins, and involved in punishments. But after this life for the guilty there will remain for ever punishment for their crime: for the free there will no more remain for ever either crime or punishment: but the good substances, spirit and flesh, will continue for ever, which God, Who is good, and incapable of change, created good although capable of change. But they will continue having been changed for the better, never from this time to be changed for the worse: all evil being utterly destroyed, both what man hath unjustly done, and what he hath justly suffered. And, these two kinds of evil perishing utterly, whereof the one is of iniquity going before, the other of unhappiness following after, the will of man will be upright without any depravity. There it will be clear and plain to all, what now many of the faithful believe, few understand, that evil is not a substance: but that, as a wound in a body, so in a substance, which hath made itself faulty, it hath begun to exist, when the disease hath commenced, and ceaseth to exist in it, when the healing hath been perfected. Therefore, all evil having arisen from us, and having been destroyed in us, our good also having been increased and perfected unto the height of most happy incorruption and immortality, of what kind shall either of our substances be? forasmuch as now, in this corruption and mortality, when as yet *the corruptible body weigheth down the soul;* and, what the Apostle saith, *the body is dead by reason of sin;* yet the Wisd. 9, 15. Rom. 8, 10.

DE CONTINENTIA.

same himself beareth such witness unto our flesh, that is, to our lowest and earthly part, as to say, what I made mention of a little above, *No one ever hated his own flesh.* And to add straightway, *but nourisheth and cherisheth it, as also Christ the Church.*

Eph. 5, 29.

ix. 22. I say not, therefore, with what error, but with what utter madness, do the Manichees attribute our flesh to some, I know not what, fabled 'race of darkness[1],' which they will have hath had its own nature without any beginning ever evil: whereas the true teacher exhorts men to love their own wives by the pattern of their own flesh, and exhorts them unto this very thing by the pattern also of Christ and the Church. Lastly, we must call to mind the whole place itself of the Epistle of the Apostle, relating greatly unto the matter in hand. *Husbands*, saith he, *love your wives, as Christ also loved the Church, and delivered Himself up for it, that He might sanctify it, cleansing it by the laver of the water in the word: that He might set forth unto Himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it may be holy and unspotted.* So, saith he, *husbands also ought to love their own wives, as their own bodies. Whoso loveth his own wife, loveth himself.* Then he added, what we have already made mention of, *For no man ever hated his own flesh, but nourisheth it, and cherisheth it; as also Christ the Church.* What saith the madness of most impure impiety in answer to these things? What say ye in answer to these things, ye Manichees; ye who wish to bring in upon us, as if out of the Epistles of the Apostles, two natures without beginning, one of good, the other of evil: and will not listen to the Epistles of the Apostles, that they may correct you from that sacrilegious perverseness? As ye read, *The flesh lusteth against the spirit*, and, *There dwelleth not in my flesh any good;* so read ye, *No one ever hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, as also Christ the Church.* As ye read, *I see another law in my members, opposed to the law of my mind;* so read ye, *As Christ loved the Church, so also ought men to love their own wives, as their own bodies.* Be not ye crafty in the former witnesses of Holy Scripture, and deaf in this latter, and ye shall be correct in both. For, if ye receive

[1] see de Ag. Christ. §. 4.

Eph. 5, 25—28.

Eph. 5, 29.

Gal. 5, 17.

Rom. 7, 18.

Rom. 7, 23.

the latter as right is, ye will endeavour to understand the former also as truth is.

DE CONTINENTIA.

23. The Apostle has made known to us certain three unions, Christ and the Church, husband and wife, spirit and flesh. Of these the former consult for the good of the latter, the latter wait upon the former. All the things are good, when, in them, certain set over by way of preeminence, certain made subject in a becoming manner, observe the beauty of order. Husband and wife receive command and pattern how they ought to be one with another. The command is, *Let wives be subject unto their own husbands, as unto the Lord; because the husband is the head of the wife;* and, *Husbands, love your wives.* But there is given a pattern, unto wives from the Church, unto husbands from Christ: *As the Church*, saith he, *is subject unto Christ, so also wives unto their own husbands in all things.* In like manner also, having given command to husbands to love their own wives, he added a pattern, *As Christ loved the Church.* But husbands he exhorted to it from a lower matter also, that is, from their own body: not only from a higher, that is, from their Lord. For he not only saith, *Husbands, love your wives, as Christ also loved the Church*, which is from an higher: but he said also, *Husbands ought to love their own wives, as their own bodies*, which is from a lower: because both higher and lower are all good. And yet the woman received not pattern from the body, or flesh, to be so subject to the husband as the flesh to the spirit; but either the Apostle would have understood by consequence, what he omitted to state: or haply because the flesh lusteth against the spirit in the mortal and sick estate of this life, therefore he would not set the woman a pattern of subjection from it. But the men he would for this reason, because, although the spirit lusteth against the flesh, even in this it consults for the good of the flesh: not like as the flesh lusting against the spirit, by such opposition consulteth neither for the good of the spirit, nor for its own. Yet the good spirit would not consult for its good, whether by nourishing and cherishing its nature by forethought, or by resisting its faults by continence, were it not that each substance sheweth God to be the Creator of each, even by the seemliness of this its order. What is it, therefore,

Eph. 5, 22—28.

DE CONTINENTIA.

that with true madness ye both boast yourselves to be Christians, and with so great perverseness contend against the Christian Scriptures, with eyes closed, or rather put out, asserting both that Christ hath appeared unto mortals in false flesh, and that the Church in the soul pertains to Christ, in the body to the devil, and that the male and female sex are works of the devil, not of God, and that the flesh is joined unto the spirit, as an evil substance unto a good substance?

x. 24. If what we have made mention of out of the Apostolic Epistles seem to you to fall short of an answer, hear yet others, if ye have ears. What saith the utterly mad Manichæan of the Flesh of Christ? That it was not true, but false. What saith the blessed Apostle to this? *Remember that Christ Jesus rose again from the dead of the seed of David, according to my Gospel.* And Christ Jesus Himself saith, *Handle and see, that a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me to have.* How is there truth in their doctrine, which asserts that in the Flesh of Christ there was falsehood? How was there in Christ no evil, in Whom was so great a lie? Because forsooth to men over-clean true flesh is an evil, and false flesh instead of true is not an evil: it is an evil, true flesh of one born of the seed of David, and it is no evil, false tongue of one saying, *Handle, and see, that a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me to have.* Of the Church what saith the deceiver of men with deadly error? That on the side of souls it pertains unto Christ, on the side of bodies unto the devil? What to this saith the Teacher of the Gentiles in faith and truth? *Know ye not,* saith he, *that your bodies are members of Christ?* Of the sex of male and female what saith the son of perdition? That either sex is not of God, but of the devil. What to this saith the Vessel of Election? *As,* saith he, *the woman from out the man, so also the man through the woman: but all things of God.* Of the flesh what saith the unclean spirit through the Manichæan? That it is an evil substance, and not the creation of God, but of an enemy. What to this saith the Holy Spirit through Paul? *For as the body is one,* saith he, *and hath many members, but all the members of the body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ.*

2 Tim. 2, 8.

Luke 24, 39.

1 Cor. 6, 15.

1 Cor. 11, 12.

1 Cor. 12, 12.

DE CONTINENTIA.

And a little after; *God hath set*, saith he, *the members, each one of them in the body, as He willed.* Also a little after; *God*, saith he, *hath tempered the body, giving greater honour unto that to which it was wanting, that there should be no schisms in the body, but that the members have the self-same care one for another: and whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it: or one member be glorified, all the members rejoice with it.* How is the flesh evil, when the souls themselves are admonished to imitate the peace of its members? How is it the creation of the enemy, when the souls themselves, which rule the bodies, take pattern from the members of the body, not to have schisms of enmities among themselves, in order that, what God hath granted unto the body by nature, this themselves also may love to have by grace? With good cause, writing to the Romans, *I beseech you*, saith he, *brethren, by the mercy of God, that ye present your bodies a sacrifice, living, holy, pleasing to God.* Without reason we contend that darkness is not light, nor light darkness, if we present a sacrifice, living, holy, pleasing to God, of the bodies of the 'nation of darkness.'

1 Cor. 12, 18. 1 Cor. 12, 24. 25. 26. Rom. 12, 1.

xi.

25. But, say they, how is the flesh by a certain likeness compared unto the Church? What! doth the Church lust against Christ? whereas the same Apostle said, *The Church is subject unto Christ.* Clearly the Church is subject unto Christ; because the spirit therefore lusteth against the flesh, that on every side the Church may be made subject to Christ; but the flesh lusteth against the spirit, because not as yet hath the Church received that peace which was promised perfect. And for this reason the Church is made subject unto Christ for the pledge of salvation, and the flesh lusteth against the spirit from the weakness of sickness. For neither were those other than members of the Church, unto whom he thus spake, *Walk in the spirit, and fulfil not the lusts of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; for these are opposed the one to the other; that ye do not what we would.* These things were assuredly spoken unto the Church, which if it were not made subject unto Christ, the spirit would not in it lust against the flesh through con-

Eph. 5, 24. Gal. 5, 16. 17.

DE CONTINENTIA.

tinence. By reason of which they were indeed able not to perfect the lusts of the flesh, but through the flesh lusting against the Spirit they were not able to do the things which they would, that is, not even to have the very lusts of the flesh. Lastly, why should we not confess that in spiritual men the Church is subject unto Christ, but in carnal men yet lusteth against Christ? Did not they lust against Christ unto whom it was said, *Is Christ divided?* and, *I could*
1 Cor. 1, 13.
1 Cor. 3, 1. 2. 3. *not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal. I have given unto you milk to drink as unto babes in Christ, not meat, for ye were not as yet able; but not even now are ye able: for ye are still carnal. For whereas there is among you emulation, and strife, are ye not carnal?* Against whom doth emulation and strife lust, but against Christ? For these lusts of the flesh Christ healeth in His own, but loveth in none. Whence the holy Church, so long as it hath such members, is not yet without spot or wrinkle. To these are added those other sins also, for which the daily cry
Matt. 6, 12. of the whole Church is, *Forgive us our debts:* and, that we should not think spiritual persons exempt from these, not any one soever of carnal persons, nor any one soever of spiritual persons themselves, but he, who lay on the breast
John 13, 23. of the Lord, and whom He loved before others, saith, *If we*
1 John 1, 8. *shall say that we have not sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.* But in every sin, more in what is greater, less in what is less, there is an act of lust against righteous-
1 Cor. 1, 30. ness. And of Christ it is written: *Who was made unto us by God, Wisdom, and Righteousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption.* In every sin therefore without doubt there is an act of lust against Christ. But when He, Who
Ps. 103, 3. *healeth all our sicknesses*, shall have led His Church unto the promised healing of sickness, then in none of its members shall there be any, even the very least spot or wrinkle. Then in no way shall the flesh lust against the spirit, and therefore there shall be no cause why the spirit also lust against the flesh. Then all this conflict shall come to an end, then there shall be the highest concord of both substances; then to such a degree shall no one there be carnal, that even the flesh itself shall be spiritual. What therefore each one living after Christ doth with his flesh, whereas he

both lusts against its evil lust, which he restrains, hereafter to be healed, which he holds, not yet healed; and yet nourisheth and cherisheth its good nature, since *no one ever hated his own flesh*, this also Christ doth with the Church, so far as it is lawful to compare lesser with greater matters. For He both represses it with rebukes, that it burst not being puffed up with impunity; and raises it up with consolations, that it sink not being weighed down with infirmity. Hence is that of the Apostle, *For if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged; but when we are judged, we are rebuked of the Lord, that we be not condemned with this world.* And that in the Psalm, *After the multitude of my griefs in my heart, Thy consolations have gladdened my soul.* We are therefore then to hope for perfect soundness of our flesh without any opposition, when there shall be sure security of the Church of Christ without any fear.

DE CONTINENTIA.

Eph. 5, 29.

1 Cor. 11, 31. 32.

Ps. 94, 19.

xii. 26. Thus much will suffice to have treated on behalf of true Continence against the Manichees deceitfully continent, lest the fruitful and glorious labour of Continence, when it restrains and curbs the lowest part of us, that is, the body, from immoderate and unlawful pleasures, be believed not healthfully to chasten, but hostilely to persecute. Forsooth the body is indeed different from the nature of the soul, yet is it not alien from the nature of man: for the soul is not made up of body, but yet man is made up of soul and body: and assuredly, whom God frees, He frees the whole man. Whence our Saviour Himself also took upon Him the whole man, having deigned to free in us all that He made. They who hold contrary to this truth, what doth it profit them, to restrain lusts? if, that is, they restrain any. What in them can be made clean through Continence, whose such Continence is unclean? and which ought not to be called Continence. Forsooth to hold what they hold is the poison of the devil; but Continence is the gift of God. But as not every one who suffers any thing, or with the greatest endurance suffers any pain whatever, possesses that virtue, which in like manner is the gift of God, and is called Patience; for many endure many torments, in order not to betray either such as are wickedly privy with them in their crimes, or themselves; many in order to satiate glowing lusts, and to

DE CONTINENTIA.

obtain, or not to abandon those things, whereunto they are bound by chain of evil love; many on behalf of different and destructive errors, whereby they are strongly held: of all of whom far be it from us to say that they have true patience: thus not every one, who contains in any thing, or who marvellously restrains even the very lusts of the flesh, or mind, is to be said to possess that continence, of the profit and beauty of which we are treating. For certain, what may seem marvellous to say, through incontinence contain themselves: as if a woman were to contain herself from her husband, because she hath sworn this to an adulterer. Certain through injustice, as if spouse yield not to spouse the due of sexual intercourse, because he or she is already able to overcome such appetite of the body. Also certain contain deceived by false faith, and hoping what is vain, and following after what is vain: among whom are all heretics, and whosoever under the name of religion are deceived by any error: whose continence would be true, if their faith also were true: but, whereas that is not to be called faith, on this account, because it is false; without doubt that also is unworthy the name of continence. For what? are we prepared to call continence, which we must truly say is the gift of God, sin? Far be from our hearts so hateful madness. But the blessed Apostle saith, *Every thing that is not of faith is sin.* What therefore hath not faith, is not to be called continence.

Rom. 14, 23.

27. There are also they who, in doing open service to evil demons, contain from pleasures of the body, that, through their means, they may satisfy unlawful pleasures, the violence and glow whereof they contain not. Whence also, (to name one case, and pass over the rest in silence by reason of the length of the discourse,) certain come not near even unto their own wives, whilst, as though clean, they essay through magic arts to gain access unto the wives of others. O marvellous continence, nay rather, singular wickedness and uncleanness! For, if it were true continence, the lust of the flesh ought rather to contain from adultery, than, in order to commit adultery, from marriage. Forsooth marriage continence is wont to case this lust of the flesh, and to check its curb but thus far, that neither in marriage itself it run riot

by immoderate license, but that a measure be observed, either such as is due to the weakness of the spouse, unto whom the Apostle enjoins not this, as of command, but yields it as of permission; or such as is suited for the begetting of sons, which was formerly the one alone occasion of sexual intercourse to both holy fathers and mothers. But continence doing this, that is, moderating, and in a certain way limiting in married persons the lust of the flesh, and ordering in a certain way within fixed limits its unquiet and inordinate motion, uses well the evil of man, whom it makes and wills to make perfect good: as God uses even evil men, for their sake whom He perfects in goodness. DE CONTINENTIA. 1 Cor. 7, 6.

28. Far be it therefore that we say of continence, of which Scripture saith, *And this very thing was wisdom, to know whose gift it was*, that even they possess it, who, by containing, either serve errors, or overcome any lesser desires for this purpose, that they may fulfil others, by the greatness of which they are overcome. But that continence which is true, coming from above, wills not to repress some evils by other evils, but to heal all evils by goods. And, briefly to comprehend its mode of action, it is the place of continence to keep watch to restrain and heal all delights whatsoever of lust, which are opposed to the delight of wisdom. Whence without doubt they set it within too narrow bounds, who limit it to restraining the lusts of the body alone: certainly they speak better, who say that it pertains to Continence to rule in general lust or desire. Which desire is set down as a fault, nor is it only of the body, but also of the soul. For, if the desire of the body be in fornications and drunkennesses; have enmities, strifes, emulations, lastly, hatreds, their exercise in the pleasures of the body, and not rather in the motions and troubled states of the soul? Yet the Apostle called all these *works of the flesh*, whether what pertained to the soul, or what pertained properly to the flesh, calling forsooth the man himself by the name of the flesh. Forsooth they are the works of man, whatsoever are not called works of God; forasmuch as man, who does these, lives after himself, not after God, so far as he does these. But there are other works of man, which are rather to be called works of God. *For it is God*, saith the Apostle, *Who* xiii. Wisd. 8, 21. Gal. 5, 19. 20. 21. Phil. 2, 13.

DE CONTINENTIA.

worketh in you both to will and to do, according to His good pleasure. Whence also is that, *For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God.*

Rom. 8, 14.

29. Thus the spirit of man, cleaving unto the Spirit of God, lusts against the flesh, that is, against itself: but for itself, in order that those motions, whether in the flesh or in the soul, after man, not after God, which as yet exist through the sickness man hath gotten, may be restrained by continence, that so health may be gotten; and man, not living after man, may now be able to say, *But I live, now not I, but there liveth in me Christ.* For where not I, there more happily I: and, when any evil motion after man arises, unto which he, who with the mind serves the Law of God, consents not, let him say that also, *Now it is not I that do this.* To such forsooth are said those words, which we, as partners and sharers with them, ought to listen to. *If ye have risen together with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the Right Hand of God: mind*[1] *the things that are above, not what are upon earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God: when Christ your life shall have appeared, then ye also shall appear with Him in glory.* Let us understand unto whom he is speaking; yea, rather, let us listen with more attention. For what more plain than this? what more clear? He is certainly speaking unto those, who had risen again with Christ, not yet surely in the flesh, but in the mind: whom he calls dead, and on this account the more living: for *your life*, saith he, *is hid with Christ in God.* Of such dead the speech is; *But I live, now not I, but there liveth in me Christ.* They therefore, whose life was hidden in God, are admonished and exhorted to mortify their members, which are upon the earth. For this follows, *Mortify, therefore, your members, which are upon the earth.* And, lest any through excess of dulness should think that such are to mortify the members of the body that are seen, straightway opening what it is he saith, *Fornication*, saith he, *uncleanness, passion, evil lust, and covetousness, which is idolatry.* But is it so to be believed, that they, who were already dead, and their life hidden with Christ in God, were still committing fornication, were still living in unclean habits and works, were still slaves to passions of evil

Gal. 2, 20.

Rom. 7, 17.

Col. 3, 1—4.

[1] *sapite.*

Col. 3, 5.

lust and covetousness? What madman would thus think of such? What, therefore, would he that they mortify, save the motions themselves still living in a certain intrusion[1] of their own, without the consent of our mind, without the action of the members of the body? And how are they mortified by the work of continence, save when we consent not to them with the mind, nor are the members of the body yielded to them as weapons; and, what is greater, and to be looked to with yet greater watchfulness of continence, our very thought itself, although in a certain way it be touched by their suggestion, and, as it were, whisper, yet turns away from these, that it receive not delight from them, and turns to more delightful thoughts of things above: on this account naming them in discourse, that men abide not in them, but flee from them. And this is brought to pass, if we listen effectually, with His help, Who through His Apostle gives this command, *Seek things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the Right Hand of God. Mind the things that are above, not what are on earth.* Col. 3, 1. 2.

DE CONTINENTIA.

[1] interpellatione.

30. But, after that he had made mention of these evils, he added and said, *On account of which cometh the wrath of God on the sons of unbelief.* Surely it was a wholesome alarm, that believers might not think that they could be saved on account of their faith alone, even although they should live in these evils: the Apostle James with most clear speech crying out against that notion, and saying, *If any say that he have faith, and have not works, shall his faith be able to save him?* Whence also here the Teacher of the Gentiles said, that on account of these evils the wrath of God cometh on the sons of unbelief. But when he saith, *Wherein ye also walked sometime, when ye were living therein;* he shews sufficiently that now they were not living therein. Forsooth unto these they had died, that their life might be hidden in God with Christ. When then they were now not living in them, they were now bidden to mortify such. Forsooth, themselves not living in the same, the things were living, as I have already shewn a little above, and were called their members, that is to say, those faults which dwelt in their members; by a way of speech, that which is contained through that which contains; as it is said,

xiv. Col. 3, 6.

James 2, 14.

Col. 3, 7.

DE CONTINENTIA. The whole Forum talks of it, when men talk who are in the Forum. In this very way of speech it is sung in the Psalm, *Let all the earth worship Thee:* that is, all men who are in the earth.

Ps.66,4.

Col. 3, 8. 31. *But now do ye also*, saith he, *put down all;* and he makes mention of several more evils of that sort. But what is it, that it is not enough for him to say, *Do ye put down all*, but that he added the conjunction and said, *ye also?* save that lest they should not think that they did those evils, and lived in them with impunity on this account, because their faith set them free from wrath, which cometh upon the sons of unbelief, doing these things, and living in them without faith. Do ye also, saith he, put down those evils, on account of which cometh the wrath of God on the children of unbelief; nor promise yourselves impunity of them on account of merit of faith. But he would not say, *put ye down*, unto those who had already laid down so far as that they consented not to such faults, nor were yielding their members to them as weapons of sin, save that the life of Saints stands in this past deed, and is still engaged in this work, so long as we are mortal. For, so long as the Spirit lusteth against the flesh, this business proceeds with great earnestness, resistance is offered unto evil delights, unclean lusts, carnal and shameful motions, by the sweetness of holiness, by the love of chastity, by spiritual vigour, and by the beauty of continence; thus they are laid down by them who are dead to them, and who live not in them by consenting. Thus, I say, they are put down, whilst they are weighed down by continued continence, that they rise not again. Whosoever, as though secure, shall cease from this laying aside of them, straightway they will assault the Citadel of the mind, and will themselves put it down thence, and will reduce it into slavery to them, captive after a base and unseemly fashion. Then sin will reign in the mortal body of man to obey its desires; then will it yield its members weapons of unrighteousness unto sin: and the last state of that man shall be worse than the former. For it is much more tolerable not to have begun a contest of this kind, than after one hath begun to have left the conflict, and to have become in place of a good warrior, or even in place of a conqueror, a captive. Whence the Lord saith not,

Rom. 6, 12. 13.
Mat. 12, 45.

whoso shall begin, but *Whoso shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved.*

DE CONTINENTIA.

32. But whether keenly contending, that we be not overcome, or overcoming divers times, or even with unhoped and unlooked for ease, let us give the glory unto Him Who giveth continence unto us. Let us remember, that a certain just man said, *I shall never be moved:* and that it was shewed him how rashly he had said this, attributing as though to his own strength, what was given to him from above. But this we have learnt from his own confession: for soon after he added, *Lord, in Thy will Thou hast given strength to my beauty; but Thou hast turned away Thy Face, and I was troubled.* Through a remedial Providence he was for a short time deserted by his Ruler, in order that he might not himself through deadly pride desert his Ruler. Therefore, whether here, where we engage with our faults in order to subdue and make them less, or there, as it shall be in the end, where we shall be void of every enemy, because of all infection[1], it is for our health that we are thus dealt with, in order that, *whoso glorieth, he may glory in the Lord.*

Mat. 10, 22.

Ps. 30, 6. 7.

[1] 'peste.'

1 Cor. 1, 31.

S. AUGUSTINE'.

ON

THE GOOD OF MARRIAGE.

This treatise, and the following, were written against somewhat that still remained of the heresy of Jovinian. S. Aug. mentions this error in b. ii. c. 23. de Nuptiis et Conc. 'Jovinianus,' he says, 'who a few years since tried to found a new heresy, said that the Catholics favoured the Manichæans, because in opposition to him they preferred holy Virginity to Marriage. And in his book on Heresies, c. 82. 'That heresy took its rise from one Jovinianus, a Monk, in our own time, when we were yet young.' And he adds that it was soon overborne and extinguished, say about A.D. 390, having been condemned first at Rome, then at Milan. There are letters of Pope Siricius on the subject to the Church of Milan, and the answer sent him by the Synod of Milan, at which St. Ambrose presided. Jerome had refuted Jovinian, but was said to have attempted the defence of the excellency of the virgin state, at the expense of condemning marriage. That Augustine might not be subject to any such complaint or calumny, before speaking of the superiority of Virginity, he thought it well to write on the Good of Marriage. This work we learn to have been finished about the year 401, not only from the order of his Retractations, but also from his books on Genesis after the Letter, begun about that year. For in b. ix. on Genesis, c. 7, where he commends the Good of Marriage, he says: 'Now this is threefold, faithfulness, offspring, and the Sacrament. For faithfulness, it is observed, that there be no lying with other man or woman, out of the bond of wedlock: for the offspring, that it be lovingly welcomed, kindly nourished, religiously brought up: for the Sacrament, that marriage be not severed, and that man or woman divorced be not joined to another even for the sake of offspring. This is as it were the rule of Marriage, by which rule either fruitfulness is made seemly, or the perverseness of incontinence is brought to order. Upon which since we have sufficiently discoursed in that book, which we lately published, *on the Good of Marriage*, where we have also distinguished

the Widow's continence and the Virgin's excellency, according to the worthiness of their degrees, our pen is not to be now longer occupied.' This very work is referred to in Book I. on the Deserts and Remission of sins, c. 29. *Ben.*

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

NOTICE.

The Editors are, of course, aware of the danger there is in reading a treatise like the following in a spirit of idle curiosity, and they beg any reader who has not well assured himself that his aim is right and holy to abstain from perusing it. At the same time it must not be forgotten, that something far other than a mere shrinking from subjects offensive to modern delicacy is needed, in order to purify the thoughts with respect to the holy estate of Matrimony. The mind that will but seriously attend to it in that light, will certainly be strengthened against evil suggestions by seeing in the whole subject a field of Christian duty.

It seemed further requisite to bring forward a work calculated to remove the imputation so falsely cast on the holy Fathers, that they regarded Matrimony as unholy, and almost agreed with the Manichean view of it, as a defilement and degradation to the Christian. They did, it is true, prefer Virginity to Marriage, but, as St. Augustine expressly states, as the 'better of two good things,' not as though one were good, and the other evil.

In estimating the work and the writer, the age in which it was written must be kept in view, and what that age required must not be imputed as a fault to him or to his religion. And perhaps what was written for another age may serve the more safely towards our improvement and guidance from the very circumstance that the style and manner of antiquity has become a kind of veil, which takes off somewhat from the strength and vividness of first impressions, and leaves the mind more at liberty to use what is laid before it as it will, than a more modern way of speaking would be likely to do. Let that liberty be used rightly and conscientiously, and the effect of reading will be good. *Ed.*

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1. FORASMUCH as each man is a part of the human race, and human nature is something social, and hath for a great and natural good, the power also of friendship; on this account God willed to create all men out of one, in order that they might be held in their society not only by likeness of kind, but also by bond of kindred. Therefore the first natural bond of human society is man and wife. Nor did God create these each by himself, and join them together as alien by birth: but He created the one out of the other, setting a sign also of the power of the union in the side, whence she was drawn, was formed. For they are joined one to another side by side, who walk together, and look together whither they

i. Gen. 2, 21. 22.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

walk. Then follows the connexion of fellowship in children, which is the one alone worthy fruit, not of the union of male and female, but of the sexual intercourse. For it were possible that there should exist in either sex, even without such intercourse, a certain friendly and true union of the one ruling, and the other obeying.

ii. 2. Nor is it now necessary that we enquire, and put forth a definite opinion on that question, whence could exist the progeny of the first men, whom God had blessed, saying, Gen. 1, 28. *Increase, and be ye multiplied, and fill the earth;* if they had not sinned, whereas their bodies by sinning deserved the condition of death, and there can be no sexual intercourse save of mortal bodies. For there have existed several and different opinions on this matter; and if we must examine, which of them be rather agreeable to the truth of Divine Scriptures, there is matter for a lengthened discussion[1]. Whether, therefore, without intercourse, in some other way, had they not sinned, they would have had sons, from the gift of the Almighty Creator, Who was able to create themselves also without parents, Who was able to form the Flesh of Christ in a virgin womb, and (to speak even to unbelievers themselves) Who was able to bestow on bees a progeny without sexual intercourse; or whether many things there were spoken by way of mystery and figure, and we are to understand in another sense what is written, *Fill the earth, and rule over it;* that is, that it should come to pass by fulness and perfection of life and power, so that the very increase and multiplication, whereby it is said, *Increase, and be ye multiplied,* be understood to be by advance of mind, and abundance of virtue, as it is set in the Psalm, *Thou shalt multiply me in my soul by virtue;* and that succession of progeny was not given unto man, save after that, by reason of sin, there was to be hereafter departure in death: or whether the body was not made spiritual in the case of these men, but at the first animal, in order that by merit of obedience it might after become spiritual, to lay hold of immortality, not after death, which by the malice of the devil entered into the world, and was made the punishment of sin; but after that change, which the Apostle signifies, when he says, *Then we living, who remain, together with them, shall*

[1] see De Civ. Dei, b. xiv.

Ps. 138, 3. lxx.

1 Thess. 4, 17.

be caught up in the clouds, to meet Christ, into the air, that we may understand both that those bodies of the first pair were mortal, in the first forming, and yet that they would not have died, had they not sinned, as God had threatened: even as if He should threaten a wound, in that the body was capable of wounds; which yet would not have happened, unless what He had forbidden were done. Thus, therefore, even through sexual intercourse there might take place generations of such bodies, as up to a certain point should have increase, and yet should not pass into old age; or even into old age, and yet not into death; until the earth were filled with that multiplication of the blessing. For if to the garments of the Israelites God granted their proper state without any wearing away during forty years, how much more would He grant unto the bodies of such as obeyed His command a certain most happy temperament of sure state, until they should be changed for the better, not by death of the man, whereby the body is abandoned by the soul, but by a blessed change from mortality to immortality, from an animal to a spiritual quality. Of these opinions which be true, or whether some other or others yet may be formed out of these words, were a long matter to enquire and discuss.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

Deut.29, 5.

iii.

3. This we now say, that, according to this condition of being born and dying, which we know, and in which we have been created, the marriage of male and female is some good; the compact whereof divine Scripture so commends, as that neither is it allowed one put away by her husband to marry, so long as her husband lives: nor is it allowed one put away by his wife to marry another, unless she who have separated from him be dead. Therefore, concerning the good of marriage, which the Lord also confirmed in the Gospel, not only in that He forbade to put away a wife, save because of fornication, but also in that He came by invitation to a marriage, there is good ground to inquire for what reason it be a good. And this seems not to me to be merely on account of the begetting of children, but also on account of the natural society itself in a difference of sex. Otherwise it would not any longer be called marriage in the case of old persons, especially if either they had lost sons, or had given birth to none. But now in good, although aged,

Mat.19, 9. John 2, 2.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

marriage, albeit there hath withered away the glow of full age between male and female, yet there lives in full vigour the order of charity between husband and wife: because, the better they are, the earlier they have begun by mutual consent to contain from sexual intercourse with each other: not that it should be matter of necessity afterwards not to have power to do what they would, but that it should be matter of praise to have been unwilling at the first, to do what they had power to do. If therefore there be kept good faith of honour, and of services mutually due from either sex, although the members of either be languishing and almost corpse-like, yet of souls duly joined together, the chastity [1] continues, the purer by how much it is the more proved, the safer, by how much it is the calmer. Marriages have this good also, that carnal or youthful incontinence, although it be faulty, is brought unto an honest use in the begetting of children, in order that out of the evil of lust the marriage union may bring to pass some good. Next, in that the lust of the flesh is repressed, and rages in a way more modestly, being tempered by parental affection. For there is interposed a certain gravity of glowing pleasure, when in that wherein husband and wife cleave to one another, they have in mind that they be father and mother.

[1] perhaps 'charity.'

iv. 4. There is this further, that in that very debt which married persons pay one to another, even if they demand it with somewhat too great intemperance and incontinence, yet they owe faith alike one to another. Unto which faith the Apostle allows so great right, as to call it 'power,' saying, *The woman hath not power of her own body, but the man; again in like manner also the man hath not power of his own body, but the woman.* But the violation of this faith is called adultery, when either by instigation of one's own lust, or by consent of lust of another, there is sexual intercourse on either side with another against the marriage compact: and thus faith is broken, which, even in things that are of the body, and mean, is a great good of the soul: and therefore it is certain that it ought to be preferred even to the health of the body, wherein even this life of ours is contained. For, although a little chaff in comparison of much gold is almost nothing; yet faith, when it is kept pure

1 Cor. 7, 4.

in a matter of chaff, as in gold, is not therefore less because it is kept in a lesser matter. But when faith is employed to commit sin, it were strange that we should have to call it faith; however of what kind soever it be, if also the deed be done against it, it is the worse done; save when it is on this account abandoned, that there may be a return unto true and lawful faith, that is, that sin may be amended, by correction of perverseness of the will. As if any, being unable alone to rob a man, should find a partner in his iniquity, and make an agreement with him to do it together, and to divide the spoil; and, after the crime hath been committed, should take off the whole to himself alone. That other grieves and complains that faith hath not been kept with him, but in his very complaint he ought to consider, that he himself rather ought to have kept faith with human society in a good life, not to make unjust spoil of a man, if he feels with how great injustice it hath failed to be kept with himself in a fellowship of sin. Forsooth the former, being faithless in both instances, must assuredly be judged the more wicked. But, if he had been displeased at what they had done ill, and had been on this account unwilling to divide the spoil with his partner in crime, in order that it might be restored to the man, from whom it had been taken, not even a faithless man would call him faithless. Thus a woman, if, having broken her marriage faith, she keep faith with her adulterer, is certainly evil: but, if not even with her adulterer, worse. Further, if she repent her of her sin, and returning to marriage chastity, renounce all adulterous compacts and resolutions, I count it strange if even the adulterer himself will think her one who breaks faith.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

5. Also the question is wont to be asked, when a male and female, neither the one the husband, nor the other the wife, of any other, come together, not for the begetting of children, but, by reason of incontinence, for the mere sexual intercouse, there being between them this faith, that neither he do it with any other woman, nor she with any other man, whether it is to be called marriage[1]. And perhaps this may, not without reason, be called marriage[2], if it shall be the resolution[3] of both parties until the death of one, and if the begetting of children, although they came not together for

V.

[1] nuptiæ
[2] connubium.
[3] placuerit.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

that cause, yet they shun not, so as either to be unwilling to have children born to them, or even by some evil work to use means that they be not born. But, if either both, or one, of these be wanting, I find not how we can call it marriage. For, if a man should take unto him any one for a time, until he find another worthy either of his honours or of his means, to marry as his compeer; in his soul itself he is an adulterer, and that not with her whom he is desirous of finding, but with her, with whom he so lies, as not to have with her the partnership of a husband. Whence she also herself, knowing and willing this, certainly acts unchastely in having intercourse with him, with whom she has not the compact of a wife. However, if she keep to him faith of bed, and after he shall have married, have no thought of marriage herself, and prepare to contain herself altogether from any such work, perhaps I should not dare lightly to call her an adulteress; but who shall say that she sins not, when he is aware that she has intercourse with a man, not being his wife? But further, if from that intercourse, so far as pertains to herself, she has no wish but for sons, and suffers unwilling whatever she suffers beyond the cause of begetting; there are many matrons to whom she is to be preferred; who, although they are not adulteresses, yet force their husbands, for the most part also wishing to exercise continence, to pay the due of the flesh, not through desire of children, but through glow of lust making an intemperate use of their very right; in whose marriages, however, this very thing, that they are married, is a good. For for this purpose are they married, that the lust being brought under a lawful bond, should not float at large without form and loose; having of itself weakness of flesh that cannot be curbed, but of marriage fellowship of faith that cannot be dissolved; of itself encroachment of immoderate intercourse, of marriage a way of chastely begetting. For, although it be shameful to wish to use a husband for purposes of lust, yet it is honourable to be unwilling to have intercourse save with an husband, and not

vi. to give birth to children save from a husband. There are also men incontinent to that degree, that they spare not their wives even when pregnant. Therefore whatever that is immodest, shameless, base, married persons do one

with another, is the sin of the persons, not the fault of marriage. DE BONO CONJUGALI.

6. Further, in the very case of the more immoderate requirement of the due of the flesh, which the Apostle enjoins not on them by way of command, but allows to them by way of leave, that they have intercourse also beside the cause of begetting children; although evil habits impel them to such intercourse, yet marriage guards them from adultery or fornication. For neither is that committed because of marriage, but is pardoned because of marriage. Therefore married persons owe one another not only the faith of their sexual intercourse itself, for the begetting of children, which is the first fellowship of the human kind in this mortal state; but also, in a way, a mutual service of sustaining[1] one another's weakness, in order to shun unlawful intercourse: so that, although perpetual continence be pleasing to one of them, he may not, save with consent of the other. For thus far also, *The wife hath not power of her own body, but the man: in like manner also the man hath not power of his own body, but the woman.* That that also, which, not for the begetting of children, but for weakness and incontinence, either he seeks of marriage, or she of her husband, they deny not the one or the other; lest by this they fall into damnable seductions, through temptation of Satan, by reason of incontinence either of both, or of whichever of them. For intercourse of marriage for the sake of begetting, hath not fault; but for the satisfying of lust, but yet with husband or wife, by reason of the faith of the bed, it hath venial fault: but adultery or fornication hath deadly fault, and, through this, continence from all intercourse is indeed better even than the intercourse of marriage itself, which takes place for the sake of begetting. But because that Continence is of larger desert, but to pay the due of marriage is no crime, but to demand it beyond the necessity of begetting is a venial fault, but to commit fornication or adultery is a crime to be punished; charity of the married ought to beware, lest, whilst it seek for itself occasion of larger honour, it do that for its partner which cause condemnation. *For whosoever putteth away his wife, except for the cause of fornication, maketh her to commit adultery.* To such a degree

[1] excipiendæ.

1 Cor. 7, 4.

vii.

Matt. 5, 32.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

is that marriage compact entered upon a matter of a certain sacrament, that it is not made void even by separation itself, since, so long as her husband lives, even by whom she hath been left, she commits adultery, in case she be married to another: and he who hath left her, is the cause of this evil.

7. But I marvel, if, as it is allowed to put away a wife who is an adulteress, so it be allowed, having put her away, to marry another. For holy Scripture causes a hard knot in this matter, in that the Apostle says, that, by commandment of the Lord, the wife ought not to depart from her husband, but, in case she shall have departed, to remain unmarried, or to be reconciled to her husband; whereas surely she ought not to depart and remain unmarried, save from an husband that is an adulterer, lest by withdrawing from him, who is not an adulterer, she cause him to commit adultery. But perhaps she may justly be reconciled to her husband, either he being to be borne with, if she cannot contain herself, or being now corrected. But I see not how the man can have permission to marry another, in case he have left an adulteress, when a woman has not to be married to another, in case she have left an adulterer. And, this being the case, so strong is that bond of fellowship in married persons, that, although it be tied for the sake of begetting children, not even for the sake of begetting children is it loosed. For it is in a man's power to put away a wife that is barren, and marry one of whom to have children. And yet it is not allowed; and now indeed in our times, and after the usage of Rome, neither to marry in addition, so as to have more than one wife living: and, surely, in case of an adulteress or adulterer being left, it would be possible that more men should be born, if either the woman were married to another, or the man should marry another. And yet, if this be not lawful, as the Divine Rule seems to prescribe, who is there but it must make him attentive to learn, what is the meaning of this so great strength of the marriage bond? Which I by no means think could have been of so great avail, were it not that there were taken a certain sacrament of some greater matter from out this weak mortal state of men, so that, men deserting it, and seeking to dissolve it, it should remain unshaken for their punishment. Seeing that the compact of

1 Cor. 7, 10. 11.

marriage is not done away by divorce intervening; so that they continue wedded persons one to another, even after separation; and commit adultery with those, with whom they shall be joined, even after their own divorce, either the woman with a man, or the man with a woman. And yet, save in the City of our God, in His Holy Mount, the case is not such with the wife. But, that the laws of the Gentiles are otherwise, who is there that knows not; where, by the interposition of divorce, without any offence of which man takes cognizance, both the woman is married to whom she will, and the man marries whom he will. And something like this custom, on account of the hardness of the Israelites, Moses seems to have allowed, concerning a bill of divorcement. In which matter there appears rather a rebuke, than an approval, of divorce. DE BONO CONJUGALI. Ps. 48, 1. viii. Deut. 24, 1. Mat. 19, 8.

8. *Honourable*, therefore, *is marriage in all, and the bed undefiled.* And this we do not so call a good, as that it is a good in comparison of fornication: otherwise there will be two evils, of which the second is worse: or fornication will also be a good, because adultery is worse: for it is worse to violate the marriage of another, than to cleave unto an harlot: and adultery will be a good, because incest is worse; for it is worse to lie with a mother than with the wife of another: and, until we arrive at those things, which, as the Apostle saith, *it is a shame even to speak of*, all will be good in comparison of what are worse. But who can doubt that this is false? Therefore marriage and fornication are not two evils, whereof the second is worse: but marriage and continence are two goods, whereof the second is better, even as this temporal health and sickness are not two evils, whereof the second is worse; but that health and immortality are two goods, whereof the second is better. Also knowledge and vanity are not two evils, whereof vanity is the worse: but knowledge and charity are two goods, whereof charity is the better. For *knowledge shall be destroyed*, saith the Apostle: and yet it is necessary for this time: but *charity shall never fail.* Thus also this mortal begetting, on account of which marriage takes place, shall be destroyed: but freedom from all sexual intercourse is both angelic exercise[1] here, and continueth for ever. But as the repasts of the Just are Heb. 13, 4. Eph. 5, 12. 1 Cor. 13, 8.

[1] meditatio.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

better than the fasts of the sacrilegious, so the marriage of the faithful is to be set before the virginity of the impious. However neither in that case is repast preferred to fasting, but righteousness to sacrilege; nor in this, marriage to virginity, but faith to impiety. For for this end the righteous, when need is, take their repast, that, as good masters, they may give to their slaves, i. e. their bodies, what is just and fair: but for this end the sacrilegious fast, that they may serve devils. Thus for this end the faithful are married, that they may be chastely joined unto husbands, but for this end the impious are virgins, that they may commit fornication away from the true God. As, therefore, that was good, which Martha was doing, being engaged in the ministering unto the Saints, but that better, which Mary, her sister, sitting at the feet of the Lord, and hearing His word; thus we praise the good of Susanna in married chastity, but yet we set before her the good of the widow Anna, and, much more, of the Virgin Mary. It was good that they were doing, who of their substance were ministering necessaries unto Christ and His disciples: but better, who left all their substance, that they might be freer to follow the same Lord. But in both these cases of good, whether what these, or whether what Martha and Mary were doing, the better could not be done, unless the other had been passed over or left. Whence we are to understand, that we are not, on this account, to think marriage an evil, because, unless there be abstinence from it, widowed chastity, or virgin purity, cannot be had. For neither on this account was what Martha was doing evil, because, unless her sister abstained from it, she could not do what was better: nor on this account is it evil to receive a just man or a prophet into one's house, because he, who wills to follow Christ unto perfection, ought not even to have a house, in order to do what is better.

Hist. of Susanna 22. 23.

Luke 2, 37.

Luke 1, 27. 28.

ix. 9. Truly we must consider, that God gives us some goods, which are to be sought for their own sake, such as wisdom, health, friendship: but others, which are necessary for the sake of somewhat, such as learning, meat, drink, sleep, marriage, sexual intercourse. For of these certain are necessary for the sake of wisdom, as learning: certain for

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

the sake of health, as meat and drink and sleep: certain for the sake of friendship, as marriage or sexual intercourse: for hence subsists the propagation of the human kind, wherein friendly fellowship is a great good. These goods, therefore, which are necessary for the sake of something else, whoso useth not for this purpose, wherefore they were instituted, sins; in some cases venially, in other cases damnably. But whoso useth them for this purpose, wherefore they were given, doeth well. Therefore, to whomsoever they are not necessary, if he use them not, he doeth better. Wherefore, these goods, when we have need, we do well to wish; but we do better not to wish than to wish: because ourselves are in a better state, when we account them not necessary. And on this account it is good to marry, because it is good to beget children, to be a mother of a family: but it is better not to marry, because it is better not to stand in need of this work, in order to human fellowship itself. For such is the state of the human race now, that (others, who contain not, not only being taken up with marriage, but many also waxing wanton through unlawful concubinages, the Good Creator working what is good out of their evils) there fails not numerous progeny, and abundant succession, out of which to procure holy friendships. Whence we gather, that, in the first times of the human race, chiefly for the propagation of the People of God, through whom the Prince and Saviour of all people should both be prophesied of, and be born, it was the duty of the Saints to use this good of marriage, not as to be sought for its own sake, but necessary for the sake of something else: but now, whereas, in order to enter upon holy and pure fellowship, there is on all sides from out all nations an overflowing fulness of spiritual kindred, even they who wish to contract marriage only for the sake of children, are to be admonished, that they use rather the larger good of continence.

1 Tim. 5, 14.

10. But I am aware of some that murmur: What, say they, if all men should abstain from all sexual intercourse, whence will the human race exist? Would that all would this, only in *charity out of a pure heart, and good conscience, and faith unfeigned;* much more speedily would the City of God be filled, and the end of the world hastened. For what else

x.

1 Tim. 1, 5.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

doth the Apostle, as is manifest, exhort to, when he saith, speaking on this head, *I would that all were as myself;* or in that passage, *But this I say, brethren, the time is short: it remains that both they who have wives, be as though not having: and they who weep, as though not weeping: and they who rejoice, as though not rejoicing: and they who buy, as though not buying: and they who use this world, as though they use it not. For the form of this world passeth by. I would have you without care.* Then he adds, *Whoso is without a wife, thinks of the things of the Lord, how to please the Lord: but whoso is joined in marriage, thinks of the things of the world, how to please his wife: and a woman that is unmarried and a virgin is different: she that is unmarried is anxious about the things of the Lord, to be holy both in body and spirit: but she that is married, is anxious about the things of the world, how to please her husband.* Whence it seems to me, that at this time, those only, who contain not, ought to marry, according to that sentence of the same Apostle, *But if they contain not, let them be married: for it is better to be married than to burn.*

1 Cor. 7, 7. Ver. 29-34.

1 Cor. 7, 9.

11. And yet not to these themselves is marriage a sin; which, if it were chosen in comparison of fornication, would be a less sin than fornication, and yet would be a sin. But now what shall we say against the most plain speech of the Apostle, saying, *Let her do what she will; she sinneth not, if she be married;* and, *If thou shalt have taken a wife, thou hast not sinned: and, if a virgin shall have been married, she sinneth not.* Hence surely it is not lawful now to doubt that marriage is no sin. Therefore the Apostle alloweth not marriage as matter of *pardon*[1]: for who can doubt that it is extremely absurd to say, that they have not sinned, unto whom *pardon* is granted. But he allows, as matter of *pardon*, that sexual intercourse, which takes place through incontinence, not alone for the begetting of children, and, at times, not at all for the begetting of children; and it is not that marriage forces this to take place, but that it procures pardon for it; provided however it be not so in excess as to hinder what ought to be set aside as seasons of prayer, nor be changed into that use which is against nature, on which the Apostle could not be silent, when speaking of

1 Cor. 7, 36. Ver. 28.

[1] veniam

the excessive corruptions of unclean and impious men. For necessary sexual intercourse for begetting is free from blame, and itself is alone worthy of marriage. But that which goes beyond this necessity, no longer follows reason, but lust. And yet it pertains to the character of marriage, not to exact this, but to yield it to the partner, lest by fornication the other sin damnably. But, if both are set under such lust, they do what is plainly not matter of marriage. However, if in their intercourse they love what is honest more than what is dishonest, that is, what is matter of marriage more than what is not matter of marriage, this is allowed to them on the authority of the Apostle as matter of pardon: and for this fault, they have in their marriage, not what sets them on to commit it, but what entreats pardon for it, if they turn not away from them the mercy of God, either by not abstaining on certain days, that they may be free to pray, and through this abstinence, as through fasting, may commend their prayers; or by changing the natural use into that which is against nature, which is more damnable when it is done in the case of husband or wife.

DE BONO CONJUGALI. Rom. 1, 26. 27.

12. For, whereas that natural use, when it pass beyond the compact of marriage, that is, beyond the necessity of begetting, is pardonable in the case of a wife, damnable in the case of an harlot; that which is against nature is execrable when done in the case of an harlot, but more execrable in the case of a wife. Of so great power is the ordinance of the Creator, and the order of Creation, that, in matters allowed us to use, even when the due measure is exceeded, it is far more tolerable, than, in what are not allowed, either a single, or rare excess. • And, therefore, in a matter allowed, want of moderation, in a husband or wife, is to be borne with, in order that lust break not forth into a matter that is not allowed. Hence is it also that he sins far less, who is ever so unceasing in approaches to his wife, than he who approaches ever so seldom to commit fornication. But, when the man shall wish to use the member of the wife not allowed for this purpose, the wife is more shameful, if she suffer it to take place in her own case, than if in the case of another woman. Therefore the ornament of marriage is chastity of begetting, and faith of yielding

xi.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

the due of the flesh: this is the work of marriage, this the Apostle defends from every charge, in saying, *Both if thou shalt have taken a wife, thou hast not* and *if a virgin shall have been married, she sinneth not:* and, *Let her do what she will; she sinneth not if she be married.* But an advance beyond moderation in demanding the due of either sex, for the reasons which I have stated above, is allowed to married persons as matter of pardon.

1 Cor. 7, 28. 36.

13. What therefore he says, *She, that is unmarried, thinketh of the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and spirit;* we are not to take in such sense, as to think that a chaste Christian wife is not holy in body. Forsooth unto all the faithful it was said, *Know ye not that your bodies are a temple of the Holy Ghost within you, Whom ye have from God?* Therefore the bodies also of the married are holy, so long as they keep faith to one another and to God. And that this sanctity of either of them, even an unbelieving partner does not stand in the way of, but rather that the sanctity of the wife profits the unbelieving husband, and the sanctity of the husband profits the unbelieving wife, the same Apostle is witness, saying, *For the unbelieving husband is sanctified in the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified in a brother.* Wherefore that was said according to the greater sanctity of the unmarried than of the married, unto which there is also due a greater reward, according as, the one being a good, the other is a greater good: inasmuch as also she has this thought only, how to please the Lord. For it is not that a female who believes, keeping married chastity, thinks not how to please the Lord; but assuredly less so, in that she thinks of the things of the world, how to please her husband. For this is what he would say of them, that they may, in a certain way, find themselves obliged by marriage to think of the things of the world, how to please their husbands.

1 Cor. 6, 19.

1 Cor. 7, 14.

xii. 14. And not without just cause a doubt is raised, whether he said this of all married women, or of such as so many are, as that nearly all may be thought so to be. For neither doth that, which he saith of unmarried women, *She, that is unmarried, thinketh of the things of the Lord, to be holy both*

1 Cor. 7, 34.

whereas there are certain widows who are dead, who live in delights. However, so far as regards a certain distinction and, as it character of their own, of the unmarried and married; as she deserves the excess of hatred, who containing from marriage, that is, from a thing allowed, does not contain from offences, either of luxury, or pride, or curiosity and prating; so the married woman is seldom met with, who, in the very obedience of married life, hath no thought save how to please God, by adorning herself, not with plaited hair, or gold and pearls and costly attire, but as becometh women making profession of piety, through a good conversation. Such marriages, forsooth, the Apostle Peter also describes by giving commandment. *In like manner,* saith he, *wives obeying their own husbands; in order that, even if any obey not the word, they may be gained without discourse through the conversation of the wives, seeing your fear and chaste conversation: that they be not they that are adorned without with crispings of hair, or clothed with gold or with fair raiment; but that hidden man of your heart, in that unbroken continuance of a quiet and modest spirit, which before the Lord also is rich. For thus certain holy women, who hoped in the Lord, used to adorn themselves, obeying their oun husbands: as Sara obeyed Abraham, calling him Lord: whose daughters ye are become, when ye do well, and fear not with any vain fear. Husbands in like manner living at peace and in chastity with your wives, both give ye honour as to the weaker and subject vessel, as with co-heirs of grace, and see that your prayers be not hindered.* Is it indeed that such marriages have no thought of the things of the Lord, how to please the Lord? But they are very rare: who denies this? And, being, as they are, rare, nearly all the persons who are such, were not joined together in order to be such, but being already joined together became such.

DE BONO CONJUGALI. 1Tim.5, 6.

1Tim.2, 9. 10.

1 Peter 3, 1–7.

15. For what Christian men of our time being free from the marriage bond, having power to contain from all sexual intercourse, seeing it to be now *a time,* as it is written, *not of embracing, but of abstaining from embrace,* would not choose rather to keep virginal or widowed continence, than xiii.

Eccles. 3, 5.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

(now that there is no obligation from duty to human society) to endure tribulation of the flesh, without which marriages cannot be, (to pass over in silence other things from which the Apostle spares.) But when through desire reigning they shall have been joined together, if they shall after overcome it, because it is not lawful to loose, in such wise as it was lawful not to tie, the marriage bond, they become such as the form of marriage makes profession of, so as that either by mutual consent they ascend unto a higher degree of holiness, or, if both are not such, the one who is such will not be one to exact but to yield the due, observing in all things a chaste and religious concord. But in those times, wherein as yet the mystery of our salvation was veiled in prophetic sacraments, even they who were such before marriage, yet contracted marriage through the duty of begetting children, not overcome by lust, but led by piety, unto whom if there were given such choice, as in the revelation of the New Testament there hath been given, the Lord saying, *Whoso can receive, let him receive;* no one doubts that they would have been ready to receive it even with joy, who reads with careful attention what use they made of their wives, at a time when also it was allowed one man to have several, whom he had with more chastity, than any now has his one wife, of these, unto whom we see what the Apostle allows by way of leave. For they had them in the work of begetting children, not *in the disease of desire, as the nations which know not God.* And this is so great a thing, that many at this day more easily abstain from all sexual intercourse their whole life through, than, if they are joined in marriage, observe the measure of not coming together except for the sake of children. Forsooth we have many brethren and partners in the heavenly inheritance of both sexes that are continent, whether they be such as have made trial of marriage, or such as are entirely free from all such intercourse: forsooth they are without number: yet, in our familiar discourses with them, whom have we heard, whether of those who are, or of those who have been, married, declaring to us that he has never had sexual intercourse with his wife, save with the hope of conception? What, therefore, the Apostles command the

Mat. 19, 12.

1 Cor. 7, 6.

1 Thess. 4, 5.

married, this is proper to marriage, but what they allow by way of pardon, or what hinders prayers, this marriage compels not, but bears with. DE BONO CONJUGALI.

16. Therefore if haply, (which whether it can take place, I know not; and rather think it cannot take place; but yet, if haply,) having taking unto himself a concubine for a time, a man shall have sought sons only from this same intercourse; neither thus is that union to be preferred to the marriage even of those women, who do this, that is matter of pardon[1]. For we must consider what belongs to marriage, not what belongs to such women as marry and use marriage with less moderation than they ought. For neither if each one so use lands entered upon unjustly and wrongly, as out of their fruits to give large alms, doth he therefore justify rapine: nor if another brood over, through avarice, an estate to which he has succeeded, or which he hath justly gained, are we on this account to blame the rule of civil law, whereby he is made a lawful owner. Nor will the wrongfulness of a tyrannical rebellion deserve praise, if the tyrant treat his subjects with royal clemency: nor will the order of royal power deserve blame, if a king rage with tyrannical cruelty. For it is one thing to wish to use well unjust power, and it is another thing to use unjustly just power. Thus neither do concubines taken for a time, if they be such in order to sons, make their concubinage lawful; nor do married women, if they live wantonly with their husbands, attach any charge to the order of marriage. XIV. [1] veniale.

17. That marriage can take place of persons first ill joined, an honest decree following after, is manifest. But a marriage once for all entered upon in the City of our God, where, even from the first union of the two, the man and the woman, marriage bears a certain sacramental character, can no way be dissolved but by the death of one of them. For the bond of marriage remains, although a family, for the sake of which it was entered upon, do not follow through manifest barrenness; so that, when now married persons know that they shall not have children, yet it is not lawful for them to separate even for the very sake of children, and to join themselves unto others. And if they shall so do, they commit adultery with those unto whom they join themselves, but them- XV.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

selves remain husbands and wives. Clearly with the good will of the wife to take another woman, that from her may be born sons common to both, by the sexual intercourse and seed of the one, but by the right and power of the other, was lawful among the ancient fathers: whether it be lawful now also, I would not hastily pronounce. For there is not now necessity of begetting children, as there then was, when, even when wives bare children, it was allowed, in order to a more numerous posterity, to marry other wives in addition, which now is certainly not lawful. For the difference that separates times causes the due season to have so great force unto the justice and doing or not doing any thing, that now a man does better, if he marry not even one wife, unless he be unable to contain. But then they married even several without any blame, even those who could much more easily contain, were it not that piety at that time had another demand upon them. For, as the wise and just man, who now desires to be dissolved and to be with Christ, and takes more pleasure in this, the best, now not from desire of living here, but from duty of being useful[1], takes food that he may remain in the flesh, which is necessary for the sake of others; so to have intercourse with females in right of marriage, was to holy men at that time a matter of duty not of lust.

Phil. 1, 23.

[1] consulendi.

xvi. 18. For what food is unto the conservation of the man, this sexual intercourse is unto the conservation of the race: and both are not without carnal delight: which yet being modified, and by restraint of temperance reduced unto the use after nature, cannot be lust[a]. But what unlawful food is in the supporting of life, this sexual intercourse of fornication or adultery is in the seeking of a family. And what unlawful food is in luxury of belly and throat, this unlawful intercourse is in lust that seeks not a family. And what the excessive appetite of some is in lawful food, this that intercourse that is matter of pardon is in husband and wife. As therefore it is better to die of hunger than to eat things offered unto idols: so it is better to die without children, than to seek a family from unlawful intercourse. But from

[a] Retract. b. ii. c. 22. 2. 'it was meant that the good and right use of lust is not lust, for as it is evil will to use good things, so is it good will to use evil things.'

whatever source men be born, if they follow not the vices of their parents, and worship God aright, they shall be honest and safe. For the seed of man, from out what kind of man soever, is the creation of God, and it shall fare ill with those who use it ill, yet shall not itself at any time be evil. But as the good sons of adulterers are no defence of adulteries, so the evil sons of married persons are no charge against marriage. Wherefore as the Fathers of the time of the New Testament taking food from the duty of conservation, although they took it with natural delight of the flesh, were yet in no way compared with the delight of those who fed on what had been offered in sacrifice, or of those who, although the food was lawful, yet took it to excess: so the Fathers of the time of the Old Testament from the duty of conservation used sexual intercourse; and yet that their natural delight, by no means relaxed unto unreasonable and unlawful lust, is not to be compared either with the vileness of fornications, or with the intemperance of married persons. Forsooth through the same vein[1] of charity, now after the spirit, then after the flesh, it was a duty to beget sons for the sake of that mother Jerusalem: but it was nought save the difference of times which made the works of the fathers different. But thus it was necessary that even Prophets, not living after the flesh, should come together after the flesh; even as it was necessary that Apostles also, not living after the flesh, should eat food after the flesh.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

[1] 'vena.'

19. Therefore as many women as there are now, unto whom it is said, *If they contain not, let them be married,* are not to be compared to the holy women then, even when they married. Marriage itself indeed in all nations is for the same cause of begetting of sons, and of what character soever these may be afterward, yet was marriage for this purpose instituted, that they may be born in due and honest order. But men, who contain not, as it were ascend unto marriage by a step of honesty: but they, who without doubt would contain, if the purpose of that time had allowed this, in a certain measure descended unto marriage by a step of piety. And, on this account, although the marriages of both, so far as they are marriages, in that they are for the sake of begetting, are equally good, yet these men when married are not to be

xvii. 1 Cor. 7, 9.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

compared with those men as married. For these have, what is allowed them by way of leave, on account of the honesty of marriage, although it pertain not to marriage; that is, the advance which goes beyond the necessity of begetting, which they had not. But neither can these, if haply there be now any found, who neither seek, nor desire, in marriage any thing, save that wherefore marriage was instituted, be made equal to those men. For in these the very desire of sons is carnal, but in those it was spiritual, in that it was suited to the sacrament of that time. Forsooth now no one who is made perfect in piety seeks to have sons, save after a spiritual sense; but then it was the work of piety itself to beget sons even after a carnal sense: in that the begetting of that people was fraught with tidings of things to come, and pertained unto the prophetic dispensation.

20. And on this account, not, so as it was allowed one man to have even several wives, was it allowed one female to have several husbands, not even for the sake of a family, in case it should happen that the woman could bear, the man could not beget. For by a secret law of nature things that stand chief love to be singular; but what are subject are set under, not only one under one, but, if the system of nature or society allow, even several under one, not without becoming beauty. For neither hath one slave so several masters, in the way that several slaves have one master. Thus we read not that any of the holy women served two or more living husbands: but we read that many females served one husband, when the social state[1] of that nation allowed it, and the purpose of the time persuaded to it: for neither is it contrary to the nature of marriage. For several females can conceive from one man: but one female cannot from several, (such is the power of things principal:) as many souls are rightly made subject unto one God. And on this account there is no True God of souls, save One: but one soul by means of many false gods may commit fornication, but not be made fruitful.

[1] societas

xviii. Acts 4, 32.

21. But since out of many souls there shall be hereafter one City of such as have one soul and one heart towards God; which perfection of our unity shall be hereafter, after this sojourn in a strange land, wherein the thoughts of all

shall neither be hidden one from another, nor shall be in any matter opposed one to another; on this account the Sacrament of marriage of our time hath been so reduced to one man and one wife, as that it is not lawful to ordain any as a steward of the Church, save the husband of one wife. And this they have understood more acutely who have been of opinion, that neither is he to be ordained, who as a catechumen or as a heathen[b] had a second wife. For it is a matter of sacrament, not of sin. For in baptism all sins are put away. But he who said, *If thou shalt have taken a wife, thou hast not sinned; and if a virgin shall have been married, she sinneth not:* and, "Let *her* do what *she* will, *she* sinneth not, if she be married," hath made it plain enough that marriage is no sin. But on account of the sanctity of the Sacrament, as a female, although it be as a catechumen that she hath suffered violence, cannot after Baptism be consecrated among the virgins of God: so there was no absurdity in supposing of him who had exceeded the number of one wife, not that he had committed any sin, but that he had lost a certain prescript rule[1] of a sacrament, necessary not unto desert of good life, but unto the seal of ecclesiastic ordination; and thus, as the many wives of the old Fathers signified our future Churches out of all nations made subject unto one husband, Christ: so our chief-priest[2], the husband of one wife, signifies unity out of all nations, made subject unto one husband, Christ: which shall then be perfected, when He shall have unveiled the hidden things of darkness, and shall have made manifest the thoughts of the heart, that then each may have praise from God. But now there are manifest, there are hidden, dissensions, even where charity is safe between those, who shall be hereafter one, and in one; which shall then certainly have no existence. As therefore the Sacrament of marriage with several of that time signified the multitude that should be hereafter made subject unto God in all nations of the earth, so the Sacrament of marriage with one of our time signifies the unity of us all made subject to God, which shall be hereafter in one Heavenly City.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

1 Tim. 3, 2. Tit. 1, 6.

1 Cor. 7, 28. 36.

[1] normam.

[2] antistes

[b] Thus Ambrose. Ep. to Ch. of Verellæ, and ancient general custom. Jerome, Ep. ad Ocean. speaks strongly and harshly against this interpretation, and says, b. i. near the end, that Ruffinus had found fault with him for this. *Ben.*

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

Therefore as to serve two or more, so to pass over from a living husband into marriage with another, was neither lawful then, nor is it lawful now, nor will it ever be lawful. Forsooth to apostatise from the One God, and to go into adulterous superstition of another, is ever an evil. Therefore not even for the sake of a more numerous family did our Saints do, what the Roman Cato is said to have done[1], to give up his wife, during his own life, to fill even another's house with sons. Forsooth in the marriage of one woman the sanctity of the Sacrament is of more avail than the fruitfulness of the womb.

[1] Cato minor, cf. Plutarch. p. 771.

22. If, therefore, even they who are united in marriage only for the purpose of begetting, for which purpose marriage was instituted, are not compared with the Fathers, seeking their very sons in a way far other than do these; forasmuch as Abraham, being bidden to slay his son, fearless and devoted, spared not his only son, whom from out of great despair he had received, save that he laid down his hand, when He forbade him, at Whose command he had lifted it up; it remains that we consider, whether at least continent persons among us are to be compared to those Fathers who were married; unless haply now these are to be preferred to them, to whom we have not yet found persons to compare. For there was a greater good in their marriage, than is the proper good of marriage: to which without doubt the good of Continence is to be preferred: because they sought not sons from marriage by such duty as these are led by, from a certain sense of mortal nature requiring succession against decease. And, whoso denies this to be good, he knows not God, the Creator of all things good, from things heavenly even unto things earthly, from things immortal even unto things mortal. But neither are beasts altogether without this sense of begetting, and chiefly birds, whose care of building nests meets us at once, and a certain likeness to marriages, in order to beget and nurture together. But those men, with mind far holier, surpassed this affection of mortal nature, the chastity whereof in its own kind, there being added thereto the worship of God, as some have understood, is set forth as bearing first thirty-fold; who sought sons of their marriage for the sake of Christ; in

Gen. 22, 12.

XIX.

order to distinguish His race after the flesh from all nations: even as God was pleased to order, that this above the rest should avail to prophesy of Him, in that it was foretold of what race also, and of what nation, He should hereafter come in the flesh. Therefore it was a far greater good than the chaste marriages of believers among us, which father Abraham knew in his own thigh, under which he bade his servant to put his hand, that he might take an oath concerning the wife, whom his son was to marry. For putting his hand under the thigh of a man, and swearing by the God of Heaven, what else did he signify, than that in that Flesh, which derived its origin from that thigh, the God of Heaven would come? Therefore marriage is a good, wherein married persons are so much the better, in proportion as they fear God with greater chastity and faithfulness, specially if the sons, whom they desire after the flesh, they also bring up after the spirit. DE BONO CONJUGALI. Gen. 24, 2—4.

23. Nor, in that the Law orders a man to be purified even after intercourse with a wife, doth it shew it to be sin: unless it be that which is allowed by way of pardon, which also, being in excess, hinders prayers. But, as the Law sets many things in sacraments and shadows of things to come; a certain as it were material formless state of the seed, which having received form will hereafter produce the body of man, is set to signify a life formless and untaught: from which formless state, forasmuch as it behoves that man be cleansed by form and teaching of learning; as a sign of this, that purification was ordered after the emission of seed. For neither in sleep also doth it take place through sin. And yet there also a purification was commanded. Or, if any think this also to be sin, thinking that it comes not to pass save from some lust of this kind, which without doubt is false; what? are the ordinary menses also of women sins? and yet from these the same old Law commanded that they should be cleansed by expiation; for no other cause, save the material formless state itself, in that which, when conception hath taken place, is added as it were to build up the body; and for this reason, when it flows without form, the Law would have signified by it a soul without form of discipline, flowing and loose in an unseemly manner. And

xx.

[1] infirmitas

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

that this ought to receive form, it signifies, when it commands such flow of the body to be purified. Lastly, what? to die, is that also a sin? or, to bury a dead person, is it not also a good work of humanity? and yet a purification was commanded even on occasion of this also; because also a dead body, life abandoning it, is not sin, but signifies the sin of a soul abandoned by righteousness.

Numb. 19, 11.

24. Marriage, I say, is a good, and may be, by sound reason, defended against all calumnies. But with the marriage of the holy fathers, I enquire not what marriage, but what continence, is on a level: or rather not marriage with marriage; for it is an equal gift in all cases given to the mortal nature of men; but men who use marriage, forasmuch as I find not, to compare with other men who used marriage in a far other spirit, we must enquire what continent persons admit of being compared with those married persons. Unless, haply, Abraham could not contain from marriage, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, he who, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, could fearless sacrifice his only pledge of offspring, for whose sake marriage was dear!

xxi.

25. Forsooth continence is a virtue, not of the body, but of the soul. But the virtues of the soul are sometimes shewn in work, sometimes lie hid in habit, as the virtue of martyrdom shone forth and appeared by enduring sufferings; but how many are there of the same virtue of mind, unto whom trial is wanting, whereby what is within, in the sight of God, may go forth also into the sight of men, and not to men begin to exist, but only become known? For there was already

Job 1, 8.

in Job patience, which God knew, and to which He bore witness: but it became known unto men by test of trial: and what lay hid within was not produced, but shewn, by the things that were brought on him from without. Timothy also certainly had the virtue of abstaining from wine, which

1 Tim. 5, 23.

Paul took not from him, by advising him to use a moderate portion of wine, "for the sake of his stomach and his often infirmities," otherwise he taught him a deadly lesson, that for the sake of the health of the body there should be a loss of virtue in the soul: but because what he advised could take place with safety to that virtue, the profit of drinking

was so left free to the body, as that the habit of continence continued in the soul. For it is the habit itself, whereby any thing is done, when there is need[1]; but when it is not done, it can be done, only there is no need. This habit, in the matter of that continence which is from sexual intercourse, they have not, unto whom it is said, *If they contain not, let them be married.* But this they have, unto whom it is said, *Whoso can receive, let him receive.* Thus have perfect souls used earthly goods, that are necessary for something else, through this habit of continence, so as, by it, not to be bound by them, and so as by it, to have power also not to use them, in case there were no need. Nor doth any use them well, save who hath power also not to use them. Many indeed with more ease practise abstinence, so as not to use, than practise temperance, so as to use well. But no one can wisely use them, save who can also continently not use them. From this habit Paul also said, *I know both to abound, and to suffer want.* Forsooth to suffer want is the part of any men soever; but to know to suffer want is the part of great men. So, also, to abound, who cannot? but to know also to abound, is not, save of those, whom abundance corrupts not.

DE BONO CONJUGALI. [1] or 'work.'

1 Cor. 7, 9.

Mat. 19, 12.

Phil. 4, 12.

26. But, in order that it may be more clearly understood, how there may be virtue in habit, although it be not in work, I speak of an example, about which no Catholic Christian can doubt. For that our Lord Jesus Christ in truth of flesh hungered and thirsted, ate and drank, no one doubts of such as out of the Gospel are believers. What, then, was there not in Him the virtue of continence from meat and drink, as great as in John Baptist? *For John came neither eating nor drinking; and they said, He hath a devil; the Son of Man came both eating and drinking; and they said, Lo, a glutton and wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners.* What, are not such things said also against them of His household, our fathers, from another kind of using of things earthy, so far as pertains to sexual intercourse; 'Lo, men lustful and unclean, lovers of women and lewdness?' And yet as in Him that was not true, although it were true that He abstained not, even as John, from eating and drinking, for Himself saith most plainly and truly, *John came, not*

Mat. 11, 18. 19.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

eating, nor drinking; the Son of Man came eating and drinking: so neither is this true in these Fathers; although there hath come now the Apostle of Christ, not wedded, nor begetting, so that the heathen say of him, He was a magician; but there came then the Prophet of Christ, marrying and begetting sons, so that the Manichees say of him, He was a man fond of women: *And wisdom,* saith He, *hath been justified of her children.* What the Lord there added, after He had thus spoken of John and of Himself; *But wisdom,* saith He, *hath been justified of her children.* Who see that the virtue of continence ought to exist even in the habit of the soul, but to be shewn forth in deed, according to opportunity of things and times; even as the virtue of patience of holy martyrs appeared in deed; but of the rest equally holy was in habit. Wherefore, even as there is not unequal desert of patience in Peter, who suffered, and in John, who suffered not; so there is not unequal desert of continence in John who made no trial of marriage[1], and in Abraham, who begat sons. For both the celibate of the one, and the marriage estate of the other, did service as soldiers to Christ, as times were allotted; but John had continence in work also, but Abraham in habit alone.

Mat. 11, 19.

[1] S. Jerome agt. Jovinianus.

xxii. 27. Therefore at that time, when the Law also, following upon the days of the Patriarchs, pronounced accursed, whoso raised not up seed in Israel, even he, who could, put it not forth, but yet possessed it. But from the period that the fulness of time hath come, that it should be said, *Whoso can receive, let him receive,* from that period even unto this present, and from henceforth even unto the end, whoso hath, worketh: whoso shall be unwilling to work, let him not falsely say, that he hath. And through this means, they, who corrupt good manners by evil communications, with empty and vain craft, say to a Christian man exercising continence, and refusing marriage, What then, are you better than Abraham? But let him not, upon hearing this, be troubled; neither let him dare to say, 'Better,' nor let him fall away from his purpose: for the one he saith not truly, the other he doth not rightly. But let him say, I indeed am not better than Abraham, but the chastity of the unmarried is better than the chastity of marriage; whereof Abraham had one in use,

Deut. 25, 5—10.

Gal. 4, 4.

Mat. 19, 12.

1 Cor. 15, 33.

both in habit. For he lived chastely in the marriage state: but it was in his power to be chaste without marriage, but at that time it behoved not. But I with more ease use not marriage, which Abraham used, than so use marriage as Abraham used it: and therefore I am better than those, who through incontinence of mind cannot do what I do; not than those, who, on account of difference of time, did not do what I do. For what I now do, they would have done better, if it had been to be done at that time; but what they did, I should not so do, although it were now to be done. Or, if he feels and knows himself to be such, as that, (the virtue of continence being preserved and continued in the habit of his mind, in case he had descended unto the use of marriage from some duty of religion,) he should be such an husband, and such a father, as Abraham was; let him dare to make plain answer to that captious questioner, and to say, I am not indeed better than Abraham, only in this kind of continence, of which he was not void, although it appeared not: but I am such, not having other than he, but doing other. Let him say this plainly: forasmuch as, even if he shall wish to glory, he will not be a fool, for he saith the truth. But if he spare, lest any think of him above what he sees him, or hears any thing of him; let him remove from his own person the knot of the question, and let him answer, not concerning the man, but concerning the thing itself, and let him say, Whoso hath so great power is such as Abraham. But it may happen that the virtue of continence is less in his mind, who uses not marriage, which Abraham used: but yet it is greater than in his mind, who on this account held chastity of marriage, in that he could not a greater. Thus also let the unmarried woman, whose thoughts are of the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and spirit, when she shall have heard that shameless questioner saying, What, then, are you better than Sara? answer, I am better, but than those, who are void of the virtue of continence, which I believe not of Sara: she therefore together with this virtue did what was suited to that time, from which I am free, that in my body also may appear, what she kept in her mind.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

2 Cor. 12, 6.

1 Cor. 7, 34.

28. Therefore, if we compare the things themselves, we may no way doubt that the chastity of continence is better xxiii.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

than marriage chastity, whilst yet both are good: but when we compare the persons, he is better, who hath a greater good than another. Further, he who hath a greater of the same kind, hath also that which is less; but he, who only hath what is less, assuredly hath not that which is greater. For in sixty, thirty also are contained, not sixty also in thirty. But not to work from out that which he hath, stands in the allotment of duties, not in the want of virtues: forasmuch as neither is he without the good of mercy, who finds not wretched persons such as he may mercifully assist.

29. And there is this further, that men are not rightly compared with men in regard of some one good. For it may come to pass, that one hath not what another hath, but hath another thing, which must be esteemed of more value. The good of obedience is better than of continence. For marriage is in no place condemned by authority of our Scriptures, but disobedience is in no place acquitted. If therefore there be set before us a virgin about to continue so, but yet disobedient, and a married woman who could not continue a virgin, but yet obedient, which shall we call better? shall it be (the one) less praiseworthy, than if she were a virgin, or (the other) worthy of blame, even as she is a virgin? So, if you compare a drunken virgin with a sober married woman, who can doubt to pass the same sentence? Forsooth marriage and virginity are two goods, whereof the one is greater; but sobriety and drunkenness, even as obedience and stubbornness, are, the one good, and the other evil. But it is better to have all goods even in a less degree, than great good with great evil: forasmuch as in the goods of the body also it is better to have the stature of Zacchæus with sound health, than that of Goliah with fever.

30. The right question plainly is, not whether a virgin every way disobedient is to be compared to an obedient married woman, but a less obedient to a more obedient: forasmuch as that also of marriage is chastity, and therefore a good, but less than virginal. Therefore if the one, by so much less in the good of obedience, as she is greater in the good of chastity, be compared with the other, which of them is to be preferred that person judges, who in the first place comparing chastity itself and obedience, sees that obedience

is in a certain way the mother of all virtues. And therefore, for this reason, there may be obedience without virginity, because virginity is of counsel, not of precept. But I call that obedience, whereby precepts are complied with. And, therefore, there may be obedience to precepts without virginity, but not without chastity. For it pertains unto chastity, not to commit fornication, not to commit adultery, to be defiled by no unlawful intercourse: and whoso observe not these, do contrary to the precepts of God, and on this account are banished from the virtue of obedience. But there may be virginity without obedience, on this account, because it is possible for a woman, having received the counsel of virginity, and having guarded virginity, to slight precepts: even as we have known many sacred virgins, talkative, curious, drunken, litigious, covetous, proud: all which are contrary to precepts, and slay one, even as Eve herself, by the crime of disobedience. Wherefore not only is the obedient to be preferred to the disobedient, but a more obedient married woman to a less obedient virgin. DE BONO CONJUGALI.

31. From this obedience that Father, who was not without a wife, was prepared to be without an only son[c], and that slain by himself. For I shall not without due cause call him an only son, concerning whom he heard the Lord say, *In Isaac shall there be called for thee a seed.* Therefore how much sooner would he hear it, that he should be even without a wife, if this he were bidden? Wherefore it is not without reason that we often consider, that some of both sexes, containing from all sexual intercourse, are negligent in obeying precepts, after having with so great warmth caught at the not making use of things that are allowed. Whence who doubts that we do not rightly compare unto the excellence of those holy fathers and mothers begetting sons, the men and women of our time, although free from all intercourse, yet in virtue of obedience inferior: even if there had been wanting to those men in habit of mind also, what is plain in the deed of the latter. Therefore let these follow the Lamb, boys singing the new song, as it is written in the

Gen. 21, 12.

[c] Retract. b. ii. c. 22. 2. "I do not quite approve this; as one should rather believe that he believed his son would presently be restored to him by resurrection, as we read in the Epistle to the Hebrews."

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

Apocalypse, *who have not defiled themselves with women:* for no other reason than that they have continued virgins. Nor let them on this account think themselves better than the first holy fathers, who used marriage, so to speak, after the fashion of marriage. Forsooth the use of it is such, as that, if in it there hath taken place through carnal intercourse aught which exceeds necessity of begetting, although in a way that deserves pardon, there is pollution. For what doth pardon expiate, if that advance cause no pollution whatever? From which pollution it were strange if boys following the Lamb were free, unless they continued virgins.

Rev. 14, 4.

XXIV. 32. Therefore the good of marriage throughout all nations and all men stands in the occasion of begetting, and faith of chastity: but, so far as pertains unto the People of God, also in the sanctity of the Sacrament, by reason of which it is unlawful for one who leaves her husband, even when she has been put away, to be married to another, so long as her husband lives, no not even for the sake of bearing children: and, whereas this is the alone cause, wherefore marriage takes place, not even where that very thing, wherefore it takes place, follows not, is the marriage bond loosed, save by the death of the husband or wife. In like manner as if there take place an ordination of clergy in order to form a congregation of people, although the congregation of people follow not, yet there remains in the ordained persons the Sacrament of Ordination; and if, for any fault, any be removed from his office, he will not be without the Sacrament of the Lord once for all set upon him, albeit continuing unto condemnation. Therefore that marriage takes place for the sake of begetting children, the Apostle is a witness thus, *I will*, says he, *that the younger women be married.* And, as though it were said to him, For what purpose? straightway he added, *to have children, to be mothers of families.* But unto the faith of chastity pertains that saying, *The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband: likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife.* But unto the sanctity of the Sacrament that saying, *The wife not to depart from her husband, but, in case she shall have departed, to remain unmarried, or to be reconciled to her husband: and let not*

1 Cor. 7, 4.

1 Cor. 7, 10. 11.

the husband put away his wife. All these are goods, on account of which marriage is a good; offspring, faith, sacrament. But now, at this time, not to seek offspring after the flesh, and by this means to maintain a certain perpetual freedom from every such work, and to be made subject after a spiritual manner unto one Husband Christ, is assuredly better and holier; provided, that is, men so use that freedom, as it is written, so as to have their thoughts of the things of the Lord, how to please the Lord; that is, that Continence at all times do take thought, that obedience fall not short in any matter: and this virtue, as the root-virtue, and (as it is wont to be called) the womb, and clearly universal, the holy fathers of old exercised in deed; but that Continence they possessed in habit of mind. Who assuredly, through that obedience, whereby they were just and holy, and ever prepared unto every good work, even if they were bidden to abstain from all sexual intercourse, would perform it. For how much more easily could they, at the bidding or exhortation of God, not use sexual intercourse, who, as an act of obedience, could slay the child, for the begetting of which alone they used the ministry of sexual intercourse?

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

1 Cor. 7, 32.

xxv. 33. And, the case being thus, enough and more than enough answer has been made to the heretics, whether they be Manichees, or whosoever other that bring false charges against the Fathers of the Old Testament, on the subject of their having several wives, thinking this a proof whereby to convict them of incontinence: provided, that is, that they perceive, that that is no sin, which is committed neither against nature, in that they used those women not for wantonness, but for the begetting of children: nor against custom, forasmuch as such things were usually done at those times: nor against command, forasmuch as they were forbidden by no law. But such as used women unlawfully, either the divine sentence in those Scriptures convicts them, or the reading sets them forth for us to condemn and shun, not to approve or imitate.

xxvi. 34. But those of ours who have wives we advise, with all our power, that they dare not to judge of those holy fathers after their own weakness, comparing, as the Apostle says, them-

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

How great strength the soul hath, doing service unto righteousness against lusts, that it acquiesce not in carnal motions of this sort, or suffer them to glide on or advance unto sexual intercourse beyond the necessity of begetting children, so far as the order of nature, so far as the use of custom, so far as the decrees of laws prescribe. Forsooth it is on this account that men have this suspicion concerning those fathers, in that they themselves have either chosen marriage through incontinence, or use their wives with intemperance. But however let such as are continent, either men, who, on the death of their wives, or women, who, on the death of their husbands, or both, who, with mutual consent, have vowed continence unto God, know that to them indeed there is due a greater recompense than marriage chastity demands; but, (as regards) the marriages of the holy Fathers, who were joined after the manner of prophecy, who neither in sexual intercourse sought aught save children, nor in children themselves aught save what should set forward Christ coming hereafter in the flesh, not only let them not despise them in comparison of their own purpose, but let them without any doubting prefer them even to their own purpose.

35. Boys also and virgins dedicating unto God actual chastity we do before all things admonish, that they be aware that they must guard their life meanwhile upon earth with so great humility, by how much the more what they have vowed is heavenly. Forsooth it is written, *How great soever thou art, by so much humble thyself in all things.* Therefore it is our part to say something of their greatness, it is their part to have thought of great humility. Therefore, except certain, those holy fathers and mothers who were married, than whom these although they be not married are not better, for this reason, that, if they were married, they would not be equal, let them not doubt that they surpass all the rest of this time, either married, or after trial made of marriage, exercising continence; not so far as Anna surpasses Susanna; but so far as Mary surpasses both. I am speaking of what pertains unto the holy chastity itself of the flesh; for who knows not, what other deserts Mary hath? Therefore let them add to this so high purpose conduct

Ecclus. 3, 18.

ing reward; knowing of a truth, that, unto themselves and unto all the faithful, beloved and chosen members of Christ, coming many from the East, and from the West, although shining with light of glory that differeth one from another, according to their deserts, there is this great gift bestowed in common, to sit down in the kingdom of God with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, who not for the sake of this world, but for the sake of Christ, were husbands, for the sake of Christ, were fathers.

DE BONO CONJUGALI.

Matt. 8, 11.

S. AUGUSTINE

OF

HOLY VIRGINITY.

Retr. ii. 23. "After I had written 'on the Good of Marriage,' it was expected that I should write on Holy Virginity; and I did not delay to do so: and that it is God's gift, and how great a gift, and with what humility to be guarded, so far as I was able I set forth in one volume. This book begins, &c."

DE VIRGINITATE. i.

1. WE lately put forth a book 'of the Good of Marriage,' in which also we admonished and admonish the virgins of Christ, not, on account of that greater gift which they have received, to despise, in comparison of themselves, the fathers and mothers of the People of God; and not to think those men, (whom the Apostle sets forth as the olive, that the engrafted wild olive be not proud,) who did service to Christ about to come hereafter, even by the begetting of sons, on this account of less desert, because by divine right continence is preferred to wedded life, and pious virginity to marriage. Forsooth in them were being prepared and brought forth future things, which now we see fulfilled in a marvellous and effectual manner, whose married life also was prophetic: whence, not after the wonted custom of human wishes and joys, but by the very deep counsel of God, in certain of them fruitfulness obtained to be honoured, in certain also barrenness to be made fruitful. But at this time, towards them unto whom it is said, *if they contain not, let them be married,* we must use not consolation, but exhortation. But them,

Rom. 11, 17. 18.

1 Cor. 7, 9.

unto whom it is said, *Whoso can receive, let him receive*, we must exhort, that they be not alarmed; and alarm that they be not lifted up. Wherefore virginity is not only to be set forth, that it may be loved, but also to be admonished, that it be not puffed up. DE VIRGINITATE. Mat. 19, 12.

2. This we have undertaken in our present discourse: may Christ help us, the Son of a Virgin, and the Spouse of virgins, born after the flesh of a virgin womb, and wedded after the Spirit in virgin marriage. Whereas, therefore, the whole Church itself is a virgin espoused unto one Husband Christ, as the Apostle saith, of how great honour are its members worthy, who guard this even in the flesh itself, which the whole Church guards in the faith? which imitates the mother of her Husband, and her Lord. For the Church also is both a mother and a virgin. For whose virgin purity consult we for, if she is not a virgin? or whose children address we, if she is not a mother? Mary bare the Head of This Body after the flesh, the Church bears the members of that Body after the Spirit. In both virginity hinders not fruitfulness: in both fruitfulness takes not away virginity. Wherefore, whereas the whole Church is holy both in body and spirit, and yet the whole is not virgin in body but in spirit;* how much more holy is it in these members, wherein it is virgin both in body and spirit? ii. 2 Cor. 11, 2.

3. It is written in the Gospel, of the mother and brethren of Christ, that is, His kindred after the flesh, that, when word had been brought to Him, and they were standing without, because they could not come to Him by reason of the crowd, He made answer, *Who is My mother? or who are My brethren? and stretching forth His Hand over His disciples, He saith, These are My brethren: and whosoever shall have done the will of My Father, that man is to Me brother, and mother, and sister.* What else teaching us, than to prefer to kindred after the flesh, our descent after the Spirit: and that men are not blessed for this reason, that they are united by nearness of flesh unto just and holy men, but that, by obeying and following, they cleave unto their doctrine and conduct. Therefore Mary is more blessed in receiving the faith of Christ, than in conceiving the flesh of Christ. For to a certain one who said, *Blessed is the womb,* iii. Mat. 12, 46—50. Luke 11, 27, 28.

DE VIRGINITATE.

which bare Thee, He Himself made answer, *Yea, rather, blessed are they who hear the Word of God, and keep it.* Lastly, to His brethren, that is, His kindred after the flesh, who believed not in Him, what profit was there in that being of kin? Thus also her nearness as a Mother would have been of no profit to Mary, had she not borne Christ in her heart after a more blessed manner than in her flesh.

iv. 4. Her virginity also itself was on this account more pleasing and accepted, in that it was not that Christ being conceived in her, rescued it beforehand from a husband who would violate it, Himself to preserve it; but, before He was conceived, chose it, already dedicated to God, as that from which to be born. This is shewn by the words which Mary spake in answer to the Angel announcing to her her conception; *How*, saith she, *shall this be, seeing I know not a man?* Which assuredly she would not say, unless she had before vowed herself unto God as a virgin. But, because the habits of the Israelites as yet refused this, she was espoused to a just man, who would not take from her by violence, but rather guard against violent persons, what she had already vowed. Although, even if she had said this only, *How shall this take place?* and had not added, *seeing I know not a man*, certainly she would not have asked, how, being a female, she should give birth to her promised Son, if she had married with purpose of sexual intercourse. She might have been bidden also to continue a virgin, that in her by fitting miracle the Son of God should receive the form of a servant, but, being to be a pattern to holy virgins, lest it should be thought that she alone needed to be a virgin, who had obtained to conceive a child even without sexual intercourse, she dedicated her virginity to God, when as yet she knew not what she should conceive, in order that the imitation of a heavenly life in an earthly and mortal body should take place of vow, not of command; through love of choosing, not through necessity of doing service. Thus Christ by being born of a virgin, who, before she knew Who was to be born of her, had determined to continue a virgin, chose rather to approve, than to command, holy virginity. And thus, even in the female herself, in whom He took the form of a servant, He willed that virginity should be free.

Luke 1, 34.

5. There is, therefore, no reason why the virgins of God be sad, because themselves also cannot, keeping their virginity, be mothers of the flesh. For Him alone could virginity give birth to with fitting propriety, Who in His Birth could have no peer. However, That Birth of the Holy Virgin is the ornament of all holy virgins; and themselves together with Mary are mothers of Christ, if they do the will of His Father. For Mary also is on this account the Mother of Christ in a way more full of praise and blessing, according to His sentence mentioned above. *Whosoever doeth the will of My Father Who is in heaven, that one is to Me brother, and sister, and mother.* All these degrees of nearness of kin to Himself, He shews forth in a spiritual manner, in the People whom He hath redeemed: as brothers and sisters He hath holy men and holy women, forasmuch as they all are coheirs in the heavenly inheritance. His mother is the whole Church, because she herself assuredly gives birth to His members, that is, His faithful ones. Also His mother is every pious soul, doing the will of His Father with most fruitful charity, in them of whom it travaileth, until Himself be formed in them. Mary, therefore, doing the will of God, after the flesh, is only the mother of Christ, but after the Spirit she is both His sister and mother. DE VIRGINITATE. V. Gal. 4, 19.

6. And on this account, that one female, not only in the Spirit, but also in the flesh, is both a mother and a virgin. And a mother indeed in the Spirit, not of our Head, Which is the Saviour Himself, of Whom rather she was born after the Spirit: forasmuch as all, who have believed in Him, among whom is herself also, are rightly called *children of the Bridegroom:* but clearly the mother of His members, which are we: in that she wrought together by charity, that faithful ones should be born in the Church, who are members of That Head: but in the flesh, the mother of the Head Himself. For it behoved that our Head, on account of a notable miracle, should be born after the flesh of a virgin, that He might thereby signify that His members would be born after the Spirit, of the Church a virgin: therefore Mary alone both in Spirit and in flesh is a mother and a virgin: both the mother of Christ, and a virgin of Christ; but the Church, in the Saints who shall possess the kingdom of God, in the VI. Matt. 9, 15.

DE VIRGINITATE.

Spirit indeed is altogether the mother of Christ, altogether a virgin of Christ: but in the flesh not altogether, but in certain a virgin of Christ, in certain a mother, but not of Christ. Forsooth both faithful women who are married, and virgins dedicated to God, by holy manners, and charity out of a pure heart, and good conscience, and faith unfeigned, because they do the will of the Father, are after a spiritual sense mothers of Christ. But they who in married life give birth to (children) after the flesh, give birth not to Christ, but to Adam, and therefore run, that their offspring having been dyed[1] in His Sacraments, may become members of Christ, forasmuch as they know what they have given birth to.

1 Tim. 1, 5.

[1] imbuti.

vii. 7. I have said this, lest haply married fruitfulness dare to vie with virgin chastity, and to set forth Mary herself, and to say unto the virgins of God, She had in her flesh two things worthy of honour, virginity and fruitfulness; inasmuch as she both continued a virgin, and bore: this happiness, since we could not both have the whole, we have divided, that ye be virgins, we be mothers: for what is wanting to you in children, let your virginity, that hath been preserved, be a consolation: for us, let the gain of children make up for our lost virginity. This speech of faithful women married, unto holy virgins, would any how be to be endured, if they gave birth to Christians in the flesh; that in this alone, save virginity, the fruitfulness of Mary in the flesh should be more excellent, that she gave birth to the Head Himself of these members, but they to the members of That Head: but now, although by this speech there vie such as on this one account wed and have intercourse with husbands, that they may have sons, and have no other thought of their sons, than to gain them for Christ, and do this so soon as they can: yet are not Christians born of their flesh, but made so afterwards: the Church giving them birth, through this, that in a spiritual manner she is the mother of the members of Christ, of Whom also after a spiritual manner she is the virgin. And unto this holy birth mothers also who have not borne in the flesh Christians, are workers together, that they may become what they know that they could not give birth to in the flesh: yet are they workers together through this, wherein themselves

also are virgins and mothers[a] of Christ, that is to say, in *faith which worketh through love.*

DE VIRGINITATE.

8. Therefore no fruitfulness of the flesh can be compared to holy virginity even of the flesh. For neither is itself also honoured because it is virginity, but because it hath been dedicated to God, and, although it be kept in the flesh, yet is it kept by religion and devotion of the Spirit. And by this means even virginity of body is spiritual, which continence of piety vows and keeps. For, even as no one makes an immodest use of the body, unless the sin have been before conceived in the spirit, so no one keeps modesty in the body, unless chastity have been before implanted in the spirit. But, further, if modesty of married life, although it be guarded in the flesh, is yet attributed to the soul, not to the flesh, under the rule and guidance of which, the flesh itself hath no intercourse with any beside its own proper estate of marriage; how much more, and with how much greater honour, are we to reckon among the goods of the soul that continence, whereby the virgin purity of the flesh is vowed, consecrated, and kept, for the Creator Himself of the soul and flesh.

Gal. 5, 6. viii.

9. Wherefore neither are we to believe that their fruitfulness of the flesh, who at this time seek in marriage nothing else save children, to make over unto Christ, can be set against the loss of virginity. Forsooth, in former times, unto Christ about to come after the flesh, the race itself of the flesh was needful, in a certain large and prophetic nation: but now, when from out every race of men, and from out all nations, members of Christ may be gathered unto the People of God, and City of the kingdom of heaven, whoso can receive sacred virginity, let him receive it; and let her only, who contains not, be married. For what, if any rich woman were to expend much money on this good work, and to buy, from out different nations, slaves to make Christians, will she not provide for the giving birth to members of Christ in a manner more rich, and more numerous, than by any, how great soever, fruitfulness of the womb? And yet she will not therefore dare to compare her money to the offering[1] of holy

ix.

Mat. 19, 12. 1 Cor. 7, 9.

[1] muneri.

[a] It has been proposed to omit 'que,' making the sense, 'wherein the virgins themselves also are mothers of Christ,' but the sense is good as it stands.

DE VIRGINITATE.

virginity. But if for the sake of making such as shall be born Christians, fruitfulness of the flesh shall with just reason be set against the loss of chastity, this matter will be more fruitful, if virginity be lost at a great price of money, whereby many more children may be purchased to be made Christians, than could be born from the womb, however
x. fruitful, of a single person. But, if it be extreme folly to say this, let the faithful women that are married possess their own good, of which we have treated, so far as seemed fit, in another volume; and let them more highly honour, even as they are most rightly used to do, in the sacred virgins, their better good, of which we are treating in our present discourse.

10. For not even herein ought such as are married to compare themselves with the deserts of the continent, in that of them virgins are born: for this is not a good of marriage, but of nature: which was so ordered of God, as that of every sexual intercourse whatever of the two sexes of human kind, whether in due order and honest, or base and unlawful, there is born no female save a virgin, yet is none born a sacred virgin: so it is brought to pass that a virgin is born even of fornication, but a sacred virgin not even of marriage.

xi. 11. Nor do we ourselves set forth this in virgins, that they are virgins; but that they are virgins dedicated unto God by pious continence. For it is not at a venture that I may say, a married woman seems to me happier than a virgin about to be married: for the one hath what the other as yet desires, especially if she be not yet even the betrothed of any one. The one studies to please one, unto whom she hath been given; the other many, in doubt unto whom she is to be given: by this one thing she guards modesty of thought from the crowd, that she is seeking, not an adulterer, but a husband, in the crowd. Therefore that virgin is with good reason set before a married woman, who neither sets herself forth for the multitude to love, whereas she seeks from out the multitude the love of one; nor, having now found him, orders herself[1] for one, taking thought of the things of the world, how to please her husband; but hath so loved *Him of fair beauty above the sons of men*, as that, because she could not, even as Mary, conceive Him in her

[1] compo-nit.

1 Cor. 7, 34.

Ps. 45, 2.

flesh, she hath kept her flesh also virgin for Him conceived in her heart. This kind of virgins no fruitfulness of the body hath given birth to: this is no progeny of flesh and blood. If of these the mother be sought for, it is the Church. None bears sacred virgins save a sacred virgin, she who hath been espoused to be presented chaste unto one Husband, Christ. Of her, not altogether in body, but altogether in spirit virgin, are born holy virgins both in body and in spirit. DE VIRGINITATE. xii. 2 Cor. 11, 2.

12. Let marriages possess their own good, not that they beget sons, but that honestly, that lawfully, that modestly, that in a spirit of fellowship they beget them, and educate them, after they have been begotten, with cooperation, with wholesome teaching, and earnest purpose: in that they keep the faith of the couch one with another; in that they violate not the sacrament of wedlock. All these, however, are offices of human duty: but virginal chastity and freedom through pious continence from all sexual intercourse is the portion of Angels, and a practice[1], in corruptible flesh, of perpetual incorruption. To this let all fruitfulness of the flesh yield, all chastity of married life; the one is not in (man's) power, the other is not in eternity; free choice hath not fruitfulness of the flesh, heaven hath not chastity of married life. Assuredly they will have something great beyond others in that common immortality, who have something already not of the flesh in the flesh. xiii. [1] 'meditatio.'

13. Whence they are marvellously void of wisdom, who think that the good of this continence is not necessary for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, but for the sake of the present world: in that, forsooth, married persons are strained different ways by earthly cares more and more straitened, from which trouble virgins and continent persons are free: as though on this account only it were better not to be married, that the straits of this present time may be escaped, not that it is of any profit unto a future life. And, that they may not seem to have put forth this vain opinion from out the vanity of their own heart, they take the Apostle to witness, where he saith, *But concerning virgins I have not command of the Lord, but I give counsel, as having obtained mercy from God to be faithful. Therefore I think that this* 1 Cor. 7, 25. 26.

DE VIRGINITATE.

is good on account of the present necessity, because it is good for a man so to be. Lo, say they, where the Apostle shews 'that this is good on account of the present necessity,' not on account of the future eternity. As though the Apostle would have regard for the present necessity, otherwise than as providing and consulting for the future; whereas all his dealing[1] calls not save unto life eternal.

[1] dispensatio.

xiv. 14. It is, therefore, the present necessity that we are to avoid, but yet such as is a hindrance to somewhat of the good things to come; by which necessity the married life is forced to have thought of the things of the world, how to please, the husband the wife, or the wife the husband. Not that these separate from the kingdom of God, as there are sins, which are restrained by command, not by counsel, on this account, because it is matter of condemnation not to obey the Lord when He commands: but that, which, within the kingdom of God itself, might be more largely possessed, if there were larger thoughts how they were to please God, will assuredly be less, when as this very thing is less thought of by necessity of marriage. Therefore he says, *Concerning virgins I have not command of the Lord.* For whosoever obeys not a command, is guilty and liable for punishment. Wherefore, because it is not sin to marry a wife or to be married, (but if it were a sin, it would be forbidden by a *Command*,) on this account there is no *Command* of the Lord concerning virgins. But since, after we have shunned or had forgiveness of sins, we must approach eternal life, wherein is a certain or more excellent glory, to be assigned not unto all who shall live for ever, but unto certain there; in order to obtain which it is not enough to have been set free from sins, unless there be vowed unto Him, Who setteth us free, something, which it is no matter of fault not to have vowed, but matter of praise to have vowed and performed; he saith, *I give counsel, as having obtained mercy from God that I should be faithful.* For neither ought I to grudge faithful counsel, who not by my own merits, but by the mercy of God, am faithful. *I think therefore that this is good, by reason of the present necessity.* This, saith he, on which I have not command of the Lord, but give counsel, that is concerning virgins, I think to be good by reason of

1 Cor. 7, 25.

1 Cor. 7, 26.

the present necessity. For I know what the necessity of the present time, unto which marriages serve, compels, that the things of God be less thought of than is enough for the obtaining that glory, which shall not be of all, although they abide in eternal life and salvation: *For star differeth from star in brightness; so also the Resurrection of the dead. It is*, therefore, *good for a man so to be.* DE VIRGINITATE. 1 Cor. 15, 41. 42.

15. After that the same Apostle adds, and says, *Thou art bound to a wife, seek not loosening: thou art loosed from a wife, seek not a wife.* Of these two, that, which he set first, pertains unto command, against which it is not lawful to do. For it is not lawful to put away a wife, save because of fornication, as the Lord Himself saith in the Gospel. But that, which he added, *Thou art loosed from a wife, seek not a wife*, is a sentence of counsel, not of command: therefore it is lawful to do, but it is better not to do. Lastly, he added straightway, *Both if thou shalt have taken a wife, thou hast not sinned; and, if a virgin shall have been married, she sinneth not.* But, after that former saying of his, *Thou art bound to a wife, seek not loosening*, he added not, did he, 'And if thou shalt have loosed, thou hast not sinned?' For he had already said above, *But to these, who are in marriage, I command, not I, but the Lord, that the wife depart not from her husband: but, if she shall have departed, that she remain unmarried, or be reconciled unto her own husband;* for it may come to pass that she depart, not through any fault of her own, but of her husband. Then he saith, *And let not the man put away his wife*, which, nevertheless, he set down of command of the Lord: nor did he then add, And, if he shall have put her away, he sinneth not. For this is a command, not to obey which is sin: not a counsel, which if you shall be unwilling to use, you will obtain less good, not do any ill. On this account, after he had said, *Thou art loosed from a wife, seek not a wife;* because he was not giving command, in order that there be not evil done, but was giving counsel, in order that there be done what is better: straightway he added, *Both, if thou shalt have taken a wife, thou hast not sinned; and, if a virgin shall have been married, she sinneth not.* XV. 1 Cor. 7, 27. Mat. 19, 9. 1 Cor. 7, 10. 11.

16. Yet he added, *But such shall have tribulation of the* XVI. 1 Cor. 7, 28.

DE VIRGINITATE.

flesh, but I spare you: in this manner exhorting unto virginity, and continual continence, so as some little to alarm also from marriage, with all modesty, not as from a matter evil and unlawful, but as from one burdensome and troublesome. For it is one thing to incur dishonour of the flesh, and another to have tribulation of the flesh: the one is matter of crime to do, the other of labour to suffer, which for the most part men refuse not even for the most honourable duties. But for the having of marriage, now at this time, wherein there is no service done unto Christ about to come through descent of flesh by the begetting of the family itself, to take upon one to bear that tribulation of the flesh, which the Apostle foretels to such as shall be married, would be extremely foolish, did not incontinent persons fear, lest, through the temptation of Satan, they should fall into damnable sins. But whereas he says that he spares them, who he saith will have tribulation of the flesh, there suggests itself to me in the mean while no sounder interpretation, than that he was unwilling to open, and unfold in words, this self-same tribulation of the flesh, which he fore-announced to those who choose marriage, in suspicions of jealousy of married life, in the begetting and nurture of children, in fears and sorrows of childlessness. For how very few, after they have bound themselves with the bonds of marriage, are not drawn and driven to and fro by these feelings? And this we ought not to exaggerate, lest we spare not the very persons, who the Apostle thought were to be spared.

xvii. 17. Only by this, which I have briefly set down, the reader ought to be set on his guard against those, who, in this that is written, *but such shall have tribulation of the flesh, but I spare you*, falsely charge marriage, as indirectly condemned by this sentence; as though he were unwilling to utter the condemnation itself, when he saith, *But I spare you;* so that, forsooth, when he spares them, he spared not his own soul, as saying falsely, *And, if thou shalt have taken a wife, thou hast not sinned; and if a virgin shall have been married, she sinneth not.* And this, whoso believe or would have believed concerning holy Scripture, they, as it were, prepare for themselves a way for liberty of lying, or for defence of their own perverse opinion, in whatever case they

hold other sentiments than what sound doctrine demands. For if there shall be alleged any plain statement from the divine books, whereby to refute their errors, this they have at hand as a shield, whereby defending themselves as it were against the truth, they lay themselves bare to be wounded by the devil: to say that the author of the book did not speak the truth in this instance, at one time in order to spare the weak, at another in order to alarm despisers; just as a case shall come to hand, wherein to defend their own perverse opinion: and thus, whilst they had rather defend than amend their own opinions, they essay to break the authority of holy Scripture, whereby alone all proud and hard necks are broken. DE VIRGINITATE.

18. Wherefore I admonish both men and women who follow after perpetual continence and holy virginity, that they so set their own good before marriage, as that they judge not marriage an evil: and that they understand that it was in no way of deceit, but of plain truth that it was said by the Apostle, *Whoso gives in marriage does well; and whoso gives not in marriage, does better; and, if thou shalt have taken a wife, thou hast not sinned; and, if a virgin shall have been married, she sinneth not;* and a little after, *But she will be more blessed, if she shall have continued so, according to my judgment.* And, that the judgment should not be thought human, he adds, *But I think I also have the Spirit of God.* This is the doctrine of the Lord, this of the Apostles, this true, this sound, so to choose greater gifts, as that the lesser be not condemned. The truth of God, in the Scripture of God, is better than virginity of man in the mind or flesh of any. Let what is chaste be so loved, as that what is true be not denied. For what evil thought may they not have even concerning their own flesh, who believe that the tongue of the Apostle, in that very place, wherein he was commending virginity of body, was not virgin from corruption of lying. In the first place, therefore, and chiefly, let such as choose the good of virginity, hold most firmly that the holy Scriptures have in nothing spoken lies; and, thus, that that also is true which is said, *And if thou shalt have taken a wife, thou hast not sinned; and, if a virgin shall have been married, she sinneth not.* And let them not think that the so great good xviii. 1 Cor. 7, 38. 28. 40.

DE VIRGINITATE.

of virgin chastity is made less, if marriage shall not be an evil. Yea rather, let her hence feel confident, rather, that there is prepared for her a palm of greater glory, who feared not to be condemned, in case she were married, but desired to receive a more honourable crown, in that she was not married. Whoso therefore shall be willing to abide without marriage, let them not flee from marriage as a pitfall of sin; but let them surmount it as a hill of the lesser good, in order that they may rest in the mountain of the greater, continence. It is on this condition, forsooth, that this hill is dwelt on; that one leave it not when he will. For, *a woman is bound, so long as her husband liveth.* However unto widowed continence one ascends from it as from a step: but for the sake of virgin continence, one must either turn aside from it by not consenting to suitors, or overleap it by anticipating suitors.

1 Cor. 7, 39.

xix. 19. But lest any should think that of two works, the good and the better, the rewards will be equal, on this account it was necessary to treat against those, who have so interpreted that saying of the Apostle, *But I think that this is good by reason of the present necessity*, as to say that virginity is of use not in order to the kingdom of heaven, but in order to this present time: as though in that eternal life, they, who had chosen this better part, would have nothing more than the rest of men. And in this discussion when we came to that saying of the same Apostle, *But such shall have tribulation of the flesh, but I spare you;* we fell in with other disputants, who so far from making marriage equal to perpetual virginity, altogether condemned it. For whereas both are errors, either to equal marriage to holy virginity, or to condemn it: by fleeing from one another to excess, these two errors come into open collision, in that they have been unwilling to hold the mean of truth: whereby, both by sure reason and authority of holy Scriptures, we both discover that marriage is not a sin, and yet equal it not to the good either of virginal or even of widowed chastity. Some forsooth by aiming at virginity have thought marriage hateful even as adulterv: but others, by defending marriage, would have the excellence of perpetual continence to deserve nothing more than married chastity; as though either the good of Susanna

1 Cor. 7, 26.

1 Cor. 7, 28.

xx.

be the lowering of Mary: or the greater good of Mary ought to be the condemnation of Susanna. DE VIRGINITATE.

20. Far be it, therefore, that the Apostle so said, unto such as are married or are about to marry, *But I spare you*, as if he were unwilling to say what punishment is due to the married in another life. Far be it that she, whom Daniel set free from temporal judgment, be cast by Paul into hell! Far be it that her husband's bed be unto her punishment before the judgment seat of Christ, keeping faith to which she chose, under false charge of adultery, to meet either danger, or death! To what effect that speech, *It is better for me to fall into your hands, than to sin in the sight of God;* if God had been about, not to set her free because she kept married chastity, but to condemn her because she had married? And now so often as married chastity is by truth of holy Scripture justified against such as bring calumnies and charges against marriage, so often is Susanna by the Holy Spirit defended against false witnesses, so often is she set free from a false charge, and with much greater ado. For then against one married woman, now against all; then of hidden and untrue adultery, now of true and open marriage, an accusation is laid. Then one woman, upon what the unjust elders said, now all husbands and wives, upon what the Apostle would not say, are accused. It was, forsooth, your condemnation, say they, that he was silent on, when he said, *But I spare you.* Who (saith) this? Surely he, who had said above; *And, if thou shalt have taken a wife, thou hast not sinned; and, if a virgin shall have been married, she sinneth not.* Why, therefore, wherein he hath been silent through modesty, suspect ye a charge against marriage; and wherein he hath spoken openly, recognise ye not a defence of marriage? What, doth he condemn by his silence them whom he acquitted by his words? Is it not now a milder charge, to charge Susanna, not with marriage, but with adultery itself, than to charge the doctrine of the Apostle with falsehood? What in so great peril could we do, were it not as sure and plain that chaste marriage ought not to be condemned, as it is sure and plain that holy Scripture cannot lie?

Hist. of Sus. 23.

1 Cor. 7, 28.

21. Here some one will say, What has this to do with holy

DE VIRGINITATE. XXI.

virginity, or perpetual continence, the setting forth of which was undertaken in this discourse? To whom I make answer in the first place, what I mentioned above, that the glory of that greater good is greater from the fact that, in order to obtain it, the good of married life is surmounted, not the sin of marriage shunned. Otherwise it would be enough for perpetual continence, not to be specially praised, but only not to be blamed: if it were maintained on this account, because it was a crime to wed. In the next place, because it is not by human judgment, but by authority of Divine Scripture, that men must be exhorted unto so excellent a gift, we must plead not in a common place manner, or merely by the way, that divine Scripture itself seem not to any one in any matter to have lied. For they discourage rather than exhort holy virgins, who compel them to continue so by passing sentence on marriage. For whence can they feel sure that that is true, which is written, *And he, who gives her not in marriage, does better:* if they think that false, which yet is written close above, *Both he, who gives his virgin, does well?* But, if they shall without all doubt have believed Scripture speaking of the good of marriage, confirmed by the same most true authority of the divine oracle, they will hasten beyond unto their own better part with glowing and confident eagerness. Wherefore we have already spoken enough for the business which we have taken in hand, and, so far as we could, have shewn, that neither that saying of the Apostle, *But I think that this is good by reason of the present necessity,* is so to be understood, as though in this life holy virgins are better than faithful women married, but are equal in the kingdom of heaven, and in a future life: nor that other, where he saith of such as wed, *But such shall have tribulation of the flesh, but I spare you;* is to be so understood, as though he chose rather to be silent on, than to speak of, the sin and condemnation of marriage. Forsooth two errors, contrary the one to the other, have, through not understanding them, taken hold of each one of these two sentences. For that concerning the present necessity they interpret in their own favour, who contend to equal such as wed to such as wed not: but this, where it is said, *But I spare you,* they who

1 Cor. 7, 38.

1 Cor. 7, 26.

1 Cor. 7, 28.

presume to condemn such as wed. But we, according to the faith and sound doctrine of holy Scriptures, both say that marriage is no sin, and yet set its good not only below virginal, but also below widowed continence; and say that the present necessity of married persons is an hindrance to their desert, not indeed unto life eternal, but unto an excellent glory and honour, which is reserved for perpetual continence: and that at this time marriage is not expedient save for such as contain not; and that on the tribulation of the flesh, which cometh from the affection of the flesh, without which marriages of incontinent persons cannot be, the Apostle neither wished to be silent, as forewarning what was true, nor to unfold more fully, as sparing men's weakness. DE VIRGINITATE.

22. And now by plainest witnesses of divine Scriptures, such as according to the small measure of our memory we shall be able to remember, let it more clearly appear, that, not on account of the present life of this world, but on account of that future life which is promised in the kingdom of heaven, we are to choose perpetual continence. But who but must observe this in that which the same Apostle says a little after, *Whoso is without a wife has thought of the things of the Lord, how to please the Lord: but whoso is joined in marriage has thought of the things of the world, how to please his wife. And a woman unmarried and a virgin is divided*[1]*; she that is unmarried is careful about the things of the Lord, to be holy both in body and spirit: but she that is married is careful about the things of the world, how to please her husband.* Certainly he saith not, hath thought of the things of a state without care in this world, to pass her time without weightier troubles; nor doth he say that a woman unmarried and a virgin is divided, that is, distinguished, and separated from her who is married, for this end, that the unmarried woman be without care in this life, in order to avoid temporal troubles, which the married woman is not free from: but, *She hath thought*, saith he, *of the things of the Lord, how to please the Lord; and is careful about the things of the Lord, to be holy both in body and spirit.* Unless to such a degree, perchance, each be foolishly contentious, as to essay to assert, that it is not on account of the kingdom of heaven, but on account of this

xxii. 1Cor.7, 32. 33. 34.

[1] cf. de Bon. Conj. x.

DE VIRGINITATE.

present world, that we wish to 'please the Lord,' or that it is on account of this present life, not on account of life eternal, that they are 'holy both in body and spirit.' To believe this, what else is it, than to be more miserable than all men? For so the Apostle saith, *If in this life only we are hoping in Christ, we are more miserable than all men.* What? is he who breaks his bread to the hungry, if he do it only on account of this life, a fool; and shall he be prudent, who chastens his own body even unto continence, whereby he hath no intercourse even in marriage, if it shall profit him nought in the kingdom of heaven?

1 Cor. 15, 19.

xxiii. 23. Lastly, let us hear the Lord Himself delivering most plain judgment on this matter. For, upon His speaking after a divine and fearful manner concerning husband and wife not separating, save on account of fornication, His disciples said to Him, *If the case be such with a wife, it is not good to marry.* To whom He saith, *Not all receive this saying. For there are eunuchs who were so born: but there are others who were made by men: and there are eunuchs, who made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven: whoso can receive, let him receive.* What could be said more true, what more clear? Christ saith, the Truth saith, the Power and Wisdom of God saith, that they, who of pious purpose have contained from marrying a wife, make themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven: and against this, human vanity with impious rashness contends, that they, who do so, shun only the present necessity of the troubles of married life, but in the kingdom of heaven have no more than others.

Mat. 19, 10. 11. 12.

xxiv. 24. But concerning what eunuchs speaketh God by the prophet Isaiah, unto whom He saith that He will give in His house and in His wall a place by name, much better than of sons and daughters, save concerning these, who make themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven? For for these, whose bodily organ is without strength, so that they cannot beget, (such as are the eunuchs of rich men and of kings,) it is surely enough, when they become Christians, and keep the commands of God, yet have this purpose, that, if they could, they would have wives, to be made equal to the rest of the faithful in the house of

Is. 56, 4. 5.

God, who are married, who bring up in the fear of God a family which they have lawfully and chastely gotten, teaching their sons to set their hope on God; but not to receive a *better* place than of sons and daughters. For it is not of virtue of the soul, but of necessity of the flesh, that they marry not wives. Let who will contend that the Prophet foretold this of those eunuchs who have suffered mutilation of body; that even also helps the cause which we have undertaken. For God hath not preferred these eunuchs to such as have no place in His house, but assuredly to those who keep the desert of married life in begetting sons. For, when He saith, *I will give unto them a place much better;* He shews that one is also given unto the married, but much inferior. Therefore, to allow that in the house of God there will be the eunuchs after the flesh spoken of above, who were not in the People of Israel: because we see that these also themselves, whereas they become not Jews, yet become Christians: and that the Prophet spake not of them, who through purpose of continence seeking not marriage, make themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven: is any one so madly opposed to the truth as to believe that eunuchs made so in the flesh have a better place than married persons in the house of God, and to contend that persons being of pious purpose continent, chastening the body even unto contempt of marriage, making themselves eunuchs, not in the body, but in the very root of concupiscence, practising an heavenly and angelic life in an earthly mortal state, are on a level with the deserts of the married; and, being a Christian, to gainsay Christ when He praises those who have made themselves eunuchs, not for the sake of this world, but for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, affirming that this is of use for the present life, not for a future? What else remains for these, save to assert that the kingdom of heaven itself pertains unto this temporal life, wherein we now are? For why should not blind presumption advance even to this madness? And what more full of phrensy than this assertion? For, although at times the Church, even that which is at this time, is called the kingdom of heaven; certainly it is so called for this end, because it is being gathered together for a future and eternal

DE VIRGINITATE.

life. Although, therefore, it have the promise of the present, and of a future life, yet in all its good works it looks not to *the things that are seen, but to what are not seen. For what are seen are temporal; but what are not seen, are eternal.*

1 Tim. 4, 8.

2 Cor. 4, 18.

25. Nor indeed hath the Holy Spirit failed to speak what should be of open and unshaken avail against these men, most shamelessly and madly obstinate, and should repel their assault, as of wild beasts, from His sheep-fold, by defences that may not be stormed. For, after He had said concerning eunuchs, *I will give unto them in My house and in My wall a named place, much better than of sons and daughters;* lest any too carnal should think that there was any thing temporal to be hoped for in these words, straightway He added, *An eternal name I will give unto them, nor shall it ever fail:* as though He should say, Why dost thou draw back, impious blindness? Why dost thou draw back? Why dost thou pour the clouds of thy perverseness over the clear (sky) of truth? Why in so great light of Scriptures dost thou seek after darkness from out which to lay snares? Why dost thou promise temporal advantage only to holy persons exercising continence? *An eternal name I will give unto them:* why, where persons keep from all sexual intercourse, and also in the very fact that they abstain from these, have thought of the things of the Lord, how to please the Lord, do you essay to refer them unto earthly advantage? *An eternal name I will give unto them.* Why contend you that the kingdom of heaven, for the sake of which holy eunuchs have made themselves eunuchs, is to be understood in this life only? *An eternal name I will give unto them.* And if haply in this place you endeavour to take the word itself eternal in the sense of lasting for a long time, I add, I heap up, I tread in, *nor shall it ever fail.* What more seek you? What more say you? This eternal name, whatever it be, unto the eunuchs of God, which assuredly signifies a certain peculiar and excellent glory, shall not be in common with many, although set in the same kingdom, and in the same house. For on this account also, perhaps, it is called a *name*, that it distinguishes those, to whom it is given, from the rest.

Is. 56, 4. 5.

XXV.

XXVI. 26. What then, say they, is the meaning of that penny,

which is given in payment to all alike when the work of the vineyard is ended? whether it be to those who have laboured from the first hour, or to those who have laboured one hour? What assuredly doth it signify, but something, which all shall have in common, such as is life eternal itself, the kingdom of heaven itself, where shall be all, whom God hath predestinated, called, justified, glorified? *For it behoveth that this corruptible put on incorruption, and this mortal put on immortality.* This is that penny, wages for all. Yet *star differeth from star in glory; so also the resurrection of the dead.* These are the different merits of the Saints. For, if by that penny the heaven were signified, have not all the stars in common to be in the heaven? And yet, *There is one glory of the sun, another glory of the moon, another of the stars.* If that penny were taken for health of body, have not all the members, when we are well, health in common; and, should this health continue even unto death, is it not in all alike and equally? And yet, *God hath set the members, each one of them, in the body, as He would;* that neither the whole be an eye, nor the whole hearing, nor the whole smelling: and, whatever else there is, it hath its own property, although it have health equally with all. Thus because life eternal itself shall be alike to all, an equal penny was assigned to all; but, because in that life eternal itself the lights of merits shall shine with a distinction, there are *many mansions* in the house of the Father: and, by this means, in the penny not unlike, one lives not longer than another; but in the many mansions, one is honoured with greater brightness than another.

DE VIRGINITATE. Mat. 20, 9. 10. 1 Cor. 15, 53. Ib. 41. 42. 1 Cor. 12, 18. John 14, 2.

27. Therefore go on, Saints of God, boys and girls, males and females, unmarried men and women; go on and persevere unto the end. Praise more sweetly the Lord, Whom ye think on more richly: hope more happily in Him, Whom ye serve more instantly: love more ardently Him, Whom ye please more attentively. With loins girded, and lamps burning, wait for the Lord, when He cometh from the marriage. Ye shall bring unto the marriage of the Lamb a new song, which ye shall sing on your harps. Not surely such as the whole earth singeth, unto which it is said, *Sing unto the Lord a new song; sing unto the Lord, the whole*

xxvii. Luke 12, 35. 36. Ps. 96, 1.

DE VIRGINITATE.

earth: but such as no one shall be able to utter but you. For thus there saw you in the Apocalypse a certain one beloved above others by the Lamb, who had been wont to lie on His breast, and who used to drink in, and burst[1] forth, the Word of God above wonders of heaven. He saw you twelve times twelve thousand of holy harpers, of undefiled virginity in body, of inviolate truth in heart; and he wrote of you, that ye follow the Lamb whithersoever He shall go. Where think we that This Lamb goeth, where no one either dares or is able to follow save you? Where think we that He goeth? Into what glades and meadows? Where, I think, the grass are joys; not vain joys of this world, lying madnesses; nor joys such as shall be in the kingdom of God itself, for the rest that are not virgins; but distinct from the portion of joys of all the rest. Joy of the virgins of Christ, of Christ, in Christ, with Christ, after Christ, through Christ, for Christ. The joys peculiar to the virgins of Christ, are not the same as of such as are not virgins, although of Christ. For there are to different persons different joys, but to none such. Go (enter) into these, follow the Lamb, because the Flesh of the Lamb also is assuredly virgin. For this He retained in Himself when grown up, which He took not away from His Mother by His conception and birth. Follow Him, as ye deserve[2], in virginity of heart and flesh, wheresoever He shall have gone. For what is it to follow, but to imitate? Because *Christ hath suffered for us*, leaving us an example, as saith the Apostle Peter, *that we should follow His steps.* Him each one follows in that, wherein he imitates Him: not so far forth as He is the Only Son of God, by Whom all things were made; but so far forth as, the Son of Man, He set forth in Himself, what behoved for us to imitate. And many things in Him are set forth for all to imitate: but virginity of the flesh not for all; for they have not what to do in order to be virgins, in whom it hath been already brought to pass that they be not virgins.

Rev. 14, 1—5.

[1] 'eructuabat.' cf. Ps. 45, 1. Vulg.

[2] merito.

1 Pet. 2, 21.

xxviii. 28. Therefore let the rest of the faithful, who have lost virginity, follow the Lamb, not whithersoever He shall have gone, but so far as ever they shall have been able. But they are able every where, save when He walks in the grace of

virginity. *Blessed are the poor in spirit;* imitate Him, Who, *whereas He was rich, was made poor for your sakes.* *Blessed are the meek;* imitate Him, Who said, *Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart.* *Blessed are they that mourn;* imitate Him, Who *wept over* Jerusalem. *Blessed are they, who hunger and thirst after righteousness:* imitate Him, Who said, *My meat is to do the will of Him Who sent Me.* *Blessed are the merciful;* imitate Him, Who came to the help of him who was wounded by robbers, and who lay in the way half-dead and despaired of. *Blessed are the pure in heart;* imitate Him, *Who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth.* *Blessed are the peace-makers;* imitate Him, Who said on behalf of His persecutors, *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.* *Blessed are they, who suffer persecution for righteousness sake;* imitate Him, Who *suffered for you, leaving you an example, that ye follow His steps.* These things, whoso imitate, in these they follow the Lamb. But surely even married persons may go in those steps, although not setting their foot perfectly in the same print[1], yet walking in the same paths.

DE VIRGINITATE. Matt. 5, 3—10. 2 Cor. 8, 10. Mat. 11, 29. Luke 19, 41. John 4, 34. Luke 10, 30—35. 1 Pet. 2, 22. Luke 23, 34. 1 Pet. 2, 21.

[1] 'formâ'

29. But, lo, That Lamb goeth by a Virgin road, how shall they go after Him, who have lost what there is no way for them to recover? Do ye, therefore, do ye go after Him, His virgins; do ye thither also go after Him, in that on this one account whithersoever He shall have gone, ye follow Him: for unto any other gift whatsoever of holiness, whereby to follow Him, we can exhort married persons, save this which they have lost beyond power of recovery. Do ye, therefore, follow Him, by holding with perseverance what ye have vowed with ardour. Go when ye can, that the good of virginity perish not from you, unto which ye can do nothing, in order that it may return. The rest of the multitude of the faithful will see you, which cannot unto this follow the Lamb; it will see you, it will not envy you: and by rejoicing together with you, what it hath not in itself, it will have in you. For that new song also, which is your own, it will not be able to utter; but it will not be unable to hear, and to be delighted with your so excellent good: but ye, who shall both utter and hear, in that what ye shall say, this ye shall

xxix.

DE VIRGINITATE.

hear of yourselves, will exult with greater happiness, and reign with greater joy. But they will have no sorrow on account of your greater joy, to whom this shall be wanting. Forsooth That Lamb, Whom ye shall follow whithersoever He shall have gone, will not desert those who cannot follow Him, where you can. Almighty is the Lamb, of Whom we speak. He both will go before you, and will not depart from them, when God shall be all in all. And they, who shall have less, shall not turn away in dislike from you: for, where there is no envying, difference exists with concord. Take to you[1], then, have trust, be strong, continue, ye who vow and pay unto the Lord your God vows of perpetual continence, not for the sake of this present world, but for the sake of the kingdom of Heaven.

1 Cor. 15, 28.

[1] 'præsumite'

xxx. 30. Ye also who have not yet made this vow, who are able to receive it, receive it. Run with perseverance, that ye may obtain. Take ye each his sacrifices, and enter ye into the courts of the Lord, not of necessity, having power over your own will. For not as, *Thou shalt not commit adultery*, *Thou shalt not kill*, can it so be said, Thou shalt not wed. The former are demanded, the latter are offered. If the latter are done, they are praised: unless the former are done, they are condemned. In the former the Lord commands us what is due; but in the latter, if ye shall have spent any thing more[2], on His return He will repay you. Think of (whatever that be) within His wall *a place named, much better than of sons and of daughters.* Think of *an eternal name* there. Who unfolds of what kind that name shall be? Yet, whatever it shall be, it shall be eternal. By believing and hoping and loving this, ye have been able, not to shun marriage, as forbidden, but to fly past it, as allowed.

Mat. 19, 12. 1 Cor. 9, 24. Ps. 96, 8. 1 Cor. 7, 37. Ex. 20, 13. 14.

[2] supererogaveritis' Luke 10, 35. see §. 48. Is. 56, 5.

xxxi. 31. Whence the greatness of this service[3], unto the undertaking of which we have according to our strength exhorted, the more excellent and divine it is, the more doth it warn our anxiety, to say something not only concerning most glorious chastity, but also concerning safest humility. When then such as make profession of perpetual chastity, comparing themselves with married persons, shall have discovered, that, according to the Scriptures, the others are below both in work and wages, both in vow and reward, let

[3] muneris

what is written straightway come into their mind, ***By how much thou art great, by so much humble thyself in all things: and thou shalt find favour before God.*** The measure of humility for each hath been given from the measure of his greatness itself: unto which pride is full of danger, which layeth the greater wait against persons the greater they be. On this followeth envying, as a daughter in her train; forsooth pride straightway giveth birth to her, nor is she ever without such a daughter and companion. By which two evils, that is, pride and envying, is the devil (a devil). Therefore it is against pride, the mother of envying, that the whole Christian discipline chiefly wars. For this teaches humility, whereby both to gain and to keep charity; of which after that it had been said, *Charity envieth not;* as though we were asking the reason, how it comes to pass that it envieth not, he straightway added, *is not puffed up;* as though he should say, on this account it hath not envying, in that neither hath it pride. Therefore the Teacher of humility, Christ, first *emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, made in the likeness of men, and found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, made obedient even unto death, even the death of the Cross.* But His teaching itself, how carefully it suggests humility, and how earnest and instant it is in commanding this, who can easily unfold, and bring together all witnesses for proof of this matter? This let him essay to do, or do, whosoever shall wish to write a separate treatise on humility; but of this present work the end proposed is different, and it hath been undertaken on a matter so great, as that it hath chiefly to guard against pride.

DE VIRGINITATE.

Eccius. 3, 18.

1 Cor. 13, 4.

Phil. 2, 7. 8.

32. Wherefore a few witnesses, which the Lord deigns to suggest to my mind, I proceed to mention, from out the teaching of Christ concerning humility, such as perhaps may be enough for my purpose. His discourse, the first which He delivered to His disciples at greater length, began from this. *Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* And these without all controversy we take to be humble. The faith of that Centurion He on this account chiefly praised, and said that He had not found in Israel so great faith, because he believed with so great

xxxii.

Matt. 5, 3.

DE VIRGINITATE.

humility as to say, *I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof.* Whence also Matthew for no other reason said that he *came* unto Jesus, (whereas Luke most plainly signifies that he came not unto Him himself, but sent his friends,) save that by his most faithful humility he himself came unto Him more than they whom he sent. Whence also is that of the Prophet, *The Lord is very high, and hath respect unto things that are lowly: but what are very high He noteth afar off;* assuredly as not coming unto Him. Whence also He saith to that woman of Canaan, *O woman, great is thy faith; be it done unto thee as thou wilt;* whom above He had called a dog, and had made answer that the bread of the sons was not to be cast to her. And this she taking with humility had said, *Even so, Lord; for the dogs also eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters' table.* And thus what by continual crying she obtained not, by humble confession she earned[1]. Hence also those two are set forth praying in the Temple, the one a Pharisee, and the other a Publican, for the sake of those who seem to themselves just and despise the rest of men, and the confession of sins is set before the reckoning up of merits. And assuredly the Pharisee was rendering thanks unto God by reason of those things wherein he was greatly self-satisfied. *I render thanks to Thee*, saith he, *that I am not even as the rest of men, unjust, extortioners, adulterers, even as also this publican. I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all things whatsoever I possess. But the Publican was standing afar off, not daring to lift up his eyes to Heaven, but beating his breast, saying, God be merciful unto me a sinner.* But there follows the divine judgment, *Verily I say unto you, the Publican went down from the Temple justified more than that Pharisee.* Then the cause is shewn, why this is just; *Forasmuch as he who exalteth himself shall be humbled, and whoso humbleth himself shall be exalted.* Therefore it may come to pass, that each one both shun real evils, and reflect on real goods in himself, and render thanks for these unto *the Father of lights, from Whom cometh down every best gift, and every perfect gift,* and yet be rejected by reason of the sin of haughtiness, if through pride, even in his thought alone, which is before

Matt. 8, 5. 10. Luke 7, 6. 7.

Ps. 138, 6.

Mat. 15, 22—28.

[1] promeruit

Luke 18, 11—14.

James 1, 17.

God, he insult other sinners, and specially when confessing their sins in prayer, unto whom is due not upbraiding with arrogance, but pity without despair. What is it that, when His disciples were questioning among themselves, who of them should be greater, He set a little child before their eyes, saying, *Unless ye shall be as this child, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven?* Did He not chiefly commend humility, and set in it the desert of greatness? Or when unto the sons of Zebedee desiring to be at His side in lofty seats He so made answer, as that they should rather think of having to drink the Cup of His Passion, wherein He humbled Himself even unto death, even the death of the Cross, than with proud desire demand to be preferred to the rest; what did He shew, save, that He would be a bestower of exaltation upon them, who should first follow Him as a teacher of humility? And now, in that, when about to go forth unto His Passion, He washed the feet of His disciples, and most openly taught them to do for their fellow-disciples and fellow-servants this, which He their Lord and Master had done for them; how greatly did He commend humility? And in order to commend this He chose also that time, wherein they were looking on Him, as immediately about to die, with great longing; assuredly about to retain in their memory this especially, which their Master, Whom they were to imitate, had pointed out to them as the last thing. But He did this at that time, which surely He could have done on other days also before, wherein He had been conversant with them; at which time if it were done, this same would indeed be delivered, but certainly would not be so received.

DE VIRGINITATE.

Mat. 18, 1—3.

Mat. 20, 21. 22.

Phil. 2, 8.

John 13, 1—17.

33. Whereas, then, all Christians have to guard humility, forasmuch as it is from Christ that they are called Christians, Whose Gospel no one considers with care, but that he discovers Him to be a Teacher of humility; specially is it becoming that they be followers and keepers of this virtue, who excel the rest of men in any great good, in order that they may have a great care of that, which I set down in the beginning, *By how much thou art great, by so much humble thyself in all things, and thou shalt find grace before God.* Wherefore, because perpetual Continence, and specially virginity, is a great good in the Saints of God, they must

xxxiii.

Ecclus. 3, 18.

DE VIRGINITATE.

with all watchfulness beware, that it be not corrupted with pride.

34. Paul the Apostle censures evil unmarried women, curious and prating, and says that this fault comes of idleness. *But at the same time*, saith he, *being idle they learn to go about to houses: but not only idle, but curious also and prating, speaking what they ought not.* Of these he had said above, *But younger widows avoid; for when they have past their time in delights, they wish to wed in Christ; having condemnation, in that they have made void their first faith:* that is, have not continued in that, which they had vowed at the first. And yet he saith not, they marry, but *they wish to marry.* For many of them are recalled from marrying, not by love of a noble purpose, but by fear of open shame, which also itself comes of pride, whereby persons fear to displease men more than God. These, therefore, who wish to marry, and do not marry on this account, because they cannot with impunity, who would do better to marry than to be burned, that is, than to be laid wastein their very conscience by the hidden flame of lust, who repent of their profession, and who feel their confession irksome; unless they correct and set right their heart, and by the fear of God again overcome their lust, must be accounted among the dead; whether they pass their time in delights, whence the Apostle says, *But she who passes her time in delights, living, is dead;* or whether in labours and fastings, which are useless where there is no correction of the heart, and serve rather for display than amendment. I do not, for my part, impose on such a great regard for humility, in whom pride itself is confounded, and bloodstained by wound of conscience. Nor on such as are drunken, or covetous, or who are lying in any other kind whatever of damnable disease, at the same time that they have profession of bodily continence, and through perverse manners are at variance with their own name, do I impose this great anxiety about pious humility: unless haply in these evils they shall dare even to make a display of themselves, unto whom it is not enough, that the punishments of these are deferred. Nor am I treating of these, in whom there is a certain aim of pleasing, either by more elegant dress than the necessity of so great profession demands, or by remarkable manner of binding the

1 Tim. 5, 11. 12. 13.

1 Tim. 5, 6.

xxxiv.

head, whether by bosses of hair swelling forth, or by coverings so yielding, that the fine net work below appears: unto these we must give precepts, not as yet concerning humility, but concerning chastity itself, or virgin modesty. Give me one who makes profession of perpetual continence, and who is free from these, and all such faults and spots of conduct; for this one I fear pride, for this so great good I am in alarm from the swelling of arrogance. The more there is in any one on account of which to be self pleased, the more I fear, lest, by pleasing self, he please not Him, Who *resisteth the proud, but unto the humble giveth grace.* James 4, 6.

DE VIRGINITATE.

35. Certainly we are to contemplate in Christ Himself, the chief instruction and pattern of virginal purity. What further precept then concerning humility shall I give to the continent, than what He saith to all, *Learn of Me, in that I am meek and lowly of heart?* when He had made mention above of His greatness, and, wishing to shew this very thing, how great He was, and how little He had been made for our sakes, saith, *I confess to Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, in that Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto little children. Even so, O Father, in that so it hath been pleasing before Thee. All things have been delivered unto Me of My Father: and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; and no one knoweth the Father, save the Son, and he to whom the Son shall have willed to reveal Him. Come unto Me, all ye who labour and are burdened, and I will refresh you. Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, in that I am meek and lowly of heart.* He, He, unto Whom the Father hath delivered all things, and Whom no one knoweth but the Father, and Who alone, (and he, unto whom He shall have willed to reveal Him,) knoweth the Father, saith not, *Learn of Me* to make the world, or to raise the dead, but, *in that I am meek and lowly of heart.* O saving teaching! O Teacher and Lord of mortals, unto whom death was pledged and passed on in the cup of pride, He would not teach what Himself was not, He would not bid what Himself did not. I see Thee, O good Jesu, with the eyes of faith, which Thou hast opened for me, as in an assembly of the human race, crying out and saying, *Come unto Me, and learn of Me.*

XXXV. Mat.11, 29. Mat.11, 25—29.

DE VIRGINITATE.

What, I beseech Thee, through Whom all things were made, O Son of God, and the Same Who wast made among all things, O Son of Man: to learn what of Thee, come we to Thee? *For that I am meek*, saith He, *and lowly of heart.*

Col. 2, 3. Is it to this that all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden in Thee are brought, that we learn this of Thee as a great thing, that Thou art *meek and lowly of heart?* Is it so great a thing to be little, that it could not at all be learned unless it were brought to pass by Thee, Who art so great? So indeed it is. For by no other way is there found out rest for the soul, save when the unquiet swelling hath been dispersed, whereby it was great unto itself, when it was not sound unto Thee.

xxxvi. 36. Let them hear Thee, and let them come to Thee, and let them learn of Thee to be meek and lowly, who seek Thy Mercy and Truth, by living unto Thee, unto Thee, not unto

Luke 18, 13. themselves. Let him hear this, labouring and laden, who is weighed down by his burthen, so as not to dare to lift up his eyes to heaven, that sinner beating his breast, and drawing

Matt. 8, 8. near from afar. Let him hear, the centurion, not worthy that Thou shouldest enter under his roof. Let him hear, Zaccheus,

Luke 19, 2—8. chief of publicans, restoring fourfold the gains of damnable

Luke 7, 37. 38. sins. Let her hear, the woman in the city a sinner, by so much the more full of tears at Thy feet, the more alien she

Mat. 21, 31. had been from Thy steps. Let them hear, the harlots and publicans, who enter into the kingdom of heaven before the

Matt. 9, 11. 13. Scribes and Pharisees. Let them hear, every kind of such ones, feastings with whom were cast in Thy teeth as a charge, forsooth, as though by whole persons who sought not a physician, whereas Thou camest not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. All these, when they are converted unto Thee, easily grow meek, and are humbled before Thee, mindful of their own most unrighteous life, and of Thy

Rom. 5, 20. most indulgent mercy, in that, *where sin hath abounded, grace hath abounded more.*

37. But regard the troops of virgins, holy boys and girls: this kind hath been trained up in Thy Church: there for Thee it hath been budding from its mother's breasts; for Thy Name it hath loosed its tongue to speak, Thy Name, as through the milk of its infancy, it hath had poured in and

hath sucked, no one of this number can say, *I, who before was a blasphemer, and persecutor, and injurious, but I obtained mercy, in that I did it being ignorant, in unbelief.* Yea more, that, which Thou commandedst not, but only didst set forth, for such as would, to seize, saying, *Whoso can receive, let him receive;* they have seized, they have vowed, and, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, not for that Thou threatenedst, but for that Thou exhortedst, they have made themselves eunuchs. To these cry out, let these hear Thee, in that Thou art *meek and lowly of heart.* Let these, by how much they are great, by so much humble themselves in all things, that they may find grace before Thee. They are just: but they are not, are they, such as Thou, justifying the ungodly? They are chaste: but them in sins their mothers nurtured in their wombs. They are holy, but Thou art also Holy of Holies. They are virgins, but they are not also born of virgins. They are wholly chaste both in spirit and in flesh: but they are not the Word made flesh. And yet let them learn, not from those unto whom Thou forgivest sins, but from Thee Thyself, The Lamb of God Who takest away the sins of the world, in that Thou art *meek and lowly of heart.*

DE VIRGINITATE. 1 Tim. 1, 13. Mat. 19, 12. xxxvii. Ps. 51, 5. John 1, 14. John 1, 29.

38. I send thee not, soul that art religiously chaste, that hast not given the reins to fleshly appetite even so far as to allowed marriage, that hast not indulged thy body about to depart even to the begetting one to succeed thee, that hast sustained aloft thy earthly members, afloat to accustom them to heaven; I send thee not, in order that thou mayest learn humility, unto publicans and sinners, who yet enter into the kingdom of heaven before the proud: I send thee not to these: for they, who have been set free from the gulf of uncleanness, are unworthy that undefiled virginity be sent to them to take pattern from. I send thee unto the King of Heaven, unto Him, by Whom men were created, and Who was created among men for the sake of men; unto Him, Who is fair of beauty above the sons of men, and despised by the sons of men on behalf of the sons of men: unto Him, Who, ruling the immortal angels, disdained not to do service unto mortals. Him, at any rate, not unrighteousness, but charity, made humble; *Charity, which rivalleth not, is not puffed* 1 Cor. 13, 4. 5.

Ps. 45, 2.

DE VIRGINITATE.

up, seeketh not her own; forasmuch as *Christ also pleased not Himself, but, as it is written of Him, The reproaches of such as reproached Thee have fallen upon Me.* Go then, come unto Him, and learn, in that He is *meek and lowly of heart.* Thou shalt not go unto him, who dared not by reason of the burden of unrighteousness to lift up his eyes to heaven, but unto Him, Who by the weight of charity came down from heaven. Thou shalt not go unto her, who watered with tears the feet of her Lord, seeking forgiveness of heavy sins; but thou shalt go unto Him, Who, granting forgiveness of all sins, washed the feet of His own disciples. I know the dignity of thy virginity; I propose not to thee to imitate the Publican humbly accusing his own faults; but I fear for the Pharisee proudly boasting of his own merits. I say not, Be thou such as she, of whom it was said, *There are forgiven unto her many sins, in that she hath loved much;* but I fear lest, as thinking that thou hast little forgiven to thee, thou love little.

Rom. 15, 3.

John 6, 38.

John 13, 5.

Luke 18, 10—14.

Luke 7, 38. 47.

xxxviii. 39. I fear, I say, greatly for thee, lest, when thou boastest that thou wilt follow the Lamb wheresoever He shall have gone, thou be unable by reason of swelling pride to follow Him through strait ways. It is good for thee, O virgin soul, that thus, as thou art a virgin, thus altogether keeping in thy heart that thou hast been born again, keeping in thy flesh that thou hast been born, thou yet conceive of the fear of the Lord, and give birth to the spirit of salvation. *Fear,* indeed, *there is not in charity, but perfect charity,* as it is written, *casteth out fear:* but fear of men, not of God: fear of temporal evils, not of the Divine Judgment at the last. *Be not thou high-minded, but fear.* Love thou the goodness of God; fear thou His severity: neither suffers thee to be proud. For by loving you fear, lest you grievously offend One Who is loved and loves. For what more grievous offence, than that by pride thou displease Him, Who for thy sake hath been displeasing to the proud? And where ought there to be more that *chaste fear abiding for ever and ever,* than in thee, who hast no thought of the things of this world, how to please a wedded partner; but of the things of the Lord, how to please the Lord? That other fear is not in charity, but this chaste fear quitteth not charity. If you love not, fear lest

Is. 26, 18. see LXX.

1 John 4, 18.

Rom. 11, 20.

Ps. 19, 9.

1 Cor. 7, 32.

you perish; if you love, fear lest you displease. That fear charity casteth out, with this it runneth within. The Apostle Paul also says, *For we have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but we have received the spirit of adoption of sons, wherein we cry, Abba, Father.* I believe that he speaks of that fear, which had been given in the Old Testament, lest the temporal goods should be lost, which God had promised unto those not yet sons under grace, but as yet slaves under the law. There is also the fear of eternal fire, to serve God in order to avoid which is assuredly not yet of perfect charity. For the desire of the reward is one thing, the fear of punishment another. They are different sayings, *Whither shall I go away from Thy Spirit, and from Thy face whither shall I flee?* and, *One thing I have sought of the Lord, this I will seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord through all the days of my life, that I may consider the delight of the Lord, that I be protected in His temple:* and, *Turn not away Thy face from me:* and, *My soul longeth and fainteth unto the courts of the Lord.* Those sayings let him have had, who dared not to lift up his eyes to heaven; and she who was watering with tears His feet, in order to obtain pardon for her grievous sins; but these do thou have, who art careful about the things of the Lord, to be holy both in body and spirit. With those sayings there companies fear which hath torment, which perfect charity casteth forth: but with these sayings there companies chaste fear of the Lord, that abideth for ever and ever. And to both kinds it must be said, *Be not thou high-minded, but fear;* that man neither of defence of his sins, nor of presumption of righteousness set himself up. For Paul also himself, who saith, *For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear;* yet, fear being a companion of charity, saith, *With fear and much trembling was I towards you:* and that saying, which I have mentioned, that the engrafted wild olive tree be not proud against the broken branches of the olive tree, himself made use of, saying, *Be not thou high-minded, but fear;* himself admonishing all the members of Christ in general, saith, *With fear and trembling work out your own salvation; for it is God Who worketh in you both to will and to do, according*

DE VIRGINITATE.

Rom. 8, 15.

Ps. 139, 7.

Ps. 27, 4.

Ps. 27, 9.

Ps. 84, 2.

Rom. 11, 20.

Rom. 8, 15.

1 Cor. 2, 3.

Phil. 2, 12. 13.

DE VIRGINITATE.

to His good pleasure; that it seem not to pertain unto the Old Testament what is written, *Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice unto Him with trembling.*

Ps.2,11.

xxxix. 40. And what members of the holy body, which is the Church, ought more to take care, that upon them the Holy Spirit may rest, than such as profess virginal holiness? But how doth He rest, where He findeth not His own place? what else than an humbled heart, to fill, not to leap back from; to raise up, not to weigh down? whereas it hath been Is.66,2. most plainly said, *On whom shall rest My Spirit? On him that is humble and quiet, and trembles at My words.* Already thou livest righteously, already thou livest piously, thou livest chastely, holily, with virginal purity; as yet, however, thou Job 7,1. LXX. livest here, and art thou not humbled at hearing, *What, is not human life upon earth a trial?* Doth it not drive thee back Mat. 18, 7. from over-confident arrogance, *Woe unto the world because of offences?* Dost thou not tremble, lest thou be accounted Mat. 24, 12. among the many, whose *love waxeth cold, because that iniquity abounds?* Dost thou not smite thy breast, when 1 Cor. 10, 12. thou hearest, *Wherefore, whoso thinketh that he standeth, let him see to it lest he fall?* Amid these divine warnings and human dangers, do we yet find it so hard to persuade holy virgins to humility?

xl. 41. Or are we indeed to believe that it is for any other reason, that God suffers to be mixed up with the number of your profession, many, both men and women, about to fall, than that by the fall of these your fear may be increased, whereby to repress pride; which God so hates, as that against this one thing The Highest humbled Himself? Unless haply, in truth, thou shalt therefore fear less, and be more puffed up, so as to love little Him, Who hath loved Gal. 2, 21. thee so much, as to give up Himself for thee, because He hath forgiven thee little, living, forsooth from childhood, religiously, piously, with pious chastity, with inviolate virginity. As though in truth you ought not to love with much greater glow of affection Him, Who, whatsoever things He hath forgiven unto sinners upon their being turned to Him, suffered you not to fall into them. Or indeed that Pharisee, Luke 7, 36. 47. who therefore loved little, because he thought that little was forgiven him, was it for any other reason that he was

blinded by this error, than because being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and seeking to establish his own, he had not been made subject unto the righteousness of God? But you, an elect race, and among the elect more elect, virgin choirs that follow the Lamb, even you *by grace have been saved through faith; and this not of yourselves, but it is the gift of God: not of works, lest haply any be elated. For we are His workmanship, created in Jesus Christ in good works, which God hath prepared, that in them we may walk.* What therefore, by how much the more ye are adorned by His gifts, shall ye by so much the less love Him? May He Himself turn away so dreadful madness! Wherefore forasmuch as the Truth has spoken the truth, that he, unto whom little is forgiven, loveth little; do ye, in order that ye may love with full glow of affection Him, Whom ye are free to love, being loosened from ties of marriage, account as altogether forgiven unto you, whatever of evil, by His governance, ye have not committed. For *your eyes ever unto the Lord, forasmuch as He shall pluck out of the net your feet*, and, *Except the Lord shall have kept the city, in vain hath he watched who keepeth it.* And speaking of Continence itself the Apostle says, *But I would that all men were as I myself; but each one hath his own proper gift from God; one in this way, and another in that way.* Who therefore bestoweth these gifts? Who distributeth his own proper gifts unto each as He will? Forsooth God, with Whom there is not unrighteousness, and by this means with what equity He makes some in this way, and others in that way, for man to know is either impossible or altogether hard: but that with equity He maketh, it is not lawful to doubt. *What*, therefore, *hast thou, which thou hast not received?* And by what perversity dost thou less love Him, of Whom thou hast received more?

DE VIRGINITATE.

Rom. 10, 3. Eph. 2, 8—10. Ps. 25, 15. Ps. 127, 1. 1 Cor. 7, 7. 1 Cor. 12, 11. Rom. 9, 14. 1 Cor. 4, 7.

xli.

42. Wherefore let this be the first thought for the putting on of humility, that God's virgin think not that it is of herself that she is such, and not rather that this best *gift cometh down from above, from the Father of Lights, with Whom is no change nor shadow of motion.* For thus she will not think that little hath been forgiven her, so as for her to love little, and, being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and

James 1, 17.

DE VIRGINITATE.

wishing to establish her own, not to be made subject to the righteousness of God. In which fault was that Simon, who was surpassed by the woman, unto whom many sins were forgiven, because she loved much. But she will have more cautious and true thoughts, that we are so to account all sins as though forgiven, from which God keeps us that we commit them not. Witnesses are those expressions of pious prayers in holy Scriptures, whereby it is shewn, that those very things, which are commanded by God, are not done save by His Gift and help, Who commands. For there is a falsehood in the asking for them, if we could do them without the help of His grace. What is there so generally and chiefly charged, as obedience whereby the Commandments of God are kept? And yet we find this wished for. *Thou,* saith he, *hast charged, that Thy commandments be greatly*
Ps. 119, 4—6. *kept.* Then it follows, *O that my ways were directed to keep Thy righteousnesses: then shall I not be confounded, whilst I look unto all Thy commandments.* That which he had set down above that God had commanded, that he wished might of himself be fulfilled. This is done assuredly, that there be not sin; but, if there hath been sin, the command is that one repent; lest by defence and excuse of sin he perish through pride, who hath done it, whilst he is unwilling that what he hath done perish through repentance. This also is asked of God, so that it may be understood that it is not done, save by His grant from Whom it is asked.
Ps. 141, 3. 4. *Set,* saith he, *O Lord, a watch to my mouth, and a door of continence around my lips: let not my heart turn away unto evil words, to make excuses in sins, with men that work unrighteousness.* If, therefore, both obedience, whereby we keep His commandments, and repentance whereby we excuse not our sins, are wished for and asked, it is plain that, when it is done, it is by His gift that it is possessed, by His help that it is fulfilled, yet more openly is it said by
Ps. 37, 23. reason of obedience, *By the Lord the steps of a man are directed, and He shall will His way:* and of repentance
2 Tim. 2, 25. the Apostle says, *if haply God may grant unto them repentance.*

43. Concerning continence also itself hath it not been
Wisd. 8, 21. most openly said, *And when I knew that no one can be con-*

tinent unless God give it, this also itself was a part of wisdom, to know whose gift it was? But perhaps continence is the gift of God, but wisdom man bestows upon himself, whereby to understand, that that gift is, not his own, but of God. Yea, *The Lord maketh wise the blind:* and, *The testimony of the Lord is faithful, it giveth wisdom unto little ones:* and, *If any one want wisdom, let him ask of God, Who giveth unto all liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given to him.* But it becometh virgins to be wise, that their lamps be not extinguished. How 'wise,' save *not having high thoughts, but consenting unto the lowly.* For Wisdom Itself hath said unto man, *Lo, piety is wisdom!* If therefore thou hast nothing, which thou hast not received, *Be not high-minded, but fear.* And love not thou little, as though Him by Whom little hath been forgiven to thee; but, rather, love Him much, by Whom much hath been given to thee. For if he loves, unto whom it hath been given not to repay: how much more ought he to love, unto whom it hath been given to possess. For both, whosoever continues chaste from the beginning, is ruled by Him; and whosoever is made chaste instead of unchaste, is corrected by Him; and whosoever is unchaste even unto the end, is abandoned by Him. But this He can do by secret counsel, by unrighteous He cannot: and perhaps it is for this end that it lies hid, that there may be more fear, and less pride.

DE VIRGINITATE. xlii. Ps. 146, 8. Ps. 19, 7, James 1, 5. Mat. 25, 4. Rom. 12, 16. Job 28, 28. lxx. Rom. 11, 20.

44. Next let not man, now that he knoweth that by the grace of God he is what he is, fall into another snare of pride, so as by lifting up himself for the very grace of God to despise the rest. By which fault that other Pharisee both gave thanks unto God for the goods which he had, and yet vaunted himself above the Publican confessing his sins. What therefore should a virgin do, what should she think, that she vaunt not herself above those, men or women, who have not this so great gift? For she ought not to feign humility, but to set it forth: for the feigning of humility is greater pride. Wherefore Scripture wishing to shew that humility ought to be true, after having said, *By how much thou art great, by so much humble thyself in all things,* added soon after, *And thou shalt find grace before God:* assuredly where one could not humble one's self deceitfully.

xliii. Eccius. 3, 18.

DE VIRGINITATE. xliv.

45. Wherefore what shall we say? is there any thought which a virgin of God may truly have, by reason of which she dare not to set herself before a faithful woman, not only a widow, but even married? I say not a reprobate virgin; for who knows not that an obedient woman is to be set before a disobedient virgin? But where both are obedient unto the commands of God, shall she so tremble to prefer holy virginity even to chaste marriage, and continence to wedded life, the fruit an hundred-fold to go before the thirty-fold? Nay, let her not doubt to prefer this thing to that thing; yet let not this or that virgin, obeying and fearing God, dare to set herself before this or that woman, obeying and fearing God; otherwise she will not be humble, and *God resisteth the proud!* What, therefore, shall she have in her thoughts? Forsooth the hidden gifts of God, which nought save the questioning of trial makes known to each, even in himself. For, to pass over the rest, whence doth a virgin know, although careful of the things of the Lord, how to please the Lord, but that haply, by reason of some weakness of mind unknown to herself, she be not as yet ripe for martyrdom, whereas that woman, whom she rejoiced to set herself before, may already be able to drink the Cup of the Lord's humiliation, which He set before His disciples, to drink first, when enamoured of high place? Whence, I say, doth she know but that she herself be not as yet Thecla, that other be already Crispina[a]. Certainly, unless there be present trial, there takes place no proof of this gift.

James 4, 6.

1 Cor. 7, 32.

Mat. 20, 22.

xlv. 46. But this is so great, that certain understand it to be the fruit an hundred-fold[b]. For the authority of the Church bears a very conspicuous witness, in which it is known to the faithful in what place the Martyrs, in what place the holy nuns deceased, are rehearsed at the Sacraments of the Altar[c].

[a] A married woman, who was beheaded in the persecution under Diocletian and Maximian at Thebeste in Africa. See Ser. 354, ad Continentes, n. 5. where he says, 'bethink you that in the time of persecution not only Agnes the Virgin was crowned, but likewise Crispina, the wife: and perchance, as there is no doubt, some of the continent then failed, and many of the wedded fought and conquered.' *Ben.*

[b] St. Jerome mentions this interpretation; but b. 1. agt. Jovinian, and on Mat. 13. takes that which assigns the hundredfold to virginity. *Ben.*

[c] Ser. 159. he says, 'Martyrs are in such place rehearsed at the Altar of God as that prayer is not made for them; but for the other deceased that are mentioned prayer is made.' *Ben.*

DE VIRGINITATE.

But what the meaning is of that difference of fruitfulness, let them see to it, who understand these things better than we; whether the virginal life be in fruit an hundred-fold, in sixty-fold the widowed, in thirty-fold the married; or whether the hundred-fold fruitfulness be ascribed unto martyrdom, the sixty-fold unto continence, the thirty-fold unto marriage; or whether virginity, by the addition of martyrdom, fill up the hundred-fold, but when alone be in sixty-fold, but married persons bearing thirty-fold arrive at sixty-fold, in case they shall be martyrs: or whether, what seems to me more probable, forasmuch as the gifts of Divine grace are many, and one is greater and better than another, whence the Apostle says, *But emulate ye the better gifts;* we are to understand that they are more in number than to allow of being distributed under those different kinds. In the first place, that we set not widowed continence either as bearing no fruit, or set it but level with the desert of married charity, or equal it unto virgin glory; or think that the Crown of Martyrdom, either established in habit of mind, although proof of trial be wanting, or in actual making trial of suffering, be added unto either one of those these chastities, without any increase of fruitfulness. Next, when we set it down that many men and women so keep virginal chastity, as that yet they do not the things which the Lord saith, *If thou willest to be perfect, go, sell all that thou hast, and give unto the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in Heaven: and come, follow me;* and dare not unite themselves to those dwelling together, among whom no one saith that any thing is his own, but all things are unto them common; do we think that there is no addition of fruitfulness unto the virgins of God, when they do this? or that the virgins of God are without any fruit, although they do not this? Therefore there are many gifts, and some brighter and higher than others, each than each. And at times one is fruitful in fewer gifts, but better; another in lower gifts, but more. And in what manner they be either made equal one to another, or distinguished one from another, in receiving eternal honours, who of men would dare to pronounce? whereas yet it is plain both that those differences are many, and that the better are profitable not for the present time,

1 Cor. 12, 31.

Mat. 19, 21.

Acts 2, 44; 4, 32.

DE VIRGINITATE.

but for eternity. But I judge that the Lord willed to make mention of three differences of fruitfulness, the rest He left to such as understand. For also another Evangelist hath made mention only of the hundred-fold: we are not, therefore, are we, to think that he either rejected, or knew not of, the other two, but rather that he left them to be understood?

Mat. 13, 8.

Luke 8, 8.

47. But, as I had begun to say, whether the fruit an hundred-fold be virginity dedicated to God, or whether we are to understand that interval of fruitfulness in some other way, either such as we have made mention of, or such as we have not made mention of; yet no one, as I suppose, will have dared to prefer virginity to martyrdom, and no one will have doubted that this latter gift is hidden, if trial to test it be wanting. A virgin, therefore, hath a subject for thought, such as may be of profit to her for the keeping of humility, that she violate not that charity, which is above all gifts, without which assuredly whatever other gifts she shall have had, whether few or many, whether great or small, she is nothing. She hath, I say, a subject for thought, that she be not puffed up, that she rival not; forsooth that she so make profession that the virginal good is much greater and better than the married good, as that yet she know not whether this or that married woman be not already able to suffer for Christ, but herself as yet unable, and she herein spared, that her weakness is not put to the question by trial. *For God,* saith the Apostle, *is faithful, Who will not suffer you to be tried above what ye are able; but will make with the trial a way out, that ye may be able to bear it.* Perhaps, therefore, those men or women keeping a way of married life praiseworthy in its kind, are already able, against an enemy forcing to unrighteousness, to contend even by tearing in pieces of bowels, and shedding of blood; but these men or women, continent from childhood, and making themselves eunuchs for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven, still are not as yet able to endure such, either for righteousness, or for chastity itself. For it is one thing, for truth and an holy purpose, not to consent unto one who would persuade and flatter, but another thing not to yield even to one who tortures and strikes. These lie hid in the powers and strength of souls, by trial they are unfolded, by actual essay

xlvii.

1 Cor. 10, 13.

they come forth. In order, therefore, that each be not puffed up by reason of that, which he sees clearly that he can do, let him humbly consider that he knows not that there is perchance something more excellent which he cannot do, but that some, who neither have nor profess that of which he is lawfully self-conscious, are able to do this, which he himself cannot do. Thus will be kept, not by feigned but by true humility, *In honour preventing one another*, and, *esteeming each the other higher than himself*. Rom. 12, 10. Phil. 2, 3.

DE VIRGINITATE.

48. What now shall I say concerning the very carefulness and watchfulness against sin? *Who shall boast that he hath a chaste heart? or who shall boast that he is clean from sin?* Holy virginity is indeed inviolate from the mother's womb; but *no one*, saith he, *is clean in Thy sight, not even the infant whose life is of one day upon the earth.* There is kept also in faith inviolate a certain virginal chastity, whereby the Church is joined as a chaste virgin unto One Husband: but That One Husband hath taught, not only the faithful who are virgin in mind and body, but all Christians altogether, from spiritual even unto carnal, from Apostles even unto the last penitents, as though from the height of heaven even unto the bounds of it, to pray, and in the prayer itself hath admonished them to say, *And forgive us our debts, even as we also forgive our debtors:* where, by this which we seek, He shews what also we should remember that we are. For neither on behalf of those debts, which for our whole past life we trust have been forgiven unto us in Baptism through His peace, hath He charged us to pray, saying, *And forgive us our debts, even as we also forgive our debtors:* otherwise this were a prayer which Catechumens rather ought to pray up to the time of Baptism; but whereas it is what baptized persons pray, rulers and people, pastors and flocks; it is sufficiently shewn that in this life, the whole of which is a trial, no one ought to boast himself as though free from all sins. xlviii. Prov. 20, 9. Job 25, 4. Mat. 24, 31. Matt. 6, 12. Job 7, 1.

49. Wherefore also the virgins of God without blame indeed, *follow the Lamb whithersoever He shall have gone*, both the cleansing of sins being perfected, and virginity being kept, which, were it lost, could not return: but, because that same Apocalypse itself, wherein such unto one such were xlix.

DE VIRGINITATE.

revealed, in this also praises them, that *in their mouth there was not found a lie:* let them remember in this also to be true, that they dare not say that they have not sin. Forsooth the same John, who saw that, hath said this, *If we shall have said that we have not sin, we deceive our own selves, and the truth is not in us; but if we shall have confessed our faults, He is faithful and just, so as to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. But if we shall have said that we have not sinned, we shall make Him a liar, and His word shall not be in us.* This surely is not said unto these or those, but unto all Christians, wherein virgins also ought to recognise themselves. For thus they shall be without a lie, such as in the Apocalypse they appeared. And by this means so long as there is not as yet perfection in heavenly height, confession in lowliness maketh them without blame.

Rev. 14, 4. 5.

1 John 1, 8—10.

50. But, again, lest by occasion of this sentence, any one should sin with deadly security, and should allow himself to be carried away, as though his sins were soon by easy confession to be blotted out, he straightway added, *My little children, these things have I written unto you, that ye sin not; and, if one shall have sinned, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and Himself is a propitiation of our sins.* Let no one therefore depart from sin as though about to return to it, nor bind himself as it were by compact of alliance of this kind with unrighteousness, so as to take delight rather to confess it than to shun it. But, forasmuch as even upon such as are busy and on the watch not to sin, there creep by stealth, in a certain way, from human weakness, sins, however small, however few, yet not none; these same themselves become great and grievous, in case pride shall have added to them increase and weight: but by the Priest, Whom we have in the heavens, if by pious humility they be destroyed, they are with all ease cleansed.

1 John 2, 1. 2.

51. But I contend not with those, who assert that a man can in this life live without any sin: I contend not, I gainsay not. For perhaps we take measure of the great from out our own misery, and, comparing ourselves with ourselves, understand not. One thing I know, that those great ones, such as we are not, such as we have not as yet made proof

2 Cor. 10, 12.

of, by how much they are great, by so much humble themselves in all things, that they may find grace before God. For, let them be how great soever they will, *there is no servant greater than his Lord, nor disciple greater than his master.* And assuredly He is the Lord, Who saith, *All things have been delivered unto Me of My Father;* and He is the Master, Who saith, *Come unto Me, all ye who labour, and learn of Me;* and yet what learn we? *In that I am meek,* saith He, *and lowly of heart.*

DE VIRGINITATE.

John 13, 16.

Mat. 11, 27. 28.

52. Here some one will say, This is now not to write of virginity, but of humility. As though truly it were any kind of virginity, and not that which is after God, which we had undertaken to set forth. And this good, by how much I see it to be great, by so much I fear for it, lest it be lost, the thief pride. Therefore there is none that guardeth the virginal good, save God Himself Who gave it: and God is Charity. The Guardian therefore of virginity is Charity: but the place of this Guardian is humility. There forsooth He dwelleth, Who said, that on the lowly and quiet, and that trembleth at His words, His Spirit resteth. What, therefore, have I done foreign from my purpose, if wishing the good, which I have praised, to be more securely guarded, I have taken care also to prepare a place for the Guardian? For I speak with confidence, nor have I any fear lest they be angry with me, whom I admonish with care to fear for themselves together with me. More easily do follow the Lamb, although not whithersoever He shall have gone, yet so far as they shall have had power, married persons who are humble, than virgins who are proud. For how doth one follow Him, unto Whom one wills not to approach? or how doth one approach Him, unto Whom one comes not to learn, *in that I am meek and lowly of heart?* Wherefore those the Lamb leadeth following whithersoever He shall have gone, in whom first Himself shall have found where to lay His Head. For also a certain proud and crafty person had said to Him, *Lord, I will follow Thee whithersoever Thou shalt have gone;* to whom He made answer, *Foxes have dens, and fowls of heaven nests: but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His Head.* By the term of foxes He reproved wily craftiness, and by the name of birds puffed-up arrogance,

li.

1 John 4, 8.

Is. 66, 2.

Matt. 8, 19. 20.

DE VIRGINITATE.

wherein He found not pious humility to rest in. And by this no where at all did he follow the Lord, who had promised that he would follow Him, not unto a certain point of progress, but altogether whithersoever He should have gone.

lii. 53. Wherefore this do ye, virgins of God, this do ye: follow ye the Lamb, whithersoever He shall have gone. But first come unto Him, Whom ye are to follow, and learn, in that He is meek and lowly of heart. Come ye in lowly wise unto the Lowly, if ye love: and depart not from Him, lest ye fall. For whoso fears to depart from Him asks and says, *Let there not come to me foot of pride.* Go on in the way of loftiness with the foot of lowliness; Himself lifteth up such as follow in lowly wise, Who thought it not a trouble to come down unto such as lay low. Commit ye His gifts unto Him to keep, 'guard ye your strength unto Him.' Whatever of evil through His guardianship ye commit not, account as forgiven unto you by Him: lest, thinking that you have little forgiven unto you, ye love little, and with ruinous boasting despise the publicans beating their breasts. Concerning that strength of yours which hath been tried beware, that ye be not puffed up, because ye have been able to bear something: but concerning that which hath been untried, pray, that ye be not tempted above that ye are able to bear. Think that some are superior to you in secret, than whom ye are openly better. When the good things of others, haply unknown to you, are kindly believed by you, your own that are known to you are not lessened by comparison, but strengthened by love: and what haply as yet are wanting, are by so much the more easily given, by how much they are the more humbly desired. Let such among your number as persevere afford to you an example: but let such as fall increase your fear. Love the one that ye may imitate it; mourn over the other, that ye be not puffed up. Do not ye establish your own righteousness; submit yourselves unto God Who justifies you. Pardon the sins of others, pray for your own: future sins shun by watching, past sins blot out by confessing.

Ps. 36, 11.

Ps. 59, 9.

liii. 54. Lo, already ye are such, as that in the rest of your conduct also ye correspond with the virginity which ye have professed and kept. Lo, already not only do ye abstain

from murders, devilish sacrifices and abominations, thefts, rapines, frauds, perjuries, drunkennesses, and all luxury and avarice, hatreds, emulations, impieties, cruelties; but even those things, which either are, or are thought, lighter, are not found nor arise among you: not bold face, not wandering eyes, not unbridled tongue, not petulant laugh, not scurrilous jest, not unbecoming mien, not swelling or loose gait; already ye render not evil for evil, nor curse for curse; already, lastly, ye fulfil that measure of love, that ye lay down your lives for your brethren. Lo, already ye are such, because also such ye ought to be. These, being added to virginity, set forth an angelic life unto men, and the ways of heaven unto the earth. But, by how much ye are great, whosoever of you are so great, 'by so much humble yourselves in all things, that ye may find grace before God,' that He resist you not as proud, that He humble you not as lifting up yourselves, that He lead you not through straits as being puffed up: although anxiety be unnecessary, that, where Charity glows, humility be not wanting.

1 Pet. 3, 9. 1 John 3, 16.

liv. 55. If, therefore, ye despise marriages of sons of men, from which to beget sons of men, love ye with your whole heart Him, Who is fair of form above the sons of men; ye have leisure; your heart is free from marriage bonds. Gaze on the Beauty of your Lover: think of Him equal to the Father, made subject also to His Mother: ruling even in the heavens, and serving upon the earth: creating all things, created among all things. That very thing, which in Him the proud mock at, gaze on, how fair it is: with inward eyes gaze on the wounds of Him hanging, the scars of Him rising again, the blood of Him dying, the price of him that believes, the gain of Him that redeems. Consider of how great value these are, weigh them in the scales of Charity; and whatever of love ye had to expend upon your marriages, pay back to Him.

lv.

John 1, 12. 56. It is well that He seeks your beauty within, where He hath given unto you power to become daughters of God: He seeks not of you a fair flesh, but fair conduct, whereby to bridle also the flesh. He is not one unto Whom any one can lie concerning you, and make Him rage through jealousy. See with how great security ye love Him, Whom ye fear not

DE VIRGINITATE.

to offend by false suspicions. Husband and wife love each other, in that they see each other: and what they see not, that they fear between themselves: nor have they sure delight in what is visible, whilst in what is concealed they usually suspect what is not. Ye in Him, Whom ye see not with the eyes, and behold by faith, neither have what is real to blame, nor fear lest haply ye offend Him by what is false. If therefore ye should owe great love to husbands, Him, for Whose sake ye would not have husbands, how greatly ought ye to love? Let Him be fixed in your whole heart, Who for you was fixed on the Cross: let Him possess in your soul all that, whatever it be, that ye would not have occupied by marriage. It is not lawful for you to love little Him, for Whose sake ye have not loved even what were lawful. So loving Him Who is meek and lowly of heart, I have no fear for you of pride.

lvi. 57. Thus, after our small measure, we have spoken enough both of sanctity, whereby ye are properly called 'sanctimoniales,' and of humility, whereby whatever great name ye bear is kept. But more worthily let those Three Children, unto whom He, Whom they loved with full glow of heart, afforded refreshing in the fire, admonish you concerning this our little work, much more shortly indeed in number of words, but much more greatly in weight of authority, in the Hymn wherein God is honoured by them. For joining humility unto holiness in such as praise God, they have most plainly taught, that each, by how much he make any more holy profession, by so much do beware that he be not deceived by pride. Wherefore do ye also praise Him, Who grants unto you, that in the midst of the flames of this world, although ye be not joined in marriage, yet ye be not burned: and praying also for us, *Bless ye the Lord, ye holy and humble men of heart; utter an hymn, and exalt Him above all for ever.*

Song of Three Holy Childr. 65.

S. AUGUSTINE

ON

THE GOOD OF WIDOWHOOD.

This work is not mentioned in the Retractations, probably because it is a letter, and as such it is reckoned by Possidius, cap. 7. It is also marked as St. Augustine's by its references to his other works, De Bono Conjugali &c. cap. 15. Ep. to Proba, cap. 23. The date is marked by the recent consecration of Demetrias, which was in 413. The admonition for which he is thanked by Juliana, Ep. 188, may be that against Pelagianism in this work.

An objection has been raised from its disagreement with the fourth Council of Carthage, an. 398. can. 104, which excommunicates widows who marry again after consecration, and pronounces them guilty of adultery, whereas in cap. 10 and 11, the opinion that such marriages are no marriages, and that they ought to return to continence, is refuted. The two, however, are not wholly irreconcileable, as there may be a guilt similar to that of adultery incurred, and it may be visited with a censure in the form of excommunication, and yet the marriage may remain valid. The 16th Canon of Chalcedon imposes such a penalty, with power to the Bishop to relax it. *Ab. from Ben.*

AUGUSTINE the Bishop, servant of Christ, and of the servants of Christ, unto the religious handmaiden of God, Juliana, in the Lord of lords health. i.

Not any longer to be in debt of my promise to your request and love in Christ, I have seized the occasion as I could, amid other my very pressing engagements, to write to you somewhat concerning the profession of holy widowhood, forasmuch as, when I was present, you laded me with

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

entreaty, and, when I had not been able to deny you this, you often by letters demanded my promise. And in this work of ours, when you shall find in reading that some things pertain not at all unto your own person, or unto the person of you, who are living together in Christ, nor are strictly necessary to give counsel unto your life, it will be your duty not on this account to judge them superfluous. Forsooth this letter, although it be addressed to you, was not to be written for you alone; but certainly it was a matter for us not to neglect, that it should profit others also through your means. Whatsoever, therefore, you shall find here, such as either hath been at no time necessary for you, or is not so now, and which yet you shall perceive to be necessary for others, grieve not either to possess or to lend to read; that your charity also may be the profit of others.

2. Whereas, therefore, in every question, which relates to life and conduct, not only teaching, but exhortation also is necessary; in order that by teaching we may know what is to be done, and by exhortation may be incited not to think it irksome to do what we already know is to be done; what more can I teach you, than what we read in the Apostle? For holy Scripture setteth a rule to our teaching, that we dare

so V. not 'be wise more than it behoveth to be wise;' but be

Rom.12, 3. wise, as himself saith, *unto soberness, according as unto each God hath allotted the measure of faith.* Be it not therefore for me to teach you any other thing, save to expound to you the words of the Teacher, and to treat of them as the Lord shall have given to me.

ii. 3. Therefore (thus) saith the Apostle, the teacher of the Gentiles, the vessel of election, *But I say unto the unmarried and the widows, that it is good for them, if they shall have so continued, even as I also.* These words are to be so understood, as that we think not that widows ought not to be called unmarried, in that they seem to have made trial of marriage: for by the name of unmarried women he means those, who are not now bound by marriage, whether they have been, or whether they have not been so. And this in another place he opens, where he says, *Divided is a woman unmarried and a virgin.* Assuredly when he adds a virgin also, what would he have understood by an unmarried

τοῖς, ταῖς. 1 Cor. 7, 8.

ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ παρθένος

woman, but a widow? Whence also, in what follows, under the one term *unmarried* he embraces both professions, saying, *She who is unmarried is careful of the things of the Lord, how to please the Lord: but she who is married is careful of the things of the world, how to please her husband.* Certainly by the unmarried he would have understood, not only her who hath never married, but her also, who, being by widowhood set free from the bond of marriage, hath ceased to be married; for on this account also he calleth not married, save her, who hath an husband; not her also, who hath had, and hath not. Wherefore every widow is unmarried; but, because not every unmarried woman is a widow, for there are virgins also; therefore he hath here set both, where he says, *But I say unto the unmarried and the widows;* as if he should say, What I say unto the unmarried, I say not unto them alone, who are virgins, but unto them also who are widows; *that it is good for them, if they shall have so continued, even as also I.*

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

1 Cor. 7, 34.

1 Cor. 7, 8.

iii. 4. Lo, there is your good compared to that good, which the Apostle calls his own, if faith be present: yea, rather, because faith is present. Short is this teaching, yet not on this account to be despised, because it is short; but on this account to be retained the more easily and the more dearly, in that in shortness it is not cheap. For it is not every kind of good soever, which the Apostle would here set forth, which he hath unambiguously placed above the faith of married women. But how great good the faith of married women, that is, of Christian and religious women joined in marriage, hath, may be understood from this, that, when he was giving charge for the avoiding of fornication, wherein assuredly he was addressing married persons also, he saith, *Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?* So great then is the good of faithful marriage, that even the very members are (members) of Christ. But, forasmuch as the good of widowed continence is better than this good, the purpose of this profession is, not that a catholic widow be any thing more than a member of Christ, but that she have a better place, than a married woman, among the members of Christ. Forsooth the same Apostle says, *For, as in one body we have many members, but all members have not the*

1 Cor. 6, 15.

Rom. 12, 4-6.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

same course of action; so being many we are one body in Christ, and each members one of another: having gifts diverse according unto the grace, which hath been given unto us.

5. Wherefore also when he was advising married persons not to defraud one another of the due of carnal intercourse; lest, by this means, the one of them, (the due of marriage being denied to him,) being through his own incontinence tempted of Satan, should fall away into fornication, he saith,

1 Cor. 7, 6. 7. *But this I say of leave, not of command; but I would that all men were as I myself; but each one hath his own proper gift from God; but one in this way, and another in that.*

iv. You see that wedded chastity also, and the marriage faith of the Christian bed, is a *gift*, and this of God; so that, when as carnal lust exceeds somewhat the measure of sensual intercourse, beyond what is necessary for the begetting of children, this evil is not of marriage, but venial by reason of the good of marriage. For not concerning marriage, which is contracted for the begetting of children, and the faith of wedded chastity, and the sacrament (indissoluble, so long as both live) of matrimony, all which are good; but concerning that immoderate use of the flesh, which is recognised in the weakness of married persons, and is pardoned by the intervention of the good of marriage, the Apostle saith, *I speak*

1 Cor. 7, 39. 40. *of leave, not of command.* Also, when he says, *The woman is bound, so long as her husband lives: but, in case her husband shall have died, she is set free: let her be married to whom she will, only in the Lord: but she shall be more blessed, if she shall have so continued, according to my counsel;* he shews sufficiently that a faithful woman is blessed in the Lord, even when she marries a second time after the death of her husband, but that a widow is more blessed in the same Lord; that is, to speak not only in the words, but by instances also, of the Scriptures, that Ruth is blessed, but that Anna is more blessed.

6. Wherefore this in the first place you ought to know, that by the good, which you have chosen, second marriages are not condemned, but are set in lower honour. For, even as the good of holy virginity, which thy daughter hath chosen, doth not condemn thy one marriage; so neither

doth thy widowhood the second marriage of any. For hence, specially, the heresies of the Cataphryges and of the Novatians swelled, which Tertullian also, inflated with cheeks full of sound not of wisdom, whilst with railing tooth he attacks[1] second marriages, as though unlawful, which the Apostle with sober mind allows[2] to be altogether lawful. From this soundness of doctrine let no man's reasoning, be he unlearned, or be he learned, move thee; nor do thou so extol thy own gift, as to shame as and that of another which is not evil; but do thou rejoice so much the more of thy own good, the more thou seest, that, by it, not only are evils shunned, but some goods too surpassed. For adultery and fornication are evils. But from these unlawful things she is very far removed, who hath bound herself by liberty of vow, and, not by command of law, but by counsel of charity, hath brought to pass that even things lawful should not be lawful to her. And marriage chastity is a good, but widowed continence is a better good. Therefore this better good is honoured by the submission of that other, not that other condemned by the praise of this that is better.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

[1] 'concidit.'

[2] 'concedit.'

v.

7. But whereas the Apostle, when commending the fruit of unmarried men and women, in that they have thought of the things of the Lord, how to please God, added and saith, *But this I say for your profit, not to cast a snare on you.* 1 Cor. 7, 35. that is, not to force you; *but in order to that which is honourable;* we ought not, because he saith that the good of the unmarried is honourable, therefore to think that the bond of marriage is base; otherwise we shall condemn first marriages also, which neither Cataphryges, nor Novatians, nor their most learned upholder Tertullian dared to call base. But as, when he says, *But I say unto the unmarried* 1 Cor. 7, 8. *and widows, that it is good for them if they shall have so continued;* assuredly he set down 'good' for 'better,' since every thing, which, when compared with a good, is called better, this also without doubt is a good; for what else is it that it is so called better, save that it is more good? and yet we do not on this account suppose him by consequence to have thought that it was an evil, in case they married, in that he said, *it is good for them, if they shall have so continued;* so also, when he says, *but in order to that which is honest*, he hath not

doth thy widowhood the second marriage of any. For hence, specially, the hèresies of the Cataphryges and of the Novatians swelled, which Tertullian also, inflated with cheeks full of sound not of wisdom, whilst with railing tooth he attacks[1] second marriages, as though unlawful, which the Apostle with sober mind allows[2] to be altogether lawful. From this soundness of doctrine let no man's reasoning, be he unlearned, or be he learned, move thee; nor do thou so extol thy own good, as to charge as evil that of another's which is not evil; but do thou rejoice so much the more of thy own good, the more thou seest, that, by it, not only are evils shunned, but some goods too surpassed. For adultery and fornication are evils. But from these unlawful things she is very far removed, who hath bound herself by liberty of vow, and, not by command of law, but by counsel of charity, hath brought to pass that even things lawful should not be lawful to her. And marriage chastity is a good, but widowed continence is a better good. Therefore this better good is honoured by the submission of that other, not that other condemned by the praise of this that is better.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS. v.

[1] 'concidit.'
[2] 'concedit.'

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1 Cor. 7, 35.

1 Cor. 7, 8.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

shewn that marriage is base, but that which was honester than (another thing also) honest, he hath commended by the name of honest in general. Because what is honester, save what is more honest? But what is more honest is certainly honest. Forsooth he plainly shewed that this is better than that other that is good, where he says, *Whoso giveth to marry, doeth well; but whoso giveth not to marry, doeth better.* And this more blessed than that other that is blessed, where he saith, *But she shall be more blessed, if she shall have so continued.* As, therefore, there is than good a better, and than blessed a more blessed, so is there than honest an honester, which he chose to call honest. For far be it that that be base, of which the Apostle Peter speaking saith, *Husbands, unto your wives, as unto the weaker and subject vessel, give honour, as unto coheirs of grace;* and addressing the wives, he exhorts them, by the pattern of Sara, to be subject unto their husbands; *For so,* saith he, *certain holy women, who hoped in God, adorned themselves, obeying their own husbands; even as Sara obeyed Abraham, calling him lord, whose daughters ye are made, well-doing, and not fearing any disturbance.*

1 Cor. 7, 38.

1 Pet. 3, 5—7.

vi. 8. Whence, also, what the Apostle Paul said of the unmarried woman, *that she may be holy both in body and spirit;* we are not so to understand, as though a faithful woman being married and chaste, and according to the Scriptures subject unto her husband, be not holy in body, but only in spirit. For it cannot come to pass, that when the spirit is sanctified, the body also be not holy, of which the sanctified spirit maketh use: but, that we seem not to any to argue rather than to prove this by divine saying; since the Apostle Peter, making mention of Sara, saith only *holy women,* and saith not, *and in body;* let us consider that saying of the same Paul, where forbidding fornication he saith, *Know ye not, that your bodies are members of Christ? Taking, therefore, members of Christ, shall I make them members of an harlot? Far be it.* Therefore let any one dare to say that the members of Christ are not holy; or let him not dare to separate from the members of Christ the bodies of the faithful that are married. Whence, also, a little after he saith, *Your body is the temple within you of the Holy Spirit, Whom ye*

1 Cor. 7, 34.

1 Cor. 6, 15.

1 Cor. 6, 19. 20.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

have from God; and ye are not your own; for ye have been bought with a great price. He saith that the body of the faithful is both members of Christ, and the temple of the Holy Spirit, wherein assuredly the faithful of both sexes are understood. There therefore are married women, there unmarried women also; but distinct in their deserts, and as members preferred to members, whilst yet neither are separated from the body. Whereas, therefore, he saith, speaking of an unmarried woman, *that she may be holy both in body and spirit*, he would have understood a fuller sanctification both in body and in spirit, and hath not deprived the body of married women of all sanctification.

9. Learn, therefore, that thy good, yea, rather, remember what thou hast learned, that thy good is more praised, because there is another good than which this is better, than if this could not on any other condition be a good, unless that were an evil, or altogether were not. The eyes have great honour in the body, but they would have less, if they were alone, and there were not other members of less honour. In heaven itself the sun by its light surpasses, not chides, the moon; and star from star differs in glory, not is at variance through pride. Therefore, *God made all things, and, lo, very good;* not only *good*, but also *very;* for no other reason, than because *all*. For of each several work throughout it was also said, *God saw that it is good.* But, when *all* were named, *very* was added; and it was said, *God saw all things which He made, and, lo, very good.* For certain several things were better than other several; but all together better than any several. Therefore, may the sound doctrine of Christ make thee in His Body sound through His Grace, that, what thou hast better than others in body and spirit, the selfsame thy spirit, which ruleth the body, may neither extol with insolence, nor distinguish with lack of knowledge.

1 Cor. 15, 41. Gen. 1, 31.

10. Nor, because I called Ruth blessed, Anna more blessed, in that the former married twice, the latter, being soon widowed of her one husband, so lived long, do you straightway also think that you are better than Ruth. Forsooth different in the times of the Prophets was the dispensation of holy females, whom obedience, not lust, forced vii.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

1 Cor. 10, 11.

to marry, for the propagation of the people of God, that in them Prophets of Christ might be sent beforehand; whereas the People itself also, by those things which in figure happened among them, whether in the case of those who knew, or in the case of those who knew not those things, was nothing else than a Prophet of Christ, of whom should be born the Flesh also of Christ. In order therefore for the propagation of that people, he was accounted accursed by sentence of the Law, whoso raised not up seed in Israel. Whence also holy women were kindled, not by lust of sensual intercourse, but by piety of bearing; so that we most rightly believe of them that they would not have sought sensual intercourse, in case a family could have come by any other means. And to the husbands was allowed the use of several wives living; and that the cause of this was not lust of the flesh, but forethought of begetting, is shewn by the fact, that, as it was lawful for holy men to have several wives living, it was not likewise lawful for holy women to have intercourse with several husbands living; in that they would be by so much the baser, by how much the more they sought what would not add to their fruitfulness. Wherefore holy Ruth, not having seed such as at that time was necessary in Israel, on the death of her husband sought another of whom to have it. Therefore than this one twice married, Anna once married a widow was on this account more blessed, in that she attained also to be a prophetess of Christ; concerning whom we are to believe, that, although she had no sons, (which indeed Scripture by keeping silence hath left uncertain,) yet, had she by that Spirit foreseen that Christ would immediately come of a virgin, by Which she was enabled to recognise Him even as a child: whence, with good reason, even without sons, (that is, assuming she had none,) she refused a second marriage: in that she knew that now was the time wherein Christ were better served, not by duty of bearing, but by zeal of containing: not by fruitfulness of married womb, but by chastity of widowed conduct. But if Ruth also was aware that by her flesh was propagated a seed, whereof Christ should hereafter have flesh, and by marrying set forth her ministering to this knowledge, I dare not any longer say that the widowhood of Anna was more blessed than her fruitfulness.

Deut. 25, 5—10.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS. viii.

11. But thou who both hast sons, and livest in that end of the world, wherein now is the time not of casting stones, but of gathering; not of embracing, but of abstaining from embracing; when the Apostle cries out, *But this I say, brethren, the time is short; it remains, that both they who have wives be as not having;* assuredly if thou hadst sought a second marriage, it would have been no obedience of prophecy or law, no carnal desire even of family, but a mark of incontinence alone. For you would have done what the Apostle says, after he had said, *It is good for them, if they shall have so continued, even as I;* forsooth he straightway added, *But if they contain not themselves, let them marry; for I had rather that they marry than be burned.* For this he said, in order that the evil of unbridled desire might not be carried headlong into criminal baseness, being taken up by the honest estate of marriage. But thanks be to the Lord, in that thou hast given birth to what thou wouldest not be, and the virginity of thy child hath compensated for the loss of thy virginity. For Christian doctrine, having diligent question made of it, makes answer, that a first marriage also now at this time is to be despised, unless incontinence stand in the way. For he, who said, *If they contain not themselves, let them marry*, could have said, 'If they have not sons, let them marry,' if, when now after the Resurrection and Preaching of Christ, there is unto all nations so great and abundant supply of sons to be spiritually begotten, it were any such duty to beget sons after the flesh, as it was in the first times. And, whereas in another place he saith, *But I will that the younger marry, bear children, be mothers of families*, he commends with apostolic sobriety and authority the good of marriage, but doth not impose the duty of bearing, as though in order to obey the law, even on those who 'receive' the good of continence. Lastly, why he had said this, he unfolds, when he adds and says, *To give no occasion of speaking evil to the adversary; for already certain have turned back after Satan:* that by these words of his we may understand, that those, whom he would have marry, could have done better to contain than marry; but better to marry than to go back after Satan, that is, to fall away from that excellent purpose of virginal or widowed chastity, by looking back to things

1 Cor. 7, 29.

1 Cor. 7, 8. 9.

1 Tim. 5, 14. 15.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

that are behind, and perish. Wherefore, such as contain not themselves, let them marry before they make profession of continence, before they vow unto God, what, if they pay not, they are justly condemned. Forsooth in another place he saith of such, *For when they have lived in delights in Christ, they wish to marry: having condemnation, in that they have made of none effect their first faith;* that is, they have turned aside their will from the purpose of continence unto marriage. Forsooth they have made of none effect the faith, whereby they formerly vowed what they were unwilling by perseverance to fulfil. Therefore the good of marriage is indeed ever a good: but in the people of God it was at one time an act of obedience unto the law; now it is a remedy for weakness, but in certain a solace of human nature. Forsooth to be engaged in the begetting of children, not after the fashion of dogs by promiscuous use of females, but by honest order of marriage, is not an affection such as we are to blame in a man; yet this affection itself the Christian mind, having thoughts of heavenly things, in a more praiseworthy manner surpasses and overcomes.

1Tim.5, 11. 12.

ix. 12. But since, as the Lord saith, *Not all receive this word;* therefore let her who can receive it, receive it; and let her, who containeth not, marry; let her, who hath not begun, deliberate; let her, who hath undertaken it, persevere; let there be no occasion given unto the adversary, let there be no oblation withdrawn from Christ. Forsooth in the marriage bond if chastity be preserved, condemnation is not feared; but in widowed and virginal continence, the excellence of a greater gift[1] is sought for: and, when this has been sought, and chosen, and by debt of vow offered, from this time not only to enter upon marriage, but, although one be not married, to wish to marry is matter of condemnation. For, in order to shew this, the Apostle saith not, *When they shall have lived in delights, in Christ* they marry; but *they wish to marry; having*, saith he, *condemnation, in that they have made of none effect their first faith*, although not by marrying, yet by wishing; not that the marriages even of such are judged matter of condemnation; but there is condemned a wrong done to purpose, there is condemned a broken faith of vow, there is condemned not a relief by lower good,

Mat.19, 11.

[1] munerís.

1Tim.5, 11. 12.

but a fall from higher good: lastly, such are condemned, not because they have entered upon marriage faith afterwards, but because they have made of none effect the first faith of continence. And in order to suggest this in few words, the Apostle would not say, that they have condemnation, who after purpose of greater sanctity marry, (not because they are not condemned, but lest in them marriage itself should be thought to be condemned:) but, after he had said, *they wish to marry*, he straightway added, *having condemnation.* And he stated the reason, *in that they have made of none effect their former faith*, in order that it may appear that it is the will which fell away from its purpose, which is condemned, whether marriage follow, or fail to follow. DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

13. Wherefore they who say that the marriages of such are not marriages, but rather adulteries, seem not to me to consider with sufficient acuteness and care what they say; forsooth they are misled by a semblance of truth. For, whereas they, who of Christian sanctity marry not, are said to choose the marriage of Christ, hence certain argue saying, If she, who during the life of her husband is married to another, be an adulteress, even as the Lord Himself hath laid down in the Gospel; therefore, during the life of Christ, over Whom death hath no more dominion, if she who had chosen His marriage, be married to a man, she is an adulteress. They, who say this, are moved indeed with acuteness, but fail to observe, how great absurdity in fact follows on this reasoning. For whereas it is praiseworthy that, even during the life of her husband, by his consent, a female vow continence unto Christ, now, according to the reasoning of these persons, no one ought to do this, lest she make Christ Himself, what is impious to imagine, an adulterer, by being married to Him during the life of her husband. Next, whereas first marriages are of better desert than second, far be it that this be the thought of holy widows, that Christ seem unto them as a second husband. For Himself they used heretofore also to have, (when they were subject and did faithful service to their own husbands,) not after the flesh, but after the Spirit a Husband; unto Whom the Church herself, of which they are members, is the wife; x. Rom. 6, 9.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

who by soundness of faith, of hope, of charity, not in holy virgins alone, but in widows also, and faithful married women, is altogether a virgin. Forsooth unto the universal Church, of which they all are members, the Apostle saith, 2 Cor. 11, 2. *I joined you unto one husband a chaste virgin to present unto Christ.* But He knoweth how to make fruitful, without marring of chastity, a wife a virgin, Whom even in the flesh itself His Mother could without violation of chastity conceive. But there is brought to pass by means of this ill-considered notion, (whereby they think that the marriages of women who have fallen away from this holy purpose, in case they shall have married, are no marriages,) no small evil, that wives be separated from their husbands, as though they were adulteresses, not wives; and wishing to restore to continence the women thus separated, they make their husbands real adulterers, in that during the life of their wives they have married others.

xi. 14. Wherefore I cannot indeed say, of females who have fallen away from a better purpose, in case they shall have married, that they are adulteries, not marriages; but I plainly would not hesitate to say, that departures and fallings away from a holier chastity, which is vowed unto the Lord, are worse than adulteries. For if, what may no way be doubted, it pertains unto an offence against Christ, when a member of Him keepeth not faith to her husband; how much graver offence is it against Him, when unto Himself faith is not kept, in a matter which He requires when offered, Who had not required that it should be offered. For when each fails to render that which, not by force of command, but by advice of counsel, he vowed, by so much the more doth he increase the unrightcousness of the wrong done to his vow, by how much the less necessity he had to vow. These matters I for this reason treat of, that you may not think either that second marriages are criminal, or that any marriages whatsoever, being marriages, are an evil. Therefore let this be your mind, not that you condemn them, but that you despise them. Therefore the good of widowed chastity is becoming after a brighter fashion, in that in order to make vow and profession of it, females may despise what is both pleasing

and lawful. But after profession of vow made they must continue to rein in, and overcome, what is pleasing, because it is no longer lawful. DE BONO VIDUITATIS. xii.

15. Men are wont to move a question concerning a third or fourth marriage, and even more numerous marriages than this. On which to make answer strictly, I dare neither to condemn any marriage, nor to take from these the shame of their great number. But, lest the brevity of this my answer may chance to displease any, I am prepared to listen to my reprover treating more fully. For perhaps he alleges some reason, why second marriages be not condemned, but third be condemned. For I, as in the beginning of this discourse I gave warning, dare not to be more wise than it behoveth to be wise. For who am I, that I should think that that must be defined which I see that the Apostle hath not defined? For he saith, *A woman is bound, so long as her husband liveth.* He said not, her first; or, second; or, third; or, fourth[1]; but, *A woman*, saith he, *is bound, so long as her husband liveth; but if her husband shall be dead, she is set free; let her be married to whom she will, only in the Lord: but she shall be more blessed, if she shall have so continued.* I know not what can be added to, or taken from, this sentence, so far as relates to this matter. Next I hear Himself also, the Master and Lord of the Apostles and of us, answering the Sadducees, when they had proposed to Him a woman not once-married, or twice-married, but, if it can be said, seven-married[2], whose wife she should be in the resurrection? For rebuking them, He saith, *Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God. For in the resurrection they shall neither be married, nor marry wives; for they shall not begin to die, but shall be equal to the Angels of God.* Therefore He made mention of their resurrection, who shall rise again unto life, not who shall rise again unto punishment. Therefore He might have said, Ye do err, knowing not the Scriptures, nor the power of God: for in that resurrection it will not be possible that there be those that were wives of many; and then added, that neither doth any there marry. But neither, as we see, did He in this sentence shew any sign of condemning her who was the wife of so many husbands.

Rom. 12, 3.

1 Cor. 7, 39. 40. [1] al. 'or any number.'

[2] septiviram.

Matt. 22, 29. 30. Luke 20, 35. 36.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

Wherefore neither dare I, contrary to the feeling of natural shame, say, that, when her husbands are dead, a woman marry as often as she will; nor dare I, out of my own heart, beside the authority of holy Scripture, condemn any number of marriages whatever. But, what I say to a widow, who hath had one husband, this I say to every widow; you will be more blessed, if you shall have so continued.

i. 16. For that also is no foolish question which is wont to be proposed, that whoso can may say, which widow is to be preferred in desert; whether one who hath had one husband, who, after having lived a considerable time with her husband, being left a widow with sons born to her and alive, hath made profession of continence; or she who as a young woman having lost two husbands within two years, having no children left alive to console her, hath vowed to God continence, and in it hath grown old with most enduring sanctity. Herein let them exercise themselves, if they can, by discussing, and by shewing some proof to us, who weigh the merits of widows by number of husbands, not by the strength itself of continence. For, if they shall have said, that she who hath had one husband is to be preferred to her who hath had two; unless they shall have alleged some special reason or authority, they will assuredly be found to set before excellence of soul, not greater excellence of soul, but good fortune of the flesh. Forsooth it pertained unto good fortune of the flesh, both to live a long time with her husband, and to conceive sons. But, if they prefer her not on this account, that she had sons; at any rate the very fact that she lived a long time with her husband, what else was it than good fortune of the flesh? Further, the desert of Anna herself is herein chiefly commended, in that, after she had so soon buried her husband, through her protracted life she long contended with the flesh, and overcame. For so it is written,

Luke 2, 36. 37. *And there was Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser; she was far advanced in many days; and had lived with her husband seven years from her virginity; and she was a widow even unto eighty-four years, who used not to depart from the Temple, by fastings and prayers serving day and night.* You see how the holy widow is not only commended in this, that she had had one

husband, but also, that she had lived few years with a husband from her virginity, and had with so great service of piety continued her office of widowed chastity even unto so great age. DE BONO VIDUITATIS. XIV.

17. Let us therefore set before our eyes three widows, each having one of the things, the whole of which were in her: let us suppose one who had had one husband, in whose case is wanting both so great length of widowhood, in that she hath lived long with her husband, and so great zeal of piety, in that she doth not so serve with fasts and prayers: a second, who after the very short life of her former husband, had quickly lost a second also, and is now long time a widow, but yet herself also doth not so set herself to the most religious service of fasts and prayers: a third, who not only hath had two husbands, but also hath lived long with each of them singly, or with one of them, and being left a widow at a later period of life, wherein indeed, in case she had wished to marry, she might also conceive sons, hath taken upon her widowed continence; but is more intent on God, more careful to do always the things that please Him, day and night, like Anna, serving by prayers and fasts. If a question be raised, which of these is to be preferred in deserts, who but must see that in this contest the palm must be given to the greater and more glowing piety? So also if three others be set, in each of whom are two of those three, but one of the three in each wanting, who can doubt that they will be the better, who shall have in a more excellent manner in their two goods pious humility, in order that there may be lofty piety?

18. No one indeed of these six widows could come up to your standard. For you, in case that you shall have maintained this vow even unto old age, mayest have all the three things wherein the desert of Anna excelled. For both thou hast had one husband, and he lived not long with thee in the flesh; and, by this means, in case that thou shalt shew forth obedience to the words of the Apostle, saying, *But she who is a widow indeed and desolate, hath hoped in the Lord, and persevereth in prayers night and day*, and with sober watchfulness shalt shun what follows, *But she who passes her time in delights, living is dead*, all those three goods, which were Anna's, shall be thine also. But you have sons also, 1 Tim. 5, 5. 6.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

which haply she had not. And yet you are not on this account to be praised, that you have them, but that you are zealous to nurture and educate them piously. For that they were born to thee, was of fruitfulness; that they are alive, is of good fortune; that they be so brought up, is of your will and disposal[1]. In the former let men congratulate you, in this let them imitate you. Anna, through prophetic knowledge, recognised Christ with His virgin Mother; thee the grace of the Gospel hath made the mother of a virgin of Christ. Therefore that holy virgin[a], whom herself willing and seeking it ye have offered unto Christ, hath added something of virginal desert also unto the widowed deserts of her grandmother and mother. For ye who have her, fail not to have something thence; and in her ye are, what in yourselves ye are not. For that holy virginity should be taken from you at your marriage, was on this account brought to pass, in order that she should be born of you.

[1] potestatis.

xv. 19. These discussions, therefore, concerning the different deserts of married women, and of different widows, I would not in this work enter upon, if, what I am writing unto you, I were writing only for you. But, since there are in this kind of discourse certain very difficult questions, it was my wish to say something more than what properly relates to you, by reason of certain, who seem not to themselves learned, unless they essay, not by passing judgment to discuss, but by rending to cut in pieces the labours of others: in the next place, that you yourself also may not only keep what you have vowed, and make advance in that good; but also know more carefully and more surely, that this same good of yours is not distinguished from the evil of marriage, but is set before the good of marriage. For let not such, as condemn the marriage of widowed females, although they exercise their continence in abstaining from many things, which you make use of, on this account lead you astray, to think what they think, although you cannot do what they do. For no one would be a madman, although he see that the strength of a madman is greater than of men in their sound senses. Chiefly, therefore, let sound doctrine both adorn and guard

[a] Demetrias, whose grandmother was Proba Faltonia, her mother Juliana. See S. Aug. Ep. 130. and 150. *Ben.*

goodness of purpose. Forsooth it is from this cause that catholic females, even after that they have been married more than once, are by just judgment preferred, not only to the widows who have had one husband, but also to the virgins of heretics. There are indeed on these three matters, of marriage, widowhood, and virginity, many winding recesses of questions, many perplexities; and in order by discussion to enter deeply into and solve these, there is required both greater care, and a fuller discourse; that either we may have a right mind in all those things, or, if in any matter we be otherwise minded, this also God may reveal unto us. However, what there also the Apostle saith next after, *Whereunto we have arrived, in that let us walk.* Phil. 3, 15. 16. But we have arrived, in what relates to this matter on which we are speaking, so far as to set continence before marriage, but holy virginity even before widowed continence; and not to condemn any marriages, which yet are not adulteries but marriages, by praise of any purpose whatever of our own or of our friends. Many other things on these matters we have said in a Book concerning the Good of Marriage, and in another Book concerning Holy Virginity, and in a Book which we composed with as great pains as we could against Faustus the Manichee; since, by most biting reproaches in his writings of the chaste marriages of Patriarchs and Prophets, he had turned aside the minds of certain unlearned persons from soundness of faith. DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

20. Wherefore, forasmuch as in the beginning of this little work I had proposed certain two necessary matters, and had undertaken to follow them out; one which related to doctrine, the other to exhortation; and I have not failed in the former part, to the best of my power, according to the business which I had undertaken; let us come to exhortation, in order that the good which is known wisely, may be pursued ardently. And in this matter I give you this advice first, that, how great soever love of pious continence you feel to be in you, you ascribe it to the favour of God, and give Him thanks, Who of His Holy Spirit hath freely given unto you so much, as that, His love being shed abroad in your heart, the love of a better good should take away from you the permission of a lawful matter. For it was His gift to you **XVI.**

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

that you should not wish to marry, when it was lawful, in order that now it should not be lawful, even if you wished; and that by this means the wish not to do it might be the more settled, lest what were now unlawful be done, which was not done even when lawful; and that, a widow of Christ, you should so far attain as to see your daughter also a virgin of Christ; for whilst you are praying as Anna, she hath become what Mary was. These by how much the more you know them to be gifts of God, by so much the more are you by the same gifts blessed; yea, rather, you are not so otherwise than as you know from Whom you have what you have. For listen to what the Apostle said on this matter, *But we have received not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit Which is of God, that we may know what things have been given to us by God.* Forsooth many have many gifts of God, and by not knowing from Whom they have them, come to boast themselves with impious vanity. But there is no one blessed with the gifts of God, who is ungrateful to the Giver. Forasmuch as, also, whereas in the course of the sacred Mysteries we are bidden to 'lift up our hearts,' it is by His help that we are able, by Whose bidding we are admonished; and therefore it follows, that, of this so great good of the heart lifted up, we give not the glory to ourselves as of our own strength, but render thanks unto our Lord God. For of this we are straightway admonished, that 'this is meet,' 'this is right.' You remember whence these words are taken, you recognise by what sanction[n], and by how great holiness they are commended within. Therefore hold and have what you have received, and return thanks to the Giver. For, although it be yours to receive and have, yet you have that, which you have received; forasmuch as to one waxing proud, and impiously glorying of that which he had, as though he had it of himself, the Truth saith by the Apostle, *But what hast thou, which thou hast not received? But, if thou hast received, why boastest thou, as if thou hadst not received?*

1 Cor. 2, 12.

1 Cor. 4, 7.

xvii. 21. These things I am compelled to admonish by reason of certain little discourses of some men, that are to be

[n] 'Intus qua sanctione,' al. 'inter quas actiones,' 'amongst what actions,' there are other various readings besides.

shunned and avoided, which have begun to steal through the ears unto the minds of many, being (as must be said with tears) hostile to the grace of Christ, which go to persuade that we count not as necessary for us prayer unto the Lord, that we enter not into temptation. For they so essay to defend the free will of man, as that by it alone, even without help of the grace of God, we are able to fulfil what is commanded us of God. And thus it follows, that the Lord in vain said, *Watch and pray, lest ye enter into temptation;* and in vain daily in the Lord's Prayer itself we say, *Lead us not into temptation.* For if it is of our own power alone that we be not overcome by temptation, why do we pray that we enter not, nor be led into it? Rather let us do what is of our own free will, and most absolute power; and let us mock at the Apostle, saying, *God is faithful, Who will not suffer you to be tempted above what ye are able;* and let us oppose him, and say, Why seek I of the Lord, what He hath set in my own power? But far be it, that he be so minded, who is sound minded. Wherefore let us seek that He may give, what He bids us that we have. For to this end He bids us have this, which as yet we have not, to admonish as what to seek; and that when we shall have found the power to do what He hath bidden, we may understand, of this also, whence we have received it; lest, being puffed and lifted up by the spirit of this world, we know not what things have been given unto us of God. Wherefore the free choice of the human will we by no means destroy, when the Grace of God, by which the free choice itself is helped, we deny not with ungrateful pride, but rather set forth with grateful piety. For it is ours to will: but the will itself is both admonished that it may arise, and healed, that it may have power[1]; and enlarged that it may receive; and filled, that it may have. For were not we to will, certainly neither should we receive the things that are given, nor should we have. For who would have continence, (among the rest of the gifts of God to speak of this rather, of which I am speaking to you,) who, I say, would have continence, unless willing? forasmuch as also no one would receive unless willing. But if you ask, Whose gift it is, that it can be by our will received and had? listen to Scripture; yea, rather, because thou

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

Matt. 26, 41. Matt. 6 13.

1 Cor. 10, 13.

[1] or 'be sound.'

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

knowest, recollect what thou hast read, *Whereas I knew,* saith he, *that no one can be continent, unless God give it, and this itself was of wisdom, to know whose gift it was.* Great are these two gifts, wisdom and continence; wisdom, forsooth, whereby we are formed in the knowledge of God; but continence, whereby we are not conformed unto this world. But God bids us that we be both wise and continent, without which goods we cannot be just and perfect. But let us pray that He give what He bids, by helping and inspiring, Who hath admonished us what to will by commanding and calling. Whatsoever of this He hath given, let us pray that He preserve; but what He hath not given as yet, let us pray that He supply; yet let us pray and give thanks for what we have received; and for what we have not yet received, from the very fact that we are not ungrateful for what we have received, let us trust that we shall receive it. For He, Who hath given power unto the faithful who are married to contain from adulteries and fornications, Himself hath given unto holy virgins and widows to contain from all sexual intercourse; in the case of which virtue now the term inviolate chastity[1] or continence is properly used. Or is it haply that from Him indeed we have received continence, but from ourselves have wisdom? What then is it that the Apostle James saith, *But if any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, Who giveth unto all liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given unto him.* But on this question, already in other little works of ours, so far as the Lord hath helped us, we have said many things; and at other times, so far as through Him we shall be able, when opportunity is given, we will speak.

Wisd. 8, 21.

[1] 'integritas.'

James 1, 5.

xviii. 22. Now it has been my wish on this account to say something on this subject, by reason of certain of our brethren most friendly and dear to us, and without wilful guilt indeed entangled in this error, but yet entangled; who think, that, when they exhort any to righteousness and piety, their exhortation will not have force, unless the whole of that, wherein they would work upon man that man should work, they set in the power of man, not helped by the grace of God, but put forth by the alone choice of the free will; as though there can be free will to perform a good

work, unless set free by the gift of God! And they mark not that this very thing themselves also have by the gift of God, that with such power they exhort, as to excite the dull wills of men to enter upon a good life, to enkindle the cold, to correct such as are in error, to convert such as are turned aside, to pacify such as are opposed. For thus they are able to succeed in persuading what they would persuade to, or if they work not these things in the wills of men, what is their work? wherefore speak they? Let them leave them rather to their own choice. But if in them they work these things, what? I pray, doth man, in the will of man, work so great things by speaking, and doth God work nothing there by helping? Yea rather, with how great soever power of discourse man may prevail, as that by skill of discussion, and sweetness of speech, he in the will of man implant truth, nourish charity, by teaching remove error, by exhortation remove sloth, *Neither he who planteth is any thing, nor he who watereth, but God Who giveth the increase.* For in vain would the workman use all means without, unless the Creator should work secretly within. I hope therefore that this letter of mine by the worthy deed[1] of your Excellence will soon come into the hands of such also; on this account I thought that I ought to say something on this subject. Next that both you yourself, and whatsoever other widows shall read this, or hear it read, may know that you make more advance unto the love and profession of the good of continence by your own prayers than by our exhortations; forasmuch as if it be any help to you that our addresses also are supplied to you, the whole must be assigned to His grace, *in Whose Hand*, as it is written, *are both we and our discourses.*

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

1 Cor. 3, 7.

[1] merito

Wisd. 7, 16.

xix.

23. If, therefore, you had not as yet vowed unto God widowed continence, we would assuredly exhort you to vow it; but, in that you have already vowed it, we exhort you to persevere. And yet I see that I must so speak as to lead those also who had as yet thought of marriage to leave it and to seize on it. Therefore let us give ear unto the Apostle, *She who is unmarried*, saith he, *is careful about the things of the Lord, to be holy both in body and spirit; but she who is married is careful about the things of the world, how to*

1 Cor. 7, 34.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

please her husband. He saith not, is careful about the things of the world, so as not to be holy; but certainly that that marriage holiness [d] is less, in regard of that portion of cares, which hath thought of the pleasure of the world. Whatever, therefore, of earnest purpose of mind would be expended also on these things whereby she would have to please a husband, the unmarried Christian woman ought in a certain way to gather and bring together unto that earnest purpose whereby she is to please the Lord. And consider, Whom she pleases, who pleases the Lord; and assuredly she is by so much the more blessed by how much the more she pleases Him; but by how much the more her thoughts are of the things of the world, by so much the less does she please Him. Therefore do ye with all earnest purpose please Him, Who is *fair of form above the sons of men.* For that ye please Him, it is by His grace which is *shed abroad on His lips.* Please ye Him in that portion of thought also, which would be occupied by the world, in order to please a husband. Please ye Him, Who displeased the world, in order that such as please Him might be set free from the world. For This One, fair of form above the sons of men, men saw on the Cross of the Passion; *and He had not form or beauty, but His face cast down, and His posture unseemly.* Yet from this unseemliness of your Redeemer flowed the price of your beauty, but of a beauty within, for *all the beauty of the King's daughter is within.* By this beauty please ye Him, this beauty order ye with studious care and anxious thought. He loves not dyes of deceits; the Truth delighteth in things that are true, and He, if you recognise what you have read, is called the Truth. *I am*, saith He, *the Way, and the Truth, and the Life.* Run ye to Him through Him; please ye Him of Him; live ye with Him, in Him, of Him. With true affections and holiest chastity love ye to be loved by such a Husband.

Ps.45,2. Is. 53,2. Ps. 45, 13. John14, 6.

24. Let the inner ear of the virgin also, thy holy child, hear these things. I shall see [1] how far she goes before you in the Kingdom of That King: it is another question. Yet ye have found, mother and daughter, Him, Whom by beauty of chastity ye ought to please together, having despised, she

[1] one Ms 'To see'

[d] Most Mss. 'but certainly that divine holiness.'

all, you second, marriage. Certainly if there were husbands whom ye had to please, by this time, perhaps, you would feel ashamed to adorn yourself together with your daughter; now let it not shame you, to set yourselves to do what may adorn you both together; because it is not matter of blame, but of glory, that ye be loved both together by That One. But white and red, feigned and laid on with paints, ye would not use, even if ye had husbands; not thinking that they were fit persons for you to deceive, or yourselves such as ought to deceive; now therefore That King, Who had longed for the beauty of His Only Spouse, of Whom ye are members, do ye with all truth together please, together cleave unto; she with virginal chastity, you with widowed continence, both with spiritual beauty. In which beauty also her grandmother, and your mother-in-law, who by this time surely hath grown old, is beautiful together with you. Forsooth whilst charity carries the vigour of this beauty into things that are before, length of years causeth not in it a wrinkle. You have with you a holy aged woman, both in your house and in Christ, whom to consult concerning perseverance; how you are to fight with this or that temptation, what you are to do, that it may be the more easily overcome; what safeguard you are to take, that it may not easily again lay wait; and if there be any thing of this sort, she teaches you, who is now by time fixed, by love a well-wisher, by natural affection full of cares, by age secure. Do you specially, do you in such things consult her, who hath made trial of what you have made trial of. For your child sings that song, which in the Apocalypse none save virgins can sing. But for both of you she prays more carefully than for herself, but she is more full of care for her granddaughter, for whom there remains a longer space of years to overcome temptations; but you she sees nearer to her own age, and mother of a daughter of such an age, as that, had you seen her married, (which now is not lawful, and far be it from her,) I think you would have blushed to bear children together with her. How much then is it that now remains to you of a dangerous age, who are on this account not called a grandmother, in order that together with your daughter you may be fruitful in offspring of holy thoughts

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

Rev. 14, 3. 4.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

and works? Therefore not without reason is the grandmother more full of care for her, for whom you also the mother; because both what she hath vowed is greater, and the whole of what she hath just now begun remains to her. May the Lord hear her prayers, that ye may holily follow her good deserts, who in youth gave birth to the flesh of your husband[e], in old age travaileth with the heart of your daughter. Therefore do ye all, alike and with one accord, by conduct please, by prayers press upon, That One Husband of One Wife, in Whose Body by One Spirit ye are living.

xx. 25. The past day returns not hereafter, and after yesterday proceeds to-day, and after to-day will proceed to-morrow; and, lo, all times and the things of time pass away, that there may come the promise that shall abide; and *whoso shall have persevered even unto the end, this one shall be saved.* If the world is now perishing, the married woman, for whom beareth she? Or in heart about to bear, and in flesh not about to bear, why doth she marry? But if the world is still about to last, why is not He more loved, by Whom the world was made? If already enticements of this life are failing, there is not any thing for a Christian soul with desire to seek after; but if they shall yet remain, there is what with holiness he may despise. For the one of these two there is no hope of lust, in the other greater glory of charity. How many or how long are the very years, in which the flower of carnal age seems to flourish? Some females having thoughts of marriage, and with ardour wishing it, whilst they are being despised or put off, on a sudden have grown old, so as that now they would feel shame, rather than desire, to marry. But many having married, their husbands having set out into distant countries very soon after their union, have grown aged expecting their return, and, as though soon left widows, at times have not even attained so as at least as old women to receive their old men on their return. If therefore, when betrothed bridegrooms despised or delayed, or when husbands were abroad, carnal desire could be restrained from commission of fornication or adultery, why cannot it be restrained from

Matt. 10, 22.

[e] Olibrius, see S. Jerome to Demetr. *Ben.*

commission of sacrilege? If it hath been repressed, when being deferred it was glowing, why is it not put down, when having been cut off it had grown cold? For they in greater measure endure glowing of desire, who despair not of the pleasure of the same desire. But whoso of unmarried persons vow chastity to God, withdraw that very hope, which is the fuel of love. Hence with more ease is desire bridled, which is kindled by no expectation; and yet, unless against this prayer be made, in order to overcome it, itself as unlawful is the more ardently wished for. DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

26. Therefore let spiritual delights succeed to the place of carnal delights in holy chastity; reading, prayer, psalm, good thought, frequency in good works, hope of the world to come, and a heart upward; and for all these giving of thanks unto the Father of lights, from Whom, without any doubt, every good gift, and every perfect gift, as Scripture bears witness, cometh down. For when, in stead of the delights of married women, which they have in the flesh of their husbands, the use of other carnal delights is taken, as it were to solace them, why should I speak of the evils which follow, when the Apostle hath said in short, that the widow, who lives in delights, living is dead. But far be it from you, that ye be taken with lust of riches instead of lust of marriage; or that in your hearts money succeed to the place of love of a husband. For looking into men's conversation, we have often found by experience, that in certain persons, when wantonness hath been restrained, avarice hath increased. For, as, in the senses themselves of the body, they who see not hear more keenly, and discern many things by touch, nor have such as have the use of their eyes so great life in their touch; and in this instance it is understood that, when the exertion of the power of attention[1] hath been restrained in one approach, that is, of the eyes, it puts itself forth into other senses, more ready with keenness to distinguish, as though it essayed to supply from the one what was denied in the other; thus also often carnal lust, being restrained from pleasure of sensual intercourse, with greater strength reaches itself forth to desire money, and when turned away from the one, turns itself with more glow of passion to the other. But in you let the love of riches grow cold together with the

xxi. James 1, 17. 1 Tim. 5, 6. [1] intentione

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

love of marriage, and let a pious use of what property you possess be directed to spiritual delights, that your liberality wax warm rather in helping such as are in want than in enriching covetous persons. Forsooth into the heavenly treasury are sent not gifts to the covetous, but alms to the needy, which above measure help the prayers of widows. Fastings, also, and watchings, so far as they disturb not health, if they be spent in praying, singing psalms, reading, and meditating in the Law of God, even the very things which seem laborious are turned into spiritual delights. For no way burdensome are the labours of such as love, but even of themselves delight, as of such as hunt, fowl, fish, gather grapes, traffic, delight themselves with some game. It matters therefore what be loved. For, in the case of what is loved, either there is no labour, or the labour also is loved. And consider how it should be matter for shame and grief, if there be pleasure in labour, to take a wild beast, to fill cask and purse[1], to cast a ball, and there be no pleasure in labours to win God!

[1] cupa et sacculus

xxii. 27. Indeed in all spiritual delights, which unmarried women enjoy, their holy conversation ought also to be with caution; lest haply, though their life be not evil through naughtiness, their report be evil through negligence. Nor are they to be listened to, whether they be holy men or women, when (upon occasion of their neglect in some matter being blamed, through which it comes to pass that they fall into evil suspicion, from which they know that their life is far removed) they say that it is enough for them their conscience before God, despising what men think of them, not only imprudently[f] but also cruelly; when they slay the souls of others; whether of such as blaspheme the way of God, who following their suspicion are displeased at what is the chaste life of the Saints, as though it were shameful, or of such also as make excuse, and imitate, not what they see, but what they think. Wherefore whosoever guards his life from charges of shameful and evil deeds, does good to himself; but whosoever guards his character too, is merciful also towards others. For unto ourselves our own life is necessary, unto others our character; and certainly even

[f] al. 'impudenter,' 'with lack of modesty.'

what we mercifully minister unto others, for their health, abounds also to our own profit. Whence not in vain the Apostle, *We provide good things*, saith he, *not only before God, but also before men;* also he saith, *Please ye all men through all things; even as I also please all men through all things, not seeking what is of profit unto myself, but what unto many, that they may be saved.* Also in a certain exhortation he says, *For the rest, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are holy, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are most dear, whatsoever things are of good report; if any virtue, if any praise, these things think on, which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me.* You see how among many things, unto which by exhortation he admonished them, he neglected not to set, *whatsoever things are of good report;* and in two words included all things, where he saith, *if any virtue, if any praise.* For unto virtue pertain the good things of which He made mention above; but good report unto praise. I think that the Apostle took not the praise of men for any great thing, saying in another place, *But to me it is the least thing, that I be judged of you, or of day of man;* and in another place, *If I were pleasing men, I should not be a servant of Christ;* and again, *For our glory is this, the testimony of our conscience.* But of these two, that is, of a good life, and a good report, or as is said more shortly, of virtue and praise, the one for his own sake he most wisely kept, the other for the sake of others he most mercifully provided. But, forasmuch as human caution, how great soever, cannot on every side avoid most malevolent suspicions, when for our good report we shall have done whatever we rightly can, if any, either by falsely pretending evil things of us, or from believing evil of us, endeavour to stain our fair fame, let there be present the solace of conscience, and clearly also the joy, in that our reward is great in Heaven, even when men say many evil things of us, and we yet live godly and righteously. For that reward is as the pay of such as serve as soldiers, through the arms of righteousness, not only on the right hand, but on the left also; that is to say, through glory and mean estate, through ill report and good report.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

2 Cor. 8, 21.

1 Cor. 10, 33.

Phil. 4, 8. 9.

1 Cor. 4, 3.

Gal. 1, 10.

2 Cor. 1, 12.

Matt. 5, 11. 12.

2 Cor. 6, 7. 8.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS. XXIII.

28. Go on therefore in your course, and run with perseverance, in order that ye may obtain; and by pattern of life, and discourse of exhortation, carry away with you into this same your course, whomsoever ye shall have had power. Let there not bend you from this earnest purpose, whereby ye excite many to follow, the complaint of vain persons, who say, How shall the human race subsist, if all shall have been continent? As though it were for any other reason that this world is delayed, save that the predestined number of the Saints be fulfilled, and were this the sooner fulfilled, assuredly the end of the world would not be put off. Nor let it stay you from your earnest purpose of persuading others to the same good ye have, if it be said to you, Whereas marriage also is good, how shall there be all goods in the Body of Christ, both the greater, forsooth, and the lesser, if all through praise and love of continence imitate? In the first place, because with the endeavour that all be continent, there will still be but few, for *not all receive* Mat. 19, 11. 12. *this word.* But forasmuch as it is written, *Whoso can receive, let him receive;* then do they receive who can, when silence is not kept even towards those who cannot. Next, neither ought we to fear lest haply all receive it, and some one of lesser goods, that is, married life, be wanting in the body of Christ. For if all shall have heard, and all shall have received, we ought to understand that this very thing was predestinated, that married goods already suffice in the number of those members which so many have passed out of this life. For neither now, if all shall have been continent, will they give the honour of the continent to those who have already borne into the garners of the Lord the fruit thirty-fold, if that be understood of married good. Therefore all these goods will have there their place, although from this time no woman wish to be married, no man wish to marry a wife. Therefore without anxiety urge on whom ye can, to become what ye are; and pray with watchfulness and fervour, that by the help of the Right Hand of the Most High, and by the abundance of the most merciful grace of the Lord, ye may both persevere in that which ye are, and may make advances unto that which ye shall be.

29. Next I entreat you, by Him, from Whom ye have

both received this gift, and hope for the rewards of this gift, that ye be mindful to set me also in your prayers with all your household Church. Forsooth it hath come to pass in most proper order, that I should write unto your Mother now aged a letter[1] concerning prayer; unto her, forsooth, it chiefly pertains by praying to contend on your behalf, who is less full of care for herself than for you; and that for you rather than for her I should compose this little work concerning widowed continence; because unto you it remaineth to overcome, what her age hath already overcome. But the holy virgin your child, if she desire ought concerning her profession from our labours, she hath a large book on Holy Virginity to read. Concerning the reading of which I had also admonished you, forasmuch as it contains many things necessary unto either chastity, that is, virginal and widowed, which things on this account I have here partly touched on lightly, partly altogether passed over, because I there discussed them more fully.

DE BONO VIDUITATIS.

[1] Ep. 150. ad Probam.

May you persevere in the grace of Christ.

S. AUGUSTINE

ON

LYING.

This book appears from its place in the Retractations to have been written about *A. D.* 395, as it is the last work named in the first book, which contains those which he wrote before he was Bishop. Some editions represent it as addressed to Consentius, but not the Mss. The latter are probably right, as his other work on the subject was written in answer to the enquiries of Consentius on the case of the Priscillianists many years later. *Ben.*

Retractations, Book I. last Chapter.

"I have also written a Book on Lying, which though it takes some pains to understand, contains much that is useful for the exercise of the mind, and more that is profitable to morals, in inculcating the love of speaking the truth. This also I was minded to remove from my works, because it seemed to me obscure, and intricate, and altogether troublesome; for which reason I had not sent it abroad. And when I had afterwards written another book, under this title, *Against Lying*, much more had I determined and ordered that the former should cease to exist; which however was not done. Therefore in this retractation of my works, as I have found this still in being, I have ordered that it should remain; chiefly because therein are to be found some necessary things which in the other are not. Why the other has for its title, *Against Lying*, but this, *Of Lying*, the reason is this, that throughout the one is an open assault upon lying, whereas great part of this is taken up with the discussion of the question for and against. Both however are directed to the same object. This book begins thus; "*Magna quæstio est de Mendacio.*"

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i. 1. THERE is a great question about Lying, which often arises in the midst of our every day business, and gives us much trouble, that we may not either rashly call that a lie

which is not such, or decide that it is sometimes right to tell a lie, that is, a kind of honest, well-meant, charitable lie. This question we will painfully discuss by seeking with them that seek: whether to any good purpose, we need not take upon ourselves to affirm, for the attentive reader will sufficiently gather from the course of the discussion. It is, indeed, very full of dark corners, and hath many cavern-like windings, whereby it oft eludes the eagerness of the seeker; so that at one moment what was found seems to slip out of one's hands, and anon comes to light again, and then is once more lost to sight. At last, however, the chase will bear down more surely, and will overtake our sentence. Wherein if there is any error, yet as Truth is that which setteth free from all error, and Falsehood that which entangleth in all error, one never errs more safely, methinks, than when one errs by too much loving the truth, and too much rejecting of falsehood. For they who find great fault say it is too much, whereas peradventure Truth would say after all, it is not yet enough. But whoso readest, thou wilt do well to find no fault until thou have read the whole; so wilt thou have less fault to find. Eloquence thou must not look for: we have been intent upon things, and upon dispatch in putting out of hand a matter which nearly concerns our every day life, and therefore have had small pains, or almost none, to bestow upon words. DE MENDACIO.

2. Setting aside, therefore, jokes, which have never been accounted lies, seeing they bear with them in the tone of voice, and in the very mood of the joker a most evident indication that he means no deceit, although the thing he utters be not true: touching which kind of discourse, whether it be meet to be used by perfect minds, is another question which we have not at this time taken in hand to clear; but setting jokes apart, the first point to be attended to, is, that a person should not be thought to lie, who lieth not. ii.

3. For which purpose we must see what a lie is. For not every one who says a false thing lies, if he believes or opines that to be true which he says. Now between believing and opining there is this difference, that sometimes he who believes feels that he does not know that which he believes, iii.

DE MENDACIO.

(although he may know himself to be ignorant of a thing, and yet have no doubt at all concerning it, if he most firmly believes it:) whereas he who opines, thinks he knows that which he does not know. Now whoever utters that which he holds in his mind either as belief or as opinion, even though it be false, he lies not. For this he owes to the faith of his utterance, that he thereby produce that which he holds in his mind, and has in that way in which he produces it. Not that he is without fault, although he lie not, if either he believes what he ought not to believe, or thinks he knows what he knows not, even though it should be true: for he accounts an unknown thing for a known. Wherefore, that man lies, who has one thing in his mind and utters another in words, or by signs of whatever kind. Whence also the heart of him who lies is said to be double; that is, there is a double thought: the one, of that thing which he either knows or thinks to be true and does not produce; the other, of that thing which he produces instead thereof, knowing or thinking it to be false. Whence it comes to pass, that he may say a false thing and yet not lie, if he thinks it to be so as he says although it be not so; and, that he may say a true thing, and yet lie, if he thinks it to be false and utters it for true, although in reality it be so as he utters it. For from the sense of his own mind, not from the verity or falsity of the things themselves, is he to be judged to lie or not to lie. Therefore he who utters a false thing for a true, which however he opines to be true, may be called erring and rash: but he is not rightly said to lie; because he has not a double heart when he utters it, neither does he wish to deceive, but is deceived. But the fault of him who lies, is, the desire of deceiving in the uttering of his mind; whether he do deceive, in that he is believed when uttering the false thing; or whether he do not deceive, either in that he is not believed, or in that he utters a true thing with will to deceive, which he does not think to be true: wherein being believed, he does not deceive though it was his will to deceive: except that he deceives in so far as he is thought to know or think as he utters.

iv. 4. But it may be a very nice question whether in the absence of all will to deceive, lying is altogether absent. Thus, put

the case that a person shall speak a false thing, which he esteems to be false, on the ground that he thinks he is not believed, to the intent, that in that way falsifying his faith he may deter the person to whom he speaks, which person he perceives does not choose to believe him. For here is a person who tells a lie with studied purpose of not deceiving, if to tell a lie is to utter any thing otherwise than you know or think it to be. But if it be no lie, unless when something is uttered with wish to deceive, that person lies not, who says a false thing, knowing or thinking it to be false, but says it on purpose that the person to whom he speaks by not believing him may not be deceived, because the speaker either knows or thinks the other will not believe him. Whence if it appear to be possible that a person should say a false thing on purpose that he to whom it is said may not be deceived, on the other hand there is this opposite case, the case of a person saying the truth on purpose that he may deceive. For if a man determines to say a true thing because he perceives he is not believed, that man speaks truth on purpose that he may deceive: for he knows or thinks that what is said may be accounted false, just because it is spoken by him. Wherefore in saying a true thing on purpose that it may be thought false, he says a true thing on purpose to deceive. So that it may be enquired, which rather lies: he who says a false thing that he may not deceive, or he who says a true thing that he may deceive? the one knowing or thinking that he says a false thing, and the other knowing or thinking that he says a true thing? For we have already said that the person who does not know the thing to be false which he utters, does not lie if he thinks it to be true; and that that person rather lies who utters even a true thing when he thinks it false: because it is by the sense of their mind that they are to be judged. Concerning these persons therefore, whom we have set forth, there is no small question. The one, who knows or thinks he says a false thing, and says it on purpose that he may not deceive: as, if he knows a certain road to be beset by robbers, and fearing lest some person for whose safety he is anxious should go by that road, which person he knows does not trust him, should tell him that that road has no robbers,

DE MENDACIO

DE MENDACIO.

on purpose that he may not go by it, as he will think there are robbers there precisely because the other has told him there are none, and he is resolved not to believe him, accounting him a liar. The other, who knowing or thinking that to be true which he says, says it on purpose that he may deceive: for instance, if he tells a person who does not believe him, that there are robbers in that road where he really knows them to be, that he to whom he tells it may the rather go by that road and so fall among robbers, because he thinks that to be false which the other told him. Which then of these lies? the one who has chosen to say a false thing that he may not deceive? or the other who has chosen to say a true thing that he may deceive? that one, who in saying a false thing aimed that he to whom he spake should follow the truth? or this one, who in saying a true thing aimed that he to whom he spake should follow a falsehood? Or haply have both lied? the one, because he wished to say a false thing: the other, because he wished to deceive? Or rather, has neither lied? not the one, because he had the will not to deceive: not the other, because he had the will to speak the truth? For the question is not now which of them sinned, but which of them lied: as indeed it is presently seen that the latter sinned, because by speaking a truth he brought it about that a person should fall among robbers, and that the former has not sinned, or even has done good, because by speaking a false thing he has been the means of a person's avoiding destruction. But then these instances may be turned the other way, so that the one should be supposed to wish some more grievous suffering to the person whom he wishes not to be deceived; for there are many cases of persons who through knowing certain things to be true, have brought destruction upon themselves, if the things were such as ought to have continued unknown to them: and the other may be supposed to wish some convenience to result to the person whom he wishes to be deceived; for there have been instances of persons who would have destroyed themselves had they known some evil that had really befallen those who were dear to them, and through deeming it false have spared themselves: and so to be deceived has been a benefit to them, as to others it has

DE MENDACIO.

been a hurt to know the truth. The question therefore is not with what purpose of doing a kindness or a hurt, either the one said a false thing that he might not deceive, or the other a true thing that he might deceive: but, setting apart the convenience or inconvenience of the persons spoken to, in so far as relates to the very truth and falsehood, the question is, whether both of them or neither has lied. For if a lie is an utterance with will of uttering a false thing, that man has rather lied who willed to say a false thing, and said what he willed, albeit he said it of set purpose not to deceive. But if a lie is any utterance whatever with will to deceive, then not the former has lied, but the latter, who even in speaking truth willed to deceive. And if a lie is an utterance with will of any falsity, both have lied; because both the former willed his utterance to be false, and the latter willed a false thing to be believed concerning his utterance which was true. Further, if a lie is an utterance of a person wishing to utter a false thing that he may deceive, neither has lied; because both the former in saying a false thing had the will to make a true thing believed, and the latter to say a true thing in order that he might make a false thing believed. We shall be clear then of all rashness and all lying, if, what we know to be true or right to be believed, we utter when need is, and wish to make that thing believed which we utter. If, however, either thinking that to be true which is false, or accounting as known that which is to us unknown, or believing what we ought not to believe, or uttering it when need is not, we yet have no other aim than to make that believed which we utter; we do not stand clear indeed of the error of temerity, but we do stand clear of all lying. For there is no need to be afraid of any of those definitions, when the mind has a good conscience, that it utters that which to be true it either knows, or opines, or believes, and that it has no wish to make any thing believed but that which it utters.

5. But whether a lie be at some times useful, is a much greater and more concerning question. Whether, as above, it be a lie, when a person has no will to deceive, or even makes it his business that the person to whom he says a thing shall not be deceived, although he did wish the

DE MENDACIO.

thing itself which he uttered to be false, but this on purpose that he might cause a truth to be believed; whether, again, it be a lie when a person willingly utters even a truth for the purpose of deceiving; this may be doubted. But none doubts that it is a lie when a person willingly utters a falsehood for the purpose of deceiving: wherefore a false utterance put forth with will to deceive is manifestly a lie. But whether this alone be a lie, is another question. Meanwhile, taking this kind of lie, in which all agree, let us inquire, whether it be sometimes useful to utter a falsehood with will to deceive. They who think it is, advance testimonies to their opinion, by alleging the case of Sarah, who, when she had laughed, denied to the Angels that she laughed: of Jacob questioned by his father, and answering that he was the elder son Esau: likewise that of the Egyptian midwives, who to save the Hebrew infants from being slain at their birth, told a lie, and that with God's approbation and reward: and many such like instances they pick out, of lies told by persons whom you would not dare to blame, and so must own that it may sometimes be not only not blameworthy, but even praiseworthy to tell a lie. They add also a case with which to urge not only those who are devoted to the Divine Books, but all men and common sense, saying, Suppose a man should take refuge with thee, who by thy lie might be saved from death, wouldest thou not tell it? If a sick man should ask a question which it is not expedient that he should know, and might be more grievously afflicted even by thy returning him no answer, wilt thou venture either to tell the truth to the destruction of the man's life, or rather to hold thy peace, than by a virtuous and merciful lie to be serviceable to his weak health? By these and such like arguments they think they most plentifully prove, that if occasion of doing good require, we may sometimes tell a lie.

Gen. 18, 15. Gen. 27, 19. Exod. 1, 19. 20.

6. On the other hand, those who say that we must never lie, plead much more strongly, using first the Divine authority, because in the very Decalogue it is written, *Thou shalt not bear false witness;* under which general term it comprises all lying: for whoso utters any thing bears witness to his own mind. But lest any should contend that not every lie is to be called false witness, what will he say to that which

Exod. 20, 16.

is written, *The mouth that lieth slayeth the soul*[a]: and lest any should suppose that this may be understood with the exception of some liars, let him read in another place, *Thou wilt destroy all that speak leasing.* Whence with His own lips the Lord saith, *Let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.* Hence the Apostle also in giving precept for the putting off of the old man, under which name all sins are understood, says straightway, *Wherefore putting away lying, speak ye truth.*

DE MENDACIO. Wisd. 1, 11. Psalm 5, 6. Matt. 5, 37. Eph. 4, 25.

7. Neither do they confess that they are awed by those citations from the Old Testament which are alleged as examples of lies: for there, every incident may possibly be taken figuratively, although it really did take place: and when a thing is either done or said figuratively, it is no lie. For every utterance is to be referred to that which it utters. But when any thing is either done or said figuratively, it utters that which it signifies to those for whose understanding it was put forth. Whence we may believe in regard of those persons of the prophetical times who are set forth as authoritative, that in all that is written of them they acted and spoke prophetically; and no less, that there is a prophetical meaning in all those incidents of their lives which by the same prophetic Spirit have been accounted worthy of being recorded in writing. As to the midwives, indeed, they cannot say that these women did through the prophetic Spirit, with purpose of signifying a future truth, tell Pharaoh one thing instead of another, (albeit that Spirit did signify something, without their knowing what was doing in their persons:) but, they say that these women were according to their degree approved and rewarded of God. For if a person who is used to tell lies for harm's sake comes to tell them for the sake of doing good, that person has made great progress. But it is one thing that is set forth as laudable in itself, another that in comparison with a worse is preferred. It is one sort of gratulation that we express when a man is in sound health, another when a sick man is getting better. In the Scripture, even Sodom is said to be justified in comparison with the crimes of the people Israel. And to

[a] Os quod mentitur. The mouth that belieth, E. V. στόμα καταψευδόμενον.

DE MENDACIO.

this rule they apply all the instances of lying which are produced from the Old Books, and are found not reprehended, or cannot be reprehended: either they are approved on the score of a progress towards improvement and hope of better things, or in virtue of some hidden signification they are not altogether lies.

8. For this reason, from the books of the New Testament, except the figurative presignifications used by our Lord, if thou consider the life and manners of the Saints, their actions and sayings, nothing of the kind can be produced which should provoke to imitation of lying. For the simulation of Peter and Barnabas is not only recorded, but also reproved and corrected. For it was not, as some suppose[b], out of the same simulation that even Paul the Apostle either circumcised Timothy, or himself celebrated certain ceremonies[1] according to the Jewish rite; but he did so, out of that liberty of his mind whereby he preached that neither are the Gentiles the better for circumcision, nor the Jews the worse. Wherefore he judged that neither the former should be tied to the custom of the Jews, nor the Jews deterred from the custom of their fathers. Whence are those words of his: *Is any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised. Is any called in uncircumcision? let him not be circumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God. Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.* How can a man become uncircumcised after circumcision? but let him not do so, saith he: let him not so live as if he had become uncircumcised, that is, as if he had covered again with flesh the part that was bared, and ceased to be a Jew; as in another place he saith, *Thy circumcision is become uncircumcision.* And this the Apostle said, not as though he would compel either those to remain in uncircumcision, or the Jews in the custom of their fathers: but that neither these nor those should be forced to the other custom; and, each should have power of abiding in his own custom, not necessity of so doing. For neither if the Jew should wish, where it would disturb no man, to recede from Jewish observances, would he be prohibited by

Gal. 2, 12. 13.

[1] sacramenta

1 Cor. 7, 18—20.

Rom. 2, 25.

[b] S. Jerome Ep. inter Augustinianas, 75, n. 9—11.

the Apostle, since the object of his counselling to abide therein was that Jews might not by being troubled about superfluous things be hindered from coming to those things which are necessary to salvation. Neither would it be prohibited by him, if any of the Gentiles should wish to be circumcised for the purpose of shewing that he does not detest the same as noxious, but holds it indifferently, as a seal, the usefulness of which had already passed away with time; for it did not follow that, if there were now no salvation to be had from it, there was destruction to be dreaded therefrom. And for this reason, Timothy, having been called in uncircumcision, yet because his mother was a Jewess and he was bound, in order to gain his kindred, to shew them that he had not learnt in the Christian discipline to abominate the sacraments of the old Law, was circumcised by the Apostle: that in this way they might prove to the Jews, that the reason why the Gentiles do not receive them, is not that they are evil and were perniciously observed by the Fathers, but because they are no longer necessary to salvation after the advent of that so great Sacrament, which through so long times the whole of that ancient Scripture in its prophetical prefigurations did travail in birth withal. For he would circumcise Titus also, when the Jews urged this, but that false brethren, privily brought in, wished it to be done to the intent they might have it to disseminate concerning Paul himself as a token that he had given place to the truth of their preaching, who said that the hope of Gospel salvation is in circumcision of the flesh and observances of that kind, and that without these Christ profiteth no man: whereas on the contrary Christ would nothing profit them, who should be circumcised because they thought that in it was salvation; whence that saying, *Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.* Out of this liberty, therefore, did Paul keep the observances of his fathers, but with this one precaution and express declaration, that people should not suppose that without these was no Christian salvation. Peter, however, by his making as though salvation consisted in Judaism, was compelling the Gentiles to judaize; as is shewn by Paul's words, where he says, *Why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as*

DE MENDACIO.

signaculum

Acts 16, 1—3.

Gal. 2, 3. 4.

Gal. 5, 2.

Gal. 2, 14.

DE MENDACIO.

do the Jews? For they would be under no compulsion unless they saw that he observed them in such manner as if beside them could be no salvation. Peter's simulation therefore is not to be compared to Paul's liberty. And while we ought to love Peter for that he willingly received correction, we must not bolster up lying even by the authority of Paul, who both recalled Peter to the right path in the presence of them all, lest the Gentiles through him should be compelled to judaize; and bare witness to his own preaching, that whereas he was accounted hostile to the traditions of the fathers in that he would not impose them on the Gentiles, he did not despise to celebrate them himself according to the custom of his fathers, and therein sufficiently shewed that this has remained in them at the coming of Christ; that neither to the Jews they are pernicious, nor to the Gentiles necessary, nor henceforth to any of mankind means of salvation [1].

[1] salutares

9. But if no authority for lying can be alleged, neither from the ancient Books, be it because that is not a lie which is received to have been done or said in a figurative sense, or be it because good men are not challenged to imitate that which in bad men, beginning to amend, is praised in comparison with the worse; nor yet from the books of the New Testament, because Peter's correction rather than his simulation, even as his tears rather than his denial, is what we must imitate: then, as to those examples which are fetched from common life, they assert much more confidently that there is no trust to be given to these. For first they teach, that a lie is iniquity, by many proofs of holy writ, especially by that which is written, *Thou, Lord, hatest all workers of iniquity, thou shalt destroy them that speak leasing.* For either as the Scripture is wont, in the following clause it expounds the former; so that, as iniquity is a term of a wider meaning, leasing is named as the particular sort of iniquity intended: or if they think there is any difference between the two, leasing is by so much worse than iniquity as *thou wilt destroy* is heavier than *thou hatest*. For it may be that God hates a person to that degree more mildly, as not to destroy him, but whom He destroys He hates the more exceedingly, by how much He punisheth more severely. Now He hateth all who work iniquity: but all who speak

vi. Ps. 5, 5. 6.

leasing He also destroyeth. Which thing being fixed, who of them which assert this will be moved by those examples, when it is said, suppose a man should seek shelter with thee who by thy lie may be saved from death? For that death which men are foolishly afraid of, who are not afraid to sin, kills not the soul but the body, as the Lord teacheth in the Gospel; whence He charges us not to fear that death: but the mouth which lies kills not the body but the soul. For in these words it is most plainly written, *The mouth that lieth slayeth the soul.* How then can it be said without the greatest perverseness, that to the end one man may have life of the body, it is another man's duty to incur death of the soul? The love of our neighbour hath its bounds in each man's love of himself. *Thou shalt love*, saith He, *thy neighbour as thyself.* How can a man be said to love as himself that man, for whom that he may secure a temporal life, himself loseth life eternal? Since if for his temporal life he lose but his own temporal life, that is not to love as himself, but more than himself: which exceeds the rule of sound doctrine. Much less then is he by telling a lie to lose his own eternal for another's temporal life. His own temporal life, of course, for his neighbour's eternal life a Christian man will not hesitate to lose: for this example has gone before, that the Lord died for us. To this point He also saith, *This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.* For none is so foolish as to say that the Lord did other than consult for the eternal salvation of men, whether in doing what He hath charged us to do, or in charging us to do what Himself hath done. Since then by lying eternal life is lost, never for any man's temporal life must a lie be told. And as to those who take it ill and are indignant that one should refuse to tell a lie, and thereby slay his own soul in order that another may grow old in the flesh; what if by our committing theft, what if by committing adultery, a person might be delivered from death: are we therefore to steal, to commit whoredom? They cannot prevail with themselves in a case of this kind: namely, if a person should bring a halter and demand that one should yield to his carnal lust, declaring that he will hang himself unless

DE MENDACIO.

Mat. 10, 28.

Wisd. 1, 11. *belieth* E. V.

Levit. 19, 18. Mat. 22, 39.

John 15, 12. 13.

DE MENDACIO.

his request be granted: they cannot prevail with themselves to comply for the sake of, as they say, saving a life. If this is absurd and wicked, why should a man corrupt his own soul with a lie in order that another may live in the body, when, if he were to give his body to be corrupted with such an object, he would in the judgment of all men be held guilty of nefarious turpitude? Therefore the only point to be attended to in this question is, whether a lie be iniquity. And since this is asserted by the texts above rehearsed, we must see that to ask, whether a man ought to tell a lie for the safety of another, is just the same as asking whether for another's safety a man ought to commit iniquity. But if the salvation of the soul rejects this, seeing it cannot be secured but by equity, and would have us prefer it not only to another's, but even to our own temporal safety: what remains, say they, that should make us doubt that a lie ought not to be told under any circumstances whatsoever? For it cannot be said that there is aught among temporal goods greater or dearer than the safety and life of the body. Wherefore if not even that is to be preferred to truth, what can be put in our way for the sake of which they who think it is sometimes right to lie, can urge that a lie ought to be told?

vii. 10. As concerning purity of body; here indeed a very honourable regard seems to come in the way, and to demand a lie in its behalf; to wit, that if the assault of the ravisher may be escaped by means of a lie, it is indubitably right to tell it: but to this it may easily be answered, that there is no purity of body except as it depends on integrity of mind; this being broken, the other must needs fall, even though it seem intact; and for this reason it is not to be reckoned among temporal things, as a thing that might be taken away from people against their will. By no means therefore must the mind corrupt itself by a lie for the sake of its body, which it knows remaineth incorrupt if from the mind itself incorruptness depart not. For that which by violence, with no lust foregoing, the body suffereth, is rather to be called deforcement than corruption. Or if all deforcement is corruption, then not every corruption hath turpitude, but only that which lust hath procured, of to which lust hath con-

sented. Now by how much the mind is more excellent than the body, so much the more heinous is the wickedness if that be corrupted. There, then, purity can be preserved, because there none but a voluntary corruption can have place. For assuredly if the ravisher assault the body, and there is no escaping him either by contrary force, or by any contrivance or lie, we must needs allow that purity cannot be violated by another's lust. Wherefore, since no man doubts that the mind is better than the body, to integrity of body we ought to prefer integrity of mind, which can be preserved for ever. Now who will say that the mind of him who tells a lie hath its integrity? Indeed lust itself is rightly defined, An appetite of the mind by which to eternal goods any temporal goods whatever are preferred. Therefore no man can prove that it is at any time right to tell a lie, unless he be able to shew that any eternal good can be obtained by a lie. But since each man departs from eternity just in so far as he departs from truth, it is most absurd to say, that by departing therefrom it is possible for any man to attain to any good. Else if there be any eternal good which truth compriseth not, it will not be a true good, therefore neither will it be good, because it will be false. But as the mind to the body, so must also truth be preferred to the mind itself, so that the mind should desire it not only more than the body, but even more than its own self. So will the mind be more entire and chaste, when it shall enjoy the immutability of truth rather than its own mutability. Now if Lot, being so righteous a man that he was meet[1] to entertain even Angels, offered his daughters to the lust of the Sodomites, to the intent, that the bodies of women rather than of men might be corrupted by them; how much more diligently and constantly ought the mind's chasteness in the truth to be preserved, seeing it is more truly preferable to its body, than the body of a man to the body of a woman?

DE MENDACIO.

Gen. 19, 8. [1] ut mereretur.'

viii. 11. But if any man supposes that the reason why it is right for a person to tell a lie for another is, that he may live the while, or not be offended in those things which he much loveth, to the end he may attain unto eternal truth by being taught: that man doth not understand, in the first place, that there is no flagitious thing which he may not upon the

DE MENDACIO.

same ground be compelled to commit, as has been above demonstrated; and in the next place, that the authority of the doctrine itself is cut off and altogether undone if those whom we essay to bring thereunto, are by our lie made to think that it is somewhiles right to lie. For seeing the doctrine which bringeth salvation consisteth partly in things to be believed, partly in things to be understood; and there is no attaining unto those things which are to be understood, unless first those things are believed, which are to be believed; how can there be any believing one who thinks it is sometimes right to lie, lest haply he lie at the moment when he teacheth us to believe? For how can it be known whether he have at that moment some cause, as he thinks, [1]officiosi for a well-meant[1] lie, deeming that by a false story a man may be frightened and kept from lust, and in this way account that by telling a lie he is doing good even in spiritual things? Which kind of lie once admitted and approved, all discipline of faith is subverted altogether; and this being subverted, neither is there any attaining to understanding, for the receiving of which that discipline nurtureth the babes: and so all the doctrine of truth is done away, giving place to most licentious falsehood, if a lie, even well-meant, may from any quarter have place opened for it to enter in. For either whoso tells a lie prefers temporal advantages, his own or another's, to truth; than which what can be more perverse? or when by aid of a lie he wishes to make a person fit for gaining the truth, he bars the approach [2] aptus to truth, for by wishing when he lies to be accommodating[2], it comes to pass that when he speaks the truth, he cannot be depended upon. Wherefore, either we must not believe good men, or we must believe those whom we think obliged sometimes to tell a lie, or we must not believe that good men sometimes tell lies: of these three the first is pernicious, the second foolish; it remains therefore that good men should never tell lies.

ix. 12. Thus has the question been on both sides considered and treated; and still it is not easy to pass sentence: but we must further lend diligent hearing to those who say, that no deed is so evil, but that in avoidance of a worse it ought to be done; moreover that the deeds of men include not only what

they do, but whatever they consent to be done unto them. Wherefore, if cause have arisen that a Christian man should choose to burn incense to idols, that he might not consent to bodily defilement which the persecutor threatened him withal, unless he should do so, they think they have a right to ask why he should not also tell a lie to escape so foul a disgrace. For the consent itself to endure violation of the person rather than to burn incense to idols, this, they say, is not a passive thing, but a deed; which rather than do, he chose to burn incense. How much more readily then would he have chosen a lie, if by a lie he might ward off from a holy body so shocking a disgrace? DE MENDACIO.

13. In which proposition these points may well deserve to be questioned: whether such consent is to be accounted as a deed: or whether that is to be called consent which hath not approbation: or whether it be approbation, when it is said, 'It is expedient to suffer this rather than do that;' and whether the person spoken of did right to burn incense rather than suffer violation of his body; and whether it would be right rather to tell a lie, if that was the alternative proposed, than to burn incense? But if such consent is to be accounted as a deed, then are they murderers who have chosen rather to be put to death than bear false witness, yea, what is worse, they are murderers of themselves. For why, at this rate, should it not be said that they have slain themselves, because they chose that this should be done to them that they might not do what they were urged to do? Or, if it be accounted a worse thing to slay another than himself, what if these terms were offered to a Martyr, that, upon his refusing to bear false witness of Christ and to sacrifice to demons, then, before his eyes, not some other man, but his own father should be put to death; his father intreating him that he would not by his persevering permit that to be done? Is it not manifest, that, upon his remaining stedfast in his purpose of most faithful testimony, they alone would be the murderers who should slay his father, and not he a parricide into the bargain? As therefore, in this case, the man would be no party to this so heinous deed, for choosing, rather than violate his faith by false testimony, that his own father should be put to death by others, (yea, though that father

DE MENDACIO.

were a sacrilegious person whose soul would be snatched away to punishment;) so the like consent, in the former case, would not make him a party to that so foul disgrace, if he refused to do evil himself, let others do what they might in consequence of his not doing it. For what do such persecutors say, but, 'Do evil that we may not?' If the case were so, that our doing evil would make them not to have done it, even then it would not be our duty by doing wickedness ourselves to vote them harmless; but as in fact they are already doing it when they say nothing of the kind[1], why are they to have us to keep them company in wickedness rather than be vile and noisome by themselves? For that is not to be called consent; seeing that we do not approve what they do, always wishing that they would not, and, as much as in us lies, hindering them that they should not do it, and, when it is done, not only not committing it with them, but with all possible detestation condemning the same.

[1] al. when they say such things.

14. 'How,' sayest thou, 'is it not his doing as well as theirs, when they would not do this, if he would do that?' Why, at this rate we go housebreaking with house-breakers, because if we did not shut the door, they would not break it open: and we go and murder with highwaymen, if it chance we know that they are going to do it, because if we killed them out of hand, they would not kill others. Or, if a person confess to us that he is going to commit a parricide, we commit it along with him, if, being able, we do not slay him before he can do the deed when we cannot in some other way prevent or thwart him. For it may be said, word for word as before, 'Thou hast done it as well as he; for he had not done this, hadst thou done that.' With my good will, neither ill should be done; but only the one was in my power, and I could take care that this should not be done; the other rested with another, and when by my good advice I could not quench the purpose, I was not bound by my evil deed to thwart the doing. It is therefore no approving of a sinner, that one refuses to sin for him; and neither the one nor the other is liked by him who would that neither were done; but in that which pertains to him, he hath the power to do it or not, and with that he perpetrateth it not; in that which pertains to another, he hath only the will to

wish it or not, and with that he condemneth. And therefore, on their offering those terms, and saying, 'If thou burn not incense, this shalt thou suffer;' if he should answer, 'For me, I choose neither, I detest both, I consent unto you in none of these things:' in uttering these and the like words, which certainly, because they would be true, would afford them no consent, no approbation of his, let him suffer at their hands what he might, to his account would be set down the receipt of wrongs, to theirs the commission of sins. 'Ought he then,' it may be asked, 'to suffer his person to be violated rather than burn incense?' If the question be what he ought, he ought to do neither. For should I say that he ought to do any of these things, I shall approve this or that, whereas I reprobate both. But if the question be, which of these he ought in preference to avoid, not being able to avoid both but able to avoid one or other: I will answer, 'His own sin, rather than another's; and rather a lighter sin being his own, than a heavier being another's.' For, reserving the point for more diligent inquiry, and granting in the mean while that violation of the person is worse than burning incense, yet the latter is his own, the former another's deed, although he had it done to him; now, whose the deed, his the sin. For though murder is a greater sin than stealing, yet it is worse to steal than to suffer murder. Therefore, if it were proposed to any man that, if he would not steal he should be killed, that is, murder should be committed upon him; being he could not avoid both, he would prefer to avoid that which would be his own sin, rather than that which would be another's. Nor would the latter become his act for being committed upon him, and because he might avoid it if he would commit a sin of his own.

DE MENDACIO.

15. The whole stress, then, of this question comes to this; whether it be true universally that no sin of another, committed upon thee, is to be imputed to thee, if, being able to avoid it by a lighter sin of thine own, thou do it not; or whether there be an exception of all bodily defilement. No man says that a person is defiled by being murdered, or cast into prison, or bound in chains, or scourged, or afflicted with other tortures and pains, or proscribed and made to suffer most grievous losses even to utter nakedness, or

DE MENDACIO.

stripped of honours, and subjected to great disgrace by reproaches of whatsoever kind; whatever of all these a man may have unjustly suffered, no man is so senseless as to say that he is thereby defiled. But if he have filth poured all over him, or poured into his mouth, or crammed into him, or if he be carnally used like a woman; then almost all men regard him with a feeling of horror, and they call him defiled and unclean. One must conclude then that the sins of others, be they what they may, those always excepted which defile him on whom they are committed, a man must not seek to avoid by sin of his own, either for himself or for any other, but rather he must put up with them, and suffer bravely; and if by no sins of his own he ought to avoid them, therefore not by a lie: but those which by being committed upon a man do make him unclean, these we are bound to avoid even by sinning ourselves; and for this reason those things are not to be called sins, which are done for the purpose of avoiding that uncleanness. For whatever is done, in consideration that the not doing it were just cause of blame, that thing is not sin. Upon the same principle, neither is that to be called uncleanness when there is no way of avoiding it; for even in that extremity he who suffers it has what he may do aright, namely, patiently bear what he cannot avoid. Now no man while acting aright can be defiled by any corporal contagion. For the unclean in the sight of God is every one who is unrighteous; clean therefore is every one who is righteous; if not in the sight of men, yet in the sight of God, Who judges without error. Nay, even in the act of suffering that defilement with power given of avoiding it, it is not by the mere contact that the man is defiled; but by the sin of refusing to avoid it when he might. For that would be no sin, whatever might be done for the avoiding of it. Whoever therefore, for the avoiding of it, shall tell a lie, sinneth not.

16. Or, are some lies, also, to be excepted, so that it were better to suffer this than to commit those? If so, then not every thing that is done in order to the avoiding of that defilement ceases to be sin; seeing there are some lies to commit which is worse than to suffer that foul violence. For, suppose quest be making after a person that his body

may be deflowered, and that it be possible to screen him by a lie; who dares to say that even in such a case a lie ought not be told? But, if the lie by which he may be concealed be one which may hurt the fair fame of another, by bringing upon him a false accusation of that very uncleanness, to suffer which the other is sought after; as, if it should be said to the enquirer, 'Go to such an one,' (naming some chaste man who is a stranger to vices of this kind,) 'and he will procure for you one whom you will find a more willing subject, for he knows and loves such;' and thereby the person might be diverted from him whom he sought: I know not whether one man's fair fame ought to be violated by a lie, in order that another's body may not be violated by lust to which he is a stranger. And in general, it is never right to tell a lie for any man, such as may hurt another, even if the hurt be slighter than would be the hurt to him unless such a lie were told. Because neither must another man's bread be taken from him against his will, though he be in good health, and it is to feed one who is weak; nor must an innocent man, against his will, be beaten with rods, that another may not be killed. Of course, if they are willing, let it be done, because they are not hurt if they be willing that so it should be: but whether, even with his own consent, a man's fair fame ought to be hurt with a false charge of foul lusts, in order that lust may be averted from another's body, is a great question. And I know not whether it be easy to find in what way it can be just that a man's fair fame, even with his consent, should be stained with a false charge of lust, any more than a man's body should be polluted by the lust itself against his will. DE MENDACIO. x.

17. But yet if the option were proposed to the man who chose to burn incense to idols rather than yield his body to abominable lust, that, if he wished to avoid that, he should violate the fame of Christ by some lie; he would be most mad to do it. I say more: that he would be mad, if, to avoid another man's lust, and not to have that done upon his person which he would suffer with no lust of his own, he should falsify Christ's Gospel with false praises of Christ; more eschewing that another man should corrupt his body, than himself to corrupt the doctrine of sanctification of souls

DE MENDACIO.

and bodies. Wherefore, from the doctrine of religion, and from those utterances universally, which are uttered on behalf of the doctrine of religion, in the teaching and learning of the same, all lies must be utterly kept aloof. Nor can any cause whatever be found, one should think, why a lie should be told in matters of this kind, when in this doctrine it is not right to tell a lie for the very purpose of bringing a person to it the more easily. For, once break or but slightly diminish the authority of truth, and all things will remain doubtful: which unless they be believed true, cannot be held as certain. It is lawful then either to him that discourses, disputes, and preaches of things eternal, or to him that narrates or speaks of things temporal pertaining to edification of religion and piety, to conceal at fitting time whatever seems fit to be concealed: but to tell a lie is never lawful, therefore neither to conceal by telling a lie.

xi. 18. This being from the very first and most firmly established, touching other lies the question proceeds more securely. But by consequence we must also see that all lies must be kept aloof which hurt any man unjustly: because no man is to have a wrong, albeit a lighter one is done to him, that another may have a heavier kept from him. Nor are those lies to be allowed, which, though they hurt not another, yet do nobody any good, and are hurtful to the persons themselves who gratuitously tell them. Indeed, these are the persons who are properly to be called liars. For there is a difference between lying and being a liar. A man may tell a lie unwillingly; but a liar loves to lie, and inhabits in his mind in the delight of lying. Next to such are those to be placed who by a lie wish to please men, not that they may do wrong or bring reproach upon any man; for we have already before put away that kind; but that they may be pleasant in conversation. These differ from the class in which we have placed liars in this respect, that liars delight in lying, rejoicing in deceit for its own sake: but these lust to please by agreeable talk, and yet would rather please by saying things that were true, but when they do not easily find true things to say that are pleasant to the hearers, they choose rather to tell lies than to hold their tongues. Yet it is difficult for these sometimes to undertake a story which is

the whole of it false; but most commonly they interweave falsehood with truth, where they are at a loss for something sweet. Now these two sorts of lies do no harm to those who believe them, because they are not deceived concerning any matter of religion and truth, or concerning any profit or advantage of their own. It suffices them, to judge the thing possible which is told, and to have faith in a man of whom they ought not rashly to think that he is telling a lie. For where is the harm of believing that such an one's father or grandfather was a good man, when he was not? or that he has served with the army even in Persia, though he never set foot out of Rome? But to the persons who tell these lies, they do much harm: to the former sort, because they so desert truth as to rejoice in deceit: to the latter, because they want to please people better than the truth. DE MENDACIO.

19. These sorts of lies having been without any hesitation condemned, next follows a sort, as it were by steps rising to something better, which is commonly attributed to well-meaning and good people, when the person who lies not only does no harm to another, but even benefits somebody. Now it is on this sort of lies that the whole dispute turns, whether that person does harm to himself, who benefits another in such sort as to act contrary to the truth. Or, if that alone may be called truth which illustrateth the very minds of men with an intimate and incommutable light, at least he acts contrary to some true thing, because although the bodily senses are deceived, yet he acts contrary to a true thing who says that a thing is so or not so, whereof neither his mind nor senses nor his opinion or belief giveth him any report. Whether therefore he does not hurt himself in so profiting another, or in that compensation not hurt himself in which he profiteth the other, is a great question. If it be so, it should follow that he ought to profit himself by a lie which damages no man. But these things hang together, and if you concede that point, it necessarily draws in its train some very embarrassing consequences. For should it be asked, what harm it does to a person rolling in superfluous wealth, if from countless thousands of bushels of wheat he lose one bushel, which bushel may be profitable as necessary food to the person stealing it; it will follow xii.

DE MENDACIO.

that theft also may be committed without blame, and false witness borne without sin. Than which, what can be mentioned more perverse? Or truly, if another had stolen the bushel, and thou sawest it done, and wert questioned, wouldest thou tell a lie with honesty for the poor man, and if thou do it for thine own poverty wilt thou be blamed? As if it were thy duty to love another more than thyself. Both then are disgraceful, and must be avoided.

20. But haply some may think that there is an exception to be added; that there be some honest lies which not only hurt no man, but profit some man, excepting those by which crimes are screened and defended: so that the reason why the aforesaid lie is disgraceful, is that, although it hurt no man, and profit the poor, it screens a theft; but if it should in such sort hurt nobody and profit somebody as not to screen and defend any sin, it would not be morally wrong. As, put the case that some one should in thy sight hide his money that he might not lose it by theft or violence, and thereupon being questioned thou shouldest tell a lie; thou wouldest hurt no man, and wouldest serve him who had need that his money were hidden, and wouldest not have covered a sin by telling a lie. For it is no sin if a man hide his property which he fears to lose. But, if we therefore sin not in telling a lie, for that, while covering no man's sin, we hurt nobody and do good to somebody, what are we about as concerning the sin itself of a lie? For where it is laid down, *Thou shalt not steal*, there is also this, *Thou shalt not bear false witness.* Since then each is severally prohibited, why is false witness culpable if it cover a theft or any other sin, but if without any screening of sin it be done by itself, then not culpable, whereas stealing is culpable in and by itself, and so other sins? Or is it so that to hide a sin is not lawful; to do it, lawful?

Exodus 20, 15. 16.

21. If this be absurd, what shall we say? Is it so, that there is no 'false witness,' but when one tells a lie either to invent a crime against some man, or to hide some man's crime, or in any way to oppress any man in judgment? For a witness seems to be necessary to the judge for cognizance of the cause. But if the Scripture named a 'witness' only so far as that goes, the Apostle would not say, *Yea, and we*

1 Cor. 15, 15.

are found false witnesses of God; because we have testified of God that He raised up Christ: whom He raised not up. DE MENDACIO. For so he shews that it is false witness to tell a lie, yea, in falsely praising a person.

Or peradventure, doth the person who lies then utter false witness when he either invents or hides any man's sin, or hurts any man in whatever way? For, if a lie spoken against a man's temporal life is detestable, how much more one against eternal life? as is every lie, if it take place in doctrine of religion. And it is for this reason that the Apostle calls it false witness, if a man tell a lie about Christ, yea, one which may seem to pertain to His praise. Now if it be a lie that neither inventeth or hideth any man's sin, nor is answered to a question of the judge, and hurteth no man, and profits some man, are we to say that it is neither false witness, nor a reprehensible lie? xiii.

22. What then, if a homicide seek refuge with a Christian, or if he see where the homicide have taken refuge, and be questioned of this matter by him who seeks, in order to bring to punishment a man, the slayer of man? Is he to tell a lie? For how does he not hide a sin by lying, when he for whom he lies has been guilty of a heinous sin? Or is it because he is not questioned concerning his sin, but about the place where he is concealed? So then to lie in order to hide a person's sin is evil; but to lie in order to hide the sinner is not evil? 'Yea, surely:' says some one: 'for a man sins not in avoiding punishment, but in doing something worthy of punishment. Moreover, it pertaineth to Christian discipline neither to despair of any man's amendment, nor to bar against any man the way of repentance.' What if thou be led to the judge, and then questioned concerning the very place where the other is in hiding? Art thou prepared to say, either, 'He is not there,' when thou knowest him to be there; or, 'I know not, and have not seen,' what thou knowest and hast seen? Art thou then prepared to bear false witness, and to slay thy soul that a manslayer may not be slain? Or, up to the presence of the judge wilt thou lie, but when the judge questions thee, then speak truth that thou be not a false witness? So then thou art going to slay a man thyself by betraying him. Surely the betrayer too is one whom the

DE MENDACIO.

divine Scripture detesteth. Or haply is he no betrayer, who in answer to the judge's interrogation gives true information; but would be a betrayer, if, unasked, he should delate a man to his destruction? Put the case with respect to a just and innocent man, that thou know where he is in hiding, and be questioned by the judge; which man, however, has been ordered to be taken to execution by a higher power, so that he who interrogates is charged with the execution of the law, not the author of the sentence? Will it be no false witness that thou shalt lie for an innocent man, because the interrogator is not a judge, but only charged with the execution? What if the author of the law interrogate thee, or any unjust judge, making quest of an innocent man to bring him to punishment? What wilt thou do? wilt thou be false witness, or betrayer? Or will he be a betrayer, who to a just judge shall ultroneously delate a lurking homicide; and he not so, who to an unjust judge, interrogating him of the hiding-place of an innocent man whom he seeks to slay, shall inform against the person who has thrown himself upon his honour? Or between the crime of false witness and that of betrayal, wilt thou remain doubtful and unable to make up thy mind? Or by holding thy peace or professing that thou wilt not tell, wilt thou make up thy mind to avoid both? Then why not do this before thou come to the judge, that thou mayest shun the lie also? For, having kept clear of a lie, thou wilt escape all false witness; whether every lie be false witness, or not every: but by keeping clear of all false witness in thy sense of the word, thou wilt not escape all lying. How much braver then, how much more excellent, to say, 'I will neither betray nor lie?'

23. This did a former Bishop of the Church of Thagasta, Firmus by name, and even more firm in will. For, when he was asked by command of the emperor, through officers sent by him, for a man who was taking refuge with him, and whom he kept in hiding with all possible care, he made answer to their questions, that he could neither tell a lie, nor betray a man; and when he had suffered so many torments of body, (for as yet emperors were not Christian,) he stood firm in his purpose. Thereupon being brought before the emperor, his conduct appeared so admirable, that he without

DE MENDACIO.

any difficulty obtained a pardon for the man whom he was trying to save. What conduct could be more brave and constant? But peradventure some more timid person may say, 'I can be prepared to bear any torments, or even to submit to death, that I may not sin; but, since it is no sin to tell a lie such that you neither hurt any man, nor bear false witness, and benefit some man, it is foolish and a great sin, voluntarily and to no purpose to submit to torments, and, when one's health and life may haply be useful, to fling them away for nothing to people in a rage.' Of whom I ask; Why he fears that which is written, *Thou shalt not bear false witness*, and fears not that which is said unto God, *Thou wilt destroy all them that speak leasing?* Says he, 'It is not written, Every lie: but I understand it as if it were written, Thou wilt destroy all that speak false witness.' But neither there is it said, All false witness. 'Yes, but it is set there,' saith he, 'where the other things are set down which are in every sort evil.' What, is this the case with what is set down there, *Thou shalt not kill?* If this be in every sort evil, how shall one clear of this crime even just men, who, upon a law given, have killed many? 'But,' it is rejoined, 'that man doth not himself kill, who is the minister of some just command.' These men's fear, then, I do accept, that I still think that laudable man who would neither lie, nor betray a man, did both better understand that which is written, and what he understood did bravely put in practice.

Exod. 20, 16. Ps. 5, 6. Exod. 20, 13.

25. But one sometimes comes to a case of this kind, that we are not interrogated where the person is who is sought, nor forced to betray him, if he is hidden in such manner that he cannot easily be found unless betrayed: but we are asked, whether he be in such a place or not. If we know him to be there, by holding our peace we betray him, or even by saying that we will in no wise tell whether he be there or not: for from this the questioner gathers that he is there, as, if he were not, nothing else would be answered by him who would not lie nor betray a man, but only, that he is not there. So, by our either holding our peace, or saying such words, a man is betrayed, and he who seeks him hath but to enter in, if he have the power, and find him: whereas he might have been turned aside from finding him by our

DE MENDACIO.

telling a lie. Wherefore if thou know not where he is, there is no cause for hiding the truth, but thou must confess that thou knowest not. But, if thou know where he is, whether he be in the place which is named in the question or elsewhere; thou must not say, when it is asked whether he be there or not, 'I will not tell thee what thou askest,' but thou must say, 'I know where he is, but I will never shew.' For if, touching one place in particular thou answer not and profess that thou wilt not betray, it is just as if thou shouldest point to that same place with thy finger: for a sure suspicion is thereby excited. But if at the first thou confess that thou know where he is, but will not tell, haply the inquisitor may be diverted from that place, and begin now to ply thee that the place where he is may be betrayed. For which good faith and humanity whatever thou shalt bravely bear, is judged to be not only not culpable, but even laudable; save only these things which if a man suffer he is said to suffer not bravely, but immodestly and foully. For this is the last description of lie, concerning which we must treat more diligently.

xiv. 25. For first to be eschewed is that capital lie and far to be fled from, which is done in doctrine of religion; to which lie a man ought by no consideration to be induced. The second, that he should hurt some man unjustly: which is such that it profits no man and hurts some man. The third, which so profits one as to hurt another, but not in corporal defilement. The fourth, that which is done through only lust of lying and deceiving, which is an unmixed lie. The fifth, what is done with desire of pleasing by agreeableness in talk. All these being utterly eschewed and rejected, there follows a sixth sort which at once hurts nobody and helps somebody; as when, if a person's money is to be unjustly taken from him, one who knows where the money is, should say that he does not know, by whomsoever the question be put. The seventh, which hurts none and profits some: except if a judge interrogate: as when, not wishing to betray a man who is sought for to be put to death, one should lie; not only a just and innocent, but also a culprit; because it belongs to Christian discipline neither to despair of any man's amendment, nor to bar the way of repentance against any. Of which two sorts, which are wont to be attended with great

controversy, we have sufficiently treated, and have shewn what was our judgment; that by taking the consequences, which are honourably and bravely borne, these kinds also should be eschewed by brave and faithful and truthful men and women. The eighth sort of lie is that which hurts no man, and does good in the preserving somebody from corporal defilement, at least that defilement which we have mentioned above. For even to eat with unwashen hands the Jews thought defilement. Or if a person think this also a defilement, yet not such that a lie ought to be told to avoid it. But if the lie be such as to do an injury to any man, even though it screen a man from that uncleanness which all men abhor and detest; whether a lie of this kind may be told provided the injury done by the lie be such as consists not in that sort of uncleanness with which we are now concerned, is another question: for here the question is no longer about lying, but it is asked whether an injury ought to be done to any man, even otherwise than by a lie, that the said defilement may be warded off from another. Which I should by no means think: though the case proposed be the slightest wrongs, as that which I mentioned above, about a single measure of wheat; and though it be very embarrassing whether it be our duty not to do even such an injury to any man, if thereby another may be defended or screened from a lustful outrage upon his person. But, as I said, this is another question: at present let us go on with what we have taken in hand: whether a lie ought to be told, if even the inevitable condition be proposed that we either do this, or suffer the deed of lust or some execrable pollution; even though by lying we do no man harm. DE MENDACIO. XV.

26. Touching which matter, there will be some place open for consideration, if first the divine authorities which forbid a lie be diligently discussed: for if these give no place, we vainly seek a loophole; for we are bound to keep in every way the command of God, and the will of God in all that through keeping His command we may suffer, it is our duty with an even mind to follow: but if by some relaxation any outlet be allowed, in such a case we are not to decline a lie. The reason why the Divine Scriptures contain not only God's commands, but the life and character of the just, is

DE MENDACIO.

this: that, if haply it be hidden in what way we are to take that which is enjoined, by the actions of the just it may be understood. With the exception, therefore, of those actions which one may refer to an allegorical significance, although none doubts that they really took place, as is the case with almost all the occurrences in the books of the Old Testament. For who can venture to affirm of any thing there, that it does not pertain to a figurative foretelling? Seeing the Apostle, speaking of the sons of Abraham, of whom of course it is most easily said that they were born and did live in the natural order of propagating the people, (for not monsters and prodigies were born, to lead the mind to some presignification,) nevertheless asserteth that they signify the two Testaments; and saith of that marvellous benefit which God bestowed upon His people Israel to rescue them out of the bondage in which they in Egypt were oppressed, and of the punishment which avenged their sin on their journey, that these things befel them in a figure: what actions wilt thou find, from which thou mayest set aside that rule, and take upon thee to affirm that they are not to be reduced to some figure? Excepting therefore these, the things which in the New Testament are done by the Saints, where there is a most evident commending of manners to our imitation, may avail as examples for the understanding of the Scriptures, which things are digested in the commands.

Gal. 4, 22—24.

1 Cor. 10, 1—11.

Matt. 5, 39.

27. As, when we read in the Gospel, *Thou hast received a blow in the face, make ready the other cheek.* Now as an example of patience can none be found than that of the Lord Himself more potent and excellent; but He, when smitten on the cheek, said not, Behold here is the other cheek, but He said, *If I have spoken ill, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou Me?* Where He shews that the preparation of the other cheek is to be done in the heart. Which also the Apostle Paul knew: for he, too, when he was smitten on the face before the high priest, did not say, Smite the other cheek: but, *God*, saith he, *shall smite thee, thou whited wall: and sittest thou to judge me according to law, and contrary to law commandest me to be smitten?* with most deep insight beholding that the priesthood of the Jews was already become such, that in name it

John 18, 22. 23.

Acts 23, 3.

outwardly was clean and fair, but within was foul with muddy lusts; which priesthood he saw in spirit to be ready to pass away through vengeance of the Lord, when he spake those words: but yet he had his heart ready not only to receive other blows on the cheek, but also to suffer for the truth any torments whatever, with love of them from whom he should suffer the same. DE MENDACIO.

28. It is also written, *But I say unto you, Swear not at all.* But the Apostle himself has used oaths in his Epistles. And so he shews how that is to be taken which is said, *I say unto you, Swear not at all:* that is, lest by swearing one come to a facility in swearing, from facility to a custom, and so from a custom there be a downfal into perjury. And therefore he is not found to have sworn except in writing, where there is more wary forethought, and no precipitate tongue withal. And this indeed came of evil, as it is said, *Whatever is more than these is of evil:* not however from evil of his own, but from the evil of infirmity which was in them, in whom he even in this way endeavoured to work faith. For that he used an oath in speaking, while not writing, I know not that any Scripture has related concerning him. And yet the Lord says, *Swear not at all:* for He hath not granted license thereof to persons writing. Howbeit, because to pronounce Paul guilty of violating the commandment, especially in Epistles written and sent forth for the spiritual life and salvation of the nations, were an impiety, we must understand that word which is set down, *At all*, to be set down for this purpose, that as much as in thee lies, thou affect not, love not, nor as though it were for a good thing, with any delight desire, an oath. Rom. 9, 1. Phil. 1, 8. Gal. 1, 20. Matt. 5, 34. 37.

29. As that, *Take no thought for the morrow*, and, *Take therefore no thought what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, or what ye shall put on.* Now when we see that the Lord Himself had a bag in which was put what was given, that it might be kept for necessary uses as the time should require; and that the Apostles themselves made much provision for the indigence of the brethren, not only for the morrow, but even for the more protracted time of impending dearth, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles; it is sufficiently clear that these precepts are so to be understood, that Matt. 6, 34. 31. John 12, 6. Acts 11, 28—30.

DE MENDACIO.

we are to do nothing of our work as matter of necessity, through love of obtaining temporal things, or fear of want.

30. Moreover, it was said to the Apostles that they should take nothing with them for their journey, but should live by the Gospel. And in a certain place too the Lord Himself signified why He said this, when He added, *The labourer is worthy of his hire:* where He sufficiently shews that this is permitted, not ordered; lest haply he who should do this, namely, that in this work of preaching the word he should take ought for the uses of this life from them to whom he preached, should think he was doing any thing unlawful. And yet that it may more laudably not be done is sufficiently proved in the Apostle Paul: who, while he said, *Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth in all things*, and shewed in many places that this is wholesomely done by them to whom he preached the word, *Nevertheless*, saith he, *I have not used this power*. The Lord, therefore, when He spake those words, gave power, not bound men by a command. So in general, what in words we are not able to understand, in the actions of the Saints we gather how it is meet to be taken, which would easily be drawn to the other side, unless it were recalled by an example.

Luke 9, 3; & 10, 4. 7.

Mat. 10, 10.

Gal. 6, 6.

1 Cor. 9, 12.

xvi.

31. Thus then what is writtten, *The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul;* of what mouth it speaketh, is the question. For in general when the Scripture speaks of the mouth, it signifies the very seat of our conception[1] in the heart, where is approved and decreed whatever also by the voice, when we speak the truth, is uttered: so that he lieth with the heart who approveth a lie; yet that man may possibly not lie with the heart, who uttereth other than is in his mind, in such sort that he knows it to be for the sake of avoiding a greater evil that he admitteth an evil, disapproving withal both the one and the other. And they who assert this, say that thus also is to be understood that which is written, *He that speaketh the truth in his heart:* because always in the heart truth must be spoken; but not always in the mouth of the body, if any cause of avoiding a greater evil require that other than is in the mind be uttered with the voice. And that there is indeed a mouth of the heart, may be understood even from this, that where there is speech, there a mouth is with no

Wisd. 1, 11.

Ps. 15, 2.

[1] conceptaculum

absurdity understood: nor would it be right to say, *Who speaketh in his heart*, unless it were right to understand that there is also a mouth in the heart. Though in that very place where it is written, *The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul*, if the context of the lesson be considered, it may peradventure be taken for no other than the mouth of the heart. For there is an obscure response there, where it is hidden from men, to whom the mouth of the heart, unless the mouth of the body sound therewith, is not audible. But that mouth, the Scripture in that place saith, doth reach to the hearing of the Spirit of the Lord, Who hath filled the whole earth; at the same time mentioning lips and voice and tongue in that place; yet all these the sense permitteth not to be taken, but concerning the heart, because it saith of the Lord, that what is spoken is not hidden from Him: now that which is spoken with that sound which reacheth to our ears, is not hidden from men either. Thus, namely, is it written: *The Spirit of wisdom is loving, and will not acquit an evil-speaker of his lips: for of his reins God is witness, and of his heart a true searcher, and of his tongue a hearer. For the Spirit of the Lord hath filled the whole earth, and that which containeth all things hath knowledge of the voice. Therefore he that speaketh unrighteous things cannot be hid: but neither shall the judgment when it punisheth pass by him. For in the thoughts of the ungodly shall there be interrogation; and the hearing of his words shall come from the Lord, to the punishment of his iniquities. For the ear of jealousy heareth all things, and the tumult of murmurings will not be hid. Therefore keep yourselves from murmuring, which profiteth nothing, and from backbiting refrain your tongue: because an obscure response will not go into the void*[a]. *But the mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul.* It seems then to threaten them who think that to be obscure and secret, which they agitate and turn over in their heart. And this, it would shew, is so clear to the ears of God, that it even calls it 'tumult.'

DE MENDACIO.

Wisd. 1, 6—11.

a *Domino, unto the Lord.* E.V.

32. Manifestly also in the Gospel we find the mouth of

[a] *Obscurum responsum in vacuum non ibit. There is no word so secret that shall go for nought*, E. V.

DE MENDACIO. Mat. 15, 16—20.

the heart: so that in one place the Lord is found to have mentioned the mouth both of the body and of the heart, where he saith, *Are ye also yet without understanding? Do ye not yet understand, that whatsoever entereth in at the mouth, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught? but those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart, and they defile the man. For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies: these are the things which defile a man.* Here if thou understand but one mouth, that of the body, how wilt thou understand, *Those things which proceed out of the mouth, come forth from the heart;* since spitting also and vomiting proceed out of the mouth? Unless peradventure a man is but then defiled when he eateth ought unclean, but is defiled when he vomits it up. But if this be most absurd, it remains that we understand the mouth of the heart to have been expounded by the Lord, when He saith, *The things which proceed out of the mouth, come forth from the heart.* For being that theft also can be, and often is, perpetrated with silence of the bodily voice and mouth; one must be out of his mind so to understand it as then to account a person to be contaminated by the sin of theft, when he confesses or makes it known, but when he commits it and holds his peace, then to think him undefiled. But, in truth, if we refer what is said to the mouth of the heart, no sin whatever can be committed tacitly: for it is not committed unless it proceed from that mouth which is within.

33. But, like as it is asked of what mouth the Scripture saith, *The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul*, so it may be asked, of what lie. For it seems to speak of that lie in particular, which consists in detraction. It says, *Keep yourselves from murmuring, which profiteth nothing, and from detraction refrain your tongue.* Now this detraction takes place through malevolence, when any man not only with mouth and voice of the body doth utter what he forgeth against any, but even without speaking wisheth him to be thought such; which is in truth to detract with the mouth of the heart; which thing, it saith, cannot be obscure and hidden from God.

34. For what is written in another place, *Wish not to use every lie*[b]; they say is not of force for this, that a person is not to use any lie. Therefore, when one man shall say, that according to this testimony of Scripture we must to that degree hold every sort and kind of lie in detestation, that even if a man wish to lie, yea, though he lie not, the very wish is to be condemned; and to this sense interpreteth, that it is not said, Do not use every lie, but, *Do not wish to use every lie*; that one must not dare not only to tell, but not even to wish to tell, any lie whatever: saith another man, xvii. 'Nay, in that it saith, Do not wish to use every lie, it willeth that from the mouth of the heart we exterminate and estrange lying: so that while from some lies we must abstain with the mouth of the body, as are those chiefly which pertain to doctrine of religion; from some, we are not to abstain with the mouth of the body, if reason of avoiding a greater evil require; but with the mouth of the heart we must abstain utterly from every lie.' Where it behoveth to be understood what is said, *Do not wish*: namely, the will itself is taken as it were the mouth of the heart, so that it concerneth not the mouth of the heart when in shunning a greater evil we lie unwillingly. There is also a third sense in which thou mayest so take this word, *not every*, that, except some lies, it giveth thee leave to lie. Like as if he should say, wish not to believe every man: he would not mean to advise that none should be believed; but that not all, some however, should be believed. And that which follows, *For assiduity thereof will not profit for good*, sounds as if, not lying, but assiduous lying, that is, the custom and love of lying, should seem to be that which he would prohibit. To which that person will assuredly slide down, who either shall think that every lie may be boldly used (for so he will shun not that even which is committed in the doctrine of piety and religion; than which what more abominably wicked thing canst thou easily find, not among all lies, but among all sins?) or to some lie (no matter how easy, how harmless,) shall accommodate the inclination of the will; so as to lie, not unwillingly for the sake of

DE MENDACIO.

'abutendum'

[b] Eccles. 7. 13. μὴ θέλε ψευδίσθαι πᾶν ψεῦδος *noli velle* mentiri omne mendacium. *Use not to make any manner of lie*, E.V. 'Every' is used for 'any.'

DE MENDACIO.

escaping a greater evil, but willingly and with liking. So, seeing there be three things which may be understood in this sentence, either 'Every lie, not only tell thou not, but do not even wish to tell:' or, 'Do not wish, but even unwillingly tell a lie when ought worse is to be avoided:' or, 'Not every,' to wit, that except some lies, the rest are admitted: one of these is found to make for those who hold that one is never to lie, two for those who think that sometimes one may tell a lie. But yet what follows, *For assiduity thereof will not profit to good*, I know not whether it can countenance the first sentence of these three; except haply so, that while it is a precept for the perfect not only not to lie, but not even to wish; assiduity of lying is not permitted even to beginners. As if, namely, on laying down the rule at no time whatever not merely to lie but so much as to have a wish to lie, and this being gainsaid by examples, in regard that there are some lies which have been even approved by great authority, it should be rejoined that those indeed are lies of beginners, which have, in regard of this life, some kind of duty of mercy; and yet to that degree is every lie evil, and by perfect and spiritual minds in every way to be eschewed, that not even beginners are permitted to have assiduous custom thereof. For we have already spoken concerning the Egyptian midwives, that it is in respect of the promise of growth and proficiency to better things that they while lying are spoken of with approval: because it is some step towards loving the true and eternal saving of the soul, when a person doth mercifully for the saving of any man's albeit mortal life even tell a lie.

Ps. 5, 6. 35. Moreover what is written, *Thou wilt destroy all that speak leasing:* one saith that no lie is here excepted, but all condemned. Another saith: Yea verily: but they who speak leasing from the heart, as we disputed above; for that man speaketh truth in his heart, who hateth the necessity of lying, which he understands as a penalty of the mortal life. Another saith: All indeed will God destroy who speak leasing, but not all leasing: for there is some leasing which the Prophet was at that time insinuating, in which none is spared; that is, if refusing to confess each one his sins, he defend them rather, and will not do penance[1]; so that not

[1] agere pœnitentiam

content to work iniquity, he must needs wish to be thought just, and succumb not to the medicine of confession: as the very distinction of the words may seem to intimate no other, *Thou hatest all that work iniquity;* but wilt not destroy them if upon repenting they speak the truth in confession, that by doing that truth they may come to the light; as is said in the Gospel according to John, *But he that doeth truth cometh unto the light. Thou wilt destroy all who* not only work what Thou hatest, but also *speak leasing;* in holding out before them false righteousness, and not confessing their sins in penitence. DE MENDACIO. Ps. 5, 5. John 3, 21. Ps. 5, 7.

36. For, concerning false witness, which is set down in the ten commands of the Law, it can indeed in no wise be contended that love of truth may at heart be preserved, and false witness brought forth to him unto whom the witness is borne. For, when it is said to God only, then it is only in the heart that the truth is to be embraced: but when it is said to man, then must we with the mouth also of the body bring forth truth, because man is not an inspector of the heart. But then, touching the witness itself, it is not unreasonably asked, to whom one is a witness? For not to whomsoever we speak unto are we witnesses, but to them to whom it is expedient and due that they by our means should come to know or believe the truth; as is a judge, that he may not err in judging; or he who is taught in doctrine of religion, that he may not err in faith, or by very authority of the teacher waver in doubt. But when the person who interrogates thee or wishes to know ought from thee seeks that which concerneth him not, or which is not expedient for him to know, he craveth not a witness, but a betrayer. Therefore if to him thou tell a lie, from false witness peradventure thou wilt be clear, but from a lie assuredly not. So xviii. then with this salvo, that to bear false witness is never lawful, the question is, whether it be lawful sometimes to tell a lie. Or if it be false witness to lie at all, it is to be seen whether it admit of compensation, to wit, that it be said for the sake of avoiding a greater sin: as that which is written, *Honour father and mother,* under stress of a preferable duty is disregarded; whence the paying of the last honours of Exod. 20, 12.

DE MENDACIO. sepulture to a father, is forbidden to that man who by the Lord Himself is called to preach the kingdom of God.

Prov. 29, 27. 37. Likewise, touching that which is written, *A son which receiveth the word shall be far from destruction: but receiving, he receiveth it for himself, and no falsehood proceedeth out of his mouth*[c]: some one may say, that what is here set down, *A son which receiveth the word*, is to be taken for no other than the word of God, which is truth. Therefore, *A son receiving the truth shall be far from destruction*, refers to that which is written, *Thou wilt destroy all that speak leasing.* But when it follows, *Receiving he receiveth for himself*, what other doth this insinuate than what the Apostle saith, *But let every man prove his own work, and then he shall have glorying in himself and not in another?* For he that receiveth the word, that is, truth, not for himself, but for men-pleasing, keepeth it not when he sees they can be pleased by a lie. But whoso receiveth it for himself, no falsehood proceedeth out of his mouth: because even when the way to please men is to lie, that man lieth not, who receiving the truth not thereby to please them but to please God, hath received it for himself. Therefore there is no reason why it should be said here, He will destroy all who speak leasing, but not all leasing: because all lies, universally, are cut off in this saying, *And no falsehood proceedeth out of his mouth.* But another saith, it is to be so taken as the Apostle Paul took our Lord's saying, *But I say unto you, Swear not at all.* For here also all swearing is cut off; but from the mouth of the heart, that it should never be done with approbation of the will, but through necessity of the weakness of another; that is, 'from the evil' of another, when it shews that he cannot otherwise be got to believe what is said, unless faith be wrought by an oath; or, from that 'evil' of our own, that while as yet involved in the skins of this mortality we are not able to shew our heart: which thing were we able to do, of swearing there were no need. Though moreover in this whole sen-

Gal. 6, 4.

Matt. 5, 34.

[c] Prov. 29, 27. Lat. Not in the Hebrew, but LXX. 24, 23. *λόγον φυλασσόμενος υἱὸς ἀπωλείας ἐκτὸς ἔσται· δεχόμενος δὲ ἐδίξατο αὐτόν. Μηδὲν ψεῦδος ἀπὸ γλώσσης βασιλέως λεγέσθω, καὶ οὐδὲν ψεῦδος ἀπὸ γλώσσης αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ.*

tence, if the saying, *A son receiving the word shall be far from destruction*, be said of none other than that Truth[d] by Whom all things were made, which remaineth ever incommutable; then, because the doctrine of Religion strives to bring men to the contemplation of this Truth, it may seem that the saying, *And no falsehood proceedeth out of his mouth*, is said to this purpose, that he speaketh no falsehood that pertaineth to doctrine. Which sort of lie is upon no compensation whatever to be gone into, and is utterly and before all to be eschewed. Or if the saying, *No falsehood*, is absurdly taken if it be not referred to every lie, the saying, *From his mouth*, should, as was argued above, be taken to mean the mouth of the heart, in the opinion of him who accounts that sometimes one may tell a lie. DE MENDACIO.

38. Certain it is, albeit all this disputation go from side to side, some asserting that it is never right to lie, and to this effect reciting divine testimonies: others gainsaying, and even in the midst of the very words of the divine testimonies seeking place for a lie; yet no man can say, that he finds this either in example or in word of the Scriptures, that any lie should seem a thing to be loved, or not had in hatred; howbeit sometimes by telling a lie thou must do that thou hatest, that what is more greatly to be detested may be avoided. But then here it is that people err; they put the precious beneath the vile. For when thou hast granted that some evil is to be admitted, that another and more grievous may not be admitted; not by the rule of truth, but by his own cupidity and custom doth each measure the evil, accounting that to be the more grievous, which himself more greatly dreads, not which is in reality more greatly to be fled from. All this fault is engendered by perversity of loving. For being there are two lives of ours; the one eternal, which is promised of God; the other temporal, in which we now are: when a man shall have begun to love this temporal more than that eternal, for the sake of this which he loveth he thinks all things right to be done; and there are not any, in his estimation, more grievous sins than those which do injury to this life, and either take away from it any commodity unjustly and unlawfully, or by inflicting of death take

[d] Or 'of Him who is Truth itself.'

DE MENDACIO.

it utterly away. And so thieves, and robbers, and ruffians, and torturers, and slayers, are more hated of them than lascivious, drunken, luxurious men, if these molest no man. For they do not understand or at all care, that these do wrong to God; not indeed to any inconvenience of Him, but to their own pernicious hurt; seeing they corrupt His gifts bestowed upon them, even His temporal gifts, and by their very corruptions turn away from eternal gifts: above all, if they have already begun to be the Temple of God; which to all Christians the Apostle saith thus: *Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? Whoso shall corrupt God's temple, God will corrupt him. For the temple of God is holy: which temple are ye.*

1 Cor. 3, 16. 17.

39. And all these sins, truly, whether such whereby an injury is done to men in the comforts of this life, or whereby men corrupt themselves and hurt none against his will: all these sins, then, even though they seem to mean well by this temporal life to the procuring of any delight or profit, (for no man commits any of these things with any other purpose and end;) yet in regard of that life which is for ever and ever, they do entangle and in all ways hinder. But there are some of these that hinder the doers only, others likewise those on whom they are done. For as to the things which people keep safe for the sake of utility to this life, when these are taken away by injurious persons, they alone sin and are hindered from eternal life who do this, not they to whom they do it. Therefore, even if a person consent to the taking of them from him, either that he may not do some evil, or that he may not in these very things suffer some greater inconvenience; not only does he not sin, but in the one case he acts bravely and laudably, in the other usefully and unblameably. But as to those things which are kept for the sake of sanctity and religion, when injurious persons wish to violate these, it is right, if the condition be proposed and the means given, to redeem them even by sins of lesser moment, yet not by wrongs to other men. And then do these things thenceforth cease to be sins, which are undertaken in order to the avoidance of greater sins. For as in things useful, for instance in pecuniary or any other corporal commodity, that is not called a loss which is

parted with in order to a greater gain; so in things holy, that is not called sin which is admitted lest a worse be admitted. Or if that is called loss, which one foregoes that he may not forego more; let this also be called sin, while however the necessity of undertaking it in order to the eschewing of a greater is no more to be doubted, than that, in order to avoid a greater loss, it is right to suffer a smaller one. DE MENDACIO.

40. Now the things which are to be kept safe for sanctity's sake are these: pudicity of body, and chastity of soul[1], and verity of doctrine. Pudicity of body, without consent and permission of the soul, doth no man violate. For, whatever against our will and without our empowering the same is by greater force done upon our body, is no lewdness. Howbeit, of permitting there may be some reason, but of consenting, none. For we consent, when we approve and wish: but we permit even not willing, because of some greater turpitude to be eschewed. Consent, truly, to corporal lewdness violates also chastity of mind. For the mind's[2] chastity consists in a good will and sincere love, which is not corrupted, unless when we love and desire that which Truth teaches ought not to be loved and desired. We have therefore to guard the sincerity of love toward God and our neighbour; for in this is chastity of mind sanctified: and we must endeavour with all the strength in our power, and with pious supplication, that, when the pudicity of our body is sought to be violated, not even that outermost sense of the soul[3], which is entangled with the flesh, may be touched with any delight; but if it cannot this, at least the mind and thought[4] in not consenting may have its chastity preserved entire. Now what we have to guard in chastity of mind[5], is, as pertaining to the love of our neighbour, innocence and benevolence; as pertaining to the love of God, piety. Innocence is that we hurt no man; benevolence, that we also do good to whom we can; piety, that we worship God. But as for verity of doctrine, of religion and piety, that is not violated unless by a lie; whereas the highest and inmost Verity Itself, Whose that doctrine is, can in no wise be violated: which Truth to attain unto, and in It on every wise to remain, and to It thoroughly to cleave, will not be permitted, but when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal

XIX.

[1] animæ
[2] animi
[3] animæ
[4] mentis
[5] animi

DE MÉNDACIO.

shall have put on immortality. But, because all piety in this life is practice by which we tend to that life, which practice hath a guidance afforded unto it from that doctrine, which in words and signs[1] of corporal sacraments doth insinuate Truth herself: for this cause this also, which by lying is possible to be corrupted, is most of all to be kept incorrupt; that so, if ought in that chastity of mind be violated, it may have that wherefrom it may be repaired. For once corrupt authority of doctrine, and there can be none either course or recourse to chastity of mind.

[1] signaculis

41. There resulteth then from all these this sentence, that a lie which doth not violate the doctrine of piety, nor piety itself, nor innocence, nor benevolence, may on behalf of pudicity of body be admitted. And yet if any man should propose to himself so to love truth, not only that which consists in contemplation, but also in uttering the true thing, which each in its own kind of things is true, and no otherwise to bring forth with the mouth of the body his thought than in the mind it is conceived and beheld; so that he should prize the beauty of truth-telling honesty, not only above gold and silver and jewels and pleasant lands, but above this temporal life itself altogether and every good thing of the body, I know not whether any could wisely say that that man errs. And if he should prefer this and prize it more than all that himself hath of such things; rightly also would he prefer it to the temporal things of other men, whom by his innocence and benevolence he was bound to keep and to help. For he would love perfect faith, not only of believing aright those things which by an excellent authority and worthy of faith should to himself be spoken, but also of faithfully uttering what himself should judge right to be spoken, and should speak. For faith hath its name in the Latin tongue, from that the thing is done which is said[e]: and thus it is manifest that one doth not exhibit when telling a lie. And even if this faith be less violated, when one lies in such sort that he is believed to no inconvenience and no pernicious hurt, with added intention moreover of guarding either one's life or corporal purity; yet violated it is, and a thing is violated which ought to be kept safe in chastity

[e] '*Fides*, quia *fit* quod dicitur.'

and sanctity of mind. Whence we are constrained, not by opinion of men, which for the most part is in error, but by truth itself, truth which is eminent above all, and alone is most invincible, to prefer even to purity of body, perfect faith. For chastity of mind is ordered, which does not place the greater below the smaller. Now it is less, whatever in the body than whatever in the mind can be violated. For assuredly when for corporal chasteness a man tells a lie, he sees indeed that his body is threatened with corruption, not from his own, but from another's lust, but is cautious lest by permitting at least, he be a party. That permission, however, where is it but in the mind? So then, even corporal chasteness cannot be corrupted but in the mind; which not consenting nor permitting, it can by no means be rightly said that corporal chasteness is violated, whatever in the body be perpetrated by another's lust. Whence it is gathered, that much more must the chastity of the mind be preserved in the mind, in the which is the guardianship of the pudicity of the body. Wherefore, what in us lies, both the one and the other must by holy manners and conversation be walled and hedged round, lest from another quarter it be violated. But when both cannot be, which is to be slighted in comparison of which, who doth not see? when he seeth which to which is to be preferred, the mind to the body, or the body to the mind; and which is more to be shunned among sins, the permitting of another's deed, or the committing of the deed thyself. DE MENDACIO.

42. It clearly appears then, all being discussed, that those testimonies of Scripture have none other meaning than that we must never at all tell a lie: seeing that not any examples of lies, worthy of imitation, are found in the manners and actions of the Saints, as regards those Scriptures which are referred to no figurative signification, such as is the history in the Acts of the Apostles. For all those sayings of our Lord in the Gospel, which to more ignorant minds seem lies, are figurative significations. And as to what the Apostle says: *I am made all things to all men, that I might gain all;* the right understanding is, that he did this not by lying, but by sympathy; so that he dealt with them in liberating them with so great charity, as if he were himself in that evil xxi. 1 Cor. 9, 22.

DE MENDACIO.

from which he wished to make them whole. There must therefore be no lying in the doctrine of piety: it is a heinous wickedness, and the first sort of detestable lie. There must be no lying of the second sort; because no man must have a wrong done to him. There must be no lying of the third sort; because we are not to consult any man's good to the injury of another. There must be no lying of the fourth sort, that is, for the lust of lying, which of itself is vicious. There must be no lying of the fifth sort, because not even the truth itself is to be uttered with the aim of men-pleasing, how much less a lie, which of itself, as a lie, is a foul thing? There must be no lying of the sixth sort; for it is not right that even the truth of testimony be corrupted for any man's temporal convenience and safety. But unto eternal salvation none is to be led by aid of a lie. For not by the ill manners of them that convert him is he to be converted to good manners: because if it is meet to be done towards him, himself also ought when converted to do it toward others; and so is he converted not to good, but to ill manners, seeing that is held out to be imitated by him when converted, which was done unto him in converting him. Neither in the seventh sort must there be any lying; for it is meet that not any man's commodity or temporal welfare be preferred to the perfecting of faith. Not even if any man is so ill moved by our right deeds as to become worse in his mind, and far more remote from piety, are right deeds therefore to be foregone: since what we are chiefly to hold is that whereunto we ought to call and invite them whom as our own selves we love; and with most courageous mind we must drink in that apostolic sentence: *To some we are a savour of life unto life, to others a savour of death unto death; and who is sufficient for these things?* Nor in the eighth sort must there be lying: because both among good things chastity of mind is greater than pudicity of body; and among evil things, that which ourselves do, than that which we suffer to be done. In these eight kinds, however, a man sins less when he tells a lie, in proportion as he emerges to the eighth: more, in proportion as he diverges to the first. But whoso shall think there is any sort of lie that is not sin, will deceive himself foully, while he deems himself honest as a deceiver of other men.

2 Cor. 2, 16.

43. So great blindness, moreover, hath occupied men's minds, that to them it is too little if we pronounce some lies not to be sins; but they must needs pronounce it to be sin in some things if we refuse to lie: and to such a pass have they been brought by defending lying, that even that first kind which is of all the most abominably wicked they pronounce to have been used by the Apostle Paul. For in the Epistle to the Galatians, written as it was, like the rest, for doctrine of religion and piety, they say that he has told a lie, in the passage where he says concerning Peter and Barnabas, *When I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel.* For, while they wish to defend Peter from error, and from that pravity of way into which he had fallen; the very way of religion in which is salvation for all men, they by breaking and mincing the authority of the Scriptures do endeavour themselves to overthrow. In which they do not see that it is not only lying, but perjury that they lay to the charge of the Apostle in the very doctrine of piety, that is, in an Epistle in which he preaches the Gospel; seeing that he there saith, before he relates that matter, *What I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not.* But it is time that we set bounds to this disputation: in the consideration and treatment whereof altogether there is nothing more meet to be, before all else, borne in mind and made our prayer, than that which the same Apostle saith: *God is faithful, Who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able to bear, but will with the temptation make also a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it.*

DE MENDACIO.

Gal. 2, 14.

Gal. 1, 20.

1 Cor. 10, 13.

S. AUGUSTINE

TO CONSENTIUS: AGAINST LYING.

From the Retractations, Book ii. Chap. 60.

"Then[a] also I wrote a Book against Lying, the occasion of which work was this. In order to discover the Priscillianist heretics, who think it right to conceal their heresy not only by denial and lies, but even by perjury, it seemed to certain Catholics that they ought to pretend themselves Priscillianists, in order that they might penetrate their lurking places. In prohibition of which thing, I composed this book. It begins: *Multa mihi legenda misisti.*"

i. 1. A great deal for me to read hast thou sent, my dearest brother Consentius: a great deal for me to read: to the which while I am preparing an answer, and am drawn off first by one, then by another, more urgent occupation, the year has measured out its course, and has thrust me into such straits, that I must answer in what sort I may, lest the time for sailing being now favourable, and the bearer desirous to return, I should too long detain him. Having therefore unrolled and read through all that Leonas, servant of God, brought me from thee, both soon after I received it, and afterwards when about to dictate this reply, and having weighed it with all the consideration in my power, I am

[a] i. e. A.D. 420, the work mentioned just before belonging to the early part of that year. Consentius is thought to be the writer of ep. 119, to Augustine, and ep. 120, and 205, are addressed to him. This is the work referred to in the Enchiridion, §. 6. p. 96. *Ben.*

greatly delighted with thy eloquence, and memory of the holy Scripture, and cleverness of wit, and the resentment with which thou bitest negligent Catholics, and the zeal with which thou gnashest against even latent heretics. But I am not persuaded that it is right to unearth them out of their hiding places by our telling lies. For to what end do we take such pains in tracking them out and running them down, but that having taken them and brought them forth into open day, we may either teach them the truth, or at least having convicted them by the truth, may not allow them to hurt others? to this end, therefore, that their lie may be blotted out, or shunned, and God's truth increased. How then by a lie shall I rightly be able to prosecute lies? Or is it by robbery that robberies, and by sacrilege that sacrileges, and by adultery that adulteries, are to be prosecuted? *But if the truth of God shall abound by my lie*, are we too to say, *Let us do evil that good may come?* A thing which thou seest how the Apostle detesteth. For what else is, 'Let us lie, that we may bring heretic liars to the truth,' but, *Let us do evil that good may come?* Or, is a lie sometimes good, or sometimes a lie not evil? Why then is it written, *Thou hatest, Lord, all that work iniquity; Thou wilt destroy all that speak leasing*[a]. For he hath not excepted some, or said indefinitely, *Thou wilt destroy them that speak leasing;* so as to permit some, not all, to be understood: but it is an universal sentence that he hath passed, saying, *Thou wilt destroy all who speak leasing.* Or, because it is not said, Thou wilt destroy all who speak all leasing, or, who speak any leasing whatsoever; is it therefore to be thought that there is place allowed for some lie; to wit, that there should be some leasing, and them who speak it, God should not destroy, but destroy them all which speak unjust leasing, not what lie soever, because there is found also a just lie, which as such ought to be matter of praise, not of crime?

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

Rom. 3, 7. 8.

Ps. 5, 6. 7.

2. Perceivest thou not how much this reasoning aideth the very persons whom as great game we make ado to catch by our lies? For, as thyself hast shewn, this is the sentiment of the Priscillianists: to prove which, they apply testimonies ii.

[a] Psalm 5, 6. 7. *Thou wilt destroy them that speak a lie*, Heb. τοὺς λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος, LXX. πάντας

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

from the Scriptures exhorting their followers to lie, as though by the examples of Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Angels; not hesitating to add even the Lord Christ Himself; and deeming that they cannot otherwise prove their falsehood truthful, unless they pronounce Truth to be a liar. It must be refuted, this; not imitated: nor ought we to be partners with the Priscillianists in that evil in which they are convicted to be worse than other heretics. For they alone, or at least they in the greatest degree, are found to make a dogma of lying for the purpose of hiding their truth, as they call it: and this so great evil therefore to esteem just, because they say that in the heart must be held that which is true, but with the mouth to utter unto aliens a false thing, is no sin; and that this is written, *Who speaketh the truth in his heart:* as though this were enough for righteousness, even though a person do with his mouth speak a lie, when not his neighbour but a stranger is he that heareth it. On this account they think the Apostle Paul, when he had said, *Putting away lying, speak yé truth*, to have immediately added, *Every man with his neighbour, for we are members one of another.* Meaning, that with them who are not our neighbours in society of the truth, nor, so to say, our co-members [1], it is lawful and right to speak a lie.

Ps.15,2.

Eph. 4, 25.

[1] com-membres

3. Which sentence dishonoureth the holy Martyrs, nay rather taketh away holy martyrdoms altogether. For they would do more justly and wisely, according to these men, not to confess to their persecutors that they were Christians, and by confessing make them murderers: but rather by telling a lie, and denying what they were, should both themselves keep safe the convenience of the flesh and purpose of the heart, and not allow those to accomplish the wickedness which they had conceived in their mind. For they were not their neighbours in the Christian faith, that with them it should be their duty to speak the truth in their mouth which they spake in their heart; but moreover enemies of Truth itself. For if Jehu (whom it seems they do prudently to single out unto themselves to look unto as an example of lying) falsely gave himself out for a servant of Baal, that he might slay Baal's servants: how much more justly, according to their perversity, might, in time of persecution, the servants

of Christ falsely give themselves out for servants of demons, that the servants of demons might not slay servants of Christ; and sacrifice to idols that men might not be killed, if Jehu sacrificed to Baal that he might kill men? For what harm would it do them, according to the egregious doctrine of these speakers of lies, if they should lyingly pretend a worship of the Devil in the body, when the worship of God was preserved in the heart? But not so have the Martyrs understood the Apostle, the true, the holy Martyrs. They saw and held that which is written, *With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation*; and, *In their mouth was found no lie*[b]: and so they departed irreproachable, to that place where to be tempted by liars any further they will not fear; because they will not have liars any more in their heavenly assemblies, either for strangers or neighbours. As for that Jehu, by an impious lie and a sacrilegious sacrifice making inquisition for impious and sacrilegious men for to kill them, they would not imitate him, no, not though the Scripture had said nothing concerning him, what manner of man he was. But, seeing it is written that he had not his heart right with God; what profited it him, that for some obedience which, concerning the utter destruction of the house of Ahab, he exhibited for the lust of his own domination, he received some amount of transitory wages in a temporal kingdom? Let, rather, the truth-telling sentence of the Martyrs be thine to defend: to this I exhort thee, my brother, that thou mayest be against liars, not a teacher of lying, but an assertor of truth. For, I pray thee, attend diligently to what I say, that thou mayest find how needful to be shunned is that which, with laudable zeal indeed towards impious men, that they may be caught and corrected, or avoided, but yet too incautiously, is thought fit to be taught.

CONTRAMENDACIUM.

Rom.10, 10.

Rom.14, 5.

2 Kings 10, 31.

iii. 4. Of lies are many sorts, which indeed all, universally, we ought to hate. For there is no lie that is not contrary to truth. For, as light and darkness, piety and impiety, justice and iniquity, sin and right-doing, health and weakness, life and death, so are truth and a lie contrary the one to the other. Whence by how much we love the former, by so

[b] Rev. 14, 5. ψεῦδος Griesbach; δόλος text rec.; *guile* E.V.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

much ought we to hate the latter. Yet in truth there b some lies which to believe does no harm: although even b such sort of lie to wish to deceive, is hurtful to him that tel it, not to him that believes it. As though, if that brothe the servant of God, Fronto, in the information which he gav thee, should (though far be the thought!) say some thin falsely; he would have hurt himself assuredly, not the although thou, without iniquity of thine, hadst believed a upon his telling it. Because, whether those things did take place or not so, yet they have not any thing, which if person believe to have been so, though it were not so, he b the rule of truth and doctrine of eternal salvation should judged worthy of blame. Whereas, if a person tell a which if any believe he will be an heretic against th doctrine of Christ, by so much is he who tells the lie mo hurtful, by how much he that believes it is more miserabl See then, what manner of thing it is, if against the doctrin of Christ we shall tell a lie which whoso believes shall perish in order that we may catch the enemies of the same doctrin to the end we may bring them to the truth, while we recec from it; nay rather, when we catch liars by lying, teac worse lies. For it is one thing what they say when they li another when they are deceived. For, when they teac their heresy, they speak the things in which they are deceive but when they say that they think what they do not thin or that they do not think what they do think, they s the things in which they lie. In that any believeth theo what though he do not find them out, himself perisc eth not. For it is no receding from the catholic rule, when a heretic lyingly professes the catholic doctrines, o believes him to be a catholic: and therefore it is not pe nicious to him; because he is mistaken in the mind of man, of which, when latent, he cannot judge, not in th faith of God which it is his duty to keep safe planted withi him. Moreover, when they teach their heresy, whoso sha believe them, in thinking it truth, will be partaker, as of the error, so of their damnation. So it comes to pass, that whe they fable their nefarious dogmas in which they are w deadly error deceived, then whoso believeth them is lo whereas when we preach catholic dogmas, in which we ho

the right faith, then if he shall believe, that man is found, whoso was lost. But when, they being Priscillianists, do, in order that they may not betray their venom, lyingly give themselves out to be of us; whoever of us believes them, even while they escape detection, himself perseveres a catholic: we on the other hand, if, in order to attain to the discovery of them, we falsely give ourselves out for Priscillianists, because we shall praise their dogmas as though they were our own, whoso shall believe the same, will either be confirmed among them, or will be transferred to them in the mean time straightway: but what the coming hour may bring forth, whether they shall be afterwards set free therefrom by us when speaking true things, who were deceived by us when speaking false; and whether they will be willing to hear one teaching whom they have thus experienced telling a lie, who can know for certain? who can be ignorant that this is uncertain? Whence it is gathered, that it is more pernicious, or to speak more mildly, that it is more perilous for Catholics to lie that they may catch heretics, than for heretics to lie that they may not be found out by Catholics. Because, whoso believes Catholics when they tell a lie to tempt people, is either made or confirmed a heretic; but whoso believes heretics when they tell a lie to conceal themselves, doth not cease to be a Catholic. But that this may become more plain, let us propose some cases by way of example, and from those writings in preference which thou hast sent me to read. CONTRA MENDACIUM.

8. Well then, let us set before our eyes a cunning spy as he makes up to the person whom he has already perceived to be a Priscillianist; he begins with Dictinius the bishop, and lyingly bepraises either his life, if he knew him, or his fame, if he knew him not; this is more tolerable thus far, because Dictinius is accounted to have been a Catholic, and to have been corrected of that error. Then, passing on to Priscillian, (for this comes next in the art of lying,) he shall make reverend mention of him, of an impious and detestable person, condemned for his nefarious wickedness and crimes! In which reverend mention, if haply the person for whom this sort of net is spread, had not been a firm Priscillianist, by this preaching of him, he will be confirmed. But when

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

the spy shall go on to discourse of the other matters, and saying that he pities them whom the author of darkness hath involved in such darkness of error, that they acknowledge not the honour of their own soul, and the brightness of their divine ancestry: then speaking of Dictinius's Book, which is called 'the Pound,' because it treats, first and last, of a dozen questions, being as the ounces which go to the pound, shall extol it with such praise, as to protest that such a 'Pound' (in which awful blasphemies are contained) is more precious than many thousands of pounds of gold; truly, this astuteness of him who tells the lie slays the soul of him who believes it, or, that being slain already, doth in the same death sink, and hold it down. But, thou wilt say, 'afterwards it shall be set at liberty.' What if it come not to pass, either upon something intervening that prevents what was begun from being completed, or through obstinacy of an heretical mind denying the same things over again, although of some it had already begun to make confession? especially because, if he shall find out that he has been tampered with by a stranger, he will just the more boldly study to conceal his sentiments by a lie, when he shall have learned much more certainly that this is done without blame, even by the example of the very person who tampered with him. This, truly, in a man who thinks it right to hide the truth by telling a lie, with what face can we blame, and dare to condemn what we teach?

6. It remains, then, that what the Priscillianists think, according to the nefarious falsity of their heresy, of God, of the soul, of the body, and the rest, we hesitate not with truthful piety to condemn; but what they think of the right of telling a lie to hide the truth is to be to us and them (which God forbid!) a common dogma. This is so great an evil, that even though this attempt of ours, whereby we desire by means of a lie to catch them and change them, should so prosper that we do catch and change them, there is no gain that can compensate the damage of making ourselves wrong with them in order to set them right. For through this lie shall both we be in that respect perverse, and they but half corrected; seeing that their thinking it right to tell a lie on behalf of the truth is a fault which we do not correct in them, because we have learned and do teach

the same thing, and lay it down that it is fit to be done, in order that we may be able to attain to the amending of them. Whom yet we amend not, for their fault, with which they think right to hide the truth, we take not away, rather we make ourselves faulty when by such a fault we seek them; nor do we find how we can believe them, when converted, to whom, while perverted, we have lied; lest haply what was done to them that they might be caught, they do to us when caught; not only because to do it hath been their wont, but because in us also, to whom they come, they find the same. CONTRAMENDACIUM.

7. And, what is more miserable, even they, already made as it were our own, cannot find how they may believe us. For if they suspect that even in the catholic doctrines themselves we speak lyingly, that we may conceal I know not what other thing which we think true; of course to one suspecting the like thou shalt say, I did this then only to catch thee: but what wilt thou answer when he says, Whence then do I know whether thou art not doing it even now, lest thou be caught by me? Or indeed, can any man be made to believe that a man does not lie not to be caught, who lies to catch? Seest thou whither this evil tends? that is, that not only we to them, and they to us, but every brother to every brother shall not undeservedly become suspected? And so while that which is aimed at by means of the lie, is that faith may be taught, the thing which is brought about is, rather, that there shall be no having faith in any man. For if we speak even against God when we tell a lie, what so great evil will people be able to discover in any lie, that, as though it were a most wretched thing, we should be bound in every way to eschew it? iv.

8. But now observe how more tolerable in comparison with us is the lying of the Priscillianists, when they know that they speak deceitfully: whom by our own lying we think right to deliver from those false things in which they by erring are deceived. A Priscillianist saith, that the soul is a part of God, and of the same nature and substance with Him. This is a great and detestable blasphemy. For it follows that the nature of God may be taken captive, deceived, cheated, disturbed, and defiled, condemned and tortured v.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

But if that man also saith this, who from so great an evil desires to deliver a man by a lie, let us see what is the difference between the one blasphemer and the other. 'Very much,' sayest thou: 'for this the Priscillianist saith, also believing it so: but the catholic not so believing, though so speaking.' The one, then, blasphemes without knowing, the other with knowledge: the one against science, the other against conscience: the one hath the blindness of thinking false things, but in them hath at least the will of saying true things; the other in secret seeth truth, and willingly speaketh false. 'But the one,' thou wilt say, 'teacheth this, that he may make men partakers of his error and madness: the latter saith it, that from that error and madness he may deliver men.' Now I have already shewn above how hurtful is this very thing which people believe will do good: but meanwhile if we weigh in these two the present evils, (for the future good which a catholic seeks from correcting a heretic is uncertain,) who sins worse? he who deceives a man without knowing it, or he who blasphemes God, knowing it? Assuredly which is the worse, that man understands, who with solicitous piety preferreth God to man. Add to this, that, if God may be blasphemed in order that we may bring men to praise Him, without doubt we do by our example and doctrine invite men not only to praise, but also to blaspheme God: because they whom through blasphemies against God we plot to bring to the praises of God, verily, if we do bring them, will learn not only to praise, but also to blaspheme. These be the benefits we confer on them whom, by blaspheming not ignorantly but with knowledge, we deliver from heretics! And whereas the Apostle delivered men to Satan himself that they might learn not to blaspheme, we endeavour to rescue men from Satan, that they may learn to blaspheme not with ignorance, but with knowledge. And upon ourselves, their masters, we bring this so great bane, that, for the sake of catching heretics, we first become, which is certain, blasphemers of God, in order that we may for the sake of delivering them, which is uncertain, be able to be teachers of His truth.

1 Tim. 1, 20.

9. When therefore we teach ours to blaspheme God that the Priscillianists may believe them theirs, let us see what

evil themselves say when they therefore lie that we may believe them ours. They anathematize Priscillian, and detest him according to our mind; they say that the soul is a creature of God, not a part; they execrate the Priscillianists' false martyrdoms; the catholic bishops by whom that heresy has been stripped, attacked, prostrated, they extol with great praises, and so forth. Behold, themselves speak truth when they lie: not that the very thing which is a lie can be true at the same time; but when in one thing they lie, in another they speak truth: for when, in saying they are of us, they lie, of the catholic faith they speak truth. And therefore they, that they may not be found out for Priscillianists, speak in lying manner the truth: but we, that we may find them out, not only speak lyingly, that we may be believed to belong to them; but we also speak false things which we know to belong to their error. Therefore as for them, when they wish to be thought of us, it is both false in part, and true in part, what they say; for it is false that they are of us, but true that the soul is not a part of God: but as for us, when we wish to be thought to belong to them, it is false, both the one and the other that we say, both that we are Priscillianists, and that the soul is a part of God. They, then, praise God, not blaspheme, when they conceal themselves; and when they do not so, but utter their own sentiments, they know not that they blaspheme. So that if they be converted to the catholic faith, they console themselves, because they can say what the Apostle said: who when among other things he had said, *I was before a blasphemer; but*, saith he, *I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly.* We on the contrary, in order that they may open themselves to us, if we utter this as if it were a just lie for deceiving and catching them, do assuredly both say that we belong to the blaspheming Priscillianists, and that they may believe us, do without excuse of ignorance blaspheme. For a catholic, who by blaspheming wishes to be thought a heretic, cannot say, *I did it ignorantly.*

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

1 Tim. 1, 13.

10. Ever, my brother, in such cases, it behoves with fear to recollect, *Whoso shall deny Me before men, I will deny him before My Father which is in heaven.* Or truly is it no denying of Christ before men, to deny Him before Priscil- vi. Mat. 10, 33.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

lianists, that when they hide themselves, one may by a blasphemous lie strip them and catch them? But who doubts, I pray thee, that Christ is denied, when so as He is in truth, we say that He is not; and so as the Priscillianist believes Him, we say that He is?

11. 'But, hidden wolves,' thou wilt say, 'clad in sheep's clothing, and privily and grievously wasting the Lord's flock, can we no otherwise find out.' Whence then have the Priscillianists become known, ere this way of hunting for them with lies was excogitated? Whence was their very author, more cunning doubtless, and therefore more covert, got at in his bed? Whence so many and so great persons made manifest and condemned, and the others innumerable partly corrected, partly as if corrected, and in the Church's compassion gathered into her fold? For many ways giveth the Lord, when He hath compassion, whereby we may come to the discovery of them: two of which are more happy than others; namely, that either they whom they have wished to seduce, or they whom they had already seduced, shall, when they repent and are converted, point them out. Which is more easily effected, if their nefarious error, not by lying tricks, but by truthful reasonings be overthrown. In the writing of which it behoves thee to bestow thy pains, since God hath bestowed the gift that thou canst do this: which wholesome writings whereby their insane perversity is destroyed, becoming more and more known, and being by catholics, whether prelates who speak in the congregations, or any studious men full of zeal for God, every where diffused, these will be holy nets in which they may be caught truthfully, not with lies hunted after. For so being taken, either, of their own accord, they will confess what they have been, and others whom they know to be of the evil fellowship they will either kindly[c] correct, or mercifully betray. Or else, if they shall be ashamed to confess what with long-continued simulation they have concealed, by the hidden hand of God healing them shall they be made whole.

12. 'But,' thou wilt say, 'we more easily penetrate their concealment if we pretend to be ourselves what they are.' If this were lawful or expedient, Christ might have

[c] 'concorditer.'—'misericorditer.'

instructed His sheep that they should come clad in wolves' clothing to the wolves, and by the cheat of this artifice discover them: which He hath not said, no, not when He foretold that He would send them forth in the midst of wolves. But thou wilt say: 'They needed not at that time to have inquisition made for them, being most manifest wolves; but their bite and savageness were to be endured.' What, when foretelling later times, He said that ravening wolves would come in sheep's clothing? Was there not room there to give this advice and say, And do ye, that ye may find them out, assume wolves' clothing, but within be ye sheep still? Not this saith He: but when He had said, *Many will come to you in sheep's clothing, but within are ravening wolves;* He went on to say, not, By your lies, but, *By their fruits ye shall know them.* By truth must we beware of, by truth must we take, by truth must we kill, lies. Be it far from us, that the blasphemies of the ignorant we by wittingly blaspheming should overcome: far from us, that the evils of deceitful men we by imitating should guard against. For how shall we guard against them if in order to guard against them we shall have them? For if in order that he may be caught who blasphemes unwittingly, I shall blaspheme wittingly, worse is the thing I do than that which I catch. If in order that he may be found who denies Christ unwittingly, I shall deny Him wittingly, to his undoing will he follow me whom I shall so find, since in order that I may find him out, I first am undone.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

Mat. 10, 16.

Matt. 7, 15. 16.

13. Or haply is it so, that he who plots in this way to find out Priscillianists, denies not Christ, forasmuch as with his mouth he utters what with his heart he believes not? As if truly (which I also said a little above) when it was said, *With the heart man believeth unto righteousness*, it was added to no purpose, *with the mouth confession is made unto salvation?* Is it not so that almost all who have denied Christ before the persecutors, held in their heart what they believed of Him? And yet, by not confessing with the mouth unto salvation, they perished, save they which through penitence have lived again? Who can be so vain[1] as to think that the Apostle Peter had that in his heart which he had on his lips when he denied Christ? Surely in that denial he

Rom. 10, 10.

[1] evanescat

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

held the truth within and uttered the lie without. Why then did he wash away with tears the denial which he uttered with his mouth, if that sufficed for salvation that with the heart he believed? Why, speaking the truth in his heart, did he punish with so bitter weeping the lie which he brought forth with his mouth, unless because he saw it to be a great and deadly evil, that while with his heart he believed unto righteousness, with his mouth he made not confession unto salvation?

Ps.15,2. 14. Wherefore, that which is written, *Who speaketh the truth in his heart*, is not so to be taken, as if, truth being retained in the heart, in the mouth one may speak a lie. But the reason why it is said, is, because it is possible that a man may speak with his mouth a truth which profiteth him nothing, if he hold it not in his heart, that is, if what he speaketh, himself believe not; as the heretics, and, above all, these same Priscillianists do, when they do, not indeed believe the catholic faith, but yet speak it, that they may be believed to be of us. They speak therefore the truth in their mouth, not in their heart. On this account were they to be distinguished from him of whom it is written, *He that speaketh truth in his heart.* Now this truth the catholic as in his heart he speaketh, because so he believeth, so also in his mouth ought he, that so he may preach it; but against it, neither in heart nor in mouth have falsehood, that both with the heart he may believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth may make confession unto salvation. For also in that psalm, after it had been said, *Who speaketh truth in his heart,* Ps.15,2. presently this is added, *Who hath used no deceit in his tongue.*

Eph. 4, 25. 15. And as for that saying of the Apostle, *Putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour, for we are members one of another*, far be it that we should so understand it, as though he had permitted to speak a lie with those who are not yet with us members of the body of Christ. But the reason why it is said, is, because each one of us ought to account every man to be that which he wishes him to become, although he be not yet become such; as the Luke10, 30—37. Lord shewed the alien Samaritan to be neighbour to him unto whom he shewed mercy. A neighbour then, and not

an alien, is that man to be accounted, with whom our concern is that he remain not an alien; and if, on the score of his not being yet made partaker of our Faith and Sacrament, there be some truths that must be concealed from him, yet is that no reason why false things should be told him. CONTRA. MENDACIUM.

16. For there were even in the Apostles' times some who preached the truth not in truth, that is, not with truthful mind: of whom the Apostle saith that they preached Christ not chastely, but of envy and strife. And on this account even at that time some were tolerated while preaching truth not with a chaste mind: yet not any have been praised as preaching falsehood with a chaste mind. Lastly, he saith of those, *Whether in pretence or in truth Christ be preached:* but in no wise would he say, In order that Christ may after be preached, let Him be first denied. Phil. 1, 15—18.

17. Wherefore, though there be indeed many ways in which latent heretics may be sought out, without vituperating the catholic faith or praising heretical impiety, yet if there were no other way at all of drawing out heretical impiety from its caverns, but that the catholic tongue should deviate from the straight path of truth; more tolerable were it that that should be hid, than that this should be precipitated; more tolerable that the foxes should lurk in their pits unseen, than for the sake of catching them the huntsmen should fall into the pit of blasphemy; more tolerable that the perfidy of Priscillianists should be covered with the veil of truth, than that the faith of catholics, lest it should of lying Priscillianists be praised, should of believing catholics be denied. For if lies, not of whatsoever kind, but blasphemous lies, are therefore just because they are committed with intent to detect hidden heretics; it will be possible at that rate, if they be committed with the same intention, that there should be chaste adulteries. For put the case that of a number of lewd Priscillianists, some woman should cast her eye upon a catholic Joseph, and promise him that she will betray their hidden retreats if she obtain from him that he lie with her, and it be certain that if he consent unto her she will make good her promise: shall we judge that it ought to be done? Or shall we understand that by no means must such a price be paid in purchase of that kind of merchandize? Why then do we vii.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

not rout out heretics, in order to their being caught, by the flesh committing lasciviousness in adultery, and yet think right to rout them out by a mouth committing fornication in blasphemy? For either it will be lawful to defend both the one and the other with equal reason, that these things be therefore said to be not unjust, because they were done with intention of finding out the unjust: or if sound doctrine willeth not even for the sake of finding out heretics that we should have to do with unchaste women, albeit only in body, not in mind, assuredly not even for the sake of finding out heretics willeth it that by us, albeit only in voice not in mind, either unclean heresy were preached, or the chaste Catholic Church blasphemed. Because even the very sovereignty of the mind, to which every inferior motion of the man ought to be obedient, will not lack deserved opprobrium, when a thing is done that ought not to be done, whether by member or by word. Although even when it is done by word, it is done by member: because the tongue is a member, by which the word is made; nor is any deed of ours by any member brought to the birth unless it is first conceived in the heart; or rather being by our inwardly thinking upon and consenting unto it already brought to the birth, it is brought forth abroad in our doing of it, by a member. It is therefore no excusing the mind from the deed, when any thing is said to be done not after the purpose of the mind [1], which yet were not done, unless the mind decreed it to be done.

[1] ex animo

18. It does indeed make very much difference, for what cause, with what end, with what intention a thing be done: but those things which are clearly sins, are upon no plea of a good cause, with no seeming good end, no alleged good intention, to be done. Those works, namely, of men, which are not in themselves sins, are now good, now evil, according as their causes are good or evil; as, to give food to a poor man is a good work, if it be done because of pity, with right faith; as to lie with a wife, when it is done for the sake of generation, if it be done with faith to beget subjects for regeneration. These and the like works according to their causes are good or evil, because the self-same, if they have evil causes, are turned into sins: as, if for boasting sake a

poor man is fed; or for lasciviousness a man lies with his wife; or children are begotten, not that they may be nurtured for God, but for the devil. When, however, the works in themselves are evil, such as thefts, fornications, blasphemies, or other such; who is there that will say, that upon good causes they may be done, so as either to be no sins, or, what is more absurd, just sins? Who is there that would say, That we may have to give to the poor, let us commit thefts upon the rich: or, Let us sell false witness, especially if innocent men are not hurt thereby, but rather guilty men are rescued from the judges who would condemn them? For two good things are done by selling of this lie, that money may be taken wherewith a poor man may be fed, and a judge deceived that a man be not punished. Even in the matter of wills, if we can, why not suppress the true, and forge false wills, that inheritances or legacies may not come to unworthy persons, who do no good with them; but rather to those by whom the hungry are fed, the naked clothed, strangers entertained, captives redeemed, Churches builded? For why should not those evil things be done for the sake of these good things, if, for the sake of these good things, those are not evil at all? Nay, further, if lewd and rich women are likely to enrich moreover their lovers and paramours, why should not even these parts and arts be undertaken by a man of merciful heart, to use them for so good a cause as that he may have whence to bestow upon the needy; and not hear the Apostle saying, *Let him that stole steal no more, but rather let him labour, working with his hands that which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth?* Eph. 4, 28.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

If indeed not only theft itself, but also false witness and adultery and every evil work will be not evil but good, if it be done for the sake of being the means of doing good. Who can say these things, except one who endeavours to subvert human affairs and all manners and laws? For of what most heinous deed, what most foul crime, what most impious sacrilege, may it not be said that it is possible for it to be done rightly and justly; and not only with impunity, but even gloriously, that in perpetrating thereof not only no punishments should be feared, but there should be hope even of rewards: if once we shall concede in all evil works

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

of men, that not what is done, but wherefore done, must be the question; and this, to the end that whatever are found to have been done for good causes, not even they should be judged to be evil? But if justice deservedly punisheth a thief, albeit he shall say and shew that he therefore withdrew superfluities from a rich that he might afford necessaries to a poor man; if deservedly she punisheth a forger, albeit he prove that he therefore corrupted another's will, that he might be heir, who should thence make large alms, not he who should make none; if deservedly she punisheth an adulterer, yea, though he shall demonstrate that of mercy he did commit adultery, that through her with whom he did it he might deliver a man from death; lastly, to draw nearer to the matter in question, if deservedly she punisheth him who hath with that intent mixed in adulterous embrace with some woman, privy to the turpitude of the Priscillianists, that he might enter into their concealments; I pray thee, when the Apostle saith, *Neither yield ye your members instruments of unrighteousness unto sin;* and therefore neither hands, nor members of generation, nor other members, can it be right to yield unto flagitious deeds with intent that we may be able to find out Priscillianists; what hath our tongue, what our whole mouth, what the organ of the voice, offended us, that we should yield these as instruments to sin, and to so great a sin, in which, that we may apprehend and rescue Priscillianists from blaspheming in ignorance, we, without excuse of ignorance, are to blaspheme our God?

Rom. 6, 13.

viii 19. Some man will say, 'So then any thief whatever is to be accounted equal with that thief who steals with will of mercy?' Who would say this? But of these two it does not follow that any is good, because one is worse. He is worse who through coveting, than he who steals through pity: but if all theft be sin, from all theft we must abstain. For who can say that people may sin, even though one sin be damnable, another venial? but now we are asking, if a man shall do this or that, who will not sin or will sin? not, who will sin more heavily or lightly. For even thefts themselves are more lightly punished by law than crimes of lust: they are, however, both sins, albeit the one lighter, the other heavier; so that a theft which is committed of concu-

piscence is held to be lighter than an act of lust which is committed for doing a good turn. Namely, in their own kind these become lighter than other sins of the same kind, which appear to be committed with a good intention; when yet the same compared with sins of another kind lighter in respect of the kind itself, are found to be heavier. It is a heavier sin to commit theft of avarice, than of mercy; and likewise it is a heavier sin to perpetrate lewdness of luxury, than of mercy; and yet is it a heavier sin to commit adultery of mercy, than to commit theft of avarice. Nor is it our concern now, what is lighter or what heavier, but what are sins or are not. For no man can say that it was a duty for a sin to be done, where it is clearly a sin; but we say that it is a duty, if the sin were done so or so, to forgive or not to forgive. CONTRA MENDACIUM.

20. But, what must be confessed, to human minds certain compensative sins do cause such embarrassment, that they are even thought meet to be praised, and rather to be called right deeds. For who can doubt it to be a great sin, if a father prostitute his own daughters to the fornications of the impious? And yet hath there arisen a case in which a just man thought it his duty to do this, when the Sodomites with nefarious onset of lust were rushing upon his guests. For he said, *I have two daughters which have not known man; I will bring them out to you, and do ye to them as is good in your eyes; only unto these men do ye no wrong, for that they have come under covering of my roof.* What shall we say here? Do we not so abhor the wickedness which the Sodomites were attempting to do to the guests of the just man, that, whatever were done so this were not done, he should deem right to be done? Very much also moveth us the person of the doer, which by merit of righteousness was obtaining deliverance from Sodom, to say that, since it is a less evil for women to suffer lewdness than for men, it even pertained to the righteousness of that just man, that to his daughters he chose this rather to be done, than to his guests; not only willing this in his mind, but also offering it in word, and, if they should assent, ready to fulfil it in deed. But then, if we shall open this way to sins, that we are to commit less sins, in order that others may not commit greater; by a ix. Gen. 19, 8.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

broad boundary, nay rather, with no boundary at all, but with a tearing up and removing of all bounds, in infinite space, will all sins enter in and reign. For, when it shall be defined, that a man is to sin less, that another may not sin more; then, of course, by our committing thefts shall other men's committing of lewdness be guarded against, and incest by lewdness; and if any impiety shall seem even worse than incest, even incest shall be pronounced meet to be done by us, if in such wise it can be wrought that that impiety be not committed by others: and in each several kind of sins, both thefts for thefts, and lewdness for lewdness, and incest for incest, shall be accounted meet to be done: our own sins for other men's, not only less for greater, but even if it come to the very highest and worst, fewer for more; if the stress of affairs so turns, that otherwise other men would not abstain from sin unless by our sinning, somewhat less indeed, but still sinning; so that in every case where an enemy who shall have power of this sort shall say, 'Unless thou be wicked, I will be more wicked, or unless thou do this wickedness, I will do more such,' we must seem to admit wickedness in ourselves, if we wish to refrain (others) from wickedness. To be wise in this sort, what is it but to lose one's wits, or rather, to be downright mad? Mine own iniquity, not another's, whether perpetrated upon me or upon others, is that from which I must beware of damnation. For *the soul that sinneth, it shall die.*

Ezek. 18, 4.

21. If then to sin, that others may not commit a worse sin, either against us or against any, without doubt we ought not; it is to be considered in that which Lot did, whether it be an example which we ought to imitate, or rather one which we ought to avoid. For it seems meet to be more looked into and noted, that, when so horrible an evil from the most flagitious impiety of the Sodomites was impending over his guests, which he wished to ward off and was not able, to such a degree may even that just man's mind have been disturbed, that he was willing to do that which, not man's fear with its misty tempest, but God's Law in its tranquil serenity, if it be consulted by us, will cry aloud, must not be done, and will command rather that we be so cautious not to sin ourselves, that we sin not through fear of

any sins whatever of other men. For that just man, by fearing other men's sins, which cannot defile except such as consent thereto, was so perturbed that he did not attend to his own sin, in that he was willing to subject his daughters to the lusts of impious men. These things, when we read in holy Scriptures, we must not, for that we believe them done, therefore believe them meet to be done; lest we violate precepts while we indiscriminately follow precedents. Or, truly, because David swore to put Nabal to death, and, upon more considerate clemency, did it not, shall we therefore say that he is to be imitated, so that we may swear to do a thing which afterwards we may see to be not meet to be done? But as fear perturbed the one, so that he was willing to prostitute his daughters, so did anger the other, that he swore rashly. In short, if it were allowed us to inquire of them both, by asking them to tell us why they did these things, the one might answer, *Fearfulness and trembling came upon me, and darkness covered me;* the other too might say, *Mine eye was troubled through wrath*[d]*:* so that we should not marvel either that the one in the darkness of fear, or the other with troubled eye, saw not what was meet to have been seen, that they might not do what was not meet to have been done. CONTRA MENDACIUM. 1 Sam. 25, 22—35. Ps. 55, 5. Ps. 6, 7.

22. And to holy David indeed it might more justly be said, that he ought not to have been angry; no, not with one however ungrateful and rendering evil for good; yet if, as man, anger did steal over him, he ought not to have let it so prevail, that he should swear to do a thing which either by giving way to his rage he should do, or by breaking his oath leave undone. But to the other, set as he was amid the libidinous frenzy of the Sodomites, who would dare to say, 'Although thy guests in thine own house, whither to enter in thou by most violent humanity hast compelled them, be laid hold upon by lewd men, and being deforced be carnally known as women, fear thou not a whit, care for it not a whit, have no dread, no horror, no trembling?' What man, even a companion of those wretches, would dare to say this to the pious host? But assuredly it would be

[d] Ps. 6, 7. *turbatus est præ ira*, as in LXX. *Mine eye is consumed because of grief.* E.V.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

most rightly said, 'Do what thou canst, that the thing be not done which thou deservedly fearest: but let not this fear of thine drive thee to do a thing which if thy daughters be willing that it be done unto them, they will through thee do wickedness with the Sodomites, if unwilling, will through thee from the Sodomites suffer violence. Commit not thou a great crime of thine own, while thou dreadest a greater crime of other men; for be the difference as great as thou wilt between thine own and that of others, this will be thine own, that other men's.' Unless perchance in defending this man one should so crowd himself into a corner, as to say, 'Since to receive a wrong is better than to do one, and those guests were not about to do but to suffer a wrong, that just man chose that his daughters should suffer wrong rather than his guests, acting upon his rights as his daughters' lord; and he knew that it would be no sin in them, if the thing were done, because they would but bear them which did the sin, not consenting unto them, and so without sin of their own. In fine, they did not offer themselves (albeit better females than males) to be carnally known instead of those guests, lest they should be rendered guilty, not by the suffering of others' lust, but by consenting of their own will: nor yet did their father permit it to be done unto himself, when they essayed to do it, because he would not betray his guests to them, (albeit there had been less of evil, if it were done to one man than to two;) but as much as he could he resisted, lest himself also should be defiled by any assent of his own, though even if the frenzy of others' lust had prevailed by strength of body, it would not have defiled him so long as he consented not. Now as the daughters sinned not, neither did he sin in their persons, because he was not making them to sin, if they should be deforced against their will, but only to bear them that did the sin. Just as if he should offer his slaves to be beaten by ruffians, that his guests might not suffer the wrong of beating.' Of which matter I shall not dispute, because it would take long to argue, whether even a master may justly use his right of power over his slave, so as to cause an unoffending slave to be smitten, that his unoffending friend may not be beaten in his house by violent bad men. But certainly, as concerning David, it is no wise

right to say that he ought to have sworn to do a thing which afterwards he would perceive that he ought not to do. Whence it is clear that we ought not to take all that we read to have been done by holy or just men, and transfer the same to morals, but hence too we must learn how widely that saying of the Apostle extends, and even to what persons it reaches: *Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself also, lest thou be tempted.* The being overtaken in a fault happens, either while one does not see at the time what is right to be done, or while, seeing it, one is overcome; that is, that a sin is done, either for that the truth is hidden, or for that infirmity compelleth. CONTRA MENDACIUM. Gal.6,1.

23. But in all our doings, even good men are very greatly embarrassed in the matter of compensative sins; so that these are not esteemed to be sins, if they have such causes for the which they be done, and in the which it may seem to be rather sin, if they be left undone. And chiefly as concerning lies hath it come to this pass in the opinion of men, that those lies are not accounted sins, nay rather are believed to be rightly done, when one tells a lie for the benefit of him for whom it is expedient to be deceived, or lest a person should hurt others, who seems likely to hurt unless he be got rid of by lies. In defence of these kinds of lies, very many examples from holy Scripture are accounted to lend their support. It is not, however, the same thing to hide the truth as it is to utter a lie. For although every one who lies wishes to hide what is true, yet not every one who wishes to hide what is true, tells a lie. For in general we hide truths not by telling a lie, but by holding our peace. For the Lord lied not when He said, *I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.* He held His peace from true things, not spake false things; for the hearing of which truths He judged them to be less fit. But if He had not indicated this same to them, that is, that they were not able to bear the things which He was unwilling to speak, He would indeed hide nevertheless somewhat of truth, but that this may be rightly done we should peradventure not know, or not have so great an example to x. John16, 12.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

confirm us. Whence, they who assert that it is sometimes meet to lie, do not conveniently mention that Abraham did this concerning Sarah, whom he said to be his sister. For he did not say, She is not my wife, but he said, *She is my sister;* because she was in truth so near akin, that she might without a lie be called a sister. Which also afterwards he confirmed, after she had been given back by him who had taken her, answering him and saying, *And indeed she is my sister, by father, not by mother;* that is, by the father's kindred, not the mother's. Somewhat therefore of truth he left untold, not told ought of falsehood, when he left wife untold, and told of sister. This also did his son Isaac: for him too we know to have gotten a wife near of kin. It is not then a lie, when by silence a true thing is kept back, but when by speech a false thing is put forward.

Gen. 20, 2. 12.

Gen. 26, 7. and ch. 24.

24. Touching Jacob, however, that which he did at his mother's bidding, so as to seem to deceive his father, if with diligence and in faith it be attended to, is no lie, but a mystery. The which if we shall call lies, all parables also, and figures designed for the signifying of any things soever, which are not to be taken according to their proper meaning, but in them is one thing to be understood from another, shall be said to be lies: which be far from us altogether. For he who thinks this, may also in regard of tropical expressions of which there are so many, bring in upon all of them this calumny; so that even metaphor, as it is called, that is, the usurped transferring of any word from its proper object to an object not proper, may at this rate be called a lie. For when he speaks of waving corn-fields, of vines putting forth gems[1], of the bloom of youth, of snowy hairs; without doubt the waves, the gems, the bloom, the snow, for that we find them not in those objects to which we have from other transferred these words, shall by these persons be accounted lies. And Christ a Rock, and the stony heart of the Jews; also, Christ a Lion, and the devil a lion, and innumerable such like, shall be said to be lies. Nay, this tropical expression reaches even to what is called antiphrasis, as when a thing is said to abound which does not exist, a thing said to be sweet which is sour; *lucis quod non luceat, Parcæ*

[1] 'gemmare.'

1 Cor. 10, 4. Ezek. 36, 26. Rev. 5, 5. 1 Pet. 5, 8.

quod non parcant. Of which kind is that in holy Scripture, CONTRA-
If he will not bless[e] *Thee to Thy face;* which the devil saith MENDA-
to the Lord concerning holy Job, and the meaning is, *curse.* CIUM.
By which word also the feigned crime of Naboth is named by his calumniators; for it is said that he *blessed*[f] *the king*, that is, cursed. All these modes of speaking shall be accounted lies, if figurative speech or action shall be set down as lying. But if it be no lie, when things which signify one thing by another are referred to the understanding of a truth, assuredly not only that which Jacob did or said to his father that he might be blessed, but that too which Joseph spoke as if in mockery of his brothers, and David's feigning Gen. 42.
of madness, must be judged to be no lies, but prophetical 1 Sam. 21, 13.
speeches and actions, to be referred to the understanding of those things which are true; which are covered as it were with a garb of figure on purpose to exercise the sense of the pious enquirer, and that they may not become cheap by lying bare and on the surface. Though even the things which we have learned from other places, where they are spoken openly and manifestly, these, when they are brought out from their hidden retreats, do, by our (in some sort) discovering of them, become renewed, and by renewal sweet. Nor is it that they are begrudged to the learners, in that they are in these ways obscured; but are presented in a more winning manner, that being as it were withdrawn, they may be desired more ardently, and being desired may with more pleasure be found. Yet true things, not false, are spoken; because true things, not false, are signified, whether by word or by deed; the things that are signified, namely, those are the things spoken. They are accounted lies only because people do not understand that the true things which are signified are the things said, but believe that false things are the things said. To make this plainer by examples, attend to this very thing that Jacob did. With skins of the kids, no doubt, he did cover his limbs; if we seek the immediate cause, we shall account him to have lied; for he did this, that he might be thought to be the man he was not: but if this deed be referred to that for the signifying of which it

[e] Job 2, 5. *benedixerit:* as LXX. εὐλογήσει: E. V. '*curse.*'

[f] 1 Kings 21, 10. 13. LXX. ηὐλόγηκας: E. V. '*didst blaspheme.*'

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

was really done, by skins of the kids are signified sins; by him who covered himself therewith, He who bare not His own, but others' sins. The truthful signification, therefore, can in no wise be rightly called a lie. And as in deed, so also in word. Namely, when his father said to him, *Who art thou, my son?* he answered, *I am Esau, thy first-born.* This, if it be referred to those two twins, will seem a lie; but if to that for the signifying of which those deeds and words are written, He is here to be understood, in His body, which is His Church, Who, speaking of this thing, saith, *When ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God, and yourselves cast out. And they shall come from the east and from the west and from the north and from the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God; and, behold, there are last which shall be first, and there are first which shall be last.* For so in a certain sort the younger brother did bear off the primacy of the elder brother, and transfer it to himself. Since then things so true, and so truthfully, be signified, what is there here that ought to be accounted to have been done or said lyingly? For when the things which are signified are not in truth things which are not, but which are, whether past or present or future, without doubt it is a true signification, and no lie. But it takes too long in the matter of this prophetical signification by stripping off the shell to search out all[1], wherein truth hath the palm, because as by being signified they were fore-announced, so by ensuing have they become clear.

Gen. 27, 16—19.

Luke 13, 28—30.

[1] enucleate cuncta rimari

xi. 25. Nor have I undertaken that in the present discourse, as it more pertains to thee, who hast laid open the hiding-places of the Priscillianists, so far as relates to their false and perverse dogmas; that they may not seem to have been in such sort investigated as if they were meet to be taught, not to be argued against. Make it therefore more thy work that they be beaten down and laid low, as thou hast made it, that they should be betrayed and laid open; lest while we wish to get at the discovery of men practising falsehood, we allow the falsehoods themselves, as if insuperable, to stand their ground; when we ought rather even in the hearts of latent heretics to destroy falsehoods, than by sparing false-

hoods to find out the deceivers who practise falsehood. Moreover, among those dogmas of theirs which are to be subverted, is this which they dogmatize, namely, that in order to hide religion religious people ought to lie, to that degree that not only concerning other matters, not pertaining to doctrine of religion, but concerning religion itself, it is meet to lie, that it may not become exposed to aliens; to wit, that one may deny Christ, in order that one may in the midst of His enemies be in secret a Christian. This impious and nefarious dogma do thou likewise, I beseech thee, overthrow; to bolster up which they in their argumentations do gather from the Scriptures testimonies to make it appear that lies are not only to be pardoned and tolerated, but even honoured. To thee therefore it pertains, in refuting that detestable sect, to shew that those testimonies of Scripture are so to be received, that either thou shalt teach those to be no lies which are accounted to be such, if they be understood in that manner in which they ought to be understood; or, that those are not to be imitated which be manifestly lies; or in any wise at last, that concerning those matters at least which pertain to doctrine of religion, it is in no wise meet to tell a lie. For thus are they truly from the very foundation overthrown, while that is overthrown wherein they lurk: that in that very matter they be judged least fit for us to follow, most fit to be shunned, in that they, for the hiding of their heresy, do profess themselves liars. This it is in them that must from the very first be assaulted, this which is, as it were, their fitting bulwark must with blows of Truth be battered and cast down. Nor must we afford them another lurking-place, which they had not, wherein they may take refuge, to wit, that being perhaps betrayed of them whom they have essayed to seduce but could not, they should say, 'We only wanted to try them, because prudent Catholics have taught that to find out heretics it is right to do this.' But it is necessary with somewhat more earnest bespeaking of thy favour to say why this seems to me a tripartite method of disputing against those who want to apply the divine Scriptures as advocates of their lies; to wit, by shewing that some which are there accounted to be lies, are not what they are accounted, if rightly understood;

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

next, that if there be there any manifest lies, they are not meet to be imitated; thirdly, contrary to all opinions of all persons who think it pertains to the duty of a good man sometimes to lie, that it must in every way be held that in doctrine of religion there must in no wise a lie be told. For these are the three things to follow up which I shortly before recommended, and in some sort enjoined thee.

xii. 26. To shew then that some things in the Scriptures which are thought to be lies are not what they are thought, if they be rightly understood, let it not seem to thee to tell little against them, that it is not from Apostolic but from Prophetical books that they find as it were precedents of lying. For all those which they mention by name, in which each lied, are read in those books in which not only words but many deeds of a figurative meaning are recorded, because it was also in a figurative sense that they were done. But in figures that which is spoken as a seeming lie, being well understood, is found to be a truth. The Apostles, however, in their Epistles spoke in another sort, and in another sort are written the Acts of the Apostles, to wit, because now the New Testament was revealed, which was veiled in those prophetic figures. In short, in all those Apostolic Epistles, and in that large book in which their acts are narrated with canonical truth, we do not find any person lying, such that from him a precedent can be set forth by these men for license of lying. For that simulation of Peter and Barnabas with which they were compelling the Gentiles to Judaize, was deservedly reprehended and set right, both that it might not do harm at the time, and that it might not weigh with posterity as a thing to be imitated. For when the Apostle Paul saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, he said to Peter in the presence of them all, *If thou, being a Jew, livest as the Gentiles; and not as do the Jews, how compellest thou the Gentiles to Judaize?* But in that which himself did, to the intent that by retaining and acting upon certain observances of the law after the Jewish custom he might shew that he was no enemy to the Law and to the Prophets, far be it from us to believe that he did so as a liar. As indeed concerning this matter his sentence is sufficiently well known, whereby it was settled that neither

Gal. 2, 13. 14.

Jews who then believed in Christ were to be prohibited from the traditions of their fathers, nor Gentiles when they became Christians to be compelled thereunto: in order that those sacred rites[1] which were well known to have been of God enjoined, should not be shunned as sacrileges; nor yet accounted so necessary, now that the New Testament was revealed, as though without them whoso should be converted unto God, could not be saved. For there were some who thought so and preached, albeit after Christ's Gospel received; and to these had feignedly consented both Peter and Barnabas, and so were compelling the Gentiles to Judaize. For it was a compelling, to preach them to be so necessary as if, even after the Gospel received, without them were no salvation in Christ. This the error of certain did suppose, this Peter's fear did feign, this Paul's liberty did beat down. What therefore he saith, *I am made all things to all, that I might gain all*, that did he, by suffering with others, not by lying. For each becomes as though he were that person whom he would fain succour, when he succoureth with the same pity wherewith he would wish himself to be succoured, if himself were set in the same misery. Therefore he becomes as though he were that person, not for that he deceives him, but for that he thinks himself as him. Whence is that of the Apostle, which I have before rehearsed, *Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself lest thou also be tempted.* For if, because he said, *To the Jews became I as a Jew, and to them which were under the law as under the law*, he is therefore to be accounted to have in a lying manner taken up the sacraments of the old law, he ought in the same manner to have taken up, in a lying way, the idolatry of the Gentiles, because he hath said that to them which were without law he became as without law; which thing in any wise he did not. For he did not any where sacrifice to idols or adore those figments and not rather freely as a martyr of Christ shew that they were to be detested and eschewed. From no apostolic acts or speeches, therefore, do these men allege things meet for imitation as examples of lying. From prophetical deeds or words, then, the reason why they seem to themselves to have what

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

[1] 'sacramenta'

1 Cor. 9, 22.

Gal. 6, 1.

1 Cor. 9, 20.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

they may allege, is only for that they take figures prenunciative to be lies, because they are sometimes like unto lies. But when they are referred to those things for the signifying of which they were so done or said, they are found to be significations full of truth, and therefore in no wise to be lies. A lie, namely, is a false signification with will of deceiving. But that is no false signification, where, although one thing is signified by another, yet the thing signified is a true thing, if it be rightly understood.

xiii. 27. There are some things of this sort even of our Saviour in the Gospel, because the Lord of the Prophets deigned to be Himself also a Prophet. Such are those where, concerning the woman which had an issue of blood, He said, *Who touched Me?* and of Lazarus, *Where have ye laid him?* He asked, namely, as if not knowing that which in any wise He knew. And He did on this account feign that He knew not, that He might signify somewhat else by that His seeming ignorance: and since this signification was truthful, it was assuredly not a lie. For those were signified, whether by her which had the issue, or by him which had been four days dead, whom even He Who knew all things did in a certain sort know not. For both she bore the type of the people of the Gentiles, whereof the prophecy had gone before, *A people whom I have not known hath served Me:* and Lazarus, removed from the living, did as it were in that place lie in significative similitude where He lay, Whose voice that is, *I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes.* And with that intent, as though it were not known by Christ, both who she was, and where he was laid, by His words of interrogating a figure was enacted, and by truthful signification all lying left apart.

Luke 8, 45.

John 11, 34.

Ps. 18, 44. 'servivit.'

Ps. 31, 22.

28. Hence is also that which thou hast mentioned that they speak of, that the Lord Jesus, after He was risen, walked in the way with two disciples; and upon their drawing near to the village whither they were going, He made as though He would have gone further: where the Evangelist, saying, *But He Himself feigned that He would go further*, hath put that very word in which liars too greatly delight, that they may with impunity lie: as if every thing that is feigned is a lie, whereas in a truthful way, for the

Luke 24, 28. 'finxit.'

sake of signifying one thing by another, so many things use to be feigned. If then there had been no other thing that Jesus signified, in that He feigned to be going further, with reason might it be judged to be a lie: but then if it be rightly understood and referred to that which He willed to signify, it is a mystery. Else will all things be lies which, on account of a certain similitude of things to be signified, although they never were done, are related to have been done. Of which sort is that concerning the two sons of one man, the elder who tarried with his father, and the younger who went into a far country, which is narrated so much at length. In which sort of fiction, men have put even human deeds or words to irrational animals and things without sense, that by this sort of feigned narrations but true significations, they might in more winning manner intimate the things which they wished. Nor is it only in authors of secular letters, as in Horace, that mouse speaks to mouse, and weasel to fox, that through a fictitious narration a true signification may be referred to the matter in hand; whence the like fables of Æsop being referred to the same end, there is no man so untaught as to think they ought to be called lies: but in Holy Writ also, as in the book of Judges, the trees seek them a king, and speak to the olive, to the fig and to the vine and to the bramble. Which, in any wise, is all feigned, with intent that one may get to the thing which is intended, by a feigned narration indeed, yet not a lying one, but with a truthful signification. This I have said on account of that which is written concerning Jesus, *And Himself feigned to be going further:* lest any from this word, like the Priscillianists, wishing to have license of lying, should contend that beside others even Christ did lie. But whoso would understand what He by feigning that did prefigure, let him attend to that which He by acting did effect. For when afterwards He did go further, above all heavens, yet deserted He not His disciples. In order to signify this which in the future He did as God, at the present He feigned to do that as Man. And therefore was a veritable signification caused in that feigning to go before, because in this departure the verity of that signification did follow after. Let him therefore contend

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

Luke 15, 11—32.

Serm. ii. vi. Epist. i. vii.

Judg. 9, 8—15.

CONTRA MENDACIUM. XIV.

that Christ did lie by feigning, who denieth that He fulfilled by doing that which He signified.

29. Because, therefore, lying heretics find not in the books of the New Testament any precedents of lying which are meet to be imitated, they esteem themselves to be most copious in their disputation wherein they opine that it is right to lie, when from the old prophetical books, because it doth not appear therein, save to the few who understand, to what must be referred the significative sayings and doings which as such be true, they seem to themselves to find out and allege many that be lies. But desiring to have, wherewith they may defend themselves, precedents of deceit seemingly meet to be imitated, they deceive themselves, and *their iniquity lieth unto itself*[g]. Those persons, however, of whom it is not there to be believed that they wished to prophesy, if in doing or saying they feigned aught with will of deceiving, however it may be that from the very things also which they did or said somewhat prophetical may be shapen out, being by His omnipotence afore deposited therein as a seed and pre-disposed, Who knoweth how to turn to good account even the ill-deeds of men, yet as far as regards the persons themselves, without doubt they lied. But they ought not to be esteemed meet for imitation simply for that they are found in those books which are deservedly called holy and divine: for those books contain the record of both the ill deeds and the good deeds of men; the one to be eschewed, the other to be followed after: and some are so put, that upon them is also sentence passed; some, with no judgment there expressed, are left permitted for us to judge of: because it was meet that we should not only be nourished by that which is plain, but exercised by that which is obscure.

Ps. 27, 12.

30. But why do these persons think they may imitate Tamar telling a lie, and not think they may imitate Judah committing fornication? For there they have read both, and nought of these hath that Scripture either blamed or praised, but has merely narrated both, and to our judgment

Gen. 38, 14—18.

[g] Ps. 26, (Heb. 27,) 12. '*mentitur eorum iniquitas sibi.*' LXX. ἐψεύσατο ἡ ἀδικία ἑαυτῇ. Heb. and E. V. 'And such as breathe out cruelty.'

dismissed both: but it is marvellous if it hath permitted ought of these to be imitated with impunity. For, that Tamar not through lust of playing the harlot, but through wish of conceiving seed, did tell the lie, we know. But fornication also, howbeit Judah's was not such, yet some man's may be such whereby to procure that a man may be delivered, just as her lie was in order that a man might be conceived; is it right then to commit fornication on this account, if on that account it is thought that it was right to lie? Not therefore concerning lying only, but concerning all works of men in which there arise as it were compensative sins, must we consider what sentence we ought to pass; lest we open a way not only to small sins whatsoever, but even to all wickednesses, and there remain no outrageous, flagitious, sacrilegious deed, in which there may not arise a cause upon which it may rightly seem a thing meet to be done, and so universal probity of life be by that opinion subverted. CONTRA MENDACIUM.

31. But he who says that some lies are just, must be judged to say no other than that some sins are just, and therefore some things are just which are unjust: than which what can be more absurd? For whence is a thing a sin, but for that it is contrary to justice? Be it said then that some sins are great, some small, because it is true; and let us not listen to the Stoics who maintain all to be equal: but to say that some sins are unjust, some just, what else is it than to say that there be some unjust, some just iniquities? When the Apostle John saith, *Every man who doeth sin, doeth also iniquity, and sin is iniquity.* It is impossible therefore that a sin should be just, unless when we put the name of sin upon another thing in which one doth not sin, but either doeth or suffereth ought for sin. Namely, both sacrifices for sins are named 'sins,' and the punishments of sins are sometimes called sins. These doubtless can be understood to be just sins, when just sacrifices are spoken of, or just punishments. But those things which are done against God's law cannot be just. It is said unto God, *Thy law is truth:* and consequently, what is against truth cannot be just. Now who can doubt that every lie is against truth? Therefore there can be no just lie. Again, what man doth not see clearly that every thing which is just is of the truth? xv. 1 John 3, 4. Ps. 119, 142.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

1 John 2, 21.

And John crieth out, *No lie is of the truth.* No lie therefore is just. Wherefore, when from holy Scriptures are proposed to us examples of lying, either they are not lies, but are thought to be so while they are not understood; or, if lies they be, they are not meet to be imitated, because they cannot be just.

32. But, as for that which is written, that God did good to Exod. 1, 17—20. Josh. 2, and 6, 25. the Hebrew midwives, and to Rahab the harlot of Jericho; this was not because they lied, but because they were merciful to God's people. That therefore which was rewarded in them was, not their deceit, but their benevolence; benignity of mind, not iniquity of lying. For, as it would not be marvellous and absurd if God on account of good works after done by them should be willing to forgive some evil works at another time before committed, so it is not to be marvelled at that God beholding at one time, in one cause, both these, that is, the thing done of mercy and the thing done of deceit, did both reward the good, and for the sake of this good forgive that evil. For if sins which are done of carnal concupiscence, not of mercy, are for the sake of after works of mercy remitted[1], why are not those through merit of mercy remitted which of mercy itself are committed? For more grievous is a sin which with purpose of hurting, than that which with purpose of helping, is wrought. And consequently if that is blotted out by a work of mercy thereafter following, why is this, which is less heinous, not blotted out by the mercy itself of the man, both going before that he may sin, and going along with him while he sins? So indeed it may seem: but in truth it is one thing to say, 'I ought not to have sinned, but I will do works of mercy whereby I may blot out the sin which I did before;' and another to say, 'I ought to sin, because I cannot else shew mercy.' It is, I say, one thing to say, 'Because we have already sinned, let us do good,' and another to say, 'Let us sin, that we may do good.' There it is said, 'Let us do good, because we have done evil;' but here, *Let us do evil that good may come.* And, consequently, there we have to drain off the sink of sin, here to beware of a doctrine which teacheth to sin.

mentis, — *mentientis.*

[1] dimittuntur.

Rom. 3, 8.

33. It remains then that we understand as concerning

those women, whether in Egypt or in Jericho, that for their humanity and mercy they received a reward, in any wise temporal, which indeed itself, while they wist not of it, should by prophetical signification prefigure somewhat eternal. But whether it be ever right, even for the saving of a man's life, to tell a lie, as it is a question in resolving which even the most learned do weary themselves, it did vastly surpass the capacity of those poor women, set in the midst of those nations, and accustomed to those manners. Therefore their ignorance in this as well as in those other things of which they were alike unknowing, but which are to be known by the children not of this world but of that which is to come, the patience of God did bear withal: Who yet, for their human kindness which they had shewn to His servants, rendered unto them rewards of an earthly sort, albeit signifying somewhat of an heavenly. And Rahab, indeed, delivered out of Jericho, made transition into the people of God, where, being proficient, she might attain to eternal and immortal prizes which are not to be sought by any lie. Yet at that time when she did for the Israelite spies that good, and, for her condition of life, laudable work, she was not as yet such that it should be required of her, *In your mouth let Yea be yea, Nay nay.* But as for those midwives, albeit Hebrewesses, if they savoured only after the flesh, what or how great is the good they got of their temporal reward in that they made them houses, unless by making proficiency they attained unto that house of which is sung unto God, *Blessed are they that dwell in thine house; for ever and ever they will praise thee?* It must be confessed, however, that it approacheth much unto righteousness, and though not yet in reality, yet even now in respect of hopefulness and disposition that mind is to be praised, which never lies except with intention and will to do good to some man, but to hurt no man. But as for us, when we ask whether it be the part of a good man sometimes to lie, we ask not concerning a person pertaining to Egypt, or to Jericho, or to Babylon, or still to Jerusalem itself, the earthly, which is in bondage with her children; but concerning a citizen of that city which is above and free, our mother, eternal in the heavens. And to our asking it is answered, *No lie is of the*

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

xvi.

Matt. 5, 37.

Ps. 84, 4.

Gal. 4, 25. 26.

1 John 2, 21.

CONTRA MENDACIUM. *truth.* The sons of that city, are sons of the Truth. That city's sons are they of whom it is written, *In their mouth was found no lie:* son of that city is he of whom is also written, *A son receiving the word shall be far from destruction: but receiving, he hath received that for himself, and nothing false proceedeth out of his mouth.* These sons of Jerusalem on high, and of the holy city eternal, if ever, as they be men, a lie of what kind soever doth worm itself into them, they ask humbly for pardon, not therefrom seek moreover glory.

Rev. 14, 5. Prov. 29, 27. Lat. (not in Hebrew)

xvii. 34. But some man will say, Would then those midwives and Rahab have done better if they had shewn no mercy, by refusing to lie? Nay verily, those Hebrew women, if they were such as that sort of persons of whom we ask whether they ought ever to tell a lie, would both eschew to say ought false, and would most frankly refuse that foul service of killing the babes. But, thou wilt say, themselves would die. Yea, but see what follows. They would die with an heavenly habitation for their incomparably more ample reward than those houses which they made them on earth could be: they would die, to be in eternal felicity, after enduring of death for most innocent truth. What of her in Jericho? Could she do this? Would she not, if she did not by telling a lie deceive the enquiring citizens, by speaking truth betray the lurking guests? Or could she say[h] to their questionings, I know where they are; but I fear God, I will not betray them? She could indeed say this, were she already a true Israelitess in whom was no guile: which thing she was about to be, when through the mercy of God passing over into the city of God. But they, hearing this (thou wilt say), would slay her, would search the house. But did it follow that they would also find them, whom she had diligently concealed? For in the foresight of this, that most cautious woman had placed them where they would have been able to remain undiscovered if she, telling a lie, should not be believed. So both she, if after all she had been slain by her countrymen for the work of mercy, would have ended this life, which must needs come to an end, by a death precious in the sight of the Lord, and towards them her benefit had

John 1, 47.

Ps. 116, 15.

[h] MSS. and edd. 'An posset;' but Ben. propose 'an non posset,' 'Could she not?'

not been in vain. But, thou wilt say, 'What if the men who sought them, in their thorough-going search, had come to the place where she had concealed them?' In this fashion it may be said: What if a most vile and base woman, not only telling, but swearing a lie, had not got them to believe her? Of course even so would the things have been like to come to pass, through fear of which she lied. And where do we put the will and power of God? or haply was He not able to keep both her, neither telling a lie to her own townsmen, nor betraying men of God, and them, being His, safe from all harm? For by Whom also after the woman's lie they were guarded, by Him could they, even if she had not lied, have in any wise been guarded. Unless perchance we have forgotten that this did come to pass in Sodom, where males burning towards males with hideous lust could not so much as find the door of the house in which were the men they sought; when that just man, in a case altogether most similar, would not tell a lie for his guests, whom he knew not to be Angels, and feared lest they should suffer a violence worse than death. And doubtless, he might have given the seekers the like answer as that woman gave in Jericho. For it was in precisely the like manner that they sought by interrogating. But that just person was not willing that for the bodies of his guests his soul should be spotted by his own telling of a lie, for which bodies he was willing that the bodies of his daughters by iniquity of others' lust should be deforced. Let then a man do even for the temporal safety of men what he can; but when it comes to that point that to consult for such saving of them except by sinning is not in his power, thenceforth let him esteem himself not to have what he may do, when he shall perceive that only to be left him which he may not rightly do. Therefore, touching Rahab in Jericho, because she entertained strangers, men of God, because in entertaining of them she put herself in peril, because she believed on their God, because she diligently hid them where she could, because she gave them most faithful counsel of returning by another way, let her be praised as meet to be imitated even by the citizens of Jerusalem on high. But in that she lied, although somewhat therein as prophetical be intelligently expounded, yet not as

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

Gen. 19, 5—11.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

meet to be imitated is it wisely propounded: albeit that God hath those good things memorably honoured, this evil thing mercifully overlooked.

35. Since these things are so, because it were too long to treat thoroughly of all that in that 'Pound[1]' of Dictinius are set down as precedents of lying, meet to be imitated, it seemeth to me that this is the rule to which not only these, but whatever such there be, must be reduced. Namely, either what is believed to be a lie must be shewn not to be such; whether it be where a truth is left untold, and yet no falsehood told; or where a true signification willeth one thing to be understood of another, which kind of figurative either sayings or doings abounds in the prophetical writings. Or, those which are convicted to be lies, must be proved to be not meet to be imitated: and if any (as other sins) should stealthily creep in upon us, we are not to attribute righteousness to them, but to ask pardon for them. So indeed it seems to me, and to this sentence the things above disputed do compel me.

[1] or 'Balance'

xviii. 36. But for that we are men and among men do live, and I confess that I am not yet in the number of them whom compensative sins embarrass not, it oft befalleth me in human affairs to be overcome by human feeling, nor am I able to resist when it is said to me, 'Lo, here is a sick man in peril of his life with a grievous disease, whose strength will no more be able to bear it, if the death of his only and most dear son be announced to him; he asks of thee whether his son liveth, and thou knowest that he is departed this life; what wilt thou reply, when, whatever thou shalt say beside one of these three; either, He is dead; or, He liveth; or, I know not; he believes no other than that he is dead; which thing he perceives thee to be afraid to tell, and unwilling to tell a lie? It comes to the same thing, if thou altogether hold thy peace. But of those three, two are false, He liveth, and, I know not; and they cannot be said by thee but by telling a lie. Whereas if thou shalt say that one thing which is true, that is, that he is dead, and the man be so perturbed that death follow, people will cry out that thou hast killed him. And who can bear men casting up to him what a mischief it is to shun a lie that might save life, and

to choose truth which murders a man? I am moved by these objections exceedingly, but it were marvellous whether also wisely. For, when I shall set before the eyes of my heart (such as they be) the intellectual beauty of Him out of Whose mouth nothing false proceedeth, albeit where truth in her radiance doth more and more brighten upon me, there my weak and throbbing sense is beaten back: yet I am with love of that surpassing comeliness so set on fire, that I despise all human regards which would thence recal me. But it is much that this affection persevere to that degree, that in temptation it lack not its effect. Nor doth it move me, while contemplating that luminous Good in which is no darkness of a lie, that, when we refuse to lie, and men through hearing of a truth do die, truth is called a murderer. For, if a lewd woman crave of thee the gratification of her lust, and, when thou consentest not, she perturbed with the fierceness of her love should die, will chastity also be a murderer? Or, truly, because we read, *We are a sweet savour of Christ in every place, both in them which are saved and in them which perish;* to the one, indeed, a savour of life unto life, to others a savour of death unto death; shall we pronounce even the savour of Christ to be a murderer? But, for that we, being men, are in questions and contradictions of this sort for the most part overcome or wearied out by our feeling as men, for that very reason hath the Apostle also presently subjoined, *And who is sufficient for these things?*

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

intelligibilem

2 Cor. 2, 15. 16.

37. Add to this, (and here is cause to cry out more piteously,) that, if once we grant it to have been right for the saving of that sick man's life to tell him the lie, that his son was alive, then, by little and little and by minute degrees, the evil so grows upon us, and by slight accesses to such a heap of wicked lies does it, in its almost imperceptible encroachments, at last come, that no place can ever be any where found on which this huge mischief, by smallest additions rising into boundless strength, might be resisted. Wherefore, most providently is it written, *He that despiseth small things shall fall by little and little.* Nay more: for these persons who are so enamoured of this life, that they hesitate not to prefer it to truth, that a man may not die, say rather, that a man who must some time die may die somewhat later,

Ecclus. 19, 1.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

would have us not only to lie, but even to swear falsely; to wit, that, lest the vain health of man should somewhat more quickly pass away, we should take the name of the Lord God in vain! And there are among them learned men who even fix rules, and set bounds when it is a duty, when not a duty, to commit perjury! O, where are ye, fountains of And what shall we do? whither go? where hide us from the ire of truth, if we not only neglect to shun lies, but dare moreover to teach perjuries? For look they well to it, who uphold and defend lying, what kind, or what kinds, of lying they shall delight to justify: at least in the worship of God let them grant that there must be no lying; at least let them keep themselves from perjuries and blasphemies; at least there, where God's name, where God as witness, where God's oath is interposed, where God's religion is the matter of discourse or colloquy, let none lie, none praise, none teach and enjoin, none justify a lie: of the other kinds of lies let him choose him out that which he accounteth to be the mildest and most innocent kind of lying, he who will have it to be right to lie. This I know, that even he who teaches that it is meet to tell lies, wishes to be thought to teach a truth. For if it be false which he teaches, who would care to give heed to false doctrine, in which both he deceives that teaches and he is deceived that learns? But if, in order that he may be able to find some disciple, he upholds that he teaches a truth when he teaches that it is meet to lie, how will that lie be of the truth, when the Apostle John reclaimeth, *No lie is of the truth?* It is therefore not true, that it is sometimes right to lie; and that which is not true to no man is at all to be persuaded.

'sacramentum'

1 John 2, 21.

xix. 38. But infirmity pleadeth its part, and with favour of the crowds proclaims itself to have a cause invincible. Where it contradicts, and says, 'What way is there among men, who without doubt by being deceived are turned aside from a deadly harm to others or themselves, to succour men in peril, if our affection as men may not incline us to lie?' If it will hear me patiently, this crowd of mortality, crowd of infirmity, I will say somewhat in answer on the behalf of truth. Surely at the least pious, true, holy chastity is not otherwise than of the truth: and whoso acts against it, acts against

truth. Why then, if otherwise it be not possible to succour men in peril, do I not also commit whoredom, which is therefore contrary to truth, for that it is contrary to chastity, and yet, to succour men in peril, do speak a lie which most openly is contrary to truth itself? Wherein hath chastity so highly deserved at our hands, and truth offended us? When all chastity is of the truth, and not the body's but the mind's chastity is truth, yea, in the mind dwelleth even the body's chastity. Lastly, as I shortly before said, and say again, whoever for the recommending and defending of any lie speaks against me, what speaks he, if he speaks not truth? Now if he is therefore to be heard because he speaks truth, how wishes he to make me, by speaking truth, a liar? How does lying take unto itself truth as its patroness? Or, is it for her own adversary that she conquers, that by herself she may be conquered? Who can bear this absurdity? In no wise therefore may we say, that they who assert that it is sometimes right to lie, in asserting that are truthful; lest, what is most absurd and foolish to believe, truth should teach us to be liars. For what sort of thing is it, that no man learns of chastity that we may commit adultery; that we may offend God none learns of piety; that we may do any man harm, none learns of kindness; and that we may tell lies, we are to learn of truth! But then if this thing truth teaches not, it is not true; if not true, it is not meet to be learned; if not meet to be learned, never therefore is it meet to tell a lie. CONTRA MENDACIUM.

39. But, some man will say, *Strong meat is for them that are perfect.* For in many things a relaxation by way of indulgence is allowed to infirmity, although in her utmost sincerity the things be no-wise pleasing to truth. Let him say this, whoever dreads not the consequences which are to be dreaded, if once there shall be in any way any lies permitted. In no wise, however, must they be permitted to climb up to such a height as to reach to perjuries and blasphemies: nor must any plea whatever be held out, for which it should be right that perjury should be committed, or, what is more execrable, that God should be blasphemed. For it does not follow that because the blaspheming is only in pretence and a lie, therefore He is not blasphemed. For at Heb. 5, 14.

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

this rate it might be said that perjury is not committed, because it is by a lie that it is committed: for who can be by truth a perjurer? So also by truth can no man be a blasphemer. Doubtless it is a milder kind of false swearing, when a person does not know that thing to be false and believes it to be true, which he swears: like as also Saul blasphemed more excusably, because he did it ignorantly. But the reason why it is worse to blaspheme than to perjure one's self, is, that in false swearing God is taken to witness a false thing, but in blaspheming false things are spoken of God Himself. Now by so much is a man more inexcusable, whether perjurer or blasphemer, by how much the more, while asserting the things wherein they perjure or blaspheme, they know or believe them to be false. Whoever therefore says that for an imperilled man's temporal safety or life a lie may be told, doth too much himself swerve from the path of eternal safety and life, if he says that on that behalf one may even swear by God, or even blaspheme God.

1 Tim. 1, 13.

xx. 40. But sometimes a peril to eternal salvation itself is put forth against us[1]; which peril, they cry out, we by telling a lie, if otherwise it cannot be, must ward off. As, for instance, if a person who is to be baptized be in the power of impious and infidel men, and cannot be got at that he may be washed with the laver of regeneration, but by deceiving his keepers with a lie. From this most invidious cry, by which we are compelled, not for a man's wealth or honours in this world which are fleeting by, not for the life itself of this present time, but for the eternal salvation of a human being, to tell a lie, whither shall I betake me for refuge but unto thee, O truth? And by thee is put forth before me[2], Chastity. For why, if those keepers may be enticed to admit us to baptize the man, by our committing lewdness, do we refuse to do things contrary to chastity, and yet, if by a lie they may be deceived, consent to do things contrary to truth? when without doubt no man would faithfully think chastity amiable, but because it is enjoined of truth? So then, to get at a man to baptize him, let the keepers be deceived by lying, if truth bid it. But how can truth bid, in order that a man may be baptized, that we should tell a lie, if chastity biddeth not, in order that a man be baptized, that we should commit whore-

[1] *oppo*nitur.

[2] *pro*ponitur.

dom? Now why doth chastity not bid this, but because this truth teacheth not? If then, save what truth teacheth, we ought not to do, when truth teacheth not even for the sake of baptizing a man to do what is contrary to chastity, how shall she teach us to do for the sake of baptizing a man what is contrary to herself, the truth? But like as eyes not strong enough to look upon the sun yet do gladly look upon the objects which are by the sun enlightened, so, souls which have already strength to delight in the beauty of chastity are yet not straightway able to consider in her very self that truth whence chastity hath her light, insomuch that when it cometh to the doing of somewhat that is adverse to truth, they should so start back in horror as they do start back in horror if ought be proposed to be done that is adverse to chastity. But that son, who, receiving the word shall be far from perdition, and nothing false cometh forth of his mouth, accounts it as much debarred from him if, to the succouring of his fellow man he be urged to pass through a lie, as if it were through the deed of lewdness. And the Father heareth and granteth his prayer that he may avail without a lie to succour whom the Father Himself, Whose judgments are unsearchable, willeth to be succoured. Such a son therefore so keeps watch against a lie, as he doth against sin. For indeed sometimes the name of lie is put for the name of sin: whence is that saying, *All men are liars.* For it is so said, as if it were said, *All men are sinners.* And that: *But if the truth of God hath abounded through my lie.* And therefore, when he lies as a man he sins as a man, and will be held by that sentence in which it is said, *All men are liars;* and, *If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.* But when nothing false cometh forth of his mouth, according to that grace will it so be, of which is said: *He that is born of God, sinneth not.* For were this nativity by itself alone in us, no man would sin: and when it shall be alone, no man will sin. But now, we as yet drag on that which we were born corruptible: although, according to that which we are new-born, if we walk aright from day to day we are renewed inwardly. But when this corruptible shall have put on in-

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

Prov. 29, 27. Lat.

Ps. 116, 11.

Rom. 3, 7.

1 John 1, 8.

1 John 3, 9.

2 Cor. 4, 16. 1 Cor. 15, 53—56.

CONTRA MENDACIUM. XXI.

corruption, life will swallow it up wholly, and not a sting of death will remain. Now this sting of death is sin.

41. Either then we are to eschew lies by right doing, or to confess them by repenting: but not, while they unhappily abound in our living, to make them more by teaching also. But let him who thinks this, choose out whereby he may help his fellow man being in peril, to what safety he will, what kinds soever of lies; provided yet even of such men we obtain our demand, that upon no cause must we be carried on to false-swearing and to blaspheming. These wickednesses at least let us judge either greater than deeds of lewdness, or certainly not smaller. For indeed it is worth thinking of, that very often men, where they suspect them of adultery, challenge their wives to an oath: which surely they would not do, unless they believed that even they who were not afraid to perpetrate adultery, might be afraid of perjury. Because in fact also some lewd women who were not afraid by unlawful embraces to deceive their husbands, have been afraid to call God deceitfully to witness unto those same husbands whom they had deceived. What cause then can there be, that a chaste and religious person should be unwilling by adultery to help a man to baptism, yet be willing to help him by perjury, which even adulterers are wont to dread? And then, if it be shocking to do this by perjuring one's self, how much rather by blaspheming? Far be it then from a Christian to deny and blaspheme Christ, that he may make another man a Christian; and by losing himself seek to find one, whom, if he teach him such things, he may cause to be lost when found. The book then which is called 'the Pound,' thou must in this method refute and destroy; namely, that head of it in which they dogmatize that for the purpose of concealing religion a lie may be told, this thou shalt understand must be the first to be amputated; in such manner, that their testimonies by which they labour to advance the Holy Books as patrons of their lies, thou must demonstrate partly not to be lies, partly, even those which are such, to be not meet to be imitated: and if infirmity usurps to herself thus much, that somewhat shall be venially permitted unto her which truth approve not,

yet that thou unshakenly hold and defend, that in divine religion it is at no time whatever right to tell a lie. And, as for concealed heretics, that, as we are not to find out concealed adulterers by committing of adulteries, nor murderers by committing of murders, nor practisers of black arts by practising of black arts, so neither must we seek to find out liars by telling lies or blasphemers by blaspheming: according to the reasonings which we have in this volume so copiously set forth, that unto the goal of the same, which we fixed to be in this place, we have with difficulty come at **last.**

CONTRA MENDACIUM.

male-ficos

S. AUGUSTINE

OF

THE WORK OF MONKS.

From the Retractations, ii. 21.

To write the Book *on the Work of Monks*, the need which compelled me was this. When at Carthage there had begun to be monasteries, some maintained themselves by their own hands, obeying the Apostle; but others wished so to live on the oblations of the faithful, that doing no work whence they might either have or supply the necessaries of life, they thought and boasted that they did rather fulfil the precept of the Gospel, where the Lord saith, *Behold the fowls of heaven and the lilies of the field*, Matt. vi. 26. Whence also among laics of inferior purpose, but yet fervent in zeal, there had begun to arise tumultuous contests, whereby the Church was troubled, some defending the one, others the other part. Add to this, that some of them who were for not working, wore their hair long. Whence contentions between those who reprehended and those who justified the practice, were, according to their party affections, increased. On these accounts the venerable old Aurelius, Bishop of the Church of the same city, desired me to write somewhat of this matter; and I did so. This book begins, "Jussioni tuæ, sancte frater Aureli."

This work is placed in the Retractations next after that 'On the Good of Marriage,' which belongs to the year 401.

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i. 1. THY bidding, holy brother Aurelius, it was meet that I should comply withal, with so much the more devotion, by how much the more it became clear unto me Who, out of thee, did speak that bidding. For our Lord Jesus Christ, dwelling in thine inner part, and inspiring into thee a solicitude of fatherly and brotherly charity, whether our

sons and brothers the monks, who neglect to obey blessed Paul the Apostle, when he saith, *If any will not work, neither let him eat*, are to have that licence permitted unto them; He, assuming unto His work thy will and tongue, hath commanded me out of thee, that I should hereof write somewhat unto thee. May He therefore Himself be present with me also, that I may obey in such sort that from His gift, in the very usefulness of fruitful labour, I may understand that I am indeed obeying Him. DE OPERE MONACHORUM. 2 Thess. 3, 10.

2. First then, it is to be seen, what is said by persons of that profession, who will not work: then, if we shall find that they think not aright, what is meet to be said for their correction? 'It is not,' say they, 'of this corporal work in which either husbandmen or handicraftsmen labour, that the Apostle gave precept, when he said, *If any will not work, neither let him eat.* For he could not be contrary to the Gospel, where the Lord Himself saith, *Therefore I say unto you, be not solicitous for your life, what ye shall eat, neither for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment? Consider the fowls of heaven, that they sow not, nor reap, nor gather into barns; and your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not ye rather of more worth than they? But who of you by taking thought can add to his stature one cubit? And concerning raiment, why are ye solicitous? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they labour not, neither spin; but I say unto you, that not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed like one of these. But if the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, God so clotheth; how much more you, (O ye) of little faith! Be not therefore solicitous, saying, What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clad? for all these things do the Gentiles seek. And your heavenly Father knoweth that ye need all these. But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and His righteousness, and all these shall be added unto you. Be not therefore solicitous for the morrow: for the morrow will be solicitous for itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.* Lo, say they, where the Lord biddeth us be without care concerning our food and clothing: how then could the Apostle think contrary to Matt. 6, 25—34.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

the Lord, that he should instruct us that we ought to be in such sort solicitous, what we shall eat, or what we shall drink, or wherewithal we shall be clothed, that he should even burden us with the arts, cares, labours of handicraftsmen? Wherefore in that he saith, *If any will not work, neither let him eat;* works spiritual, say they, are what we must understand: of which he saith in another place, *To each one according as the Lord hath given: I have planted, Apollos hath watered; but God gave the increase.* And a little after, *Each one shall receive his reward according to his own labour. We are God's fellow-workers; God's husbandry, God's building are ye: according to the grace which is given unto me, as a wise master-builder I have laid the foundation.* As therefore the Apostle worketh in planting, watering, building, and foundation-laying, in that way whoso will not work, let him not eat. For what profiteth in eating spiritually to be fed with the word of God, if he do not thence work others' edification? As that slothful servant, what did it profit to receive a talent and to hide it, and not work for the Lord's gain? Was it that it should be taken from him at last, and himself cast into outer darkness? So, say they, do we also. We read with the brethren, who come to us fatigued from the turmoil of the world, that with us, in the word of God, and in prayers, psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, they may find rest. We speak to them, console, exhort, building up in them whatever unto their life, according to their degree, we perceive to be lacking. Such works if we wrought not, with peril should we receive of the Lord our spiritual sustenance itself. For this is it the Apostle said, *If any one will not work, neither let him eat.* Thus do these men deem themselves to comply with the apostolic and evangelic sentence, when both the Gospel they believe to have given precept concerning the not caring for the corporal and temporal indigence of this life, and the Apostle concerning spiritual work and food to have said, *If any will not work, neither let him eat.*

1 Cor. 3, 5—10.

ii. 3. Nor do they attend to this, that if another should say, that 'the Lord indeed, speaking in parables and in similitudes concerning spiritual food and clothing, did warn that

not on these accounts should His servants be solicitous; (as He saith, *When they shall drag you to judgment-seats, take no thought what ye shall speak. For it will be given you in that hour what ye shall speak: but it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.* For the discourse of spiritual wisdom is that for which He would not that they should take thought, promising that it should be given unto them, nothing solicitous thereof;) but the Apostle now, in manner Apostolical, more openly discoursing and more properly, than figuratively speaking, as is the case with much, indeed well-nigh all, in his Apostolic Epistles, said it properly of corporal work and food, *If any will not work, neither let him eat:* by those would their sentence be rendered doubtful, unless, considering the other words of the Lord, they should find somewhat whereby they might prove it to have been of not caring for corporal food and raiment that He spake when He said, *Be not solicitous what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, or wherewithal ye shall be clothed.* As, if they should observe what He saith, *For all these things do the Gentiles seek;* for there He shews that it was of very corporal and temporal things that He spake. So then, were this the only thing that the Apostle has said on this subject, *If any will not work, neither let him eat;* these words might be drawn over to another meaning: but since in many other places of his Epistles, what is his mind on this point, he most openly teaches, they superfluously essay to raise a mist before themselves and others, that what that charity adviseth they may not only refuse to do, but even to understand it themselves, or let it be undertood by others; not fearing that which is written, *He would not understand that he might do good*[a]. Ps.36,3.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM. Mat.10, 19. 20.

4. First then we ought to demonstrate that the blessed Apostle Paul willed the servants of God to work corporal works which should have as their end a great spiritual reward, for this purpose that they should need food and clothing of no man, but with their own hands should procure these for themselves: then, to shew that those evangelical precepts from which some cherish not only their sloth but iii.

[a] Ps. 35, 4. (36, 3.) 'noluit intelligere ut bene ageret.'

DE OPERE MONACHORUM. 2 Thess. 3, 6-12.

even arrogance, are not contrary to the Apostolical precept and example. Let us see then whence the Apostle came to this, that he should say, *If any will not work, neither let him eat*, and what he thereupon joineth on, that from the very context[1] of this lesson may appear his declared sentence. *We command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh unquietly, and not according to the tradition which they have received[2] of us. For yourselves know how ye ought to imitate us; for we were not unquiet among you, neither ate we bread of any man for nought, but in labour and travail night and day working that we might not burden any of you: not for that we have not power, but that we might give ourselves as a pattern to you in which ye should imitate us. For also when we were with you, we gave you this charge, that if any will not work, let him not eat. For we have heard that certain among you walk unquietly, working not at all, but being busy-bodies. Now them that are such we charge and beseech in our Lord Jesus Christ, that with silence they work, and eat their own bread.* What can be said to these things, since, that none might thereafter have license to interpret this according to his wish, not according to charity, he by his own example hath taught what by precept he hath enjoined? To him, namely, as to an Apostle, a preacher of the Gospel, a soldier of Christ, a planter of the vineyard, a shepherd of the flock, had the Lord appointed that he should live by the Gospel; and yet himself exacted not the pay which was his due, that he might make himself a pattern to them which desired what was not their due; as he saith to the Corinthians, *Who goeth a warfare at any time at his own charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and of its fruit eateth not? Who feedeth a flock, and of the milk of the flock partaketh not?* Therefore, what was due to him, he would not receive, that by his example they might be checked, who, although not so ordained in the Church, did deem the like to be due to themselves. For what is it that he saith, *Neither ate we bread of any man for nought, but in labour and travail night and day working that we might not burden any of you; not for that we have not power, but that we might give ourselves as a pattern to*

[1] 'circumstantia'

[2] 'acceperunt'

you wherein ye should follow us? Let them, therefore, hear to whom he hath given this precept, that is, they which have not this power which he had, to wit, that while only spiritually working they should eat bread by corporal labour not earned[1]: and as he says, *We charge and beseech in Christ that with silence they work and eat their own bread*, let them not dispute against the most manifest words of the Apostle, because this also pertaineth to that 'silence' with which they ought to work and eat their own bread. DE OPERE MONACHORUM. [1] gratuitum

5. I would, however, proceed to a more searching[2] and diligent consideration and handling of these words, had I not other places of his Epistles much more manifest, by comparing which, both these are made more clearly manifest, and if these were not in existence, those others would suffice. To the Corinthians, namely, writing of this same thing, he saith thus, *Am I not free? am I not an Apostle*[b]*? Have I not seen Christ Jesus our Lord? Are not ye my work in the Lord? If to others I am not an Apostle, to you assuredly I am. For the seal of mine Apostleship are ye in the Lord. My defence to them which interrogate me is this. Have we not power to eat and to drink? Have we not power to lead about a woman who is a sister*[3]*, as also the other Apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?* See how first he shews what is lawful to him, and therefore lawful for that he is an Apostle. For with that he began, *Am I not free? am I not an Apostle?* and proves himself to be an Apostle, saying, *Have I not seen Christ Jesus our Lord? Are not ye my work in the Lord?* Which being proved, he shews that to be lawful to him which was so to the other Apostles; that is, that he should not work with his hands, but live by the Gospel, as the Lord appointed, which in what follows he has most openly demonstrated; for to this end did also faithful women which had earthly substance go with them, and minister unto them of their substance, that they might lack none of those things which pertain to the necessaries of this life. Which thing blessed Paul demonstrates to be lawful indeed unto himself, as also the other Apostles did it, but that he had not chosen to use this power he afterwards iv. [2] enucleatius 1 Cor. 9, 1—7. [3] '*sororem mulierem*'

[b] So Griesbach and Lachmann. But text recept. Am I not an Apostle? am I not free?

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

mentions. This thing some not understanding, have interpreted not *a woman which is a sister*, when he said, *Have we not power to lead about a sister a woman?* but, *a sister a wife.* They were misled by the ambiguity of the Greek word, because both 'wife' and 'woman' is expressed in Greek by the same word. Though indeed the Apostle has so put this that they ought not to have made this mistake; for that he neither says *a woman* merely, but *a sister woman;* nor *to take* (as in marriage), but *to take about* (as on a journey). Howbeit other interpreters have not been misled by this ambiguity, and they have interpreted *woman* not *wife.*

v. 6. Which thing whoso thinks cannot have been done by the Apostles, that with them women of holy conversation should go about wheresoever they preached the Gospel, that of their substance they might minister to their necessities, let him hear the Gospel, and learn how in this they did after the example of the Lord Himself. Our Lord, namely, according to the wont of His pity, sympathising with the weak, albeit Angels might minister unto Him, had both a bag in which should be put the money which was bestowed doubtless by good and believing persons, as necessary for their living, (which bag He gave in charge to Judas, that even thieves, if we could not keep clear of such, we might learn to tolerate in the Church. He, namely, as is written of him, *stole*[1] *what was put therein:*) and He willed that women should follow Him for the preparing and ministering what was necessary, shewing what was due to evangelists and ministers of God as soldiers, from the people of God as the provincials; so that if any should not choose to use that which is due unto him, as Paul the Apostle did not choose, he might bestow the more upon the Church, by not exacting the pay which was due to him, but by earning his daily living of his own labours. For it had been said to the innkeeper to whom that wounded man was brought, *Whatever thou layest out more, at my coming again I will repay thee.* The Apostle Paul, then, did *lay out more*, in that he, as himself witnesseth, did at his own charges go a warfare. In the Gospel, namely, it is written, *Thereafter also Himself was making a journey through cities and villages preaching*

[1] '*aufe-rebat*'

Luke 10, 35.

1 Cor. 9, 7—15. and 2 Cor. 11, 7.

Luke 8, 1—3

and evangelizing of the kingdom of God; and the twelve with Him, and certain women which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities: Mary who is called Magdalene, out of whom seven devils had gone forth, and Joanna wife of Chuza Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, who ministered unto Him of their substance. This example of the Lord the Apostles did imitate, to receive the meat which was due unto them; of which the same Lord most openly speaketh: *As ye go*, saith He, *preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse lepers, cast out devils. Freely have ye received, freely give. Possess not gold nor silver nor money in your purses, neither scrip on your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, neither staff: for the workman is worthy of his meat.* Lo, where the Lord appointeth the very thing which the Apostle doth mention. For to this end He told them not to carry all those things, namely, that where need should be, they might receive them of them unto whom they preached the kingdom of God.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

Mat.10, 7—10.

7. But lest any should fancy that this was granted only to the twelve, see also what Luke relateth: *After these things*, saith he, *the Lord chose also other seventy and two, and sent them by two and two before His face into every city and place whither He was about to come. And He said unto them, The harvest indeed is plentiful, but the labourers few: ask ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He would send forth labourers into His harvest. Go your ways: behold, I send you as lambs in the midst of wolves. Carry neither purse nor scrip nor shoes, and salute no man by the way. Into whatsoever house ye shall enter, first say, Peace be to this house. And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon him: if not, it shall return to you. And in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as are with them: for the workman is worthy of his hire.* Here it appears that these things were not commanded, but permitted, that whoso should choose to use, might use that which was lawful unto him by the Lord's appointment; but if any should not choose to use it, he would not do contrary to a thing commanded, but would be yielding up his own right, by demeaning himself more mercifully and laboriously

vi.

Luke10, 1—7.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

hire which was his due. Otherwise the Apostle did contrary to a command of the Lord: for, after he had shewn it to be lawful unto him, he hath straightway subjoined, *But yet have I not used this power.*

vii. 8. But let us return to the order of our discourse, and the whole of the passage itself of the Epistle let us diligently consider. *Have we not*, saith he, *leave*[1] *to eat and to drink? have we not leave to lead about a woman, a sister?* What leave meant he, but what the Lord gave unto them whom He sent to preach the kingdom of heaven, saying, *Those things which are (given) of them, eat ye*[c]*; for the workman is worthy of his hire*; and proposing Himself as an example of the same power, to Whom most faithful women did of their means minister such necessaries? But the Apostle Paul hath done more, from his fellow-Apostles alleging a proof of this license permitted of the Lord. For not as finding fault hath he subjoined, *As do also the other Apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas;* but that hence he might shew that this which he would not accept was a thing which, that it was lawful for him to accept was proved by the wont of the rest also his fellow-soldiers. *Or I only and Barnabas, have we not power to forbear working?* Lo, he hath taken away all doubt even from the slowest hearts, that they may understand of what working he speaks. For to what end saith he, *Or I only and Barnabas, have we not power to forbear working?* but for that all evangelists and ministers of God's word had power received of the Lord, not to work with their hands, but to live by the Gospel, working only spiritual works in preaching of the kingdom of heaven and edifying of the peace of the Church? For no man can say that it is of that very spiritual working that the Apostle said, *Or I only and Barnabas, have we not power to forbear working?* For this power to forbear working all those had: let him say then, who essays to deprave and pervert precepts Apostolical; let him say, if he dares, that all evangelists received of the Lord power to forbear preaching the Gospel. But if this is most absurd and mad to say, why will they not understand what is plain to all, that they did indeed receive power not to work, but works bodily, whereby to get a living, because

[1] *licentiam*

the workman is worthy of his hire, as the Gospel speaks. It is not therefore that Paul and Barnabas only had not power to forbear working; but that all alike had this power, of which these availed not themselves in 'laying out more' upon the Church; so as in those places where they preached the Gospel they judged to be meet for the weak. And for this reason, that he might not seem to have found fault with his fellow-Apostles, he goes on to say: *Who goeth a warfare at any time at his own charges? Who feedeth a flock, and of the milk of the flock partaketh not? Speak I these things as a man? Saith not the Law the same? For in the law of Moses it is written, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God care for oxen? Or saith he it for our sake altogether? For our sakes truly is it written, because he that plougheth ought to plough in hope, and he that thresheth in hope of partaking of the fruits.* By these words the Apostle Paul sufficiently indicates, that it was no usurping unto themselves of ought beyond their due on the part of his fellow-Apostles, that they wrought not bodily, whence they might have the things which to this life are necessary, but as the Lord ordained, should, living by the Gospel, eat bread gratuitously given of them unto whom they were preaching a gratuitous grace. Their charges, namely, they did like soldiers receive, and of the fruit of the vineyard by them planted, they did, as need was, freely gather; and of the milk of the flock which they fed, they drank; and of the threshing-floor on which they threshed, they took their meat.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

1 Cor. 9, 7—10.

9. But he speaks more openly in the rest which he subjoins, viii. and altogether removes all causes of doubting. *If we unto you*, saith he, *have sown spiritual things, is it a great matter if we shall reap your carnal things?* What are the spiritual things which he sowed, but the word and mystery of the sacrament of the kingdom of heaven? And what the carnal things which he saith he had a right to reap, but these temporal things which are indulged to the life and indigency of the flesh? These however being due to him he declares that he had not sought nor accepted, lest he should cause any impediment to the Gospel of Christ. What work remaineth for us to understand him to have wrought, whereby

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

he should get his living, but bodily work, with his own bodily and visible hands? For if from spiritual work he sought food and clothing, that is, to receive these of them whom he was edifying in the Gospel, he could not, as he does, go on to say, *If others be partakers of this power over you, are not we rather? Nevertheless, we have not used this power, but tolerate all things that we may not cause any hindrance to the Gospel of Christ.* What power doth he say he had not used, but that which he had over them, received of the Lord, the power to reap their carnal things, in order to the sustenance of this life which is lived in the flesh? Of which power were others also partakers, who did not at the first announce the Gospel to them, but came thereafter to their Church preaching the self-same. Therefore, when he had said, *If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we shall reap your carnal things?* he subjoined, *If others be partakers of this power over you, are not we rather?* And when he had demonstrated what power they had: *Nevertheless we have not used,* saith he, *this power; but we put up with all things, lest we should cause any impediment to the Gospel of Christ.* Let therefore these persons say in what way from spiritual work the Apostle had carnal food, when himself openly says that he had not used this power. But if from spiritual work he had not carnal food, it remains that from bodily work he had it,

1 Cor. 9, 12.

and thereof saith, *Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you: not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an example unto you to follow us. All things,* saith he, *we suffer, lest we cause any hindrance to the Gospel of Christ.*

2 Thess. 3, 8. 9.

ix. 10. And he comes back again, and in all ways, over and over again, enforceth what he hath the right to do, yet doeth not. *Do ye not know,* saith he, *that they which work in the temple, eat of the things which are in the temple? they which serve the altar, have their share with the altar? So hath the Lord ordained for them which preach the Gospel, to live of the Gospel. But I have used none of these things.* What more open than this? what more clear? I fear lest haply, while I discourse wishing to expound this, that become

1 Cor. 9, 13—15.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

obscure which in itself is bright and clear. For they who understand not these words, or feign not to understand, do much less understand mine, or profess to understand: unless perchance they do therefore quickly understand ours, because it is allowed them to deride them being understood; but concerning the Apostle's words this same is not allowed. For this reason, where they cannot interpret them otherwise according to their own sentence, be it ever so clear and manifest, they answer that it is obscure and uncertain, because wrong and perverse they dare not call it. Cries the man of God, *The Lord hath ordained for them which preach the Gospel, of this Gospel to live; but I have used none of these things;* and flesh and blood essayeth to make crooked what is straight; what open, to shut; what serene, to cloud over. 'It was,' saith it, 'spiritual work that he was doing, and thereof did he live.' If it be so, of the Gospel did he live: why then doth he say, *The Lord hath ordained for them which preach the Gospel, of the Gospel to live; but I have used none of these things?* Or if this very word, *to live,* which is here used, they will needs also interpret in respect of spiritual life, then had the Apostle no hope towards God, in that he did not live by the Gospel, because he hath said, *I have used none of these things.* Wherefore, that he should have certain hope of life eternal, the Apostle did of the Gospel in any wise spiritually live. What therefore he saith, *But I have used none of these things,* doth without doubt make to be understood of this life which is in the flesh, that which he hath said of the Lord's ordaining to them which preach the Gospel, that of the Gospel they should live; that is, this life which hath need of food and clothing, they by the Gospel shall sustain; as above he said of his fellow-apostles; of whom the Lord Himself saith, *The workman is worthy of his meat;* and, *The workman is worthy of his hire.* This meat, then, and this hire of the sustenance of this life, due to evangelists, this of them to whom he evangelized the Aposule accepted not, saying a true thing, *I have used none of these things.*

11. And he goes on, and adjoins, lest perchance any should imagine that he only therefore received not, because they had not given: *But I have not written these things* 1 Cor. 9, 15.

x.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

that they may be so done unto me: good is it for me rather to die than that any make void my glory. What glory, unless that which he wished to have with God, while in Christ suffering with the weak? As he is presently about to say most openly; *For if I shall have preached the Gospel, there is not to me any glory: for necessity is laid upon me;* that is, of sustaining this life. *For woe will be to me,* he saith, *if I preach not the Gospel:* that is, to my own ill shall I forbear to preach the Gospel, because I shall be tormented with hunger, and shall not have whereof to live. For he goes on, and says; *For if willingly I do this, I have a reward.* By his doing it willingly, he means, if he do it uncompelled by any necessity of supporting this present life; and for this he hath reward, to wit, with God, of glory everlasting. *But if unwilling,* saith he, *a dispensation is entrusted unto me:* that is, if, being unwilling, I am by necessity of passing through this present life, compelled to preach the Gospel, *a dispensation is entrusted unto me;* to wit, that by my dispensation as a steward, because Christ, because the truth, is that which I preach, howsoever because of occasion, howsoever seeking mine own, howsoever by necessity of earthly emolument compelled so to do, other men do profit, but I have not that glorious and everlasting reward with God. *What then,* saith he, *shall be my reward?* He saith it as asking a question: therefore the pronunciation must be suspended, until he give the answer. Which the more easily to understand, let, as it were, us put the question to him, 'What, then, will be thy reward, O Apostle, when that earthly reward due to good evangelists, not for its sake evangelizing, but yet taking it as the consequence and offered to them by the Lord's appointment, thou acceptest not? What shall be thy reward then?' See what he replies: *That, preaching the Gospel, I may make the Gospel of Christ without charge;* that is, that the Gospel may not be to believers expensive, lest they account that for this end is the Gospel to be preached to them, that its preachers should seem as it were to sell it. And yet he comes back again and again, that he may shew what, by warrant of the Lord, he hath a right unto, yet doeth not[6]: *that I abuse not,* saith he, *my power in the Gospel.*

1 Cor. 9, 16.

v. 17.

v. 18.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM. XI.

12. But now, that as bearing with the infirmity of men he did this, let us hear what follows: *For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more. To them that are under the law, I became as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law, as without law, (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ,) that I might gain them that are without law.* 1 Cor. 9, 19—21. Which thing he did, not with craftiness of simulation, but with mercy of compassion with others; that is, not as if to feign himself a Jew, as some have thought, in that he observed at Jerusalem the things prescribed by the old law[d]. For he did this in accordance with his free and openly declared sentence, in which he says, *Is any called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised.* That is, let him not so live, as though he had become uncircumcised, and covered that which he had laid bare: as in another place he saith, *Thy circumcision is become uncircumcision.* Rom. 2, 25. It was in accordance then with this his sentence, in which he saith, *Is any called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised. Is any called in uncircumcision? let him not be circumcised;* 1 Cor. 7, 18. that he did those things, in which, by persons not understanding and not enough attending, he has been accounted to have feigned. For he was a Jew, and was called being circumcised; therefore he would not become uncircumcised; that is, would not so live as if he had not been circumcised. For this he now had in his power to do. And *under* the law, indeed, he was not as they who servilely wrought it; but yet *in* the law of God and of Christ. For that law was not one, and the law of God another, as accursed Manicheans are wont to say. Otherwise, if when he did those things he is to be accounted to have feigned, then he feigned himself also a pagan, and sacrificed to idols, because he says that he became to those without law, as without law. By whom, doubtless, he would have us to understand no other than Gentiles whom we call Pagans. It is one thing therefore to be under the law, another in the law, another without law. *Under the*

[d] S. Jerome in Ep. inter Augustinianas, 75, n. 9—11.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

law, the carnal Jews; *in the law*, spiritual men, both Jews and Christians; (whence the former kept that custom of their fathers, but did not impose unwonted burthens upon the believing Gentiles; and therefore they also were circumcised;) but *without law*, are the Gentiles which have not yet believed, to whom yet the Apostle testifieth himself to have become like, through sympathy of a merciful heart, not simulation of a changeable exterior; that is, that he might in that way succour carnal Jew or Pagan, in which way himself, if he were that, would have wished to be succoured: bearing, to wit, their infirmity, in likeness of compassion, not deceiving in fiction of lying; as he straightway goes on, and says, *I became to the weak as weak, that I might gain the weak.* For it was from this point that he was speaking, in saying all those other things. As then, that he became to the weak as weak, was no lie; so all those other things above rehearsed. For what doth he mean his weakness towards the weak to have been, but that of suffering with them, insomuch that, lest he should appear to be a seller of the Gospel, and by falling into an ill suspicion with ignorant men, should hinder the course of God's word, he would not accept what by warrant of the Lord was his due? Which if he were willing to accept, he would not in any wise lie, because it was truly due to him; and for that he would not, he did not in any wise lie. For he did not say, it was not due; but he shewed it to be due, and that being due he had not used it, and professed that he would not at all use it, in that very thing becoming weak; namely, in that he would not use his power; being, to wit, with so merciful affection endued, that he thought in what way he should wish to be dealt withal, if himself also were made so weak, that possibly, if he should see them by whom the Gospel was preached to him, accepting their charges, he might think it a bringing of wares to market, and hold them in suspicion accordingly.

1 Cor. 9, 22.

xii. 13. Of this weakness of his, he saith in another place, *We made ourselves small among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children.* For in that passage the context indicates this: *For neither at any time*, saith he, *used we flattering words, as ye know, nor an occasion of covetousness; God is witness:*

'*parvuli.*'

1 Thess. 2, 5—7.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor yet of others when we might have been burdensome to you as the Apostles of Christ: but we made ourselves small among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children. What therefore he saith to the Corinthians, that he had power of his apostleship, as also the other Apostles, which power he testifieth that he had not used; this also he saith in that place to the Thessalonians, *When we might have been burdensome to you as Christ's Apostles:* according to that the Lord saith, *The workman is worthy of his hire.* For that of this he speaks, is indicated by that which he above set down, *Neither for occasion of covetousness, God is witness.* By reason, namely, of this which by right of the Lord's appointment was due to good evangelists, who not for its sake do evangelize but seek the kingdom of God, so that all these things should be added unto them, others were taking advantage thereof, of whom he also saith, *For they that are such serve not God, but their own belly.* From whom the Apostle wished so to cut off this occasion, that even what was justly due to him, he would forego. For this himself doth openly shew in the second to the Corinthians, speaking of other Churches supplying his necessities. For he had come, as it appears, to so great indigence, that from distant Churches were sent supplies for his necessities, while yet from them among whom he was, he accepted nothing of that kind. *Have I committed a sin,* saith he, *in humbling myself that ye might be exalted, because I have preached to you the Gospel of God freely? Other Churches I despoiled, taking wages of them to minister unto you: and when I was present with you and wanted, to no man was I burdensome. For that which was lacking to me the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied, and in all things I have kept myself from being burdensome to you, and will keep myself. It is the truth of Christ in me, that this glory shall not be infringed in me in the regions of Achaia. Wherefore? because I love you not? God knoweth. But what I do, I also mean to do, that I may cut off occasion from them which seek occasion, that wherein they glory they may be found as also we.* Of this occasion, therefore, which he here saith that he cuts off, he would have that understood which he saith in the former place, *Neither for occasion of*

Rom.16, 18.

2Cor.11, 7—12.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

covetousness, God is witness. And what he here saith, *In humbling myself that ye might be exalted:* this in the first to the same Corinthians, *I became to the weak as weak;* this to the Thessalonians, *I became small among you, as a nurse cherisheth her children.* Now then observe what follows: *So,* saith he, *being affectionately desirous of you, we are minded to impart unto you not alone the Gospel of God, but our own souls also; because ye are become most dear to us. For ye remember, brethren, our labour and toil, night and day working, that we might not burden any of you.* For this he said above, *When we might be burdensome to you, as Christ's Apostles.* Because, then, the weak were in peril, lest, agitated by false suspicions, they should hate an, as it were, venal Gospel, for this cause, trembling for them as with a father's and a mother's bowels of compassion, did he this thing. So too in the Acts of the Apostles he speaks the same thing, when, sending from Miletus to Ephesus, he had called thence the presbyters of the Church, to whom, among much else, *Silver,* saith he, *and gold, or apparel of no man have I coveted; yourselves know, that to my necessities and theirs who were with me these hands have ministered. In all things have I shewn you that so labouring it behoveth to help the weak, mindful also of the words of the Lord Jesus, for that He said, More blessed is it rather to give than to receive.*

1 Thess. 2, 7—9.

Acts 20, 33—35.

xiii. 14. Here peradventure some man may say, 'If it was bodily work that the Apostle wrought, whereby to sustain this life, what was that same work, and when did he find time for it, both to work and to preach the Gospel?' To whom I answer: Suppose I do not know; nevertheless that he did bodily work, and thereby lived in the flesh, and did not use the power which the Lord had given to the Apostles, that preaching the Gospel he should live by the Gospel, those things abovesaid do without all doubt bear witness. For it is not either in one place or briefly said, that it should be possible for any most astute arguer with all his tergiversation to traduce and pervert it to another meaning. Since then so great an authority, with so mighty and so frequent blows mauling the gainsayers, doth break in pieces their contrariness, why ask they of me either what sort of work he

did, or when he did it? One thing I know, that he neither did steal, nor was a housebreaker or highwayman, nor chariot-driver or hunter or player, nor given to filthy lucre: but innocently and honestly wrought things which are fitted for the uses of men; such as are the works of carpenters, builders, shoemakers, peasants, and such like. For honesty itself reprehends not what their pride doth reprehend, who love to be called, but love not to be, honest. The Apostle then would not disdain either to take in hand any work of peasants, or to be employed in the labour of craftsmen. For he who saith, *Be ye without offence to Jews and to Greeks and to the Church of God*, before what men he could possibly stand abashed, I know not. If they shall say, the Jews; the Patriarchs fed cattle: if the Greeks, whom we call also Pagans; they have had philosophers, held in high honour, who were shoemakers: if the Church of God; that just man, elect to the testimony of a conjugal and ever-during virginity, to whom was betrothed the Virgin Mary who bore Christ, was a carpenter. Whatever therefore of these with innocence and without fraud men do work, is good. For the Apostle himself takes precaution of this, that no man through necessity of sustaining life should turn aside to evil works. *Let him that stole*, saith he, *steal no more; but rather let him labour good with his hands, that he may have to impart to him that needeth.* This then is enough to know, that also in the very work of the body the Apostle did work that which is good.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

1 Cor. 10, 32.

Mat. 13, 55.

Eph. 4, 28.

15. But when he might use to work, that is, in what spaces of time, that he might not be hindered from preaching the Gospel, who can make out? Though, truly, that he wrought at hours of both day and night himself hath not left untold. Yet these men truly, who as though very full of business and occupation inquire about the time of working, what do they? Have they from Jerusalem round about even to Illyricum filled the lands with the Gospel? or whatever of barbarian nations hath remained yet to be gone unto, and to be filled of the peace of the Church, have they undertaken? We know them into a certain holy society most leisurely gathered together. A marvellous thing did the Apostle, that in very deed amid his so great care of all the Churches, both

1 Thess. 2, 9. 2 Thess. 3, 8. xiv. Rom. 15, 19.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

planted and to be planted, to his care and labour appertaining, he did also with his hands work: yet on that account, when he was with the Corinthians, and wanted, was burdensome to no man of those among whom he was, but altogether that which was lacking to him the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied.

2 Cor. 11, 9.

XV. 16. For he himself also, with an eye to the like necessities of saints, who, although they obey his precepts, *that with silence they work and eat their own bread*, may yet from many causes stand in need of somewhat by way of supplement to the like sustenance, therefore, after he had thus said, teaching and premonishing, *Now them which are such we command and beseech in our Lord Jesus Christ, that with silence they work and eat their own bread;* yet, lest they which had whereof they might supply the needs of the servants of God, should hence take occasion to wax lazy, providing against this he hath straightway added, *But ye, brethren, become not weak in shewing beneficence*[1]. And when he was writing to Titus, saying, *Zenas the lawyer and Apollos do thou diligently send forward, that nothing may be wanting to them;* that he might shew from what quarter nothing ought to be wanting to them, he straightway subjoined, *But let ours also learn to maintain good works*[b] *for necessary use, that they be not unfruitful.* In the case of Timothy also, whom he calls his own most true[2] son, because he knew him weak of body, (as he shews, in advising him not to drink water, but to use a little wine for his stomach's sake and his often infirmities,) lest then haply, because in bodily work he could not labour, he being unwilling to stand in need of daily food at their hands, unto whom he ministered the Gospel, should seek some business in which the stress of his mind would become entangled; (for it is one thing to labour in body, with the mind free, as does a handicraftsman, if he be not fraudulent and avaricious and greedy of his own private gain; but another thing, to occupy the mind itself with cares of collecting money without the body's labour, as do either dealers, or bailiffs, or undertakers, for these with care of the mind conduct their business, not with their hands do work, and in that regard occupy their mind itself with

2 Thess. 3, 12.13.

[1] *infirmari benefacientes.* Tit. 3, 13. 14.

[2] 'germanissimum.' 1Tim. 1, 2. 1Tim. 5, 23.

[b] *bonis operibus præesse.* καλῶν ἔργων προΐστασθαι. E. V. in margin, '*profess honest trades.*'

solicitude of getting;) lest then Timothy should fall upon such like ways, because from weakness of body he could not work with his hands, he thus exhorts, admonishes, and comforts him: *Labour*, saith he, *as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. No man, going a warfare for God, entangleth himself with secular business; that he may please Him to whom he hath proved himself*[1]. *For he that striveth for masteries, is not crowned except he strive lawfully.* Hereupon, lest the other should be put to straits, saying, *Dig I cannot, to beg I am ashamed*, he adjoined, *The husbandman that laboureth must be first partaker of the fruits*: according to that which he had said to the Corinthians, *Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Who feedeth a flock, and partaketh not of the milk of the flock?* Thus did he make to be without care a chaste evangelist, not to that end working as an evangelist that he might sell the Gospel, but yet not having strength to supply unto himself with his own hands the necessities of this life; for that he should understand whatever being necessary for himself he was taking of them whom as provincials he as a soldier was serving, and whom as a vineyard he was culturing, or as a flock was feeding, to be not matter of mendicity, but of power.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

2 Tim. 2, 3—6.

[1] *cui se probavit.*

Luke 16, 3.

1 Cor. 9, 7.

17. On account then of these either occupations of the servants of God, or bodily infirmities, which cannot be altogether wanting, not only doth the Apostle permit the needs of saints to be supplied by good believers, but also most wholesomely exhorteth. For, setting apart that power, which he saith himself had not used, which yet that the faithful must serve unto, he enjoins, saying, *Let him that is catechized in the word, communicate unto him that doth catechize him, in all good things*: setting apart, then, this power, which that the preachers of the word have over them to whom they preach, he often testifieth; speaking, moreover, of the saints who had sold all that they had and distributed the same, and were dwelling at Jerusalem in an holy communion of life, not saying that any thing was their own, to whom all things were in common, and their soul and heart one in the Lord: that these by the Churches of the Gentiles should have what they needed bestowed upon them,

xvi.

Gal. 6, 6.

Acts 2, 44; 4, 32.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

he chargeth and exhorteth. Thence is also that to the Romans: *Now therefore I will go unto Jerusalem, to minister unto the saints. For it hath pleased Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor of the saints which are at Jerusalem. For it hath pleased them; and their debtors they are. For if in their spiritual things the Gentiles have communicated, they ought also in carnal things to minister unto them.* This is like that which he says to the Corinthians: *If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we reap your carnal things?* Also to the Corinthians in the second Epistle: *Moreover, brethren, we do you to wit of the grace of God bestowed on the Churches of Macedonia; how that in a great trial of affliction the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded in the riches of their liberality; for to their power, I bear record, yea, and beyond their power, they were willing of themselves; with many prayers beseeching of us the grace and the fellowship of the ministering to the saints: and not as we hoped, but first they gave their own selves to the Lord, and unto us by the will of God, insomuch that we desired Titus, that as he had begun, so he would also finish in you the same grace also. But as ye abound in every thing, in faith, and utterance, and knowledge, and in all diligence, and in your love to us, see that ye abound in this grace also. I speak not by commandment, but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the exceeding dearness of your love. For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor, that ye through His poverty might be made rich. And herein I give advice: for this is expedient for you, who have begun before, not only to do, but also to be willing a year ago; now therefore perfect it in the doing; that as there is a readiness to will, so of performance also out of that which each hath. For if there be first a ready mind, it is acceptable according to that a man hath, not according to that he hath not. Not, namely, that others may have ease, and ye straits: but by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may become a supply for your want: that there may be equality, as it is written, He that had gathered*

Rom. 15, 25—27.

1 Cor. 9, 11.

2 Cor. 8, 1—21.

much had nothing over; and he that had gathered little had no lack. But thanks be to God, which put the same earnest care for you into the heart of Titus: for indeed he accepted the exhortation; but being more forward, of his own accord he went forth unto you. And we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the Churches; and not that only, but he was also ordained of the Churches as a companion of our travail, with this grace which is administered by us to the glory of the Lord, and our ready mind: avoiding this, that no man should blame us in this abundance which is administered by us. For we provide for honest things, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men. In these words appeareth how much [a] the Apostle willed it not only to be the care of the holy congregations[1] to minister necessaries to the holy servants of God, giving counsel in this, because this was profitable more to the persons themselves who did this, than to them towards whom they did it, (for to those another thing was profitable, that is, that they should make of this service of their brethren towards them an holy use, and not with an eye to this serve God, nor take these things but to supply necessity, not to feed laziness:) but likewise his own care the blessed Apostle saith to be so great in this ministration which was now in transmitting through Titus, that a companion of his journey was on this account, he tells us, ordained by the Churches, a man of God well reported of, *whose praise*, says he, *is in the Gospel throughout all the Churches.* And to this end, he says, was the same ordained to be his companion, that he might avoid men's reprehensions, lest, without witness of saints associated with him in this ministry, he should be thought by weak and impious men to receive for himself and turn aside into his own bosom, what he was receiving for supplying the necessities of the saints, by him to be brought and distributed to the needy.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

[1] plebium

18. And a little after he saith, *For as touching the ministering to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write to you. For I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia* 2 Cor. 9.

[a] Read perhaps 'quantam;' 'how great the Apostle willed to be the care.'

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

2 Cor. 9.

was ready a year ago; and your zeal hath provoked very many. Yet have we sent the brethren, lest our boasting of you should be in vain in this behalf; that, as I said, ye may be ready: lest haply if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not, ye) should be ashamed in this substance. Therefore I thought it necessary to exhort the brethren, that they would go before unto you, and make up beforehand this your long promised benediction, that the same might be ready, as benediction, and not as covetousness. But this I say, He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth in benediction shall reap also in benediction. Every man according as he hath purposed in his heart, not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver. And God is able to make all grace abound in you; that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work: as it is written, He hath dispersed abroad; he hath given to the poor: his righteousness remaineth for ever. But He that ministereth seed to the sower will both minister bread for your food, and multiply your seed sown, and increase the growing fruits of your righteousness; that ye may be enriched in every thing to all bountifulness, which causeth through us thanksgiving to God: for the administration of this service not only supplieth the want of the saints, but makes them also to abound by thanksgiving unto God of many, whiles by the proof of this ministration they glorify God for the obedience of your confession unto the Gospel of Christ, and for your liberal distribution unto them, and unto all men; and in the praying for you of them which long after you for the excellent grace of God in you. Thanks be unto God for His unspeakable gift. In what richness of holy gladness must the Apostle have been steeped, while he speaks of the mutual supply of the need of Christ's soldiers and His other subjects[1], on the one part of carnal things to those, on the other of spiritual things to these, to exclaim as he does, and as it were in repletion of holy joys to burst out[2] with, *Thanks be to God for His unspeakable gift!*

[1] 'provincialium'

[2] 'eructuare'

19. As therefore the Apostle, nay rather the Spirit of God possessing and filling and actuating his heart, ceased not to exhort the faithful who had such substance, that nothing

should be lacking to the necessities of the servants of God, who wished to hold a more lofty degree of sanctity in the Church, in cutting off all ties of secular hope, and dedicating a mind at liberty to their godly service of warfare: likewise ought themselves also to obey his precepts, in sympathising with the weak, and unshackled by love of private wealth, to labour with their hands for the common good, and submit to their superiors without a murmur; that there may be made up for them out of the oblations of good believers that which, while they labour and do some work whereby they may get their living, yet still by reason of bodily infirmities of some, and by reason of ecclesiastical occupations or erudition of the doctrine which bringeth salvation, they shall account to be lacking.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

xvii. 20. For what these men are about, who will not do bodily work, to what thing they give up their time, I should like to know. 'To prayers,' say they, 'and psalms, and reading, and the word of God.' A holy life, unquestionably, and in sweetness of Christ worthy of praise; but then, if from these we are not to be called off, neither must we eat, nor our daily viands themselves be prepared, that they may be put before us and taken. Now if to find time for these things the servants of God at certain intervals of times by very infirmity are of necessity compelled, why do we not make account of some portions of times to be allotted also to the observance of Apostolical precepts? For one single prayer of one who obeyeth is sooner heard than ten thousand of a despiser. As for divine songs, however, they can easily, even while working with their hands, say them, and like as rowers with a boat-song [1], so with godly melody cheer up their very toil. Or are we ignorant how it is with all workmen, to what vanities, and for the most part even filthinesses, of theatrical fables they give their hearts and tongues, while their hands recede not from their work? What then hinders a servant of God while working with his hands to meditate in the law of the Lord, and sing unto the Name of the Lord Most High? Ps. 1, 2. 13, 6. provided, of course, that to learn what he may by memory rehearse, he have times set apart. For to this end also those good works of the faithful ought not to be lacking, for resource of making up what is necessary, that the hours

[1] celeumate.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

which are so taken up in storing of the mind that those bodily works cannot be carried on, may not oppress with want. But they which say that they give up their time to reading, do they not there find that which the Apostle enjoineth? Then what perversity is this, to refuse to be ruled by his reading while he wishes to give up his time thereto; and that he may spend more time in reading what is good, therefore to refuse to do what is read? For who knows not that each doth the more quickly profit when he reads good things, the quicker he is in doing what he reads?

xviii. 21. Moreover, if discourse must be bestowed upon any, and this so take up the speaker that he have not time to work with his hands, are all in the monastery able to hold discourse unto brethren which come unto them from another kind of life, whether it be to expound the divine lessons, or concerning any questions which may be put, to reason in an wholesome manner? Then since not all have the ability, why upon this pretext do all want to have nothing else to do? Although even if all were able, they ought to do it by turns; not only that the rest might not be taken up from necessary works, but also because it sufficeth that to many hearers there be one speaker. To come now to the Apostle; how could he find time to work with his hands, unless for the bestowing of the word of God he had certain set times? And indeed God hath not willed this either to be hidden from us. For both of what craft he was a workman, and at what times he was taken up with dispensing the Gospel, holy Scripture has not left untold. Namely, when the day of his departure caused him to be in haste, being at Troas, even on the first day of the week when the brethren were assembled to break bread, such was his earnestness, and so necessary the disputation, that his discourse was prolonged even until midnight, as though it had slipped from their minds that on that day it was not a fast[f]: but when he was making longer stay in any place and disputing daily, who can doubt that he had certain hours set apart for this office? For at

Acts 20, 7.

[f] S. Augustine therefore assumes that the Christians of the Apostolic age did not break their fast before receiving the Eucharist. See St. Chrys. on Stat. Hôm. ix. §. 2. Tr. p. 159, and note g.

Athens, because he had there found most studious inquirers of things, it is thus written of him: *He disputed therefore with the Jews in the synagogue, and with the Gentile inhabitants*[g] *in the market every day to those who were there.* Not, namely, in the synagogue every day, for there it was his custom to discourse on the sabbath; but *in the market,* saith he, *every day;* by reason, doubtless, of the studiousness of the Athenians. For so it follows: *Certain however of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers conferred with him.* And a little after, it says: *Now the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing.* Let us suppose him all those days that he was at Athens not to have worked: on this account, indeed, was his need supplied from Macedonia, as he says in the second to the Corinthians: though in fact he could work both at other hours and of nights, because he was so strong in both mind and body. But when he had gone from Athens, let us see what says the Scripture: *He disputed,* saith it, *in the synagogue every sabbath;* this at Corinth. In Troas, however, where through necessity of his departure being close at hand, his discourse was protracted until midnight, it was the first day of the week, which is called the Lord's Day: whence we understand that he was not with Jews but with Christians; when also the narrator himself saith they were gathered together to break bread. And indeed this same is the best management, that all things be distributed to their times and be done in order, lest becoming ravelled in perplexing entanglements, they throw our human mind into confusion.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM. Acts 17, 17. 18. 21. 2 Cor. 11, 9. Acts 18, 4.

22. There also is said at what work the Apostle wrought. *After these things,* it says, *he departed from Athens and came to Corinth; and having found a certain Jew, by name Aquila, of Pontus by birth, lately come from Italy, and Priscilla his wife, because that Claudius had ordered all Jews to depart from Rome, he came unto them, and because he was of the same craft he abode with them, doing work: for they were tent-makers.* This if they shall essay to in- xix. Acts 18, 1—3.

g Τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πρὸς τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας. For καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις Aug. has *et Gentibus incolis*: for which some Mss. have *Gentibus in viculis.*

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

terpret allegorically, they shew what proficients they be in ecclesiastical learning, on which they glory that they bestow all their time. And, at the least, touching those sayings above recited, *Or I only and Barnabas, have we not power to forbear working?* and, *We have not used this power;* and, *When we might be burdensome to you, as Apostles of Christ;* and, *Night and day working that we might not burden any of you;* and, *The Lord hath ordained for them which preach the Gospel, of the Gospel to live; but I have used none of these things:* and the rest of this kind, let them either expound otherwise, or if by most clear shining light of truth they be put to it, let them understand and obey; or if to obey they be either unwilling or unable, at least let them own them which be willing, to be better, and them which be also able, to be happier men than they. For it is one thing to plead infirmity of body, either truly alleged, or falsely pretended: but another so to be deceived and so to deceive, that it shall even be thought a proof of righteousness obtaining more mightily in servants of God, if laziness have gotten power to reign among a set of ignorant men. He, namely, who shews a true infirmity of body, must be humanely dealt withal; he who pretends a false one, and cannot be convicted, must be left unto God: yet neither of them fixeth a pernicious rule; because a good servant of God both serves his manifestly infirm brother; and, when the other deceives, if he believes him because he does not think him a bad man, he does not imitate him that he may be bad; and if he believe him not, he thinks him deceitful, and does, nevertheless, not imitate him. But when a man says, 'This is true righteousness, that by doing no bodily work we imitate the birds of the air; because he who shall do any such work, goes against the Gospel:' whoso being infirm in mind hears and believes this, that person, not for that he so bestows all his time, but for that he so erreth, must be mourned over.

1 Cor. 9, 6—12. 1 Thess. 2, 6. 2 Thess. 3, 8. 1 Cor. 9, 14. 15.

xx. 23. Hence arises another question; for peradventure one may say, 'What then? did the other Apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas, sin, in that they did not work? Or did they occasion an hindrance to the Gospel, because blessed Paul saith that he had not used this power

on purpose that he might not cause any hindrance to the Gospel of Christ? For if they sinned because they wrought not, then had they not received power not to work, but to live instead by the Gospel. But if they had received this power, by ordinance of the Lord, that they which preach the Gospel should live by the Gospel; and by His saying, *The workman is worthy of his meat;* which power Paul, laying out somewhat more[1], would not use; then truly they sinned not. If they sinned not, they caused no hindrance. For it is not to be thought no sin to hinder the Gospel. If this be so, 'to us also,' say they, 'it is free either to use or not to use this power.' DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

[1] amplius aliquid erogans. Luke 10, 35.

24. This question I should briefly solve, if I should say, because I should also justly say, that we must believe the Apostle. For he himself knew why in the Churches of the Gentiles it was not meet that a venal Gospel were carried about; not finding fault with his fellow-apostles, but distinguishing his own ministry; because they, without doubt by admonition of the Holy Ghost, had so distributed among them the provinces of evangelizing, that Paul and Barnabas should go unto the Gentiles, and they unto the Circumcision. But that he gave this precept to them who had not the like power, those many things already said do make manifest. But these brethren of ours rashly arrogate unto themselves, so far as I can judge, that they have this kind of power. For if they be evangelists, I confess, they have it: if ministers of the altar, dispensers of sacraments, of course it is no arrogating to themselves, but a plain vindicating of a right. Acts 13, 2. Gal. 2, 9. xxi.

25. If at the least they once had in this world wherewithal they might easily without handiwork sustain this life, which property, when they were converted unto God, they disparted to the needy, then must we both believe their infirmity, and bear with it. For usually such persons, having been, not better brought up, as many think, but what is the truth, more languidly brought up, are not able to bear the labour of bodily works. Such peradventure were many in Jerusalem. For it is also written, that they sold their houses and lands, and laid the prices of them at the Apostles' feet, that distribution might be made to every one as he had need. Because Acts 2, 45; 4, 34.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM. xxii.

they were found, being near, and were useful to the Gentiles, who, being afar off, were thence called from the worship of idols, as it is said, *Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem*, therefore hath the Apostle called the Christians of the Gentiles their debtors: *their debtors*, saith he, *they are:* and hath added the reason why, *For if in their spiritual things the Gentiles have communicated, they ought also in carnal things to minister unto them.* But now there come into this profession of the service of God, both persons from the condition of slaves, or also freed-men, or persons on this account freed by their masters or about to be freed, likewise from the life of peasants, and from the exercise and plebeian labour of handicraftsmen, persons whose bringing up doubtless has been all the better for them, the harder it has been: whom not to admit, is a heavy sin. For many of that sort have turned out truly great men and meet to be imitated. For on this account also *hath God chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty, and the foolish things of the world hath He chosen to confound them who are wise; and ignoble things of the world, and things which are not, as though they were, that the things that are may be brought to nought: that no flesh may glory before God.* This pious and holy thought, accordingly, causeth that even such be admitted as bring no proof of a change of life for the better. For it doth not appear whether they come of purpose for the service of God, or whether running away empty from a poor and laborious life they want to be fed and clothed; yea, moreover, to be honoured by them of whom they were wont to be despised and trampled on. Such persons therefore because they cannot excuse themselves from working by pleading infirmity of body, seeing they are convicted by the custom of their past life, do therefore shelter themselves under the screen of an ill scholarship, that from the Gospel badly understood they should essay to pervert precepts apostolical: truly 'fowls of the air,' but in lifting themselves on high through pride; and 'grass of the field,' but in being carnally minded.

Acts 2, 39. Is. 2, 3. Rom. 15, 27. 1 Cor. 1, 27—29.

26. That, namely, befalleth them which in undisciplined younger widows, the same Apostle saith must be avoided:

And withal they learn to be idle; and not only idle, but also busy-bodies and full of words, speaking what they ought not. This very thing said he concerning evil women, which we also in evil men do mourn and bewail, who against him, the very man in whose Epistles we read these things, do, being idle and full of words, speak what they ought not. And if there be any among them who did with that purpose come to the holy warfare, that they may please Him to whom they have proved themselves, these, when they be so vigorous in strength of body, and soundness of health, that they are able not only to be taught, but also, agreeably unto the Apostle, to work, do, by receiving of these men's idle and corrupt discourses, which they are unable, by reason of their unskilled rawness, to judge of, become changed by pestiferous contagion into the same noisomeness: not only not imitating the obedience of saints which quietly work, and of other monasteries which in most wholesome discipline do live after the apostolic rule; but also insulting better men than themselves, preaching up laziness as the keeper of the Gospel, accusing mercy as the prevaricator therefrom. For a much more merciful work is it to the souls of the weak, to consult for the fair fame of the servants of God, than it is to the bodies of men, to break bread to the hungry. Wherefore I would to God that these, which want to let their hands lie idle, would altogether let their tongues lie idle too. For they would not make so many willing to imitate them, if the examples they set were not merely lazy ones, but mute withal.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

1 Tim. 5, 13.

2 Tim. 2, 4.

Cassian. de Inst. 10, 22.

27. As it is, however, they, against the Apostle of Christ, xxiii. recite a Gospel of Christ. For so marvellous are the works of the sluggards, hindered that they want to have that very thing by Gospel, which the Apostle enjoined and did on purpose that the Gospel itself should not be hindered. And yet, if from the very words of the Gospel we should compel them to live agreeably with their way of understanding it, they will be the first to endeavour to persuade us how they are not to be understood so as they do understand them. For certainly, they say that they therefore ought not to work, for that the birds of the air neither sow nor reap, of which the Lord hath given us a similitude that we should take no

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

Matt. 6, 26.

thought about such necessaries. Then why do they not attend to that which follows? For it is not only said, that *they sow not, neither reap;* but there is added, *nor gather* "in apothecas." Now *apothecæ* may be called either "barns," or word for word, "repositories." Then why do these persons want to have idle hands and full repositories? Why do they lay by and keep what they receive of the labours of others, that thereof may be every day somewhat forthcoming? Why, in short, do they grind and cook? For the birds do not this. Or, if they find some whom they may persuade to this work also, namely, to bring unto them day by day viands ready made; at least their water they either fetch them from springs, or from cisterns and wells draw and set it by: this the fowls do not. But if so please them, let it be the study of good believers and most devoted subjects of the Eternal King, to carry their service to His most valiant soldiers even to that length, that they shall not be forced even to fill a vessel of water for themselves, if now-a-days people have surpassed even them which at that time were at Jerusalem, in a new grade of righteousness, stepping out beyond them. To them, namely, by reason of famine being imminent, and foretold by the Prophets which were at that time, good believers sent out of Greece supplies of corn; of which I suppose they made them bread, or at least procured to be made; which thing the birds do not. But if now-a-days these persons, as I began to say, have surpassed these in some grade of righteousness, and do altogether in things pertaining to the maintenance of this life, as do the birds; let them shew us men doing such service unto birds as they wish to be done unto them, except indeed birds caught and caged because they are not trusted, lest if they fly they come not back: and yet these would rather enjoy liberty and receive from the fields what is enough, than take their food by men laid before them and made ready.

Acts 11, 28—30.

28. Here then shall these persons in their turn be in another more sublime degree of righteousness outdone, by them who shall so order themselves, that every day they shall betake them into the fields as unto pasture, and at what time they shall find it, pick up their meal, and having

allayed their hunger, return. But plainly, on account of the keepers of the fields, how good were it, if the Lord should deign to bestow wings also, that the servants of God being found in other men's fields should not be taken up as thieves, but as starlings be scared off. As things are, however, such an one will do all he can to be like a bird, which the fowler shall not be able to catch. But, lo, let all men allow this to the servants of God, that when they will they should go forth into their fields, and thence depart fearless and refreshed: as it was ordered to the people Israel by the law, that none should lay hands on a thief in his fields, unless he wanted to carry any thing away with him from thence; for if he laid hands on nothing but what he had eaten, they would let him go away free and unpunished. Whence also when the disciples of the Lord plucked the ears of corn, the Jews calumniated them on the score of the sabbath rather than of theft. But how is one to manage about those times of year, at which food that can be taken on the spot is not found in the fields? Whoso shall attempt to take home with him any thing which by cooking he may prepare for himself, he shall, according to these persons' understanding of it, be accosted from the Gospel with, 'Put it down; for this the birds do not.'

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

Deut. 23, 24. 25.

Mat. 12, 1. 2.

29. But let us grant this also, that the whole year round there may in the fields be found either of tree or of herbs or of any manner of roots, that which may be taken as food uncooked; or, at any rate, let so great exercise of body be used, that the things which require cooking, may be taken even raw without hurt, and people may even in winter weather, no matter how rough, go forth to their fodder; and so it shall be the case that nothing be taken away to be prepared, nothing laid up for the morrow. Yet will not those men be able to keep these rules, who for many days separating themselves from sight of men, and allowing none access to them, do shut themselves up, living in great earnestness of prayers. For these do use to shut up with themselves store of aliments, such indeed as are most easily and cheaply had, yet still a store which may suffice for those days during which they purpose that no man shall see them; which thing the birds do not. Now touching these men's

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

exercising of themselves in so marvellous continency, seeing that they have leisure for the doing of these things, and not in proud elation but in merciful sanctity do propose themselves for men's imitation, I not only do not blame it, but know not how to praise it as much as it deserves. And yet what are we to say of such men, according to these persons' understanding of the evangelic words? Or haply the holier they be, the more unlike are they to the fowls? because unless they lay by for themselves food for many days, to shut themselves up as they do they will not have strength? Howbeit, to them as well as us is it said, *Take therefore no thought for the morrow.*

Matt. 6, 34.

30. Wherefore, that I may briefly embrace the whole matter, let these persons, who from perverse understanding of the Gospel labour to pervert apostolical precepts, either take no thought for the morrow, even as the birds of the air; or let them obey the Apostle, as dear children: yea rather, let them do both, because both accord. For things contrary to his Lord, Paul the servant of Jesus Christ would never advise. This then we say openly to these persons; If the birds of the air ye in such wise understand in the Gospel, that ye will not by working with your hands procure food and clothing; then neither must ye put any thing by for the morrow, like as the birds of the air do put nothing by. But if to put somewhat by for the morrow, is possibly not against the Gospel where it is said, *Behold the birds of the air, for they neither sow nor reap nor gather into stores;* then is it possibly not against the Gospel nor against similitude of the birds of the air, to maintain this life of the flesh by labour of corporal working.

Rom. 1, 1.

Matt. 6, 26.

xxiv. 31. For if they be urged from the Gospel that they should put nothing by for the morrow, they most rightly answer, 'Why then had the Lord Himself a bag in which to put by the money which was collected? Why so long time beforehand, on occasion of impending famine, were supplies of corn sent to the holy fathers? Why did Apostles in such wise provide things necessary for the indigence of saints lest there should be lack thereafter, that most blessed Paul should thus write to the Corinthians in his Epistle: *Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given*

John 12, 6.

Acts 11, 28—30.

1 Cor. 16, 1—4.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

order to the Churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that the gatherings be not then first made when I come. And when I come, whomsoever ye shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem. And if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me? These and much else they most copiously and most truly bring forward. To whom we answer: Ye see then, albeit the Lord said, *Take no thought for the morrow*, yet ye are not by these words constrained to reserve nothing for the morrow: then why do ye say that by the same words ye are constrained to do nothing? Why are the birds of the air not a pattern unto you for reserving nothing, and ye will have them to be a pattern for working nothing?

32. Some man will say: 'What then does it profit a servant of God, that, having left the former doings which he had in the world he is converted unto the spiritual life and warfare, if it still behove him to do business as of a common workman?' As if truly it could be easily unfolded in words, how greatly profiteth what the Lord, in answer to that rich man who was seeking counsel of laying hold on eternal life, told him to do if he would fain be perfect: sell that he had, distribute all to the indigence of the poor, and follow Him? Or who with so unimpeded course hath followed the Lord, as he who saith, *Not in vain have I run, nor in vain laboured?* who yet both enjoined these works, and did them. This unto us, being by so great authority taught and informed, ought to suffice for a pattern of relinquishing our old resources, and of working with our hands. But we too, aided by the Lord Himself, are able perchance in some sort to apprehend what it doth still profit the servants of God to have left their former businesses, while they do yet thus work. For if a person from being rich is converted to this mode of life, and is hindered by no infirmity of body, are we so without taste of the savour of Christ, as not to understand what an healing it is to the swelling of the old pride, when, having pared off the superfluities by which erewhile the mind was deadly inflamed, he refuses not, for the procuring of that little which is still naturally necessary

xxv.

Mat. 19, 21.

Phil. 2, 16.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

for this present life, even a common workman's lowly toil? If however he be from a poor estate converted unto this manner of life, let him not account himself to be doing that which he was doing aforetime, if foregoing the love of even increasing his ever so small matter of private substance, and now no more seeking his own but the things which be Jesu Christ's, he hath translated himself into the charity of a life in common, to live in fellowship of them who have one soul and one heart to Godward, so that no man saith that any thing is his own, but they have all things common. For if in this earthly commonwealth its chief men in the old times did, as their own men of letters are wont in their most glowing phrase to tell of them, to that degree prefer the common weal of the whole people of their city and country to their own private affairs, that one of them, for subduing of Africa honoured with a triumph, would have had nothing to give to his daughter on her marriage, unless by decree of the senate she had been dowered from the public treasury: of what mind ought he to be towards his commonwealth, who is a citizen of that eternal City, the heavenly Jerusalem, but that even what with labour of his own hands he earns, he should have in common with his brother, and if the same lack any thing, supply it from the common store; saying with him whose precept and example he hath followed, *As having nothing, and possessing all things?*

Phil. 2, 21.

Acts 4, 32.

Scipio ap. Val. iv. 4.

2 Cor. 6, 10.

33. Wherefore even they which having relinquished or distributed their former, whether ample or in any sort opulent, means, have chosen with pious and wholesome humility to be numbered among the poor of Christ; if they be so strong in body and free from ecclesiastical occupations, (albeit, bringing as they do so great a proof of their purpose, and conferring from their former havings, either very much, or not a little, upon the indigence of the same society, the common fund itself and brotherly charity owes them in return a sustenance of their life,) yet if they too work with their hands, that they may take away all excuse from lazy brethren who come from a more humble condition in life, and therefore one more used to toil; therein they act far more mercifully than when they divided all their goods to

the needy. If indeed they be unwilling to do this, who can venture to compel them? Yet then there ought to be found for them works in the monastery, which if more free from bodily exercise, require to be looked unto with vigilant administration, that not even they may eat their bread for nought, because it is nów become the common property. Nor is it to be regarded in what monasteries, or in what place, any man may have bestowed his former having upon his indigent brethren. For all Christians make one commonwealth. And for that cause whoso shall have, no matter in what place, expended upon Christians the things they needed, in what place soever he also receiveth what himself hath need of, from Christ's goods[1] he doth receive it. Because in what place soever himself has given to such, who but Christ received it? But, as for them who before they entered this holy society got their living by labour of the body, of which sort are the more part of them which come into monasteries, because of mankind also the more part are such; if they will not work, neither let them eat. For not to that end are the rich, in this Christian warfare, brought low unto piety, that the poor may be lifted up unto pride. As indeed it is by no means seemly that in that mode of life where senators become men of toil, there common workmen should become men of leisure; and whereunto there come, relinquishing their dainties, men who had been masters of houses and lands, there common peasants should be dainty.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

[1] de Christi

34. 'But then the Lord saith, *Be not solicitous for your life what ye shall eat, nor for the body, what ye shall put on.*' Rightly: because He had said above, *Ye cannot serve God and mammon.* For he who preaches the Gospel with an eye to this, that he may have whereof he may eat and whereof be clothed, accounts that he at the same time both serves God, because he preaches the Gospel; and mammon, because he preaches with an eye to these necessaries: which thing the Lord saith to be impossible. And hereby he who doth for the sake of these things preach the Gospel is convicted that he serves not God but mammon; however God may use him, he knows not how, to other men's advancement. For to this sentence doth He subjoin, saying, *Therefore I say unto you, Be not solicitous for your life* xxvi.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

what ye shall eat, nor for your body what ye shall put on: not that they should not procure these things, as much as is enough for necessity. by what means they honestly may; but that they should not look to these things, and for the sake of these do whatever in preaching of the Gospel they are bidden to do. The intention, namely, for which a thing is done, He calls the eye: of which a little above He was speaking with purpose to come down to this, and saying, *The light of thy body is thine eye: if thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light; but if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness*; that is, such will be thy deeds as shall be thine intention for which thou doest them. For indeed that He might come to this, He had before given precept concerning alms, saying, *Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth where rust and moth doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. For where thy treasure shall be, there will thy heart be also.* Thereupon He subjoined, *The light of thy body is thine eye:* that they, to wit, which do alms, do them not with that intention that they should either wish to please men, or seek to have repayment on earth of the alms they do. Whence the Apostle, giving charge to Timothy for warning of rich men, *Let them*, says he, *readily give, communicate, treasure up for themselves a good foundation for the time to come, that they may lay hold on the true life.* Since then the Lord hath to the future life directed the eye of them which do alms, and to an heavenly reward, in order that the deeds themselves may be full of light when the eye shall be simple, (for of that last retribution is meant that which He says in another place, *He that receiveth you receiveth Me, and he that receiveth Me receiveth Him that sent Me. He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward. And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, his reward shall not be lost;*) lest haply after he had reproved

Matt. 6, 19—22.

1 Tim. 6, 18. 19.

Mat. 10, 40—42.

the eye[1] of them which bestow things needful upon the indigent both prophets and just men and disciples of the Lord, the eye of the persons to whom these things were done should become depraved, so that for the sake of receiving these things they should wish to serve Christ as His soldiers: *No man*, saith He, *can serve two masters.* And a little after: *Ye cannot*, saith He, *serve God and mammon.* And straightway He hath added, *Therefore I say unto you, be not solicitous for your life what ye shall eat, nor for the body what ye shall put on.*

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

1 Correpto oculo

Matt. 6, 24.

ib. 34.

35. And that which follows concerning birds of the air and lilies of the field, He saith to this end, that no man may think that God careth not for the needs of His servants; when His most wise Providence reacheth unto these in creating and governing those. For it must not be deemed that it is not He that feeds and clothes them also which work with their hands. But lest they turn aside the Christian service of warfare unto their purpose of getting these things, the Lord in this premonisheth His servants that in this ministry which is due to His Sacrament, we should take thought, not for these, but for His kingdom and righteousness: and all these things shall be added unto us, whether working by our hands, or whether by infirmity of body hindered from working, or whether bound by such occupation of our very warfare that we are able to do nothing else. For neither does it follow that because the Lord hath said, *Call upon Me in the day of tribulation and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me*, therefore the Apostle ought not to have fled, and to be let down by the wall in a basket that he might escape the hands of a pursuer, but should rather have waited to be taken, that, like the three children from the midst of the fires, the Lord might deliver him. Or for this reason ought not the Lord either to have said this, *If they shall persecute you in one city, flee ye to another*, namely, because He hath said, *If ye shall ask of the Father any thing in My name, He will give it you.* As then whoever to Christ's disciples when fleeing from persecution should cast up this sort of question, why they did not rather stand, and by calling upon God obtain through His marvellous works in such wise deliverance, as Daniel from the lions, as

xxvii.

Ps. 50, 15.

Acts 9, 25.

2 Cor. 11, 33.

Mat. 10, 23.

John 16, 23.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

Peter from his chains, they would answer that they ought not to tempt God, but He would then and then only do the like for them, if it should please Him, when they had nothing that they could do; but when He put flight in their power, although they were thereby delivered, yet were they not delivered but by Him: so likewise to servants of God having time and strength after the example and precept of the Apostle to get their living by their own hands, if any from the Gospel shall raise a question concerning the birds of the air, which sow not nor reap nor gather into stores, and concerning lilies of the field that they toil not neither do they spin; they will easily answer, 'If we also, by reason of any either infirmity or occupation cannot work, He will so feed and clothe us, as He doth the birds and the lilies, which do no work of this kind: but when we are able, we ought not to tempt our God; because this very ability of ours, we have it by His gift, and in living by it, we live by His bounty Who hath bounteously bestowed upon us that we should have this ability. And therefore concerning these necessary things we are not solicitous; because when we are able to do these things, He by Whom mankind are fed and clothed doth feed and clothe us: but when we are not able to do these things, He feeds and clothes us by Whom the birds are fed and the lilies clothed, because we are more worth than they. Wherefore in this our warfare, neither for the morrow take we thought: because not for the sake of these temporal things, whereunto pertaineth To-morrow, but for the sake of those eternal things, where it is evermore To-day, have we proved ourselves unto Him, that, entangled in no secular business, we may please Him.

2 Tim. 2, 4.

xxviii. 36. Since these things are so, suffer me awhile, holy brother, (for the Lord giveth me through thee great boldness,) to address these same our sons and brethren whom I know with what love thou together with us dost travail in birth withal, until the Apostolic discipline be formed in them. O servants of God, soldiers of Christ, is it thus ye dissemble the plottings of our most crafty foe, who fearing your good fame, that so goodly odour of Christ, lest good souls should say, *We will run after the odour of thine ointments*, and so should escape his snares, and in every way desiring to obscure

Cant. 1, 3. 4.

it with his own stenches, hath dispersed on every side so many hypocrites under the garb of monks, strolling about the provinces, no where sent, no where fixed, no where standing, no where sitting. Some hawking about limbs of martyrs, if indeed of martyrs; others magnifying their fringes and phylacteries; others with a lying story, how they have heard say that their parents or kinsmen are alive in this or that country, and therefore be they on their way to them: and all asking, all exacting, either the costs of their lucrative want, or the price of their pretended sanctity. And in the meanwhile wheresoever they be found out in their evil deeds, or in whatever way they become notorious, under the general name of monks, your purpose is blasphemed, a purpose so good, so holy, that in Christ's name we desire it, as through other lands so through all Africa, to grow and flourish. Then are ye not inflamed with godly jealousy? Does not your heart wax hot within you, and in your meditation a fire kindle, that these men's evil works ye should pursue with good works, that ye should cut off from them occasion of a foul trafficking, by which your estimation is hurt, and a stumbling-block put before the weak? Have mercy then and have compassion, and shew to mankind that ye are not seeking in ease a ready subsistence, but through the strait and narrow way of this purpose, are seeking the kingdom of God. Ye have the same cause which the Apostle had, to cut off occasion from them which seek occasion, that they who by their stinks are suffocated, by your good odour may be refreshed.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM. Reg. S. Ben. c. 1. Cass. Coll. xviii. 7.

Ps. 39, 3.

37. We are not binding heavy burthens and laying them upon your shoulders, while we with a finger will not touch them. Seek out, and acknowledge the labour of our occupations, and in some of us the infirmities of our bodies also, and in the Churches which we serve, that custom now grown up, that they do not suffer us to have time ourselves for those works to which we exhort you. For though we might say, *Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Who feedeth a flock, and partaketh not of the milk of the flock?* yet I call our Lord Jesus, in Whose name I fearlessly say these things, for a witness upon my soul, that so far as it

xxix.

1 Cor. 9, 7.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

Reg. S. Ben. c. 48.

concerns mine own convenience, I would much rather every day at certain hours, as much as is appointed by rule in well-governed monasteries, do some work with my hands, and have the remaining hours free for reading and praying, or some work pertaining to Divine Letters, than have to bear these most annoying perplexities of other men's causes about secular matters, which we must either by adjudication bring to an end, or by intervention cut short. Which troubles the same Apostle hath fastened us withal, (not by his own sentence, but by His who spake through him,) while yet we do not read that he had to put up with them himself: indeed his was not the sort of work to admit of it, while running to and fro in his Apostleship. Nor hath he said, '*If then ye have secular law-suits*, bring them before us;' or, 'Appoint us to judge them:' but, *Them which are contemptible in the Church, these*, saith he, *put ye in place. To your abashment I say it: is it so that there is not among you any wise man who can judge between his brother, but brother goeth to law with brother, and that before infidels?* So then wise believers and saints, having their stated abode in the different places, not those who were running hither and hither on the business of the Gospel, were the persons whom he willed to be charged with examination of such affairs. Whence it is no where written of him that he on any occasion gave up his time to such matters; from which we are not able to excuse ourselves, even though we be contemptible; because he willed even such to be put in place, in case there were lack of wise men, rather than have the affairs of Christians to be brought into the public courts. Which labour, however, we not without consolation of the Lord take upon us, for hope of eternal life, that we may bring forth fruit with patience. For we are servants unto His Church, and most of all to the weaker members, whatsoever members we in the same body may chance to be. I pass by other innumerable ecclesiastical cares, which perchance no man credits but he who hath experienced the same. Therefore we do not bind heavy burdens and place them on your shoulders, while we ourselves touch them not so much as with a finger; since indeed if with safety to our office we might, (He seeth it, Who tries our hearts!) we would rather do these things which we exhort

1 Cor. 6, 4—6.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

you to do, than the things which we ourselves are forced to do. True it is, to all both us and you, while according to our degree and office we labour, both the way is strait in labour and toil; and yet, while we rejoice in hope, His yoke is easy and His burden light, Who hath called us unto rest, Who passed forth before us from the vale of tears, where not Himself either was without pressure of griefs. If ye be our brethren, if our sons, if we be your fellow-servants, or rather in Christ your servants, hear what we admonish, acknowledge what we enjoin, take what we dispense. But if we be Pharisees, binding heavy burdens and laying them on your shoulders; yet do ye the things we say, even though ye disapprove the things we do. But to us it is a very small thing that we be judged by you, or of any human assize[1]. Of how near and dear[2] charity is our care on your behalf, let Him look into it Who hath given what we may offer to be looked into by His eyes. In fine: think what ye will of us: Paul the Apostle enjoins and beseeches you in the Lord, that with silence, that is, quietly and obediently ordered, ye do work and eat your own bread. Of him, as I suppose, ye believe no evil, and He who by him doth speak, on Him have ye believed.

Mat. 23, 3.

1 Cor. 4, 3. [1] ab humano die.

[2] germana.

2 Thess. 3, 12.

xxx. 38. These things, my brother Aurelius, most dear unto me, and in the bowels of Christ to be venerated, so far as He hath bestowed on me the ability Who through thee commanded me to do it, touching work of Monks, I have not delayed to write; making this my chief care, lest good brethren obeying apostolic precepts, should by lazy and disobedient be called even prevaricators from the Gospel: that they which work not, may at the least account them which do work to be better than themselves without doubt. But who can bear that contumacious persons resisting most wholesome admonitions of the Apostle, should, not as weaker brethren be borne withal, but even be preached up as holier men; insomuch that monasteries founded on sounder doctrine should be by this double enticement corrupted, the dissolute licence of vacation from labour, and the false name of sanctity? Let it be known then to the rest, our brethren and sons, who are accustomed to favour such men, and through ignorance to defend this kind of presumption, that

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

2 Thess. 3, 13.

they need themselves most chiefly to be corrected, in order that those may be corrected, not that they become *weary in well-doing*. Truly, in that they do promptly and with alacrity minister unto the servants of God the things they need, not only we blame them not, but we most cordially embrace them: only let them not with perverse mercy more hurt these men's future life, than to their present life they render aid.

Ps. 9, 24. [10, 3.] XXXI.

39. For there is less sin, if people do not praise the sinner in the desires of his soul, and speak good of him who practiseth iniquities. Now what is more an iniquity than to wish to be obeyed by inferiors, and to refuse to obey superiors? The Apostle, I mean, not us: insomuch that they even let their hair grow long: a matter, of which he would have no disputing at all, saying, *If any chooseth to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Church of God. Now this I command*[h]; which gives us to understand that it is not cleverness of reasoning that we are to look for, but authority of one giving command to attend unto. For whereunto, I pray thee, pertaineth this also, that people so openly against the Apostle's precepts wear long hair? Is it that there must be in such sort vacation, that not even the barbers are to work? Or, because they say that they imitate the Gospel birds, do they fear to be, as it were, plucked, lest they be not able to fly? I shrink from saying more against this fault, out of respect for certain long-haired brethren, in whom, except this, we find much, and well-nigh every thing, to venerate. But the more we love them in Christ, the more solicitously do we admonish them. Nor are we afraid indeed, lest their humility reject our admonition; seeing that we also desire to be admonished by such as they, wherever we chance to stumble or to go aside. This then we admonish so holy men, not to be moved by foolish quibblings of vain persons, and imitate in this perversity them whom in all else they are far from resembling. For those persons, hawking about a venal hypocrisy, fear lest shorn sanctity be held cheaper than long-haired; because forsooth he who sees them shall

1 Cor. 11, 16. 17.

h E. V. follows text rec. τοῦτο δὲ παραγγέλλων οὐκ ἐπαινῶ, but good Mss. and Versions besides the Ital. and Vulg. have τοῦτο δὲ παραγγέλλω οὐκ ἐπαινῶν, hoc autem præcipio non laudans.

call to mind those ancients whom we read of, Samuel and the rest who did not cut off their hair. And they do not consider what is the difference between that prophetic veil, and this unveiling which is in the Gospel, of which the Apostle saith, *When thou shalt go over*[1] *unto Christ, the veil shall be taken away.* That, namely, which was signified in the veil interposed between the face of Moses and the beholding of the people Israel, that same was also signified in those times by the long hair of the Saints. For the same Apostle saith, that long hair is also instead of a veil: by whose authority these men are hard pressed. Seeing he saith openly, *If a man wear long hair, it is a disgrace to him.* 'The very disgrace,' say they, 'we take upon us, for desert of our sins:' holding out a screen of simulated humility, to the end that under cover of it they may carry on their trade of self-importance[1]. Just as if the Apostle were teaching pride when he says, *Every man praying or prophesying with veiled head shameth his head;* and, *A man ought not to veil his head, forsomuch as he is the image and glory of God.* Consequently he who says, *Ought not*, knows not perchance how to teach humility! However, if this same disgrace in time of the Gospel, which was a thing of a holy meaning[2] in time of Prophecy, be by these people courted as matter of humility, then let them be shorn, and veil their head with haircloth. Only then there will be none of that attracting of people's eyes in which they trade[3], because Samson was veiled not with haircloth, but with his long hair.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

Numb. 6, 5.

2 Cor. 3, 16.

Exod. 34, 33.

[1] venalem typhum.

1 Cor. 11, 4.

ib. 14.

[2] sacramentum

[3] species illa venalis

xxxii.

40. And then that further device of theirs, (if words can express it,) how painfully ridiculous is it, which they have invented for defence of their long locks! 'A man,' say they, 'the Apostle hath forbidden to have long hair: but then they who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of God are no longer men.' O dotage unparalleled! Well may the person who says this arm himself against Holy Scripture's most manifest proclamations, with counsel of outrageous impiety, and persevere in a tortuous path, and essay to bring in a pestiferous doctrine that not *Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, and in the*

Ps. 1, 1.

[1] Cum transieris. Gr. ἡνίκα δ' ἂν ἐπιστρέψῃ, sc. ὁ Ἰσραὴλ Chrys. Theod. or τὸ Origen.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

way of sinners hath not stood, and in the chair of noisome wickedness[1] *hath not sat.* For if he would meditate in God's law day and night, there he should find the Apostle Paul himself, who assuredly professing highest chastity saith, *I would that all men were even as I:* and yet shews himself a man, not only in so being, but also in so speaking. For he saith, *When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.* But why should I mention the Apostle, when concerning our Lord and Saviour Himself they know not what they think who say these things. For of Whom but Him is it said, *Until we come all to unity of faith and to knowledge of the Son of God, to the Perfect Man, to the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ; that we be no longer babes, tossed and carried about with every wind of doctrine, in sleight of men, in cunning craftiness for machination of error.* With which sleight these persons deceive ignorant people, with which cunning craftiness and machinations of the enemy both they themselves are whirled round, and in their whirling essay to make the minds of the weak which cohere unto them so (in a manner) to spin round with them, that they also may not know where they are. For they have heard or read that which is written, *Whosoever of you have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ: where is no Jew nor Greek; no bond nor free; no male nor female.* And they do not understand that it is in reference to concupiscence of carnal sex that this is said, because in the inner man, wherein we are renewed in newness of our mind, no sex of this kind exists. Then let them not deny themselves to be men, just because in respect of their masculine sex they work not. For wedded Christians also who do this work, are of course not Christians on the score of that which they have in common with the rest who are not Christians and with the very cattle. For that is one thing that is either to infirmity conceded or to mortal propagation paid as a debt, but another that which for the laying hold of incorrupt and eternal life is by faithful profession signified. That then which concerning not veiling of the head is enjoined to men, in the body indeed it is set forth in a figure, but that it is enacted in the mind, wherein is the image and glory of God, the words themselves

[1] pestilentiæ

1Cor.13, 11.

Eph. 4, 13. 14.

Gal. 3, 27. 28.

2 Cor. 4, 16.

do indicate: *A man indeed*, it saith, *ought not to veil his head, forsomuch as he is the image and glory of God.* For where this image is, he doth himself declare, where he saith, *Lie not one to another; but stripping off the old man with his deeds, put ye on the new, which is renewed to the acknowledging of God, according to the image of Him who created him.* Who can doubt that this renewing takes place in the mind? But and if any doubt, let him hear a more open sentence. For, giving the same admonition, he thus saith in another place: *As is the truth in Jesus, that ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, him which is corrupt according to the lust of deception; but be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man, him which after God is created.* What then? Have women not this renewal of mind in which is the image of God? Who would say this? But in the sex of their body they do not signify this; therefore they are bidden to be veiled. The part, namely, which they signify in the very fact of their being women, is that which may be called the concupiscential part, over which the mind[1] bears rule, itself also subjected to its God, when life is most rightly and orderly conducted. What, therefore, in a single individual human being is the mind and the concupiscence, (that ruling, this ruled; that lord, this subject,) the same in two human beings, man and woman, is in regard of the sex of the body exhibited in a figure. Of which sacred import[2] the Apostle speaks when he says, that the man ought not to be veiled, the woman ought. For the mind doth the more gloriously advance to higher things, the more diligently the concupiscence is curbed from lower things; until the whole man together with even this now mortal and frail body in the last resurrection be clothed with incorruption and immortality, and death be swallowed up in victory.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM. Col. 3, 9. 10.

Eph. 4, 21—24

[1] mens

[2] sacramentum

1 Cor 15, 54.

41. Wherefore, they which will not do right things, let them give over at least to teach wrong things. Howbeit they be others whom in this speech we reprove: but as for those who by this one fault, of letting their hair contrary to apostolic precept grow long, offend and trouble the Church, because when some being unwilling to think of them any thing amiss are forced to twist the manifest words of the

xxxiii.

DE OPERE MONACHORUM.

Apostle into a wrong meaning, others choose to defend the sound understanding of the Scriptures rather than fawn upon any men, there arise between the weaker and the stronger brethren most bitter and perilous contentions: which things perchance if they knew, these would correct without hesitation this also, in whom we admire and love all else. Those then we not reprove, but ask and solemnly beseech by the Godhead and the Manhood of Christ and by the charity of the Holy Ghost, that they no more put this stumbling-block before the weak for whom Christ died, and aggravate the grief and torment of our heart when we bethink us how much more readily evil men can imitate this evil thing for deceiving of mankind, when they see this in them whom on the score of other so great good we with deserved offices of Christian love do honour. If however, after this admonition, or rather this solemn entreaty of ours, they shall think fit to persevere in the same, we shall do nothing else but only grieve and mourn. This let them know; it is enough. If they be servants of God, they have pity. If they have not pity, I will not say any thing worse. All these things, therefore, in the which peradventure I have been more loquacious than the occupations both of thee and of me could wish, if thou approve the same, make thou to be known to our brethren and sons, on whose behalf thou hast deigned to put this burden upon me: but if ought seem to thee meet to be withdrawn or amended, by reply of your Blessedness I shall know the same.

S. AUGUSTINE

ON CARE TO BE HAD FOR THE DEAD.

From the Retractations, Book ii. Chap. 64.

The book, *On care to be had for the dead*, I wrote, having being asked by letter whether it profits any person after death that his body shall be buried at the memorial of any Saint[a]. The book begins thus: *Long time unto your Holiness, my venerable fellow-bishop Paulinus.*

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

1. LONG time, my venerable fellow-bishop Paulinus, have I been thy Holiness's debtor for an answer; ever since thou wrotest to me by them of the household[1] of our most religious daughter Flora, asking of me whether it profit any man after death that his body is buried at the memorial of some Saint. This, namely, had the said widow begged of thee for her son deceased in those parts, and thou hadst written her an answer, consoling her, and announcing to her concerning the body of the faithful young man Cynegius, that the thing which she with motherly and pious affection desired was done, to wit, by placing it in the basilica of most blessed Felix the Confessor. Upon which occasion it came to pass, that by the same bearers of thy letter thou didst write also to me, raising the like question, and craving

1 homines.

[a] The date may be conjectured from the order of the Retractations, where this book is mentioned next after the Enchiridion ad Laurentium, which was not finished earlier than A. D. 421. The first two paragraphs of this treatise will be found quoted by Augustine in his Book *On Eight Questions of Dulcitius*, Quæst. ii. 2, 3. *Ben.*

Paulinus, to whom it was addressed, was Bishop of Nolæ, and took great pains to honour the memory of St. Felix, who is mentioned in the beginning of it. Several poems of his on the subject are extant.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

that I would answer what I thought of this matter, at the same time not forbearing to say what are thine own sentiments. For thou sayest that to thy thinking these be no empty motions of religious and faithful minds, which take this care for their deceased friends. Thou addest, moreover, that it cannot be void of effect[1] that the whole Church is wont to supplicate for the departed: so that hence it may be further conjectured that it doth profit a person after death, if by the faith of his friends for the interment of his body such a spot be provided wherein may be apparent the aid, likewise in this way sought, of the Saints.

[1] vacare

2. But this being the case, how to this opinion that should not be contrary which the Apostle says, *For we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, that each may receive according to the things he hath done by the body, whether good or bad;* this, thou signifiest, thou dost not well see. For this apostolic sentence doth before death admonish to be done, that which may profit after death; not then, first, when there is to be now a receiving of that which a person shall have done before death. True, but this question is thus solved, namely, that there is a certain kind of life by which is acquired, while one lives in this body, that it should be possible for these things to be of some help to the departed; and, consequently, it is *according to the things done by the body*, that they are aided by the things which shall, after they have left the body, be religiously done on their behalf. For there are whom these things aid nothing at all, namely, when they are done either for persons whose merits are so evil, that neither by such things are they worthy to be aided; or for persons whose merits are so good, that of such things they have no need as aids. Of the kind of life, therefore, which each hath led by the body, doth it come, that these things profit or profit not, whatever are piously done on his behalf when he has left the body. For touching merit whereby these things profit, if none have been gotten in this life, it is in vain sought after this life. So it comes to pass as well that not unmeaningly[2] doth the Church, or care of friends, bestow upon the departed whatever of religion it shall be able; as also that, nevertheless, each receiveth *according to the things which he hath done by the body, whether it be*

2 Cor. 5, 10.

per corpus

[2] inaniter

good or bad, the Lord rendering unto each according to his works. For, that this which is bestowed should be capable of profiting him after the body, this was acquired in that life which he hath led in the body. DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

3. Possibly thy inquiry is satisfied by this my brief reply. But what other considerations move me, to which I think meet to answer, do thou for a short space attend. In the books of the Maccabees we read of sacrifice offered for the dead. Howbeit, even if it were no where at all read in the Old Scriptures, not small is the authority, which in this usage is clear, of the whole Church, namely, that in the prayers of the priest which are offered to the Lord God at His altar, the commendation of the dead hath also its place. But then, whether there be some profit accruing unto the soul of the dead from the place of its body, requires a more careful enquiry. And first, whether it make any difference in causing or increasing of misery after this life to the spirits of men if their bodies be not buried, this must be looked into, not in the light of opinion however commonly received, but rather of the holy writ of our religion. For we are not to credit that, as is read in Maro, the unburied are prohibited from navigating and crossing the infernal stream: because forsooth 2 Mac. 12, 43. ii.

> *To none is giv'n to pass the hideous banks*
> *And waters hoarse, ere in their meet abode*
> *The bones have sunk to rest.*

Æneid vi. 327, 328.

Who can incline a Christian heart to these poetical and fabulous figments, when the Lord Jesus, to the intent that under the hands of their enemies, who should have their bodies in their power, Christians might lie down without a fear, asserts that not a hair of their head shall perish, exhorting that they should not fear them which when they have killed the body have nothing more that they can do? Of which in the first book *On the City of God*, I have methinks enough spoken, to break the teeth in their mouths who, in imputing to Christian times the barbarous devastation, especially that which Rome has lately suffered, do cast up to us this also, that Christ did not there come to the succour of His own. To whom when it is answered that the souls of the faithful were, according to the merits of their Mat. 10, 28. Luke 12, 4. and 21, 18.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

faith, by Him taken into protection, they insult over us with talking of their corpses left unburied. All this matter, then, concerning burial I have in such words as these expounded.

4. "But" (say I) "in such a slaughter-heap of dead bodies, could they not even be buried? not this, either, doth pious faith too greatly dread, holding that which is foretold that not even consuming beasts will be an hindrance to the rising again of bodies of which not a hair of the head shall perish. Nor in any wise would Truth say, *Fear not them which kill the body, but cannot kill the soul*; if it could at all hinder the life to come whatever enemies might choose to do with the bodies of the slain. Unless haply any is so absurd as to contend that they ought not to be feared before death, lest they kill the body, but ought to be feared after death, lest, having killed the body, they suffer it not to be buried. Is that then false which Christ says, *Who kill the body, and afterwards have no more that they can do*, if they have so great things that they can do on dead bodies? Far be the thought, that that should be false which Truth hath said. For the thing said is, that they do somewhat when they kill, because in the body there is feeling while it is in killing, but afterward they have nothing more that they can do because there is no feeling in the body when killed. Many bodies, then, of Christians the earth hath not covered: but none of them hath any separated from heaven and earth, the whole of which He filleth with presence of Himself, Who knoweth whence to resuscitate that which He created. It is said indeed in the Psalm, *The dead bodies of thy servants have they given for meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth: they have shed their blood like water round about Jerusalem, and there was no man to bury them:* but more to heighten the cruelty of them who did these things, not to the infelicity of them who suffered them. For, however, in sight of men these things may seem hard and dire, yet *precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints.* So, then, all these things, care of funeral, bestowal in sepulture, pomp of obsequies, are more for comfort of the living, than for help to the dead. If it at all profit the ungodly to have costly sepulture, it shall harm the godly to have vile sepulture or none. Right hand-

Luke21, 18. Mat.10, 28—30. Luke12, 4. 7.

Ps. 79, 2. 3.

Ps. 116, 15.

some obsequies in sight of men did that rich man who was clad in purple receive of the crowd of his housefolk; but far more handsome did that poor man who was full of sores obtain of the ministry of Angels; who bore him not out into a marble tomb, but into Abraham's bosom bore him on high. All this they laugh at, against whom we have undertaken to defend the City of God: but for all that their own philosophers, even, held care of sepulture in contempt; and often whole armies, while dying for their earthly country, cared not where they should after lie, or to what beasts they should become meat; and the poets had leave to say of this matter with applause

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS. Luke 16, 19—22.

though all unurn'd he lie,
His cov'ring is the overarching sky[h].

How much less ought they to make a vaunting about unburied bodies of Christians, to whom the flesh itself with all its members, refashioned, not only from the earth, but even from the other elements, yea, from their most secret windings, whereinto these evanished corpses have retired, is assured to be in an instant of time rendered back and made entire as at the first, according to His promise?

iii. 5. Yet it follows not that the bodies of the departed are to be despised and flung aside, and above all of just and faithful men, which bodies as organs and vessels to all good works their spirit hath holily used. For if a father's garment and ring, and whatever such like, is the more dear to those whom they leave behind, the greater their affection is towards their parents, in no wise are the bodies themselves to be spurned, which truly we wear in more familiar and close conjunction than any of our putting on. For these pertain not to ornament or aid which is applied from without, but to the very nature of man. Whence also the funerals of the just men of old were with dutiful piety cared for, and their obsequies celebrated, and sepulture provided: and themselves while living did touching burial or even translation of their bodies give charge to their sons. Tobias also, to have by burying of the dead obtained favour with God, is by witness of an Angel commended. The Lord Himself

Gen. 23; 25, 9. 10; 47, 30.

Tobit 2, 7; 12, 12.

[h] Lucan vii. 819. speaking of the slain in the battle of Pharsalia, whose bodies Cæsar forbad to burn or inter.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

Mat.26, 7—13. John19, 38.

also, about to rise on the third day, both preaches, and commends to be preached, the good work of a religious woman, that she poured out a precious ointment over His limbs, and did it for His burial: and they are with praise commemorated in the Gospel, who having received His Body from the cross did carefully and with reverend honour see it wound and laid in the sepulchre. These authorities however do not put us upon thinking that there is in dead bodies any feeling; but rather, that the Providence of God (Who is moreover pleased with such offices of piety) doth charge itself with the bodies also of the dead, this they betoken, to the intent our faith of resurrection might be stayed up thereby. Where also is wholesomely learned, how great may be the reward for alms which we do unto the living and feeling, if not even that be lost before God, whatever of duty and of diligence is paid to the lifeless members of men. There are indeed also other things, which in speaking of the bestowal or removal of their bodies the holy Patriarchs willed to be understood as spoken by the prophetic Spirit: but this is not the place to treat thoroughly of these things, seeing that sufficeth which we have said. But if the lack of those things which are necessary for sustentation of the living, as food and clothing, however heavy affliction attend the lacking, do not break in good men the manly courage of bearing and enduring, nor eradicate piety from the mind, but by exercising make it more fruitful; how much more doth lack of those things which are wont to be applied for care of funerals and bestowal of bodies of the departed, not make them wretched, now that in the hidden abodes of the pious they are at rest! And therefore, when these things have to dead bodies of Christians in that devastation of the great City or of other towns also been lacking, there is neither fault of the living, who could not afford these things, nor pain of the dead who could not feel the same[c]." This is my opinion concerning the ground and reason of sepulture. Which I have therefore from another book of mine transferred to this, because it was easier to rehearse this, than to express the same matter in another way.

[c] *On the City of God*, book i. chap. 12, 13.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS. IV.

6. If this be true, doubtless also the providing for the interment of bodies a place at the Memorials of Saints, is a mark of a good human affection towards the remains of one's friends: since if there be religion in the burying, there cannot but be religion in taking thought where the burying shall be. But while it is desirable there should be such like solaces of survivors, for the shewing forth of their pious mind towards their beloved, I do not see what helps they be to the dead save in this way: that upon recollection of the place in which are deposited the bodies of those whom they love, they should by prayer commend them to those same Saints, who have as patrons taken them into their charge to aid them before the Lord. Which indeed they would be still able to do, even though they were not able to inter them in such places. But then the only reason why the name Memorials or Monuments is given to those sepulchres of the dead which become specially distinguished, is that they recal to memory, and by putting in mind cause us to think of, them who by death are withdrawn from the eyes of the living, that they may not by forgetfulness be also withdrawn from men's hearts. For both the term Memorial[1] most plainly shews this, and Monument is so named from monishing, that is, putting in mind. For which reason the Greeks also call that *μνημεῖον* which we call a Memorial or Monument: because in their tongue the memory itself, by which we remember, is called *μνήμη*. When therefore the mind recollects where the body of a very dear friend lies buried, and thereupon there occurs to the thoughts a place rendered venerable by the name of a Martyr, to that same Martyr doth it commend the soul in affection of heartfelt recollection[2] and prayer. And when this affection is exhibited to the departed by faithful men who were most dear to them, there is no doubt that it profits them who while living in the body merited that such things should profit them after this life. But even if some necessity should through absence of all facility not allow bodies to be interred, or in such places interred, yet should there be no pretermitting of supplications for the spirits of the dead: which supplications, that they should be made for all in Christian and catholic fellowship departed, even without mentioning of their names, under a

[1] Memoria

[2] recordationis

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

general commemoration, the Church hath charged herself withal; to the intent that they which lack, for these offices, parents or sons or whatever kindred or friends, may have the same afforded unto them by the one pious mother which is common to all. But if there were lack of these supplications, which are made with right faith and piety for the dead, I account that it should not a whit profit their spirits, howsoever in holy places the lifeless bodies should be deposited.

V. 7. When therefore the faithful mother of a faithful son departed desired to have his body deposited in the basilica of a Martyr, forasmuch as she believed that his soul would be aided by the merits of the Martyr, the very believing of this was a sort of supplication, and this profited, if ought profited. And in that she recurs in her thoughts to this same sepulchre, and in her prayers more and more commends her son, the spirit of the departed is aided, not by the place of its dead body, but by that which springs from memory of the place, the living affection of the mother. For at once the thought, who is commended and to whom, doth touch, and that with no unprofitable emotion, the religious mind of her who prays. For also in prayer to God[1], men do with the members of their bodies that which becometh suppliants, when they bend their knees, when they stretch forth their hands, or even prostrate themselves on the ground, and whatever else they visibly do, albeit their invisible will and hearts' intention be known unto God, and He needs not these tokens that any man's mind should be opened unto Him: only hereby one more excites himself to pray and groan more humbly and more fervently. And I know not how it is, that, while these motions of the body cannot be made but by a motion of the mind preceding, yet by the same being outwardly in visible sort made, that inward invisible one which made them is increased: and thereby the heart's affection which preceded that they might be made, groweth because they are made. But still if any be in that way held, or even bound, that he is not able to do these things with his limbs, it does not follow that the inner man does not pray, and before the eyes of God in its most secret chamber, where it hath compunction, cast itself on the ground. So likewise, while it makes very much difference, where a person deposits the body of his dead,

[1] orantes

while he supplicates for his spirit unto God, because both the affection preceding chose a spot which was holy, and after the body is there deposited the recalling to mind of that holy spot renews and increases the affection which had preceded; yet, though he may not be able in that place which his religious mind did choose to lay in the ground him whom he loves, in no wise ought he to cease from necessary supplications in commending of the same. For wheresoever the flesh of the departed may lie or not lie, the spirit requires rest and must get it: for the spirit in its departing from thence took with it the consciousness without which it could make no odds how one exists, whether in a good estate or a bad: and it does not look for aiding of its life from that flesh to which it did itself afford the life which it withdrew in its departing, and is to render back in its returning; since not flesh to spirit, but spirit unto flesh procureth merit even of very resurrection, whether it be unto punishment or unto glory that it is to come to life again.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

8. We read in the Ecclesiastical History which Eusebius wrote in Greek, and Ruffinus turned into the Latin tongue, of Martyrs' bodies in Gaul exposed to dogs, and how the leavings of those dogs and bones of the dead were, even to uttermost consumption, by fire burned up; and the ashes of the same scattered on the river Rhone, lest any thing should be left for any sort whatever of memorial[d]. Which thing must be believed to have been to no other end divinely permitted, but that Christians should learn in confessing Christ, while they despise this life, much more to despise sepulture. For this thing, which with savage rage was done to the bodies of Martyrs, if it could any whit hurt them, to impair the blessed resting of their most victorious spirits, would assuredly not have been suffered to be done. In very deed therefore it was declared, that the Lord in saying, *Fear not them which kill the body, and afterward have no more that they can do*, did not mean that He would not permit them to do any thing to the bodies of His followers when dead; but that whatever they might be vi. Mat. 10, 28. Luke 12, 4.

[d] Eusebius, H. E. book v. chap. 1. relates, that the bodies of these martyrs of Lyons lay exposed in the open air for six days successively, and were then burned and cast into the Rhone. *Ben.*

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

permitted to do, nothing should be done that could lessen the Christian felicity of the departed, nothing thereof reach to their consciousness while yet living after death; nothing avail to the detriment, no, not even of the bodies themselves, to diminish aught of their integrity when they should rise again.

vii. 9. And yet, by reason of that affection of the human Eph. 5, 29. heart, whereby *no man ever hateth his own flesh*, if men have reason to know that after their death their bodies will lack any thing which in each man's nation or country the wonted order of sepulture demandeth, it makes them sorrowful as men; and that which after death reacheth not unto them, they do before death fear for their bodies: so that we find in the Books of Kings, God by one prophet threatening another prophet who had transgressed His word, that his carcase should not be brought into the sepulchre of his fathers. 1 Kings 13, 21. 22. Which the Scripture hath on this wise: *Thus saith the Lord, Because thou hast been disobedient to the mouth of the Lord, and hast not kept the charge which the Lord thy God commanded thee, and hast returned and eaten bread and drunk water in the place in which He commanded thee not to eat bread, nor drink water, thy carcase shall not be brought into the sepulchre of thy fathers.* Now if in considering what account is to be made of this punishment, we go by the Gospel, where we have learned that after the slaying of the body there is no cause to fear lest the lifeless members should suffer any thing, it is not even to be called a punishment. But if we consider a man's human affection towards his own flesh, it was possible for him to be frightened or saddened, while living, by that of which he would have no sense when dead: and this was a punishment, because the mind was pained by that thing about to happen to its body, howsoever when it did happen it would feel no pain. To this intent, namely, it pleased the Lord to punish His servant, who not of his own contumacy had spurned to fulfil His command, but by deceit of another's falsehood thought himself to be obeying when he obeyed not. For it is not to be thought that he was killed by the teeth of the beast as one whose soul should be thence snatched away to the torments of hell: seeing that over his very body the same

lion which had killed it did keep watch, while moreover the beast on which he rode was left unhurt, and along with that fierce beast did with intrepid presence stand there beside his master's corpse. By which marvellous sign it appeareth, that the man of God was, say rather, checked temporally even unto death, than punished after death. Of which matter, the Apostle when on account of certain offences he had mentioned the sicknesses and deaths of many, says, *For if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged of the Lord. But when we are judged we are chastened of the Lord, that we may not be condemned with the world.* That Prophet, truly, the very man who had beguiled him, did with much respect bury in his own tomb, and took order for his own burying beside his bones: in hope that thereby his own bones might be spared, when, according to the prophecy of that man of God, Josiah king of Judah did in that land disinter the bones of many dead, and with the same bones defile the sacrilegious altars which had been set up for the graven images. For he spared that tomb in which lay the prophet who more than three hundred years before predicted those things, and for his sake neither was the sepulture of him who had seduced him violated. By that affection, namely, which causes that no man ever hateth his own flesh, this man had taken forethought for his carcase, who had slain with a lie his own soul. By reason then of this, the natural love which every man hath for his own flesh, it was both to the one a punishment to learn that he should not be in the sepulchre of his fathers, and to the other a care to take order beforehand that his own bones should be spared, if he should lie beside him whose sepulchre no man should violate.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

1 Cor. 11, 31. 32.

10. This affection the Martyrs of Christ contending for the truth did overcome: and it is no marvel that they despised that whereof they should, when death was overpast, have no feeling, when they could not by those tortures, which while alive they did feel, be overcome. God was able, no doubt, (even as He permitted not the lion when it had slain the Prophet, to touch his body further, and of a slayer made it to be a keeper:) He was able, I say, to have kept the slain bodies of His own from the dogs to which they had

viii.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

been flung; He was able in innumerable ways to have deterred the rage of the men themselves, that to burn the carcases, to scatter the ashes, they should not dare: but it was fit that this experience also should not be lacking to manifold variety of temptations, lest the fortitude of confession which would not for the saving of the life of the body give way to the savageness of persecution, should be tremblingly anxious for the honour of a sepulchre: in a word, lest faith of resurrection should dread the consuming of the body. It was fit then, that even these things should be permitted, in order that, even after these examples of so great horror, the Martyrs, fervent in confession of Christ, should become witnesses of this truth also, in which they had learned that they by whom their bodies should be slain had after that no more that they could do. Because, whatever they should do to dead bodies, they would after all do nothing, seeing that in flesh devoid of all life, neither was it possible for him to feel ought who had thence departed, nor for Him to lose ought thereof, Who created the same. But while these things were doing to the bodies of the slain, albeit the Martyrs, not frightened by them, did with great fortitude suffer, yet among the brethren was there exceeding sorrow, because there was given them no means of paying the last honours to the remains of the Saints, neither secretly to withdraw any part thereof, (as the same history testifies,) did the watchings of cruel sentinels permit. So, while those which had been slain, in the tearing asunder of their limbs, in the burning up of their bones, in the dispersion of their ashes, could feel no misery; yet these who had nothing of them that they could bury, did suffer torture of exceeding grief in pitying them; because what those did in no sort feel, these in some sort did feel for them, and where was henceforth for those no more suffering, yet these did in woful compassion suffer for them.

Mat. 10, 28.

ix. 11. In regard of that woful compassion which I have mentioned, are those praised, and by king David blessed, who to the dry bones of Saul and Jonathan afforded mercy of sepulture. But yet what mercy is that, which is afforded to them that have feeling of nothing? Or haply is this to be challenged back to that conceit of an infernal river which

2 Sam. 2, 5.

men unburied were not able to pass over? Far be this from the faith of Christians: else hath it gone most ill with so great a multitude of Martyrs, for whom there could be no burying of their bodies, and Truth did cheat them when It said, *Fear not them which kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do*, if these have been able to do to them so great evils, by which they were hindered to pass over to the places which they longed for. But, because this without all doubt is most false, and it neither any whit hurts the faithful to have their bodies denied sepulture, nor any whit the giving of sepulture unto infidels advantageth them; why then are those who buried Saul and his son said to have done mercy, and for this are blessed by that godly king, but because it is a good affection with which the hearts of the pitiful are touched, when they grieve for that in the dead bodies of other men, which, by that affection through which no man ever hateth his own flesh, they would not have done after their own death to their own bodies; and what they would have done by them when they shall have no more feeling, that they take care to do by others now having no feeling while themselves have yet feeling?

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

Luke 12, 4.

12. Stories are told of certain appearances or visions[1], which may seem to bring into this discussion a question which should not be slighted. It is said, namely, that dead men have at times either in dreams or in some other way appeared to the living who knew not where their bodies lay unburied, and have pointed out to them the place, and admonished that the sepulture which was lacking should be afforded them. These things if we shall answer to be false, we shall be thought impudently to contradict the writings of certain faithful men, and the senses of them who assure us that such things have happened to themselves. But it is to be answered, that it does not follow that we are to account the dead to have sense of these things, because they appear in dreams to say or indicate or ask this. For living men do also appear ofttimes to the living as they sleep, while they themselves know not that they do appear; and they are told by them, what they dreamed, namely, that in their dream the speakers saw them doing or saying something. Then if it may be that a person in a dream should see me indicating

x.

[1] visa

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

to him something that has happened or even foretelling something about to happen, while I am perfectly unwitting of the thing and altogether regardless not only what he dreams, but whether he is awake while I am asleep, or he asleep while I am awake, or whether at one and the same time we are both awake or asleep, at what time he has the dream in which he sees me: what marvel if the dead be unconscious and insensible of these things, and, for all that, are seen by the living in their dreams, and say something which those on awaking find to be true? By angelical operations, then, I should think it is effected, whether permitted from above, or commanded, that they seem in dreams to say something about burying of their bodies, when they whose the bodies are are utterly unsconscious of it. Now this is sometimes serviceably done; whether for some sort of solace to the survivors, to whom pertain those dead whose likenesses[1] appear to them as they dream; or whether that by these admonitions the human race may be made to have regard to humanity of sepulture, which, allow that it be no help to the departed, yet is there culpable irreligiousness in slighting of it. Sometimes however, by fallacious visions[2], men are cast into great errors, who deserve to suffer this. As, if one should see in a dream, what Æneas by poetic falsity is told to have seen in the world beneath: and there should appear to him the likeness of some unburied man, which should speak such words as Palinurus is said to have spoken to him; and when he awakes, he should find the body in that place where he heard say while dreaming, that it lay unburied, and was admonished and asked to bury it when found; and because he finds this to be true, should believe that the dead are buried on purpose that their souls may pass to places from which he dreamed that the souls of men unburied are by an infernal law prohibited: does he not, in believing all this, exceedingly swerve from the path of truth?

[1] imagines

[2] visis

xi. 13. Such, however, is human infirmity, that when in a dream a person shall see a dead man, he thinks it is the soul that he sees: but when he shall in like manner dream of a living man, he has no doubt that it is not a soul nor a body, but the likeness of a man that has appeared to him: just as

if it were not possible in regard of dead men, in the same sort unconscious of it, that it should not be their souls, but their likenesses that appear to the sleepers. Of a surety, when we were at Milan, we heard tell of a certain person of whom was demanded payment of a debt, with production of his deceased father's acknowledgment[1], which debt unknown to the son the father had paid, whereupon the man began to be very sorrowful, and to marvel that his father while dying did not tell him what he owed when he also made his will. Then in this exceeding anxiousness of his, his said father appeared to him in a dream, and made known to him where was the counter[2] acknowledgment by which that acknowledgment was cancelled. Which when the young man had found and shewed, he not only rebutted the wrongful claim of a false debt, but also got back his father's note[3] of hand which the father had not got back when the money was paid. Here then the soul of a man is supposed to have had care for his son, and to have come to him in his sleep, that, teaching him what he did not know, he might relieve him of a great trouble. But about the very same time as we heard this, it chanced at Carthage that the rhetorician Eulogius, who had been my disciple in that art, being (as he himself, after our return to Africa, told us the story) in course of lecturing to his disciples on Cicero's rhetorical books, as he looked over the portion of reading which he was to deliver on the following day, fell upon a certain passage, and not being able to understand it, was scarce able to sleep for the trouble of his mind: in which night, as he dreamed, I expounded to him that which he did not understand; nay, not I, but my likeness, while I was unconscious of the thing, and far away beyond sea, it might be, doing, or it might be dreaming, some other thing, and not in the least caring for his cares. In what way these things come about, I know not: but in what way soever they come, why do we not believe it comes in the same way for a person in a dream to see a dead man, as it comes that he sees a living man? both, no doubt, neither knowing nor caring who, or where, or when, dreams of their images.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

[1] cautio.

[2] recautum.

[3] chirographum.

14. Like dreams, moreover, are also some visions of persons awake, who have had their senses troubled, such xii.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

as phrenetic persons, or those who are mad in any way: for they too talk to themselves just as though they were speaking to people verily present, and as well with absent as with present, whose images they perceive, whether persons living or dead. But just as they which live, are unconscious that they are seen of them and talk with them; for indeed they are not really themselves present, or themselves make speeches, but through troubled senses, these persons are wrought upon by suchlike imaginary visions; just so they also who have departed this life, to persons thus affected appear as present, while they be absent, and whether any man sees them in regard of their image[1], are themselves utterly unconscious.

[1] imaginaliter.

15. Similar to this is also that condition when persons, with their senses more profoundly in abeyance than is the case in sleep, are occupied with the like visions. For to them also appear images of quick and dead; but then, when they return to their senses, whatever dead they say they have seen are thought to have been verily with them: and they who hear these things pay no heed to the circumstance that there were seen in like manner the images of certain living persons, absent and unconscious. A certain man by name Curma, of the municipal town of Tullium, which is hard by Hippo, a poor member of the Curia[2], scarcely competent to serve the office of a duumvir[3] of that place, and a mere rustic, being ill, and all his senses entranced, lay all but dead for several days: a very slight breathing in his nostrils, which on applying the hand was just felt, and barely betokened that he lived, was all that kept him from being buried for dead. Not a limb did he stir, nothing did he take in the way of sustenance, neither in the eyes nor in any other bodily sense was he sensible of any annoyance that impinged upon them. Yet he was seeing many things like as in a dream, which, when at last after a great many days he woke up, he told that he had seen. And first, presently after he opened his eyes, Let some one go, said he, to the house of Curma the smith, and see what is doing there. And when some one had gone thither, the smith was found to have died in that moment that the other had come back to his senses, and, it might almost be said, revived from

[2] curialis.
[3] duumviralitius.

death. Then, as those who stood by eagerly listened, he told them how the other had been ordered to be had up, when he himself was dismissed; and that he had heard it said in that place from which he had returned, that it was not Curma of the Curia, but Curma the smith who had been ordered to be fetched to that place of the dead. Well, in these dream-like visions of his, among those deceased persons whom he saw handled according to the diversity of their merits, he recognised also some whom he had known when alive. That they were the very persons themselves I might perchance have believed, had he not in the course of this seeming dream of his seen also some who are alive even to this present time, namely, some clerks of his district, by whose presbyter there he was told to be baptized at Hippo by me, which thing he said had also taken place. So then he had seen a presbyter, clerks, myself, persons, to wit, not yet dead, in this vision in which he afterwards also saw dead persons. Why may he not be thought to have seen these last in the same way as he saw us? that is, both the one sort, and the other, absent and unconscious, and consequently not the persons themselves, but similitudes of them just as of the places? He saw, namely, both a plot of ground where was that presbyter with the clerks, and Hippo where he was by me seemingly baptized: in which spots assuredly he was not, when he seemed to himself to be there. For what was at that time going on there, he knew not: which, without doubt, he would have known if he had verily been there. The sights beheld, therefore, were those which are not presented in the things themselves as they are, but shadowed forth in a sort of images of the things. In fine, after much that he saw, he narrated how he had, moreover, been led into Paradise, and how it was there said to him, when he was thence dismissed to return to his own family, 'Go, be baptized, if thou wilt be in this place of the blessed.' Thereupon, being admonished to be baptized by me, he said it was done already. He who was talking with him replied, 'Go, be truly baptized; for that thou didst but see in the vision.' After this he recovered, went his way to Hippo. Easter was now approaching, he gave his name among the other Competents, alike with very many unknown to us; nor did

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

he care to make known the vision to me or to any of our people. He was baptized, at the close of the holy days he returned to his own place. After the space of two years or more, I learned the whole matter; first, through a certain friend of mine and his at my own table, while we were talking about some such matters: then I took it up, and made the man in his own person tell me the story, in the presence of some honest townsmen of his attesting the same, both concerning his marvellous illness, how he lay all but dead for many days, and about that other Curma the smith, what I have mentioned above, and about all these matters; which, while he was telling me, they recalled to mind, and assured me, that they had also at that time heard them from his lips. Wherefore, just as he saw his own baptism, and myself, and Hippo, and the basilica, and the baptistery, not in the very realities, but in a sort of similitudes of the things; and so likewise certain other living persons, without consci-

xiii. ousness on the part of the same living persons: then why not just so those dead persons also, without consciousness on the part of the same dead persons?

16. Why should we not believe these to be angelic operations through dispensation of the providence of God, Who maketh good use of both good things and evil, according to the unsearchable depth of His judgments? whether thereby the minds of mortals be instructed, or whether deceived; whether consoled, or whether terrified: according as unto each one there is to be either a shewing of mercy, or a taking of vengeance, by Him to Whom, not

Ps. 101, 1. without a meaning, the Church doth sing *of mercy and of judgment*. Let each, as it shall please him, take what I say. If the souls of the dead took part in the affairs of the living, and if it were their very selves that, when we see them, speak to us in sleep; to say nothing of others, there is my own self, whom my pious mother would no night fail to visit, that mother who by land and sea followed me that she might live with me. Far be the thought that she should, by a life more happy, have been made cruel, to that degree that when any thing vexes my heart she should not even console in his sadness the son whom she loved with an only love, whom she never wished to see mournful. But assuredly

DE CURÂ PRO MORTUIS.

that which the sacred Psalm sings in our ears, is true; *Because my father and my mother have forsaken me, but the Lord hath taken me up.* Then if our parents have forsaken us, how take they part in our cares and affairs? But if parents do not, who else are there of the dead who should know what we are doing, or what we suffer? Isaiah the Prophet says, *For Thou art our Father: because Abraham hath not known us, and Israel is not cognisant of us.* If so great Patriarchs were ignorant what was doing towards the People of them begotten, they to whom, believing God, the People itself to spring from their stock was promised; how are the dead mixed up with affairs and doings of the living, either for cognisance or help? How say we that those were favoured who deceased ere the evils came which followed hard upon the decease, if also after death they feel whatever things befal in the calamitousness of human life? Or haply do we err in saying this, and in accounting them to be quietly at rest whom the unquiet life of the living makes solicitous? What then is that which to the most godly king Josias God promised as a great benefit, that he should first die, that he might not see the evils which He threatened should come to that place and People? Which words of God are these: *Thus saith the Lord God of Israel: concerning My words which thou hast heard, and didst fear before My face when thou didst hear what I have spoken concerning this place and them which dwell therein, that it should be forsaken and under a curse; and hast rent thy garments, and wept before Me, and I have heard thee, saith the Lord of Sabaoth: not so; behold, I will add thee unto thy fathers, and thou shalt be added unto them in peace; and thine eyes shall not see all the evils which I am bringing upon this place and upon them that dwell therein.* He, frightened by God's comminations, had wept, and rent his garments, and is made, by hastening on of his death, to be without care of all future evils, because he should so rest in peace, that all those things he should not see. There then are the spirits of the departed, where they see not whatever things are doing, or events happening, in this life to men. Then how do they see their own graves, or their own bodies, whether they lie cast away, or buried? How do they take part in the

Ps. 27, 10.

Is. 63, 16.

2 Kings 22, 18—20.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

misery of the living, when they are either suffering their own evils, if they have contracted such merits; or do rest in peace, as was promised to this Josiah, where they undergo no evils, either by suffering themselves, or by compassionate suffering with others, freed from all evils which by suffering themselves or with others while they lived here they did undergo?

xiv. 17. Some man may say; 'If there be not in the dead any care for the living, how is it that the rich man, who was tormented in hell, asked father Abraham to send Lazarus to his five brothers not as yet dead, and to take course with them, that they should not come themselves also into the same place of torments?' But does it follow, that because the rich man said this, he knew what his brethren were doing, or what they were suffering at that time? Just in that same way had he care for the living, albeit what they were doing he wist not at all, as we have care for the dead, albeit what they do we confessedly wot not. For if we cared not for the dead, we should not, as we do, supplicate God on their behalf. In fine, Abraham did not send Lazarus, and also answered, that they have here Moses and the Prophets, whom they ought to hear that they might not come to those torments. Where again it occurs to ask, how it was that what was doing here, father Abraham himself wist not, while he knew that Moses and the Prophets are here, that is, their books, by obeying which men should escape the torments of hell: and knew, in short, that rich man to have lived in delights, but the poor man Lazarus to have lived in labours and sorrows? For this also he says to him; *Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime hast received good things, but Lazarus evil things.* He knew then these things which had taken place of course among the living, not among the dead. True, but it may be that, not while the things were doing in their lifetime, but after their death, he learned these things, by information of Lazarus: that it be not false which the Prophet saith, *Abraham hath not known us.*

Luke 16, 24—29.

Is. 63, 16.

xv. 18. So then we must confess that the dead indeed do not know what is doing here, but while it is in doing here: afterwards, however, they hear it from those who from hence go to them at their death; not indeed every thing, but what

things those are allowed to make known who are suffered also to remember these things; and which it is meet for those to hear, whom they inform of the same. It may be also, that from the Angels, who are present in the things which are doing here, the dead do hear somewhat, which for each one of them to hear He judgeth right to Whom all things are subject. For were there not Angels, who could be present in places both of quick and dead, the Lord Jesus had not said, *It came to pass also that the poor man died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom.* Therefore, now here, now there, were they able to be, who from hence bore thither whom God willed. It may be also, that the spirits of the dead do learn some things which are doing here, what things it is necessary that they should know, and what persons it is necessary should know the same, not only things past or present, but even future, by the Spirit of God revealing them: like as not all men, but the Prophets while they lived here did know, nor even they all things, but only what things to be revealed to them the providence of God judged meet. Moreover, that some from the dead are sent to the living, as, on the other hand, Paul from the living was rapt into Paradise, divine Scripture doth testify. For Samuel the Prophet, appearing to Saul when living, predicted even what should befal the king: although some think it was not Samuel himself, that could have been by magical arts evoked, but that some spirit, meet for so evil works, did figure his semblance[c]: though the book Ecclesiasticus, which Jesus, son of Sirach, is reputed to have written, and which on account of some resemblance of style is pronounced to be Solomon's[d], contains in the praise of the Fathers, that Samuel even when dead did prophesy. But if this book be spoken against from the canon of the Hebrews, (because it is not contained therein,) what shall we say of Moses, whom certainly we read both in Deuteronomy to have died, and in the Gospel to have, together with Elias who died not, appeared unto the living?

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

Luke 16, 22.

2 Cor. 12, 4.

1 Sam. 28, 11—19.

Ecclus. 46, 20.

Deut. 34, 5. Mat. 17, 3.

19. Hence too is solved that question, how is it that the xvi. Martyrs, by the very benefits which are given to them that

[c] Quæst. ad Simplicianum, lib. ii. qu. 4.

[d] Retract. ii. 4. and 'On Christian Doctrine,' book ii. chap. 8. n. 13. *Ben.*

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS. inquilinatum

pray, indicate that they take an interest in the affairs of men, if the dead know not what the quick are doing. For not only by effects of benefits, but in the very beholding of men, it is certain, that the Confessor Felix (whose denizenship among you thou piously lovest) appeared when the barbarians were attacking Nola, as we have heard not by uncertain rumours, but by sure witnesses. But such things are of God exhibited, far otherwise than as the usual order hath itself, unto each kind of creatures apportioned. For it does not follow because water was, when it pleased the Lord, in a moment changed into wine, that we are not to regard the worth and efficacy of water in the proper order of the elements, as distinct from the rarity, or rather singularity, of that divine work: nor because Lazarus rose again, therefore that every dead man rises when he will; or that a lifeless man is raised up by a living, in the same way as a sleeping man by one who is awake. Other be the limits of human things, other the signs of divine virtues: other they be that are naturally, other that be miraculously done: albeit both unto nature God is present that it may be, and unto miracles nature is not lacking. We are not to think then, that to be interested in the affairs of the living is in the power of any departed who please, only because to some men's healing or help the Martyrs be present: but rather we are to understand that it must needs be by a Divine power that the Martyrs are interested in affairs of the living, from the very fact that for the departed to be by their proper nature interested in affairs of the living is impossible.

20. Howbeit it is a question which surpasses the strength of my understanding, after what manner the Martyrs aid them who by them, it is certain, are helped; whether themselves by themselves be present at one same time in so different places, and by so great distance lying apart one from another, either where their Memorials are, or beside their Memorials, wheresoever they are felt to be present: or whether, while they themselves, in a place congruous with their merits, are removed from all converse with mortals, and yet do in a general sort pray for the needs of their suppliants, (like as we pray for the dead, to whom however we are not present, nor know where they be or what they be doing,)

God Almighty, Who is every where present, neither bounded in[1] with us nor remote from us, hearing and granting the Martyrs' prayers, doth by angelic ministries every where diffused afford to men those solaces, to whom in the misery of this life He seeth meet to afford the same, and, touching His Martyrs, doth where He will, when He will, how He will, and chiefest through their Memorials, because this He knoweth to be expedient for us unto edifying of the faith of Christ for Whose confession they suffered, by marvellous and ineffable power and goodness cause their merits to be had in honour. A matter is this, too high that I should have power to attain unto it, too abstruse that I should be able to search it out; and therefore which of these two be the case, or whether perchance both one and the other be the case, that sometimes these things be done by very presence of the Martyrs, sometimes by Angels taking upon them the person of the Martyrs, I dare not define; rather would I seek this at them who know it. For it is not to be thought that no man knows these things: (not indeed he who thinks he knows,. and knows not,) for there be gifts of God, Who bestows on these some one, on those some other, according to the Apostle who says, that *to each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit to profit withal; to one*[2] *indeed*, saith he, *is given by the Spirit discourse of wisdom; to another*[2] *discourse of science according to the same Spirit; while to another*[3] *faith in the same Spirit; to another*[3] *the gift of healings in one Spirit; to one*[2] *workings of miracles; to one*[2] *prophecy; to one*[2] *discerning of spirits; to one*[2] *kinds of tongues; to one*[2] *interpretation of discourses. But all these worketh one and the same spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will.* Of all these spiritual gifts, which the Apostle hath rehearsed, to whomsoever is given discerning of spirits, the same knoweth these things as they are meet to be known.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

[1] concretus

[2] alii, ἄλλῳ

[3] alteri, ἑτέρῳ

1 Cor. 12,7-10.

21. Such, we may believe, was that John the Monk, whom the elder Theodosius, the Emperor, consulted concerning the issue of the civil war: seeing he had also the gift of prophecy. For that not each several person has a several one of those gifts, but that one man may have more gifts than one, I make no question. This John, then, when once

xvii.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

a certain most religious woman desired to see him, and to obtain this did through her husband make vehement intreaty, refused indeed this request because he had never allowed this to women, but 'Go,' said he, 'tell thy wife, she shall see me this night, but in her sleep.' And so it came to pass: and he gave her advice, whatever was meet to be given to a wedded believing woman. And she, on her awaking, made known to her husband that she had seen a man of God, such as he knew him to be, and what she had been told by him. The person who learned this from them, reported it to me, a grave man and a noble, and most worthy to be believed. But if I myself had seen that holy monk, because (it is said) he was most patient in hearing questions and most wise in answering, I would have sought of him, as touching our question, whether he himself came to that woman in sleep, that is to say, his spirit in the form of his body, just as we dream that we see ourselves in the form of our own body; or whether, while he himself was doing something else, or, if asleep, was dreaming of something else, it was either by an Angel or in some other way that such vision took place in the woman's dream; and that it would so be, as he promised, he himself foreknew by the Spirit of prophecy revealing the same. For if he was himself present to her in her dream, of course it was by miraculous grace that he was enabled so to do, not by nature; and by God's gift, not by faculty of his own. But if, while he was doing some other thing or sleeping and occupied with other sights, the woman saw him in her sleep, then doubtless some such thing took place, as that is which we read in the Acts of the Apostles, where the Lord Jesus speaks to Ananias concerning Saul, and informs him that Saul has seen Ananias coming unto him, while Ananias himself wist not of it. The man of God would make answer to me of these things as the case might be, and then about the Martyrs I should go on to ask of him, whether they be themselves present in dreams, or in whatever other way to those who see them, in what shape they will; and above all when the demons in men confess themselves tormented by the Martyrs, and ask them to spare them; or whether these things be wrought through angelic powers, to the honour and commendation of the Saints for

Acts 9, 12,

men's profit, while those are in supreme rest, and wholly free for other far better sights, apart from us, and praying for us. For it chanced at Milan at (the tomb of) the holy Martyrs Protasius and Gervasius, that Ambrose the bishop, at that time living, being expressly named, in like manner as were the dead whose names they were rehearsing, the demons confessed him and besought him to spare them, he being the while otherwise engaged, and when this was taking place, altogether unwitting of it. Or whether indeed these things are wrought, somewhiles by very presence of the Martyrs, otherwhiles by that of Angels; and whether it be possible, or by what tokens possible, for us to discriminate these two cases; or whether to perceive and to judge of these things none be able, but he which hath that gift through God's Spirit, *dividing unto every man severally as He will:* the same John, methinks, would discourse to me of all these matters, as I should wish; that either by his teaching I might learn, and what I should be told should know to be true and certain; or I should believe what I knew not, upon his telling me what things he knew. But if peradventure he should make answer out of holy Scripture, and say, *Things higher than thou, seek thou not; and things stronger than thou, search thou not; but what the Lord hath commanded thee, of those things bethink thee alway:* this also I should thankfully accept. For it is no small gain if, when any things are obscure and uncertain to us, and we not able to comprehend them, it be at any rate clear and certain that we are not to seek them; and what thing each one wishes to learn, accounting it to be profitable that he should know it, he should learn that it is no harm that he know it not.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

1 Cor. 12, 11.

Eccles. 3, 22.

22. Which things being so, let us not think that to the dead for whom we have a care, any thing reaches save what by sacrifices either of the altar, or of prayers, or of alms, we solemnly supplicate: although not to all for whom they are done be they profitable, but to them only by whom while they live it is obtained that they should be profitable. But forasmuch as we discern not who these be, it is meet to do them for all regenerate persons, that none of them may be passed by to whom these benefits may and ought to reach. For better it is that these things shall be super- xviii.

DE CURA PRO MORTUIS.

fluously done to them whom they neither hinder nor help, than lacking to them whom they help. More diligently however doth each man these things for his own near and dear friends, in order that they may be likewise done unto him by his. But as for the burying of the body, whatever is bestowed on that, is no aid of salvation, but an office of humanity, according to that affection by which *no man ever hateth his own flesh*. Whence it is fitting that he take[1] what care he is able for the flesh of his neighbour, when he is gone that bare[2] it. And if they do these things who believe not the resurrection of the flesh, how much more are they beholden to do the same who do believe; that so, an office of this kind bestowed upon a body, dead but yet to rise again and to remain to eternity, may also be in some sort a testimony of the same faith? But, that a person is buried at the memorials of the Martyrs, this, I think, so far profits the departed, that while commending him also to the Martyrs' patronage, the affection of supplication on his behalf is increased.

Eph. 5, 29.

[1] gerat

[2] gerebat

23. Here, to the things thou hast thought meet to inquire of me, thou hast such reply as I have been able to render: which if it be more than enough prolix, thou must excuse this, for it was done through love of holding longer talk with thee. For this book, then, how thy charity shall receive it, let me, I pray thee, know by a second letter: though doubtless it will be more welcome for its bearer's sake, to wit our brother and fellow-presbyter Candidianus, whom, having been by thy letter made acquainted with him, I have welcomed with all my heart, and am loath to let him depart. For greatly in the charity of Christ hath he by his presence consoled us, and, to say truth, it was at his instance that I have done thy bidding. For with so great businesses is my heart distraught, that had not he by ever and anon putting me in mind not suffered me to forget it, assuredly to thy questioning reply of mine had not been forthcoming.

S. AUGUSTINE

ON

PATIENCE[a].

DE PATIENTIA. i.

I. That virtue of the mind which is called Patience, is so great a gift of God, that even in Him who bestoweth the same upon us, that, whereby He waiteth for evil men that they may amend, is set forth by the name of Patience, [or long-suffering.] So, albeit in God there can be no suffering[1], and 'patience' hath its name '*a patiendo*,' from suffering, yet a patient God we not only faithfully believe, but also wholesomely confess. But the patience of God, of what kind and how great it is, His, Whom we say to be impassible[2], yet not impatient, nay even most patient, in words to unfold this who can be able? Ineffable is therefore that patience, as is His jealousy, as His wrath, and whatever there is like to these. For if we conceive of these as they be in us, in Him are there none. We, namely, can feel none of these without

[1] pati

[2] nihil patientem

[a] Erasmus infers from the style and language of this piece, that it is not S. Augustine's, putting it in the same category with the treatises 'On Continence,' 'On substance of Charity,' 'On Faith of things invisible.' The Benedictine editors acknowledge that it has peculiarities of style which are calculated to move suspicion; (especially the studied assonances and rhyming endings, e. g. "cautior fuit iste in doloribus quam ille in nemoribus ... consensit ille oblectamentis, non cessit ille tormentis." chap. 12.) yet they feel themselves bound to retain it among the genuine works by Augustine's own testimony, who mentions both this piece and that 'On Continence' in his Epistle to Darius, 231. n. 7. That it is not named in the Retractations is accounted for by the circumstance that it appears to have been delivered as a sermon, see chap. 1. and 3. and Augustine did not live to fulfil his intention of composing a further book of retractations on review of his popular discourses and letters. Ep. 224. n. 2. In point of matter and doctrine this treatise has nothing contrary to or not in harmony with S. Augustine's known doctrine and sentiments.

DE PATIENTIA.

molestation: but be it far from us to surmise that the impassible nature of God is liable to any molestation. But like as He is jealous without any darkening of spirit[1], wroth without any perturbation, pitiful without any pain, repenteth Him without any wrongness in Him to be set right; so is He patient without ought of passion. Now therefore as concerning human patience, which we are able to conceive and beholden to have, of what sort it is, I will, as God granteth and the brevity of the present discourse alloweth, essay to set forth.

[1] livore

ii. 2. The patience of man, which is right and laudable and worthy of the name of virtue, is understood to be that by which we tolerate evil things with an even mind, that we may not with a mind uneven desert good things, through which we may arrive at better. Wherefore the impatient, while they will not suffer ills, effect not a deliverance from ills, but only the suffering of heavier ills. Whereas the patient who choose rather by not committing to bear, than by not bearing to commit, evil, both make lighter what through patience they suffer, and also escape worse ills in which through impatience they would be sunk. But those good things which are great and eternal they lose not, while to the evils which be temporal and brief they yield not: because *the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared*, as the Apostle says, *with the future glory that shall be revealed in us.* And again he says, *This our temporal and light tribulation doth in inconceivable manner work for us an eternal weight of glory.*

Rom. 8, 18.

2 Cor. 4, 17.

iii. 3. Look we then, beloved, what hardships in labours and sorrows men endure, for things which they viciously love, and by how much they think to be made by them more happy, by so much more unhappily covet. How much for false riches, how much for vain honours, how much for affections of games and shows, is of exceeding peril and trouble most patiently borne! We see men hankering after money, glory, lasciviousness, how, that they may arrive at their desires, and having gotten not lose them, endure sun, rain, icy cold, waves, and most stormy tempests, the roughnesses and uncertainties of wars, the strokes of huge blows, and dreadful wounds, not of inevitable necessity but of cul-

pable will. But these madnesses are thought, in a manner, permitted. Thus avarice, ambition, luxury, and the delights of all sorts of games and shows, unless for them some wicked deed be committed or outrage which is prohibited by human laws, are accounted to pertain to innocence: nay moreover, the man who without wrong to any shall, whether for getting or increasing of money, whether for obtaining or keeping of honours, whether in contending in the match, or in hunting, or in exhibiting with applause some theatrical spectacle, have borne great labours and pains, it is not enough that through popular vanity he is checked by no reproofs, but he is moreover extolled with praises: *Because*, as it is written, *the sinner is praised in the desires of his soul.* For the force of desires makes endurance of labours and pains: and no man save for that which he enjoyeth, freely takes on him to bear that which annoyeth. But these lusts, as I said, for the fulfilling of which they which are on fire with them most patientl endure much hardship and bitterness, are accounted to be permitted, and allowed by laws. DE PATIENTIA. IV. Ps.10,3.

4. Nay more; for is it not so that even for open wickednesses, not to punish but to perpetrate them, men put up with many most grievous troubles? Do not authors of secular letters tell of a certain right noble parricide of his country, that hunger, thirst, cold, all these he was able to endure, and his body was patient of lack of food and warmth and sleep to a degree surpassing belief? Why speak of highway robbers, all of whom while they lie in wait for travellers endure whole nights without sleep, and that they may catch, as they pass by, men who have no thought of harm, will, no matter how foul the weather, plant in one spot their mind and body, which are full of thoughts of harm? Nay it is said that some of them are wont to torture one another by turns, to that degree that this practice and training against pains is not a whit short of pains. For, not so much perchance are they excruciated by the Judge, that through smart the truth may be got at, as they are by their own comrades, that through patience of pain truth may not be betrayed. And yet in all these the patience is rather to be wondered at than praised: nay neither wondered at nor praised, seeing it is no patience; but v. Sallust. Catilin. c. 5.

DE PATIENTIA.

we must wonder at the hardness, deny the patience: for there is nothing in this rightly to be praised, nothing usefully to be imitated; and thou wilt rightly judge the mind to be all the more worthy of greater punishment, the more it yields up to vices the instruments of virtues. Patience is companion of wisdom, not handmaid of concupiscence: patience is the friend of a good conscience, not the foe of innocence.

vi. 5. When therefore thou shalt see any man suffer ought patiently, do not straightway praise it as patience; for this is only shewn by the cause of suffering. When it is a good cause, then is it true patience: when that is not polluted by lust, then is this distinguished from falsity. But when that is placed in crime, then is this much misplaced in name. For not just as all who know are partakers of knowledge, just so are all who suffer partakers of patience: but they which rightly use the suffering, these in verity of patience are praised, these with the prize of patience are crowned.

vii. 6. But yet, seeing that for lusts' sake, or even wickednesses, seeing, in a word, that for this temporal life and weal men do wonderfully bear the brunt of many horrible sufferings, they much admonish us how great things ought to be borne for the sake of a good life, that it may also hereafter be eternal life, and without any bound of time, without waste or loss of any advantage, in true felicity secure. The Lord

Luke21, 19. saith, *In your patience ye shall possess your souls:* He saith not, your farms, your praises, your luxuries; but, *your souls.* If then the soul endures so great sufferings that it may possess that whereby it may be lost, how great ought it to bear that it may not be lost? And then, to mention a thing not culpable, if it bear so great sufferings for saving of the flesh under the hands of chirurgeons cutting or burning the same, how great ought it to bear for saving of itself under the fury of any soever enemies? Seeing that leeches, that the body may not die, do by pains consult for the body's good; but enemies by threatening the body with pains and death, would urge us on to the slaying of soul and body in hell.

7. Though indeed the welfare even of the body is then more providently consulted for, if its temporal life and

welfare be disregarded for righteousness' sake, and its pain or death most patiently for righteousness' sake endured. Since it is of the body's redemption which is to be in the end, that the Apostle speaks, where he says, *Even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting the adoption of sons, the redemption of our body.* Then he subjoins, *For in hope are we saved. But hope which is seen is not hope: for what a man seeth, why doth he also hope for? But if what we see not we hope for, we do by patience wait for it.* When therefore any ills do torture us indeed, yet not extort from us ill works, not only is the soul possessed through patience; but even when through patience the body itself for a time is afflicted or lost, it is unto eternal stability and salvation resumed, and hath through grief and death an inviolable health and happy immortality laid up for itself. Whence the Lord Jesus exhorting His Martyrs to patience, hath promised of the very body a future perfect entireness, without loss, I say not of any limb, but of a single hair. *Verily I say unto you*, saith He, *a hair of your head shall not perish.* That so, because, as the Apostle says, *no man ever hated his own flesh*, a faithful man may more by patience than by impatience take vigilant care for the state of his flesh, and find amends for its present losses, how great soever they may be, in the inestimable gain of future incorruption.

Rom. 8, 23—25.

viii.

Luke 21, 18.

Eph. 5, 29.

8. But although patience be a virtue of the mind, yet partly the mind exercises it in the mind itself, partly in the body. In itself it exercises patience, when, the body remaining unhurt and untouched, the mind is goaded by any adversities or filthinesses of things or words, to do or to say something that is not expedient or not becoming, and patiently bears all evils that it may not itself commit any evil in work or word. By this patience we bear, even while we be sound in body, that in the midst of the offences of this world our blessedness is deferred: of which is said what I cited a little before, *If what we see not we hope for, we do by patience wait for it.* By this patience, holy David bore the revilings of a railer, and, when he might easily have avenged himself, not only did it not, but even refrained another who was vexed and moved for him; and more put forth his kingly power by prohibiting than by exercising

ix.

2 Sam. 16, 5—12.

DE PATIENTIA.

vengeance. Nor at that time was his body afflicted with any disease or wound, but there was an acknowledging of a time of humility, and a bearing of the will of God, for the sake of which there was a drinking of the bitterness of contumely with most patient mind. This patience the Lord taught, when, the servants being moved at the mixing in of the tares and wishing to gather them up, He said that the householder answered, *Leave both to grow until the harvest.* That, namely, must be in patience put up with, which must not be in haste put away. Of this patience Himself afforded and shewed an example, when, before the passion of His Body, He so bore with His disciple Judas, that ere He pointed him out as the traitor, He endured him as a thief; and before experience of bonds and cross and death, did, to those lips so full of guile, not deny the kiss of peace. All these, and whatever else there be, which it were tedious to rehearse, belong to that manner of patience, by which the mind doth, not its own sins but any evils soever from without, patiently endure in itself, while the body remains altogether unhurt. But the other manner of patience is that by which the same mind bears any troubles and grievances whatsoever in the sufferings of the body; not as do foolish or wicked men for the sake of getting vain things or perpetrating crimes; but as is defined by the Lord, *for righteousness' sake.* In both kinds, the holy Martyrs contended. For both with scornful reproofs of the ungodly were they filled, where, the body remaining intact, the mind hath its own (as it were) blows and wounds, and bears these unbroken: and in their bodies they were bound, imprisoned, vexed with hunger and thirst, tortured, gashed, torn asunder, burned, butchered; and with piety immovable submitted unto God their mind, while they were suffering in the flesh all that exquisite cruelty could devise in its mind.

Mat.13, 30.

John12, 6; 13,29.

Mat.26, 49.

x.

Mat. 5, 10.

9. It is indeed a greater fight of patience, when it is not a visible enemy that by persecution and rage would urge us into crime, which enemy may openly and in broad day be by not consenting overcome; but the devil himself, (he who doth likewise by means of the children of infidelity, as by his vessels, persecute the children of light,) doth by himself hiddenly attack us, by his rage putting us on to do or say

something against God. As such had holy Job experience of him, by both temptations vexed, but in both through stedfast strength of patience and arms of piety unconquered. For first, his body being left unhurt, he lost all that he had, in order that the mind, before excruciation of the flesh, might through withdrawal of the things which men are wont to prize highly, be broken, and he might say something against God upon loss of the things for the sake of which he was thought to worship Him. He was smitten also with sudden bereavement of all his sons, so that whom he had begotten one by one he should lose all at once, as though their numerousness had been not for the adorning of his felicity, but for the increasing of his calamity. But where, having endured these things, he remained immovable in his God, he cleaved to His will, Whom it was not possible to lose but by his own will; and in place of the things he had lost he held Him who took them away, in Whom he should find what should never be lost. For He that took them away was not that enemy who had will of hurting, but He who had given to that enemy the power of hurting. The enemy xii. next attacked also the body, and now not those things which were in the man from without, but the man himself, in whatever part he could, he smote. From the head to the feet were burning pains, were crawling worms, were running sores; still in the rotting body the mind remained entire, and horrid as were the tortures of the consuming flesh, with inviolate piety and uncorrupted patience it endured them all. There stood the wife, and instead of giving her husband any help, was suggesting blasphemy against God. For we are not to think that the devil, in leaving her when he took away the sons, went to work as one unskilled in mischief: rather, how necessary she was to the tempter, he had already learned in Eve. But now he had not found a second Adam whom he might take by means of a woman. More cautious was Job in his hours of sadness, than Adam in his bowers of gladness, the one was overcome in the midst of pleasant things, the other overcame in the midst of pains; the one consented to that which seemed delightsome, this other quailed not in torments most affrightsome. There stood his friends too, not to console him in his evils, but to suspect evil in him. For

DE PATIENTIA.

while he suffered so great sorrows, they believed him not innocent, nor did their tongue forbear to say that which his conscience had not to say; that so amid ruthless tortures of the body, his mind also might be beaten with truthless reproaches. But he, bearing in his flesh his own pains, in his heart others' errors, reproved his wife for her folly, taught his friends wisdom, preserved patience in each and all.

xiii. Donatists.

10. To this man let them look who put themselves to death when they are sought for to have life put upon them; and by bereaving themselves of the present, deny and refuse also that which is to come. Why, if people were driving them to deny Christ or to do any thing contrary to righteousness, like true Martyrs, they ought rather to bear all patiently than to dare death impatiently. If it could be right to do this for the sake of running away from evils, holy Job would have killed himself, that being in so great evils, in his estate, in his sons, in his limbs, through the devil's cruelty, he might escape them all. But he did it not. Far be it from him, a wise man, to commit upon himself what not even that unwise woman suggested. And if she had suggested it, she would with good reason here also have had that answer which she had when suggesting blasphemy; *Thou hast spoken as one of the foolish women. If we have received good at the hand of the Lord, shall we not bear evil?* Seeing even he also would have lost patience, if either by blasphemy as she had suggested, or by killing himself which not even she had dared to speak of, he should die, and be among them of whom it is written, *Woe unto them that have lost patience!* and rather increase than escape pains, if after the death of his body he should be hurried off to punishment either of blasphemers, or of murderers, or of them which are worse even than parricides. For if a parricide be on that account more wicked than any homicide, because he kills not merely a man but a near relative; and among parricides too, the nearer the person killed, the greater criminal he is judged to be: without doubt worse still is he who kills himself, because there is none nearer to a man than himself. What then do these miserable persons mean, who, though both here they have inflicted pain upon themselves, and hereafter not only

Job 2, 10.

Eccles. 2, 14.

for their impiety towards God but for the very cruelty which they have exercised upon themselves will deservedly suffer pains of His inflicting, do yet seek moreover the glories of Martyrs? since, even if for the true testimony of Christ they suffered persecution, and killed themselves, that they might not suffer any thing from their persecutors, it would be rightly said to them, *Woe unto them which have lost patience!* For how hath patience her just reward, if even an impatient suffering receives the crown? or how shall that man be judged innocent, to whom is said, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*, if he commit murder upon himself which he is forbidden to commit upon his neighbour? DE PATIENTIA. Mat. 19, 19.

11. Let then the Saints hear from holy Scripture the precepts of patience: *My son, when thou comest to the service of God, stand thou in righteousness and fear, and prepare thy soul for temptation: bring thine heart low, and bear up; that in the last end thy life may increase. All that shall come upon thee receive thou, and in pain bear up, and in thy humility have patience. For in the fire gold and silver is proved, but acceptable men in the furnace of humiliation.* And in another place we read: *My son, faint not thou in the discipline of the Lord, neither be wearied when thou art chidden of Him. For whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth.* What is here set down, *son whom He receiveth*, the same in the above-mentioned testimony is, *acceptable men.* For this is just, that we who from our first felicity of Paradise for contumacious appetence of things to enjoy were dismissed, through humble patience of things that annoy may be received back: driven away for doing evil, brought back by suffering evil: there against righteousness doing ill, here for righteousness' sake patient of ills. xiv. Eccles. 2, 1—5. receptibiles Prov. 3, 11. 12.

12. But concerning true patience, worthy of the name of this virtue, whence it is to be had, must now be enquired. For there are some who attribute it to the strength of the human will, not which it hath by Divine assistance, but which it hath of free-will. Now this error is a proud one: for it is the error of them which abound, of whom it is said in the Psalm, *A scornful reproof to them which abound, and a despising to the proud.* It is not therefore that *patience of* xv. Pelagians. Ps. 123, 4. Ps. 9,

DE PATIENTIA.

the poor which *perisheth not for ever*. For these poor receive it from that Rich One, to Whom is said, *My God art Thou, because my goods Thou needest not:* of Whom is *every good gift, and every perfect gift;* to Whom crieth the needy and the poor, and in asking, seeking, knocking, saith, *My God, deliver me from the hand of the sinner, and from the hand of the lawless and unjust: because Thou art my patience, O Lord, my hope from my youth up.* But these which abound, and disdain to be in want before God, lest they receive of Him true patience, they which glory in their own false patience, seek to *confound the counsel of the poor, because the Lord is his hope.* Nor do they regard, seeing they are men, and attribute so much to their own, that is, to the human will, that they run into that which is written, *Cursed is every one who putteth his hope in man.* Whence even if it chance them that they do bear up under any hardships or difficulties, either that they may not displease men, or that they may not suffer worse, or in self-pleasing and love of their own presumption, do with most proud will bear up under these same, it is meet that concerning patience this be said unto them, which concerning wisdom the blessed Apostle James saith, *This wisdom cometh not from above, but is earthly, animal, devilish.* For why may there not be a false patience of the proud, as there is a false wisdom of the proud? But from Whom cometh true wisdom, from Him cometh also true patience. For to Him singeth that poor in spirit, *Unto God is my soul subjected, because from Him is my patience.*

Ps.16,2. James1, 17. Ps. 71, 4. 5. Ps.14,6. Jer. 17, 5. James 3, 15. Ps.62,5.

xvi. 13. But they answer and speak, saying, 'If the will of man without any aid of God by strength of free-choice bears so many grievous and horrible distresses, whether in mind or body, that it may enjoy the delight of this mortal life and of sins, why may it not be that in the same manner the self-same will of man by the same strength of free-choice, not thereunto looking to be aided of God, but unto itself by natural possibility sufficing, doth, in all of labour or sorrow that is put upon it, for righteousness and eternal life's sake most patiently sustain the same? Or is it so, say they, that the will of the unjust is sufficient, without aid of God, for them, yea even to exercise themselves in undergoing torture for

liberi arbitrii

iniquity, and before they be tortured by others; sufficient the will of them which love the respiting of this life that, without aid of God, they should in the midst of most atrocious and protracted torments persevere in a lie, lest confessing their misdeeds they be ordered to be put to death; and not sufficient the will of the just, unless strength be put into them from above, that whatever be their pains, they should, either for beauty's sake of very righteousness or for love of eternal life, bear the same?' DE PATIENTIA.

14. They which say these things, do not understand that as well each one of the wicked is in that measure for endurance of any ills more hard, in what measure the lust of the world is mightier in him; as also that each one of the just is in that measure for endurance of any ills more brave, in what measure in him the love of God is mightier. But lust of the world hath its beginning from choice of the will, its progress from enjoyableness of pleasure, its confirmation from the chain of custom, whereas *the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts*, not verily from ourselves, but *by the Holy Spirit which is given unto us*. And therefore from Him cometh the patience of the just, by Whom is shed abroad their love (of Him). Which love (or charity) the Apostle praising and setting off, among its other good qualities, saith, that it *beareth all things*. *Charity*, saith he, *is magnanimous*[1]. And a little after he saith, *endureth all things*. The greater then is in saints the charity (or love) of God, the more do they endure all things for Him whom they love, and the greater in sinners the lust of the world, the more do they endure all things for that which they lust after. And consequently from that same source cometh true patience of the righteous, from which there is in them the love of God; and from that same source the false patience of the unrighteous, from which is in them the lust of the world. With regard to which the Apostle John saith; *Love not the world, neither the things that be in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him: because all that is in the world, is lust of the flesh, and lust of the eyes, and pride of life; which is not of the Father, but is of the world.* This concupiscence, then, which is not of the Father, but is of the world, in what measure it shall in

xvii.

Rom. 5, 5.

1 Cor. 13, 4. 7.

[1] *magnanima.*

1 John 2, 15. 16.

[1] *'ambitio sæculi.'*

DE PATIENTIA.

any man be more vehement and ardent, in that measure becometh each more patient of all troubles and sorrows for that which he lusteth after. Therefore, as we said above, this is not the patience which descendeth from above, but the patience of the godly is from above, coming down from the Father of lights. And so that is earthly, this heavenly; that animal, this spiritual; that devilish, this Godlike[1]. Because concupiscence, whereof it cometh that persons sinning suffer all things stubbornly, is of the world; but charity, whereof cometh that persons living aright suffer all things bravely, is of God. And therefore to that false patience it is possible that, without aid of God, the human will may suffice; harder, in proportion as it is more eager of lust, and bearing ills with the more endurance the worse itself becometh: while to this, which is true patience, the human will, unless aided and inflamed from above, doth not suffice, for the very reason that the Holy Spirit is the fire thereof; by Whom unless it be kindled to love that impassible Good, it is not able to bear the ill which it suffereth.

[1] deifica.

xviii. 1 John 4, 16.

15. For, as the Divine utterances testify, *God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God dwelleth in him.* Whoso therefore contends that love of God may be had without aid of God, what else does he contend, but that God may be had without God? Now what Christian would say this, which no madman would venture to say? Therefore in the Apostle, true, pious, faithful patience, saith exultingly, and by the mouth of the Saints; *Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, For Thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us:* not through ourselves, but, *through Him that loved us.* And then he goes on and adds; *For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.* This is that *love of God*

Rom. 8, 35—39.

which *is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given unto us.* But the concupiscence of the bad, by reason of which there is in them a false patience, *is not of the Father*, as saith the Apostle John, but is of the world. DE PATIENTIA. 1 John 2, 16.

xix. 16. Here some man shall say; 'If the concupiscence of the bad, whereby it comes that they bear all evils for that which they lust after, be of the world, how is it said to be of their will?' As if, truly, they were not themselves also of the world, when they love the world, forsaking Him by Whom the world was made. For *they serve the creature more than the Creator, Who is blessed for ever.* Rom. 1, 25. Whether then by the word 'world,' the Apostle John signifies lovers of the world, the will, as it is of themselves, is therefore of the world: or whether under the name of the world he comprises heaven and earth, and all that is therein, that is the creature universally, it is plain that the will of the creature, not being that of the Creator, is of the world. For which cause to such the Lord saith, *Ye are from beneath, I am from above: ye are of this world, I am not of this world.* John 8, 23. And to the Apostles He saith, *If ye were of the world, the world would love his own.* But lest they should arrogate more unto themselves than their measure craved, and when He said that they were not of the world, should imagine this to be of nature, not of grace, therefore He saith, *But because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.* It follows, that they once were of the world: for, that they might not be of the world, they were chosen out of the world.

xx. 17. Now this election the Apostle demonstrating to be, not of merits going before in good works, but election of grace, saith thus: *And in this time a remnant by election of grace is saved. But if by grace, then is it no more of works, otherwise grace is no more grace.* Rom. 11, 5. 6. This is election of grace; that is, election in which through the grace of God men are elected: this, I say, is election of grace which goes before all good merits of men. For if it be to any good merits that it is given, then is it no more gratuitously given, but is paid as a debt, and consequently is not truly called grace; where *reward*, as the same Apostle saith, *is not imputed as grace, but as debt.* Rom. 4,

DE PATIENTIA. Whereas if, that it may be true grace, that is, gratuitous, it find nothing in man to which it is due of merit, (which thing Ps. 56, 7. LXX. is well understood in that saying, *Thou wilt save them for nothing*[g],) then assuredly itself gives the merits, not to merits is given. Consequently it goes before even faith, Habak. 2, 4. from which it is that all good works begin. *For the just,* as is written, *shall live by faith.* But, moreover, grace not only assists the just, but also justifies the ungodly. And therefore even when it does aid the just and seems to be rendered to his merits, not even then does it cease to be grace, because that which it aids it did itself bestow. With a view therefore to this grace, which precedes all good merits of man, not only was Christ put to death by the Rom. 5, 6. ungodly, but *died for the ungodly.* And ere that He died, He elected the Apostles, not of course then just, but to be justified: to whom He saith, *I have chosen you out of the world.* For to whom He said, *Ye are not of the world,* and then, lest they should account themselves never to have been of the world, presently added, *But I have chosen you out of the world;* assuredly that they should not be of the world was by His own election of them conferred upon them. Wherefore, if it had been through their own righteousness, not through His grace, that they were elected, they would not have been chosen out of the world, because they would already not be of the world if already they were just. And again, if the reason why they were elected was, that they were already just, they had already first chosen the Lord. For who can be righteous but by choosing righteousness? Rom. 10, 4. 1 Cor. 1, 30. 31. *But the end of the law is Christ, for righteousness to every one that believeth. Who is made unto us wisdom of God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that, as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.* He then is Himself our righteousness.

xxi. 18. Whence also the just of old, before the Incarnation of the Word, in this faith of Christ, and in this true righteousness, (which thing Christ is unto us,) were justified; believing Eph. 2, 8. 9. this to come which we believe come: and they themselves by grace were saved through faith, not of themselves, but by the

[g] Psalm lvi. 7. Lat. and LXX. *διὰ τοῦ μηδενὸς σώσεις αὐτούς.* But Heb. and E. V. 'shall they escape by iniquity?'

gift of God, not of works, lest haply they should be lifted up. For their good works did not come before God's mercy, but followed it. For to them was it said, and by them written, long ere Christ was come in the flesh, *I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will shew compassion on whom I will have compassion.* From which words of God the Apostle Paul should so long after say; *It is not therefore of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy.* It is also their own voice, long ere Christ was come in the flesh, *My God, His mercy shall prevent me.* How indeed could they be aliens from the faith of Christ, by whose charity even Christ was foreannounced unto us; without the faith of Whom, not any of mortals either hath been, or is, or ever shall be able to be, righteous? If then, being already just, the Apostles were elected by Christ, they would have first chosen Him, that just men might be chosen, because without Him they could not be just. But it was not so: as Himself saith to them, *Not ye have chosen Me, but I have chosen you.* Of which the Apostle John speaks, *Not that we loved God, but that He loved us.*

DE PATIENTIA.

Ex. 33, 19. Rom. 9, 15. 16.

Ps. 59, 11.

1 John 4, 10.

xxii. 19. Since the case is so, what is man, while in this life he uses his own proper will, ere he choose and love God, but unrighteous and ungodly? *What*, I say, *is man*, a creature going astray from the Creator, unless his Creator *be mindful of him*, and choose[1] him freely, and love[2] him freely? Because he is himself not able to choose or love, unless being first chosen and loved he be healed, because by choosing blindness he perceiveth not, and by loving laziness is soon wearied. But perchance some man may say: In what manner is it that God first chooses and loves unjust men, that He may justify them, when it is written, *Thou hatest, Lord, all that work iniquity?* In what way, think we, but in a wonderful and ineffable manner? And yet even we are able to conceive, that the good Physician both hates and loves the sick man: hates him, because he is sick; loves him, that he may drive away his sickness.

Ps. 8, 4.

[1] eligere
[2] diligere

Ps. 5, 5.

xxiii. 20. Let thus much have been said with regard to charity, without which in us there cannot be true patience, because in good men it is the love of God which endureth all things,

DE PATIENTIA.

as in bad men the lust of the world. But this love is in us by the Holy Spirit which was given us. Whence, of Whom cometh in us love, of Him cometh patience. But the lust of the world, when it patiently bears the burdens of any manner of calamity, boasts of the strength of its own will, like as of the stupor of disease, not robustness of health. This boasting is insane: it is not the language of patience, but of dotage. A will like this in that degree seems more patient of bitter ills, in which it is more greedy of temporal good things, because more empty of eternal.

xxiv. 21. But if it be goaded on and inflamed with deceitful visions and unclean incentives by the devilish spirit, associated and conspiring therewith in malignant agreement, this spirit makes the will of the man either frantic with error, or burning with appetite of some worldly delight; and hence, it seems to shew a marvellous endurance of intolerable evils: but yet it does not follow from this that an evil will without instigation of another and unclean spirit, like as a good will without aid of the Holy Spirit, cannot exist. For that there may be an evil will even without any spirit either seducing or inciting, is sufficiently clear in the instance of the devil himself, who is found to have become a devil, not through some other devil, but of his own proper will. An evil will therefore, whether it be hurried on by lust, whether called back by fear, whether expanded by gladness, whether contracted by sadness, and in all these perturbations of mind enduring and making light of whatever are to others, or at another time, more grievous, this evil will may, without another spirit to goad it on, seduce itself, and in lapsing by defection from the higher to the lower, the more pleasant it shall account that thing to be which it seeks to get or fears to lose, or rejoices to have gotten, or grieves to have lost, the more tolerably for its sake bear what is less for it to suffer than that is to be enjoyed. For whatever that thing be, it is of the creature, of which one knows the pleasure. Because in some sort, the creature loved approaches itself to the creature loving in fond contact and connection, to the giving experience of its sweetness.

xxv. 22. But the pleasure of the Creator, of which is written,

Ps.36,9. *And from the river of Thy pleasure wilt Thou give them to*

drink, is of far other kind, for it is not, like us, a creature. Unless then its love be given to us from thence, there is no source whence it may be in us. And consequently, a good will, by which we love God, cannot be in man, save in whom God also worketh to will. This good will therefore, that is, a will faithfully subjected to God, a will set on fire by sanctity of that ardour which is above, a will which loves God and his neighbour for God's sake; whether through love, of which the Apostle Peter makes answer, *Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee;* whether through fear, of which says the Apostle Paul, *In fear and trembling work out your own salvation;* whether through joy, of which he says, *In hope rejoicing, in tribulation patient;* whether through sorrow, with which he says he had great grief for his brethren; in whatever way it endure what bitterness and hardships soever, it is the love of God which *endureth all things*, and which is not shed abroad in our hearts but by the Holy Spirit given unto us. Whereof piety makes no manner of doubt, but, as the charity of them which holily love, so the patience of them which piously endure, is the gift of God. For it cannot be that the divine Scripture deceiveth or is deceived, which not only in the Old Books hath testimonies of this thing, when it is said unto God, *My Patience art Thou*, and, *From Him is my patience;* and where another prophet saith, that we receive the spirit of fortitude; but also in the Apostolic writings we read, *Because unto you is given on behalf of Christ, not only to believe on Him, but to suffer for Him.* Therefore let not that make the mind to be as of its own merit uplifted, wherewith he is told that he is of Another's mercy gifted.

DE PATIENTIA.

Phil. 2, 13.

John 21, 15.

Phil. 2, 12.

Rom. 12, 12.

Rom. 9, 2.

1 Cor. 13, 7.

Rom. 5, 5.

CAP. XXVI.

Ps. 71, 5. and 62, 5.

Is. 11, 2.

Phil. 1 29.

23. But if moreover any not having charity, which pertaineth to the unity of spirit and the bond of peace whereby the Catholic Church is gathered and knit together, being involved in any schism, doth, that he may not deny Christ, suffer tribulations, straits, hunger, nakedness, persecution, perils, prisons, bonds, torments, sword, or flames, or wild beasts, or the very cross, through fear of hell and everlasting fire; in no wise is all this to be blamed, nay rather this also is a patience meet to be praised. For we cannot say that it would have been better for him that by denying Christ he

DE PATIENTIA.

should suffer none of these things, which he did suffer by confessing Him: but we must account that it will perhaps be more tolerable for him in the judgment, than if by denying Christ he should avoid all those things: so that what the Apostle saith, *If I shall give my body to be burned, but have not charity, it profiteth me nothing*, should be understood to profit nothing for obtaining the kingdom of heaven, but not for having more tolerable punishment to undergo in the last judgment.

1 Cor. 13, 3.

xxvii. See on Prof. of Believing, c. 1. inf. p. 577.

24. But it may well be asked, whether this patience likewise be the gift of God, or to be attributed to strength of the human will, by which patience, one who is separated from the Church doth, not for the error which separated him but for the truth of the Sacrament or Word which hath remained with him, for fear of pains eternal suffer pains temporal. For we must take heed lest haply, if we affirm that patience to be the gift of God, they in whom it is should be thought to belong also to the kingdom of God; but if we deny it to be the gift of God, we should be compelled to allow that without aid and gift of God there can be in the will of man somewhat of good. Because it is not to be denied that it is a good thing that a man believe he shall undergo pain of eternal punishment if he shall deny Christ, and for that faith endure and make light of any manner of punishment of man's inflicting.

25. So then, as we are not to deny that this is the gift of God, we are thus to understand that there be some gifts of God possessed by the sons of that Jerusalem which is above, and free, and mother of us all, (for these are in some sort the hereditary possessions in which we are *heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ*:) but some other which may be received even by the sons of concubines to whom carnal Jews and schismatics or heretics are compared. For though it be written, *Cast out the bondmaid and her son, for the son of the bondmaid shall not be heir with my son Isaac*: and though God said to Abraham, *In Isaac shall thy seed be called*: which the Apostle hath so interpreted as to say, *That is, not they which be sons of the flesh, these be the sons of God; but the sons of the promise are counted for the seed*; that we might understand the seed of Abraham in regard of

Gal. 4, 26.

xxviii.

Gal. 4, 30. and Gen. 21, 10. Gen. 21, 12. and Rom. 9, 7. 8.

Christ to pertain by reason of Christ to the sons of God, who are Christ's body and members, that is to say, the Church of God, one, true, very-begotten, catholic, holding the godly faith; not the faith which works through elation or fear, but *which worketh by love;* nevertheless, even the sons of the concubines, when Abraham sent them away from his son Isaac, he did not omit to bestow upon them some gifts, that they might not be left in every way empty, but not that they should be held as heirs. For so we read: *And Abraham gave all his estate unto Isaac; and to the sons of his concubines gave Abraham gifts, and sent them away from his son Isaac.* If then we be sons of Jerusalem the free, let us understand that other be the gifts of them which are put out of the inheritance, other the gifts of them which be heirs. For these be the heirs, to whom is said, *Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but ye have received the spirit of adoption of sons, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.*

DE PATIENTIA.

Gal.5,6.

Gen.25, 5. 6.

Rom. 8, 15.

26. Cry we therefore with the spirit of charity, and until we come to the inheritance in which we are alway to remain, let us be, through love which becometh the free-born, not through fear which becometh bondmen, patient of suffering. Cry we, so long as we are poor, until we be with that inheritance made rich. Seeing how great earnest thereof we have received, in that Christ to make us rich made Himself poor; Who being exalted unto the riches which are above, there was sent One Who should breathe into our hearts holy longings, the Holy Spirit. Of these poor, as yet believing, not yet beholding; as yet hoping, not yet enjoying; as yet sighing in desire, not yet reigning in felicity; as yet hungering and thirsting, not yet satisfied: of these poor, then, *the patience shall not perish for ever:* not that there will be patience there also, where ought to endure shall not be; but *will not perish*, meaning that it will not be unfruitful. But its fruit it will have for ever, therefore it *shall not perish for ever.* For he who labours in vain, when his hope fails for which he laboured, says with good cause, 'I have lost so much labour:' but he who comes to the promise of his labour says, congratulating himself, I have not lost my labour. Labour then is said not to perish (or be lost), not

Ps.9,18.

DE PATIENTIA.

because it lasts perpetually, but because it is not spent in vain. So also the patience of the poor of Christ (who yet are to be made rich as heirs of Christ) shall not perish for ever: not because there also we shall be commanded patiently to bear, but because for that which we have here patiently borne, we shall enjoy eternal bliss. He will put no end to everlasting felicity, Who giveth temporal patience unto the will: because both the one and the other is of Him bestowed as a gift upon charity, Whose gift that charity is also.

S. AUGUSTINE

ON

THE CREED:

A SERMON TO THE CATECHUMENS.

DE SYMBOLO. i.

1. RECEIVE, my children, the Rule of Faith, which is called the Symbol (or Creed[1]). And when ye have received it, write it in your heart, and be daily saying it to yourselves; before ye sleep, before ye go forth, arm you with your Creed. The Creed no man writes so as it may be able to be read: but for rehearsal of it, lest haply forgetfulness obliterate what care hath delivered, let your memory be your record-roll[2]: what ye are about to hear, that are ye to believe; and what ye shall have believed, that are about to give back with your tongue. For the Apostle says, *With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.* For this is the Creed which ye are to rehearse and to repeat in answer.

[1] Symbolum

[2] codex

Rom. 10, 10.

These words which ye have heard are in the Divine Scriptures scattered up and down: but thence gathered and reduced into one, that the memory of slow persons might not be distressed; that every person may be able to say, able to hold, what he believes. For have ye now merely heard that God is Almighty? But ye begin to have Him for your Father, when ye have been born by the Church as your Mother.

2. Of this, then, ye have now received, have meditated, and having meditated have held, that ye should say, "I

DE SYMBOLO

believe in God the Father Almighty." God is Almighty, and yet, though Almighty, He cannot die, cannot be deceived, cannot lie; and, as the Apostle says, *cannot deny Himself.* How many things that He cannot do, and yet is Almighty! yea therefore is Almighty, because He cannot do these things. For if He could die, He were not Almighty; if to lie, if to be deceived, if to do unjustly, were possible for Him, He were not Almighty: because if this were in Him, He should not be worthy to be Almighty. To our Almighty Father, it is quite impossible to sin. He does whatsoever He will: that is Omnipotence. He does whatsoever He rightly will, whatsoever He justly will: but whatsoever is evil to do, He wills not. There is no resisting one who is Almighty, that He should not do what He will. It was He Who made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, invisible and visible. Invisible such as are in heaven, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, archangels, angels: all, if we shall live aright, our fellow-citizens. He made in heaven the things visible; the sun, the moon, the stars. With its terrestrial animals He adorned the earth, filled the air with things that fly, the land with them that walk and creep, the sea with them that swim: all He filled with their own proper creatures. He made also man after His own image and likeness, in the mind: for in that is the image of God. This is the reason why the mind cannot be comprehended even by itself, because in it is the image of God. To this end were we made, that over the other creatures we should bear rule: but through sin in the first man we fell, and are all come into an inheritance of death. We were brought low, became mortal, were filled with fears, with errors: this by desert of sin: with which desert and guilt is every man born. This is the reason why, as ye have seen to-day, as ye know, even little children undergo exsufflation, exorcism; to drive away from them the power of the devil their enemy, which deceived man that it might possess mankind. It is not then the creature of God that in infants undergoes exorcism or exsufflation: but he under whom are all that are born with sin; for he is the first[1] of sinners. And for this cause by reason of one who fell and brought all into death, there was sent One without sin, Who should

2 Tim. 2, 13.

Gen. ch. 1—3.

[1] princeps

bring unto life, by delivering them from sin, all that believe on Him. AD CATECHUMENOS. ii.

3. For this reason we believe also in His Son, that is to say, God the Father Almighty's, " His Only Son, our Lord." When thou hearest of the Only Son of God, acknowledge Him God. For it could not be that God's Only Son should not be God. What He is, the same did He beget, though He is not that Person Whom He begot. If He be truly Son, He is that which the Father is; if He be not that which the Father is, He is not truly Son. Observe mortal and earthly creatures: what each is, that it engendereth. Man begets not an ox, sheep begets not dog, nor dog sheep. Whatever it be that begetteth, that which it is, it begetteth. Hold ye therefore boldly, firmly, faithfully, that the Begotten of God the Father is what Himself is, Almighty. These mortal creatures engender by corruption. Does God so beget? He that is begotten mortal generates that which himself is; the Immortal generates what He is: corruptible begets corruptible, Incorruptible begets Incorruptible: the corruptible begets corruptibly, Incorruptible, Incorruptibly: yea, so begetteth what Itself is, that One begets One, and therefore Only. Ye know, that when I pronounced to you the Creed, so I said, and so ye are bounden to believe; that we " believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ His Only Son." Here too, when thou believest that He is the Only, believe Him Almighty: for it is not to be thought that God the Father does what He will, and God the Son does not what He will. One Will of Father and Son, because one Nature. For it is impossible for the will of the Son to be any whit parted from the Father's will. God and God; both one God: Almighty and Almighty; both One Almighty.

4. We do not bring in two Gods as some do, who say, 'God the Father and God the Son, but greater God the Father and lesser God the Son.' They both are what? Two Gods? Thou blushest to speak it, blush to believe it. Lord God the Father, thou sayest, and Lord God the Son: and the Son Himself saith, *No man can serve two Lords.* Matt. 6, 24. In His family shall we be in such wise, that, like as in a great house where there is the father of a family and he

DE SYMBOLO

hath a son, so we should say, the greater Lord, the lesser Lord? Shrink from such a thought. If ye make to yourselves such-like in your heart, ye set up idols in the 'one soul.' Utterly repel it. First believe, then understand. Now to whom God gives that when he has believed he soon understands; that is God's gift, not human frailness. Still, if ye do not yet understand, believe: One God the Father, God Christ the Son of God. Both are what? One God. And how are both said to be One God? How? Dost thou marvel? In the Acts of the Apostles, *There was*, it says, *in the believers, one soul and one heart.* There were many souls, faith had made them one. So many thousands of souls were there; they loved each other, and many are one: they loved God in the fire of charity, and from being many they are come to the oneness of beauty. If all those many souls the dearness of love[1] made one soul, what must be the dearness of love in God, where is no diversity, but entire equality! If on earth and among men there could be so great charity as of so many souls to make one soul, where Father from Son, Son from Father, hath been ever inseparable, could They both be other than One God? Only, those souls might be called both many souls and one soul; but God, in Whom is ineffable and highest conjunction, may be called One God, not two Gods.

Acts 4, 32.

[1] charity.

5. The Father doeth what He will, and what He will doeth the Son. Do not imagine an Almighty Father and a not Almighty Son: it is error, blot it out within you, let it not cleave in your memory, let it not be drunk into your faith, and if haply any of you shall have drunk it in, let him vomit it up. Almighty is the Father, Almighty the Son. If Almighty begat not Almighty, He begat not very Son. For what say we, brethren, if the Father being greater begat a Son less than He? What said I, begat? Man engenders, being greater, a son being less: it is true: but that is because the one grows old, the other grows up, and by very growing attains to the form of his father. The Son of God, if He groweth not because neither can God wax old, was begotten perfect. And being begotten perfect, if He groweth not, and remained not less, He is equal. For that ye may know Almighty begotten of Almighty, hear Him Who is

Truth. That which of Itself Truth saith, is true. What saith Truth? What saith the Son, Who is Truth? *Whatsoever things the Father doeth, these also the Son likewise doeth.* The Son is Almighty, in doing all things that He willeth to do. For if the Father doeth some things which the Son doeth not, the Son said falsely, *Whatsoever things the Father doeth, these also the Son doeth likewise.* But because the Son spake truly, believe it: *Whatsoever things the Father doeth, these also the Son doeth likewise,* and ye have believed in the Son that He is Almighty. Which word although ye said not in the Creed, yet this is it that ye expressed when ye believed in the Only Son, Himself God. Hath the Father aught that the Son hath not? This Arian heretic blasphemers say, not I. But what say I? If the Father hath aught that the Son hath not, the Son lieth in saying, *All things that the Father hath, are Mine.* Many and innumerable are the testimonies by which it is proved that the Son is Very Son of God the Father, and the Father God hath His Very-begotten Son God, and Father and Son is One God.

AD CATECHUMENOS. John 5, 19. John 16, 15.

iii. 6. But this Only Son of God, the Father Almighty, let us see what He did for us, what He suffered for us. "Born of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary." He, so great God, equal with the Father, born of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary, born lowly, that thereby He might heal the proud. Man exalted himself and fell; God humbled Himself and raised him up. Christ's lowliness, what is it? God hath stretched out an hand to man laid low. We fell, He descended: we lay low, He stooped. Let us lay hold and rise, that we fall not into punishment. So then His stooping to us is this, "Born of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary." His very Nativity too as man, it is lowly, and it is lofty. Whence lowly? That as man He was born of men. Whence lofty? That He was born of a virgin. A virgin conceived, a virgin bore, and after the birth was a virgin still.

7. What next? "Suffered under Pontius Pilate." He was in office as governor and was the judge, this same Pontius Pilate, what time as Christ suffered. In the name of the judge there is a mark of the times, when He suffered under Pontius Pilate: when He suffered, "was crucified, dead,

DE SYMBOLO Son, our Lord. What? Crucified, dead, and buried. For whom? for ungodly and sinners. Great condescension, great grace! *What shall I render unto the Lord for all that He hath bestowed on me?*

Ps. 116, 12.

8. He was begotten before all times, before all worlds. 'Begotten before.' Before what, He in Whom is no before? Do not in the least imagine any time before that Nativity of Christ whereby He was begotten of the Father; of that Nativity I am speaking by which He is Son of God Almighty, His Only Son our Lord; of that am I first speaking. Do not imagine in this Nativity a beginning of time; do not imagine any space of eternity in which the Father was and the Son was not. Since when the Father was, since then the Son. And what is that, 'since,' where is no beginning? Therefore ever Father without beginning, ever Son without beginning. And how, thou wilt say, was He begotten, if He have no beginning? Of eternal, coeternal. At no time was the Father, and the Son not, and yet Son of Father was begotten. Whence is any manner of similitude to be had? We are among things of earth, we are in the visible creature. Let the earth give me a similitude: it gives none. Let the element of the waters give me some similitude: it hath not whereof to give. Some animal give me a similitude: neither can this do it. An animal indeed engenders, both what engenders and what is engendered: but first is the father, and then is born the son. Let us find the coeval and imagine it coeternal. If we shall be able to find a father coeval with his son, and son coeval with his father, let us believe God the Father coeval with His Son, and God the Son coeternal with His Father. On earth we can find some coeval, we cannot find any coeternal. Let us stretch[1] the coeval and imagine it coeternal. Some one, it may be, will put you on the stretch[2], by saying, 'When is it possible for a father to be found coeval with his son, or son coeval with his father? That the father may beget he goes before in age; that the son may be begotten, he comes after in age: but this father coeval with son, or son with father, how can it be?' Imagine to yourselves fire as father, its shining as son; see, we have found the coevals. From the instant that the fire begins to be, that instant it begets the

[1] intendamus.
[2] intentos.

AD CATECHUMENOS.

And if we ask, which begets which? the fire the shining, or the shining the fire? Immediately ye conceive by natural sense, by the innate wit of your minds ye all cry out, The fire the shining, not the shining the fire. Lo, here you have a father beginning; lo, a son at the same time, neither going before nor coming after. Lo, here then is a father beginning, lo, a son at the same time beginning. If I have shewn you a father beginning, and a son at the same time beginning, believe the Father not beginning, and with Him the Son not beginning either; the one eternal, the other coeternal. If ye get on with your learning, ye understand: take pains to get on. The being born, ye have; but also the growing, ye ought to have; because no man begins with being perfect. As for the Son of God, indeed, He could be born perfect, because He was begotten without time, coeternal with the Father, long before all things, not in age, but in eternity. He then was begotten coeternal, of which generation the Prophet said, *His generation who shall declare?* begotten of the Father without time, He was born of the Virgin in the fulness of times. This nativity had times going before it. In opportunity of time, when He would, when He knew, then was He born: for He was not born without His will. None of us is born because he will, and none of us dies when he will: He, when He would, was born; when He would, He died: how He would, He was born of a Virgin: how He would, He died; on the cross. Whatever He would, He did: because He was in such wise Man that, unseen [1], He was God; God assuming, Man assumed [2]; One Christ, God and Man. Is. 53,8.

9. Of His cross what shall I speak, what say? This extremest kind of death He chose, that not any kind of death might make His Martyrs afraid. The doctrine He shewed in His life as Man, the example of patience He demonstrated in His Cross. There, you have the work, that He was crucified; example of the work, the Cross; reward of the work, Resurrection. He shewed us in the Cross what we ought to endure, He shewed in the Resurrection what we have to hope. Just like a consummate task-master in the matches of the arena, He said, Do, and bear; do the work and receive the prize; strive in the match and thou shalt be crowned. What is the work? Obedience. What the prize? Resurrection

[1] ut lateret Deus.

[2] susceptor susceptus.

DE SYMBOLO

without death. Why did I add, 'without death?' Because Lazarus rose, and died; Christ rose again, *dieth no more, death will no longer have dominion over Him.*

Rom. 6, 9.

James 5, 11.

10. Scripture saith, *Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord.* When we read what great trials Job endured, it makes one shudder, it makes one shrink, it makes one quake. And what did he receive? The double of what he had lost. Let not a man therefore with an eye to temporal rewards be willing to have patience, and say to himself, 'Let me endure loss, God will give me back sons twice as many; Job received double of all, and begat as many sons as he had buried.' Then is this not the double? Yes, precisely the double, because the former sons still lived. Let none say, 'Let me bear evils, and God will repay me as He repaid Job:' that it be now no longer patience but avarice. For if it was not patience which that Saint had, nor a brave enduring of all that came upon him; the testimony which the Lord gave, whence should he have it? *Hast thou observed,* saith the Lord, *my servant Job? For there is not like him any on the earth, a man without* [1]querela *fault*[1], *a true worshipper of God.* What a testimony, my brethren, did this holy man deserve of the Lord! And yet him a bad woman sought by her persuasion to deceive, she too representing that serpent, who, like as in Paradise he deceived the man whom God first made, so likewise here by suggesting blasphemy thought to be able to deceive a man who pleased God. What things he suffered, my brethren! Who can have so much to suffer in his estate, his house, his sons, his flesh, yea in his very wife who was left to be his tempter! But even her who was left, the devil would have taken away long ago, but that he kept her to be his helper: because by Eve he had mastered the first man, therefore had he kept an Eve. What things, then, he suffered! He lost all that he had; his house fell; would that were all! it crushed his sons also. And, to see that patience had great place in him, hear what he answered; *The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away; as it pleased the Lord, so hath it been done*[2]*; blessed be the name of the Lord.* He hath taken what He gave, is He lost Who gave? He hath taken what He gave. As if he should say, He hath taken away

Job 1, 21.

[2] Lat. from LXX.

all, let Him take all, send me away naked, and let me keep Him. What shall I lack if I have God? or what is the good of all else to me, if I have not God? Then it came to his flesh, he was stricken with a wound from head to foot; he was one running sore, one mass of crawling worms: and shewed himself immovable in his God, stood fixed. The woman wanted, devil's helper as she was not husband's comforter, to put him up to blaspheme God. *How long*, said she, *dost thou suffer* so and so: *speak some word against the Lord*[1], *and die.* So then, because he had been brought low, he was to be exalted. And this the Lord did, in order to shew it to men; as for His servant, He kept greater things for him in heaven. So then Job who was brought low, He exalted; the devil who was lifted up, He brought low: for *He putteth down one and setteth up another.* But let not any man, my beloved brethren, when he suffers any such-like tribulations, look for a reward here: for instance, if he suffer any losses, let him not peradventure say, *The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away; as it pleased the Lord, so is it done: blessed be the name of the Lord;* only with the mind to receive twice as much again. Let patience praise God, not avarice. If what thou hast lost thou seekest to receive back twofold, and therefore praisest God, it is of covetousness thou praisest, not of love. Do not imagine this to be the example of that holy man; thou deceivest thyself. When Job was enduring all, he was not hoping for to have twice as much again. Both in his first confession when he bore up under his losses, and bore out to the grave the dead bodies of his sons, and in the second when he was now suffering torments of sores in his flesh, ye may observe what I am saying. Of his former confession the words run thus: *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: as it pleased the Lord, so is it done: blessed be the name of the Lord.* He might have said, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; He that took away can once more give; can bring back more than He took.' He said not this, but, *As it pleased the Lord*, said he, *so is it done:* because it pleases Him, let it please me: let not that which hath pleased the good Lord misplease His submissive servant; what pleased the Physician, not misplease the sick man. Hear his other

AD CATECHUMENOS.

Job 2,9.

[1] Lat. from LXX.

Ps.75,7.

Job 1, 21.

DE SYMBOLO Job 2, 10.

confession: *Thou hast spoken*, said he to his wife, *like one of the foolish women. If we have received good at the hand of the Lord, why shall we not bear evil?* He did not add, what, if he had said it, would have been true, 'The Lord is able both to bring back my flesh into its former condition, and that which He hath taken away from us, to make manifold more:' lest he should seem to have endured in hope of this. This was not what he said, not what he hoped. But, that we might be taught, did the Lord that for him, not hoping for it, by which we should be taught, that God was with him: because if He had not also restored to him those things, there was the crown indeed, but hidden, and we could not see it. And therefore what says the divine Scripture in exhorting to patience and hope of things future, not reward of things present? *Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord.* Why is it, *the patience of Job*, and not, Ye have seen the end of Job himself? Thou wouldest open thy mouth for the 'twice as much;' wouldest say, 'Thanks be to God; let me bear up: I receive twice as much again, like Job.' *Patience of Job, end of the Lord.* The patience of Job we know, and the end of the Lord we know. What end of the Lord? *My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?* They are the words of the Lord hanging on the cross. He did as it were leave Him for present felicity, not leave Him for eternal immortality. In this is *the end of the Lord.* The Jews hold Him, the Jews insult, the Jews bind Him, crown Him with thorns, dishonour Him with spitting, scourge Him, overwhelm Him with revilings, hang Him upon the tree, pierce Him with a spear, last of all bury Him. He was as it were left: but by whom? By those insulting ones. Therefore thou shalt but to this end have patience, that thou mayest rise again and not die, that is, never die, even as Christ. For so we read, *Christ rising from the dead henceforth dieth not*[c].

Ps. 22, 1.

Rom. 6, 9.

iv. 11. "He ascended into heaven:" believe. "He sitteth at the right hand of the Father:" believe. By sitting, understand dwelling: as [in Latin] we say of any person, 'In that country he dwelt (*sedit*) three years.' The Scripture

[c] The Article of the descent into Hell appears not to have been included in this Creed.

also has that expression, that such an one dwelt (*sedisse*) in a city for such a time. Not meaning that he sat, and never rose up? On this account the dwellings of men are called seats (*sedes*)[d]. Where people are seated (in this sense), are they always sitting? Is there no rising, no walking, no lying down? And yet they are called seats (*sedes*). In this way, then, believe an inhabiting of Christ on the right hand of God the Father: He is there. And let not your heart say to you, What is He doing? Do not want to seek what is not permitted to find: He is there; it suffices you. He is blessed, and from blessedness which is called the right hand of the Father, of very blessedness the name is, right hand of the Father. For if we shall take it carnally, then because He sitteth on the right hand of the Father, the Father will be on His left hand. Is it consistent with piety so to put Them together, the Son on the right, the Father on the left? There it is all right-hand, because no misery is there. AD CATECHUMENOS. 1 Kings 2, 38. LXX.

12. "Thence He shall come to judge the quick and dead." The quick, who shall be alive and remain; the dead, who shall have gone before. It may also be understood thus: The living, the just; the dead, the unjust. For He judges both, rendering unto each his own. To the just He will say in the judgment, *Come, ye blessed of My Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world.* For this prepare yourselves, for these things hope, for this live, and so live, for this believe, for this be baptized, that it may be said to you, *Come, ye blessed of My Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.* To them on the left hand, what? *Go into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels.* Thus will they be judged by Christ, the quick and the dead. We have spoken of Christ's first nativity, which is without time; spoken of the other in the fulness of time, Christ's nativity of the Virgin; spoken of the passion of Christ; spoken of the coming of Christ to judgment. The whole is spoken, that was to be spoken of Christ, God's Only Son, our Lord. But not yet is the Trinity perfect. Mat. 25, 34. Mat. 25, 41.

13. It follows in the Creed, "And in the Holy Ghost." This Trinity, one God, one nature, one substance, one V.

[d] Cf. Serm. 214. n. 8. Ben.

DE SYMBOLO

power; highest equality, no division, no diversity, perpetual dearness of love[1]. Would ye know the Holy Ghost, that He is God? Be baptized, and ye will be His temple. The Apostle says, *Know ye not that your bodies are the temple within you of the Holy Ghost, Whom ye have of God?* A temple is for God: thus also Solomon, king and prophet, was bidden to build a temple for God. If he had built a temple for the sun or moon or some star or some angel, would not God condemn him? Because therefore he built a temple for God, he shewed that he worshipped God. And of what did he build? Of wood and stone, because God deigned to make unto Himself by His servant an house on earth, where He might be asked, where He might be had in mind. Of which blessed Stephen says, *Solomon built Him an house; howbeit the Most High dwelleth not in temples made by hand.* If then our bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost, what manner of God is it that built a temple for the Holy Ghost? But it was God. For if our bodies be a temple of the Holy Ghost, the same built this temple for the Holy Ghost, that built our bodies. Listen to the Apostle saying, *God hath tempered the body, giving unto that which lacked the greater honour;* when he was speaking of the different members that there should be no schisms in the body. God created our body. The grass, God created; our body Who created? How do we prove that the grass is God's creating? He that clothes, the same creates. Read the Gospel, *If then the grass of the field*, saith it, *which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, God so clotheth.* He, then, creates Who clothes. And the Apostle: *Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die; and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but a bare grain, as perchance of wheat, or of some other corn; but God giveth it a body as He would, and to each one of seeds its proper body.* If then it be God that builds our bodies, God that builds our members, and our bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost, doubt not that the Holy Ghost is God. And do not add as it were a third God; because Father and Son and Holy Ghost is One God. So believe ye.

[1] charitas.

1 Cor. 6, 19.

Acts 7, 47. 48.

1 Cor. 12, 24.

Mat. 6, 30.

1 Cor. 15, 36—38.

vi. 14. It follows after commendation of the Trinity, "The

Holy Church." God is pointed out, and His temple. *For the temple of God is holy*, says the Apostle, *which* (*temple*) *are ye.* This same is the holy Church, the one Church, the true Church, the catholic Church, fighting against all heresies: fight, it can: be fought down, it cannot. As for heresies, they went all out of it, like as unprofitable branches pruned from the vine: but itself abideth in its root, in its Vine, in its charity. *The gates of hell shall not prevail against it.* AD CATECHUMENOS. 1 Cor. 3, 17. Mat. 16, 18.

15. "Forgiveness of sins." Ye have [this article of] the Creed perfectly in you when ye receive Baptism. Let none say, 'I have done this or that sin: perchance that is not forgiven me.' What hast thou done? How great a sin hast thou done? Name any heinous thing thou hast committed, heavy, horrible, which thou shudderest even to think of: have done what thou wilt: hast thou killed Christ? There is not than that deed any worse, because also than Christ there is nothing better. What a dreadful thing is it to kill Christ! Yet the Jews killed Him, and many afterwards believed on Him and drank His blood: they are forgiven the sin which they committed. When ye have been baptized, hold fast a good life in the commandments of God, that ye may guard your Baptism even unto the end. I do not tell you that ye will live here without sin; but they are venial, without which this life is not. For the sake of all sins was Baptism provided[1]; for the sake of light sins, without which we cannot be, was prayer provided[1]. What hath the Prayer? *Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors.* Once for all we have washing in Baptism, every day we have washing in prayer. Only, do not commit those things for which ye must needs be separated from Christ's body: which be far from you! For those whom ye have seen doing penance[2], have committed heinous things, either adulteries or some enormous crimes: for these they do penance. Because if theirs had been light sins, to blot out these daily prayer would suffice. vii. [1] inventus Mat. 6, 12. [2] 'agere pœnitentiam'

16. In three ways then are sins remitted in the Church; by Baptism, by prayer, by the greater humility of penance: yet God doth not remit sins but to the baptized. The very sins which He remits first, He remits not but to the baptized. viii.

DE SYMBOLO AD CATECHUMENOS.

When? when they are baptized. The sins which are after remitted upon prayer, upon penance, tó whom He remits, it is to the baptized that He remitteth. For how can they say, *Our Father*, who are not yet born sons? The Catechumens, so long as they be such, have upon them all their sins. If Catechumens, how much more Pagans? how much more heretics? But to heretics we do not change their baptism. Why? because they have baptism in the same way as a deserter has the soldier's mark[1]: just so these also have Baptism; they have it, but to be condemned thereby, not crowned. And yet if the deserter himself, being amended, begin to do duty as a soldier, does any man dare to change his mark?

[1] 'characterem'

ix. 17. We believe also "the resurrection of the flesh," which went before in Christ: that the body too may have hope of that which went before in its Head. The Head of the Church, Christ: the Church, the body of Christ. Our Head is risen, ascended into heaven: where the Head, there also the members. In what way the resurrection of the flesh? Lest any should chance to think it like as Lazarus's resurrection, that thou mayest know it to be not so, it is added, "Into life everlasting." God regenerate you! God preserve and keep you! God bring you safe unto Himself, Who is the Life Everlasting. Amen.

S. AUGUSTINE

ON

THE PROFIT OF BELIEVING.

Retract. i. cap. 14. Moreover now at Hippo Regius as Presbyter I wrote a book *on the Profit of Believing*, to a friend of mine who had been taken in by the Manichees, and whom I knew to be still held in that error, and to deride the Catholic school of Faith, in that men were bid believe, but not taught what was truth by a most certain method. In this book I said, &c. * * * * *. This book begins thus, '*Si mihi Honorate, unum atque idem videretur esse.*'

St. Augustine enumerates his book *on the Profit of Believing* first amongst those he wrote as Presbyter, to which order he was raised at Hippo about the beginning of the year 391. The person for whom he wrote had been led into error by himself, and appears to have been recovered from it, at least if he is the same who wrote to St. Augustine from Carthage about 412, proposing several questions, and to whom St. Augustine wrote his 140th Epistle. Cassiodorus calls him a Presbyter, though at that time he was not baptized. In Ep. 83, St. Augustine speaks of the death of another Honoratus, a Presbyter. Towards the end of his life he also wrote his 228th Epistle to a Bishop of Thabenna of the same name. *Ben.* The remarks in the Retractations are given in notes to the passages where they occur.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI. I.

1. If, Honoratus, a heretic, and a man trusting heretics seemed to me one and the same, I should judge it my duty to remain silent both in tongue and pen in this matter. But now, whereas there is a very great difference between these two: forasmuch as he, in my opinion, is an heretic, who, for the sake of some temporal advantage, and chiefly for the sake of his own glory and preeminence, either gives birth to, or

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

follows, false and new opinions; but he, who trusts men of this kind, is a man deceived by a certain imagination of truth and piety. This being the case, I have not thought it my duty to be silent towards you, as to my opinions on the finding and retaining of truth: with great love of which, as you know, we have burned from our very earliest youth: but it is a thing far removed from the minds of vain men, who, having too far advanced and fallen into these corporeal things, think that there is nothing else than what they perceive by those five well-known reporters of the body; and what impressions[1] and images they have received from these, they carry over with themselves, even when they essay to withdraw from the senses; and by the deadly and most deceitful rule of these think that they measure most rightly the unspeakable recesses of truth. Nothing is more easy, my dearest friend, than for one not only to say, but also to think, that he hath found out the truth; but how difficult it is in reality, you will perceive, I trust, from this letter of mine. And that this may profit you, or at any rate may in no way harm you, and also all, into whose hands it shall chance to come, I have both prayed, and do pray, unto God; and I hope that it will be so, forasmuch as[2] I am fully conscious that I have undertaken to write it, in a pious and friendly spirit, not as aiming at vain reputation, or trifling display.

[1] plagas

[2] si

2. It is then my purpose to prove to you, if I can, that the Manichees profanely and rashly inveigh against those, who, following the authority of the Catholic Faith, before that they are able gaze upon that Truth, which the pure mind beholds, are by believing forearmed, and prepared for God Who is about to give them light. For you know, Honoratus, that for no other reason we fell in with such men, than because they used to say, that, apart from all terror of authority, by pure and simple reason, they would lead within to God, and set free from all error those who were willing to be their hearers. For what else constrained me, during nearly nine years, spurning the religion which had been set in me from a child by my parents, to be a follower and diligent hearer of those men[a], save that they said that we are alarmed

[a] Confess. l. i. c. 11. l. v. c. 14.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

by superstition, and are commanded to have faith before reason, but that they urge no one to have faith, without having first discussed and made clear the truth? Who would not be enticed by such promises, especially the mind of a young man desirous of the truth, and further a proud and talkative mind by discussions of certain learned men in the school? such as they then found me, disdainful forsooth as of old wives' fables, and desirous to grasp and drink in, what they promised, the open and pure Truth? But what reason, on the other hand, recalled me, not to be altogether joined to them, so that I continued in that rank which they call of Hearers, so that I resigned not the hope and business of this world; save that I noticed that they also are rather eloquent and full in refutation of others, than abide firm and sure in proof of what is their own. But of myself what shall I say, who was already a Catholic Christian? teats which now, after very long thirst, I almost exhausted and dry, have returned to with all greediness, and with deeper weeping and groaning have shaken together and wrung them out more deeply, that so there might flow what might be enough to refresh me affected as I was, and to bring back hope of life and safety. What then shall I say of myself? You, not yet a Christian, who, through encouragement from me, execrating them greatly as you did, were hardly led to believe that you ought to listen to them and make trial of them, by what else, I pray you, were you delighted, call to mind, I entreat you, save by a certain great presumption and promise of reasons? But because they disputed long and much with very great copiousness and vehemence concerning the errors of unlearned men, a thing which I learned too late at length to be most easy for any moderately educated man; if even of their own they implanted in us any thing, we thought that we were obliged to retain it, insomuch as there fell not in our way other things, wherein to acquiesce. So they did in our case what crafty fowlers are wont to do, who set branches smeared with bird-lime beside water to deceive thirsty birds. For they fill up and cover any how the other waters which are around, or fright them from them by alarming devices, that they may fall into their snares, not through choice, but want.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

3. But why do I not make answer to myself, that these fair and clever similies, and charges of this nature may be poured forth against all who are teachers of any thing by any adversary, with abundance of wit and sarcasm? But I thought that I ought to insert something of this kind in my letter, in order to admonish them to give over such proceedings; so that, as he[1] says, apart from trifles of common places, matter may contend with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason. Wherefore let them give over that saying, which they have in their mouths as though of necessity, when any one, who hath been for some long time a hearer, hath left them; "The Light hath made a passage through him." For you see, you who are my chief care, (for I am not over anxious about them,) how empty this is, and most easy for any one to find fault with. Therefore I leave this for your own wisdom to consider. For I have no fear that you will think me possessed by indwelling Light, when I was entangled in the life of this world, having a darkened hope, of beauty of wife, of pomp of riches, of emptiness of honours, and of all other hurtful and deadly pleasures. For all these, as is not unknown to you, I ceased not to desire and hope for, at the time when I was their attentive hearer. And I do not lay this to the charge of their teaching; for I also confess that they also carefully advise to shun these. But now to say that I am deserted by light, when I have turned myself from all these shadows of things, and have determined to be content with that diet merely which is necessary for health of body; but that I was enlightened and shining, at a time when I loved these things, and was wrapped up in them, is the part of a man, to use the mildest expression, wanting in a keen insight into matters, on which he loves to speak at length. But, if you please, let us come to the cause in hand.

[1] Cicero

ii. 4. For you well know that the Manichees move the unlearned by finding fault with the Catholic Faith, and chiefly by rending in pieces and tearing the Old Testament: and they are utterly ignorant, how far these things are to be taken, and how drawn out they descend with profit into the veins and marrows of souls as yet as it were but able to cry[3]. And because there are in them certain things which are

[2] quatenus

[3] vagientium

some slight offence to minds ignorant and careless of themselves, (and there are very many such,) they admit of being accused in a popular way: but defended in a popular way they cannot be, by any great number of persons, by reason of the mysteries that are contained in them. But the few, who know how to do this, do not love public and much talked of controversies and disputes: and on this account are very little known, save to such as are most earnest in seeking them out. Concerning then this rashness of the Manichees, whereby they find fault with the Old Testament and the Catholic Faith, listen, I entreat you, to the considerations which move me. But I desire and hope that you will receive them in the same spirit in which I say them. For God, unto Whom are known the secrets of my conscience, knows, that in this discourse I am doing nothing of evil craft; but, as I think it should be received, for the sake of proving the truth, for which one thing we have now long ago determined to live; and with incredible anxiety, lest it may have been most easy for me to err with you, but most difficult, to use no harder term, to hold the right way with you. But I venture[2] to anticipate that, in this hope, wherein I hope that you will hold with us the way of wisdom, He will not fail me, unto Whom I have been consecrated; Whom day and night I endeavour to gaze upon: and since, by reason of my sins, and by reason of past habit, having the eye of the mind wounded by strokes of feeble opinions, I know that I am without strength, I often entreat with tears, and as, after long blindness and darkness the eyes being hardly opened, and as yet, by frequent throbbing and turning away, refusing the light which yet they long after; specially if one endeavour to shew to them the very sun; so it has now befallen me, who do not deny that there is a certain unspeakable and singular good of the soul, which the mind sees; and who with tears and groaning confess that I am not yet worthy of it. He will not then fail me, if I feign nothing, if I am led by duty, if I love truth, if I esteem friendship, if I fear much lest you be deceived.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

[1] famigerula

[2] præsumo

5. All that Scripture therefore, which is called the Old Testa- iii.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

ment, is handed down four-fold to them who desire to know it, according to history, according to ætiology, according to analogy, according to allegory. Do not think me silly for using Greek words. In the first place, because I have so received, nor do I dare to make known to you otherwise than I have received. Next you yourself perceive, that we have not in use terms for such things: and had I translated and made such, I should have been indeed more silly: but, were I to use circumlocution, I should be less free in treating: this only I pray you to believe, that in whatever way I err, I am not inflated or swollen in any thing that I do. Thus (for example) it is handed down according to history, when there is taught what hath been written, or what hath been done; what not done, but only written as though it had been done. According to ætiology, when it is shewn for what cause any thing hath been done or said. According to analogy, when it is shewn that the two Testaments, the Old and the New, are not contrary the one to the other. According to allegory, when it is taught that certain things which have been written are not to be taken in the letter, but are to be understood in a figure.

6. All these ways our Lord Jesus Christ and His Apostles used. For when it had been objected that His disciples had plucked the ears of corn on the sabbath-day, the instance was taken from history; *Have ye not read*, saith He, *what David did when he was an hungred, and they that were with him; how he entered into the house of God, and did eat the shewbread, which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them that were with him, but only for the priests?* But the instance pertains to ætiology, that, when Christ had forbidden a wife to be put away, save for the cause of fornication, and they, who asked Him, had alleged that Moses had granted permission after a writing of divorcement had been given, This, saith He, *Moses did because of the hardness of your heart.* For here a reason was given, why that had been well allowed by Moses for a time; that this command of Christ might seem to shew that now the times were other. But it were long to explain the changes of these times, and their order arranged and settled by a certain marvellous appointment of Divine Providence.

Mat. 12, 3. 4.

Mat. 19, 8.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

7. And further, analogy, whereby the agreement of both Testaments is plainly seen, why shall I say that all have made use of, to whose authority they yield; whereas it is in their power to consider with themselves, how many things they are wont to say have been inserted in the divine Scriptures by certain, I know not who, corrupters of truth? Which speech of theirs I always thought to be most weak, even at the time that I was their hearer: nor I alone, but you also, (for I well remember,) and all of us, who essayed to exercise a little more care in forming a judgment than the crowd of hearers. But now, after that many things have been expounded and made clear to me, which used chiefly to move me: those, I mean, wherein their discourse for the most part boasts itself, and expatiates the more freely, the more safely it can do so as having no opponent; it seems to me that there is no assertion of theirs more shameless, or (to use a milder phrase) more careless and weak, than that the divine Scriptures have been corrupted; whereas there are no copies in existence, in a matter of so recent date, whereby they can prove it. For were they to assert, that they thought not that they ought thoroughly to receive them, because they had been written by persons, who they thought had not written the truth; any how their refusal[1] would be more right, or their error more natural[2]. For this is what they have done in the case of the Book which is inscribed the Acts of the Apostles. And this device of theirs, when I consider with myself, I cannot enough wonder at. For it is not the want of wisdom in the men that I complain of in this matter, but the want of ordinary understanding[3]. For that book hath so great matters, which are like what they receive, that it seems to me great folly to refuse to receive this book also, and if any thing offend them there to call it false and inserted. Or, if such language is shameless, as it is, why in the Epistles of Paul, why in the four books of the Gospel, do they think that they[4] are of any avail, in which I am not sure but that there are in proportion many more things, than could be in that book, which they will have believed to have been interpolated by falsifiers. But forsooth this is what I believe to be the case, and I ask of you to consider it with me with as calm and serene a judgment as possible. For you know

[1] tergiversatio
[2] humanior
[3] cor mediocre
[4] ea

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

that, essaying to bring the person of their founder Manichæus into the number of the Apostles, they say that the Holy Spirit, Whom the Lord promised His disciples that He would send, hath come to us through him. Therefore, were they to receive those Acts of the Apostles, in which the coming of the Holy Spirit is plainly set forth, they could not find how to say that it was interpolated. For they will have it that there were some, I know not who, falsifiers of the divine Books before the times of Manichæus himself; and that they were falsified by persons who wished to combine the Law of the Jews with the Gospel. But this they cannot say concerning the Holy Spirit, unless haply they assert that those persons divined, and set in their books what should be brought forward against Manichæus, who should at some future time arise, and say that the Holy Spirit had been sent through him. But concerning the Holy Spirit we will speak somewhat more plainly in another place. Now let us return to my purpose.

Acts 2, 2. 3. 4.

8. For that both history of the Old Testament, and ætiology, and analogy are found in the New Testament, has been, as I think, sufficiently proved: it remains to shew this of allegory. Our Redeemer Himself in the Gospel uses allegory out of the Old Testament. *This generation*, saith He, *seeketh a sign, and there shall not be given it save the sign of Jonas the prophet. For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so also shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.* For why should I speak of the Apostle Paul, who in his first Epistle to the Corinthians shews that even the very history of the Exodus was an allegory of the future Christian People. *But I would not that ye should be ignorant, brethren, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized into Moses, in the cloud, and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of the spiritual Rock that followed with them; and that Rock was Christ. But in the more part of them God was not well pleased: for they were overthrown in the wilderness. But these things were figures of us*[b], *that we be*

Mat. 12, 39. 40.

1 Cor. 10, 1—11.

[b] *figuræ nostræ* τύποι ἡμῶν Gr. *in figura facta sunt nostri.* Vulg.

not lustful of evil things, as they also lusted. Neither let us worship idols, as certain of them; as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play. Neither let us commit fornication, as certain of them committed, and fell in one day three and twenty thousand men. Neither let us tempt Christ, as certain of them tempted, and perished of serpents. Neither murmur we, as certain of them murmured, and perished of the destroyer. But all these things happened unto them in a figure. But they were written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world have come. There is also in the Apostle a certain allegory, which indeed greatly relates to the cause in hand, for this reason that they themselves are wont to bring it forward, and make a display of it in disputing. For the same Paul says to the Galatians, *For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, one of a bond-maid, and one of a free woman. But he who was of the bond-maid was born after the flesh: but he who was of the free woman, by promise: which things were spoken by way of allegory. For these are the two Testaments, one of Mount Sina gendering unto bondage, which is Agar: for Sina is a mount in Arabia, which bordereth*[1] *upon that Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But that Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.*

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

τύποι

Gal. 4, 22.

ἀλληγορούμενα Gr.

[1] *confinis*

9. Here therefore these men too evil, while they essay to make void the Law, force us to approve these Scriptures. For they mark what is said, that they who are under the Law are in bondage, and they keep flying above the rest that last saying, *Ye are made empty of Christ, as many of you as are justified in the Law; ye have fallen from Grace.* We grant that all these things are true, and we say that the Law is not necessary, save for them unto whom bondage is yet profitable: and that the Law was on this account profitably enacted, in that men, who could not be recalled from sins by reason, needed to be restrained by such a Law, that is to say, by the threats and terrors of those punishments which can be seen by fools: from which when the Grace of Christ sets us free, it condemns not that Law, but invites us at length to yield obedience to its love, not to be slaves to the fear of the Law. Itself is Grace, that is free gift, which they under-

ventilant

Gal. 5, 4.

benefi-

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

stand not to have come to them from God, who still desire to be under the bonds of the Law. Whom Paul deservedly rebukes as unbelievers, because they do not believe that now through our Lord Jesus they have been set free from that bondage, under which they were placed for a certain time by the most just appointment of God. Hence is that saying of the same Apostle, *For the Law was our schoolmaster in Christ.* He therefore gave to men a schoolmaster to fear, Who after gave a Master to love. And yet in these precepts and commands of the Law, which now it is not allowed Christians to use, such as either the Sabbath, or Circumcision, or Sacrifices, and if there be any thing of this kind, so great mysteries are contained, as that every pious person may understand, there is nothing more deadly than that whatever is there be understood to the letter, that is, to the word: and nothing more healthful than that it be unveiled in the Spirit. Hence it is: *The letter killeth, but the Spirit quickeneth*[c]. Hence it is, *That same veil remaineth in the reading of the Old Testament, which veil is not taken away; since it is made void in Christ*[d]. For there is made void in Christ, not the Old Testament, but its veil: that so through Christ that may be understood, and, as it were, laid bare, which without Christ is obscure and covered. Forasmuch as the same Apostle straightway adds, *But when thou shalt have passed over to Christ, the veil shall be taken away.* For he saith not, the Law shall be taken away, or, the Old Testament. Not therefore through the Grace of the Lord, as though useless things were there hidden, have they been taken away; but rather the covering whereby useful things were covered. In this manner all they are dealt with, who earnestly and piously, not disorderly and shamelessly, seek the sense of those Scriptures, and they are carefully shewn both the order of events, and the causes of deeds and words, and so great agreement of the Old Testament with the New, that there is left no jot that agrees not; and so great secrets

Gal. 3, 24. *in Christo.*

ad verbum 2 Cor. 3, 6.

2 Cor. 3, 16.

apex

[c] vid. Retr. l. i. c. 14. n. 1. "In this book I said, 'in which &c.' but I have otherwise explained those words of the Apostle Paul, and as far as I can see, or rather as is apparent from the plain state of the case, much more suitably, in the book entitled *De Spiritu et Litera*, though this sense too is not to be utterly rejected."

[d] 2 Cor. 3, 14. quoniam, ὅτι Gr. "*which* veil," Eng. T.

of figures, that all the things that are drawn forth by interpretation force them to confess that they are wretched, who will to condemn these before they learn them. DE UTILITATE CREDENDI. IV.

10. But, passing over in the mean while the depth of knowledge, to deal with you as I think I ought to deal with my intimate friend; that is, as I have myself power, not as I have wondered at the power of very learned men; there are three kinds of error, whereby men err, when they read any thing. I will speak of them one by one. The first kind is, wherein that which is false is thought true, whereas the writer thought otherwise. A second kind, although not so extensive, yet not less hurtful, when that, which is false, is thought true, yet the thought is the same as that of the writer. A third kind, when from the writing of another some truth is understood, whereas the writer understood it not. In which kind there is no little profit, rather, if you consider carefully, the whole entire fruit of reading. An instance of the first kind is, as if any one, for example, should say and believe that Rhadamanthus hears and judges the causes of the dead in the realms below, because he hath so read in the strain of Maro. For this one errs in two ways: both in that he believes a thing not to be believed, and also in that he, whom he reads, is not to be thought to have believed it. The second kind may be thus noticed: if one, because Lucretius writes that the soul is formed of atoms, and that after death it is dissolved into the same atoms and perishes, were to think this to be true and what he ought to believe. For this one also is not less wretched, if, in a matter of so great moment, he hath persuaded himself of that which is false, as certain; although Lucretius, by whose books he hath been deceived, held this opinion. For what doth it profit this one to be assured of the meaning of the author, whereas he hath chosen him to himself not so as through him to escape error, but so as with him to err. An instance suited to the third kind is, if one, after having read in the books of Epicurus some place wherein he praises continence, were to assert that he had made the chief good to consist in virtue, and that therefore he is not to be blamed. For how is this man injured by the error of Epicurus, what though Epicurus believe that bodily pleasure is the chief good of man: whereas he hath not

Virg. Æn. vi. 566—569.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI. humanus

surrendered up himself to so base and hurtful an opinion, and is pleased with Epicurus for no other reason, than that he thinks him not to have held sentiments which ought not to be holden. This error is not only natural to man, but often also most worthy of a man. For what, if word were brought to me, concerning some one whom I loved, that, when now he was of bearded age, he had said, in the hearing of many, that he was so pleased with boyhood and childhood, as even to swear that he wished to live after the same fashion, and that that was so proved to me, as that I should be shameless to deny it: I should not, should I, seem worthy of blame, if I thought that, in saying this, he wished to shew, that he was pleased with the innocence, and with the temper of mind alien from those desires in which the race of man is wrapped up, and from this circumstance should love him yet more and more, than I used to love him before; although perhaps he had been foolish enough to love in the age of children a certain freedom in play and food, and an idle ease? For suppose that he had died after this report had reached me, and that I had been unable to make any inquiry of him, so as for him to open his meaning; would there be any one so shameless as to be angry with me, for praising the man's purpose and wish, through those very words which I had heard? What, that even a just judge of matters would not hesitate perhaps to praise my sentiment and wish, in that both I was pleased with innocence, and, as man of man, in a matter of doubt, preferred to think well, when it was in my power also to think ill?

v. 11. And, this being so, hear also just so many conditions and differences of the same Scriptures. For it must be that just so many meet us. For either any one hath written profitably, and is not profitably understood by some one: or both take place unprofitably: or the reader understands profitably, whereas he, who is read, hath written contrariwise. Of these the first I blame not, the last I regard not. For neither can I blame the man, who without any fault of his own hath been ill understood; nor can I be distressed at any one being read, who hath failed to see the truth, when I see that the readers are no way injured. There is then one kind most approved, and as it were most cleansed, when both

the things written are well, and are taken in a good sense by the readers. And yet that also is still further divided into two: for it doth not altogether shut out error. For it generally comes to pass, that, when a writer hath held a good sense, the reader also holds a good sense; still other than he, and often better, often worse, yet profitably. But when both we hold the same sense as he whom we read, and that is every way suited to right conduct of life, there is the fullest possible measure of truth, and there is no place opened for error from any other quarter. And this kind is altogether very rare, when what we read is matter of extreme obscurity: nor can it, in my opinion, be clearly known, but only believed. For by what proofs shall I so gather the will of a man who is absent or dead, as that I can swear to it: when, even if he were questioned being present, there might be many things, which, if he were no ill man, he would most carefully hide? But I think that it hath nothing to do towards learning the matter of fact, of what character the writer was; yet is he most fairly believed good, whose writings have benefited the human race and posterity. DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

12. Wherefore I would that they would tell me, in what kind they place the, supposed, error of the Catholic Church. If in the first, it is altogether a grave charge; but it needs not a far-fetched defence: for it is enough to deny that we so understand, as the persons, who inveigh against us, suppose. If in the second, the charge is not less grave; but they shall be refuted by the same saying. If in the third, it is no charge at all. Proceed, and next consider the Scriptures themselves. For what objection do they raise against the books of (what is called) the Old Testament? Is it that they are good, but are understood by us in an ill sense? But they themselves do not receive them. Or is it that they are neither good, nor are well understood? But our defence above is enough to drive them from this position. Or is it this that they will say, although they are understood by you in a good sense, yet they are evil? What is this other than to acquit living adversaries, with whom they have to do, and to accuse men long ago dead, with whom they have no strife? I indeed believe that both those men profitably delivered to memory all things, and that they were great and divine.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

And that that Law was published, and framed by the command and will of God: and of this, although I have but very slight knowledge of books of that kind, yet I can easily persuade any, if there apply to me a mind fair and no way obstinate: and this I will do, when you shall grant to me your ears and mind well disposed: this however when it shall be in my power: but now is it not enough for me, however that matter may stand, not to have been deceived?

vi. 13. I call to witness, Honoratus, my conscience, and God Who hath His dwelling in pure souls, that I account nothing more prudent, chaste, and religious, than are all those Scriptures, which under the name of the Old Testament the Catholic Church retains. You wonder at this, I am aware. For I cannot hide that we were far otherwise persuaded. But there is indeed nothing more full of rashness, (which at that time, being boys, we had in us,) than in the case of each several book, to desert expounders, who profess that they hold them, and that they can deliver them to their scholars, and to seek their meaning from those, who, I know not from what cause compelling, have proclaimed a most bitter war against the framers and authors of them. For who ever thought that the hidden and dark books of Aristotle were to be expounded to him by one who was the enemy of Aristotle; to speak of these systems of teaching, wherein a reader may perhaps err without sacrilege? Who, in fine, willed to read or learn the geometrical writings of Archimedes, under Epicurus as a master; against which Epicurus used to argue with great obstinacy, so far as I judge, understanding them not at all? What are those Scriptures of the law most plain, against which, as though set forth in public, these men make their attack in vain and to no purpose? And they seem to me to be like that weak woman, whom these same men are wont to mock at, who enraged at the sun being extolled to her, and recommended as an object of worship by a certain female Manichee, being as she was simple-minded and of a religious spirit, leaped up in haste, and often striking with her foot that spot on which the sun through the window cast light, began to cry out, Lo, I trample on the sun and your God: altogether after a foolish and womanish manner; Who denies it? But do

not those men seem to you to be such, who, in matters which they understand not, either wherefore, or altogether of what kind they are, although like to matters cast in the way[1], yet to such as understand them exact[2] and divine, rending them with great onset of speech and reproaches, think that they are effecting something, because the unlearned applaud them? Believe me, whatever there is in these Scriptures, it is lofty and divine: there is in them altogether truth, and a system of teaching most suited to refresh and renew minds: and clearly so ordered in measure, as that there is no one but may draw thence, what is enough for himself, if only he approach to draw with devotion and piety, as true religion demands. To prove this to you, needs many reasons and a longer discourse. For first I must so treat with you as that you may not hate the authors themselves; next, so as that you may love them: and this I must treat in any other way, rather than by expounding their meanings and words. For this reason, because in case we hated Virgil, nay, rather in case we loved him not, before understanding him, by the commendation of our forefathers, we should never be satisfied on those questions about him without number, by which grammarians are wont to be disquieted and troubled; nor should we listen willingly to one who solved these at the same time praising him; but should favour that one who by means of these essayed to shew that he had erred and doated. But now, whereas many essay to open these, and each in a different way according to his capacity, we applaud these in preference, through whose exposition the poet is found better, who is believed, even by those who do not understand him, not only in nothing to have offended, but also to have sung nothing but what was worthy of praise. So that in some minute question, we are rather angry with the master who fails, and has not what to answer, than think him silent through any fault in Maro. And now, if, in order to defend himself, he should wish to assert a fault in so great an author, hardly will his scholars remain with him, even after they have paid his fee. How great matter were it, that we should shew like good will towards them, of whom it hath been confirmed by so long time of old that the Holy Spirit

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

[1] jacentibus.

[2] subtilia.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

spake by them? But, forsooth, we youths of the greatest understanding, and marvellous searchers out of reasons, without having at least unrolled these writings, without having sought teachers, without having somewhat chided our own dulness, lastly, without having yielded our heart even in a measure[1] to those who have willed that writings of this kind be so long read, kept, and handled through the whole world; have thought that nothing in them is to be believed, moved by the speech of those who are unfriendly and hostile to them, with whom, under a false promise of reason, we should be compelled to believe and cherish thousands of fables.

[1] mediocri corde

vii. 14. But now I will proceed with what I have begun, if I can, and I will so treat with you, as not in the mean while to lay open the Catholic Faith, but, in order that they may search out its great mysteries, to shew to those who have a care for their souls, hope of divine fruit, and of the discerning of truth. No one doubts of him who seeks true religion, either that he already believes that there is an immortal soul for that religion to profit, or that he also wishes to find that very thing in this same religion. Therefore all religion is for the sake of the soul; for howsoever the nature of the body may be, it causes no care or anxiety, especially after death, to him, whose soul possesses that whereby it is blessed. For the sake of the soul, therefore, either alone or chiefly, hath true religion, if there be any such, been appointed. But this soul, (I will consider for what reason, and I confess the matter to be most obscure,) yet errs, and is foolish, as we see, until it attain to and perceive wisdom, and perhaps this very [wisdom] is true religion. I am not, am I, sending you to fables? I am not, am I, forcing you to believe rashly? I say that our soul entangled and sunk in error and folly seeks the way of truth, if there be any such. If this be not your case, pardon me, I pray, and share with me your wisdom; but if you recognise in yourself what I say, let us, I entreat, together seek the truth.

15. Put the case that we have not as yet heard a teacher of any religion. Lo we have undertaken a new matter and business. We must seek, I suppose, them who profess this

matter, if it have any existence. Suppose that we have found different persons holding different opinions, and through their difference of opinions seeking to draw persons each one to himself: but that, in the mean while, there are certain preeminent from being much spoken of, and from having possession of nearly all peoples. Whether these hold the truth, is a great question: but ought we not to make full trial of them first, in order that, so long as we err, being as we are men, we may seem to err with the human race itself? DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

16. But it will be said, the truth is with some few; therefore you already know what it is, if you know with whom it is. Said I not a little above, that we were in search of it as unlearned men? But if from the very force of truth you conjecture that few possess it, but know not who they are; what if it is thus, that there are so few who know the truth, as that they hold the multitude by their authority, whence the small number may set itself free, and, as it were, strain itself[1] forth into those secrets? Do we not see how few attain the highest eloquence, whereas through the whole world the schools of rhetoricians are resounding with troops of young men? What, do they, as many as desire to turn out good orators, alarmed at the multitude of the unlearned, think that they are to bestow their labour on the orations of Cæcilius, or Erucius, rather than those of Tullius? All aim at these, which are confirmed by authority of our forefathers. Crowds of unlearned persons essay to learn the same, which by the few learned are received as to be learned: yet very few attain, yet fewer practise, the very fewest possible become famous. What, if true religion be some such thing? What if a multitude of unlearned persons attend the Churches, and yet that be no proof, that therefore no one is made perfect by these mysteries? And yet, if they who studied eloquence were as few as the few who are eloquent, our parents would never believe that we ought to be committed to such masters. Whereas, then, we have been called to these studies by a multitude, which is numerous in that portion of it which is made up of the unlearned, so as to become enamoured of that which few can attain unto; why are we unwilling to be in the same case in religion, which perhaps we despise

[1] eliquare

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

with great danger to our soul? For if the truest and purest worship of God, although it be found with a few, be yet found with those, with whom a multitude, albeit wrapped up in lusts, and removed far from purity of understanding, agrees; (and who can doubt that this may happen?) I ask, if one were to charge us with rashness and folly, that we seek not diligently with them who teach it, that, which we are greatly anxious to discover, what can we answer? [Shall we say,] I was deterred by numbers? Why from the pursuit of liberal arts, which hardly bring any profit to this present life; why from search after money? Why from attaining unto honour; why, in fine, from gaining and keeping good health; lastly, why from the very aim at a happy life; whereas all are engaged in these, few excel; were you deterred by no numbers?

17. 'But they seemed there to make absurd statements.' On whose assertion? Forsooth on that of enemies, for whatever cause, for whatever reason, for this is not now the question, still enemies. Upon reading, I found it so of myself. Is it so? Without having received any instruction in poetry, you would not dare to essay to read Terentianus Maurus without a master: Asper, Cornutus, Donatus, and others without number are needed, that any poet whatever may be understood, whose strains seem to court even the applause of the theatre; do you in the case of those books, which, however they may be, yet by the confession of well-nigh the whole human race are commonly reported to be sacred and full of divine things, rush upon them without a guide, and dare to deliver an opinion on them without a teacher; and, if there meet you any matters, which seem absurd, do not accuse rather your own dulness, and mind decayed by the corruption of this world, such as is that of all that are foolish, than those [books] which haply cannot be understood by such persons! You should seek some one at once pious and learned, or who by consent of many was said to be such, that you might be both bettered by his advice, and instructed by his learning. Was he not easy to find? He should be searched out with pains. Was there no one in the country in which you lived? What cause could more profitably force to travel? Was he quite hidden, or did he not exist on the [1]continent? One

[1] conti-

should cross the sea. If across the sea he was not found in any place near to us, you should proceed even as far as those lands, in which the things related in those books are said to have taken place. What, Honoratus, have we done of this kind? And yet a religion perhaps the most holy, (for as yet I am speaking as though it were matter of doubt,) the opinion whereof hath by this time taken possession of the whole world, we wretched boys condemned at our own discretion and sentence. What if those things which in those same Scriptures seem to offend some unlearned persons, were so set there for this purpose, that when things were read of such as are abhorrent from the feeling of ordinary men, not to say of wise and holy men, we might with much more earnestness seek the hidden meaning. Perceive you not how the Catamite of the Bucolics, for whom the rough shepherd gushed forth into tears, men essay to interpret, and affirm that the boy Alexis, on whom Plato also is said to have composed a love strain, hath some great meaning or other, but escapes the judgment of the unlearned; whereas without any sacrilege a poet however rich may seem to have published wanton songs?

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

Virg. Ecl. 2.

18. But in truth was there either decree of any law, or power of gainsayers, or vile character of persons consecrated, or shameful report, or newness of institution, or hidden profession, to recal us from, and forbid us, the search? There is nothing of these. All laws divine and human allow us to seek the Catholic Faith; but to hold and exercise it is allowed us at any rate by human law, even if so long as we are in error there be a doubt concerning divine law; no enemy alarms our weakness, (although truth and the salvation of the soul, in case being diligently sought it be not found where it may with most safety, ought to be sought at any risk); the degrees of all ranks and powers most devotedly minister to this divine worship; the name of religion is most honourable and most famous. What, I pray, hinders to search out and discuss with pious and careful enquiry, whether there be here that which it must needs be few know and guard in entire purity, although the good-will and affection of all nations conspire in its favour?

19. The case standing thus, suppose, as I said, that we are

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

now for the first time seeking unto what religion we shall deliver up our souls, for it to cleanse and renew them; without doubt we must begin with the Catholic Church. For by this time there are more Christians, than if the Jews and idolaters be added together. But of these same Christians, whereas there are several heresies, and all wish to appear Catholics, and call all others besides themselves heretics, there is one Church, as all allow: if you consider the whole world, more full filled in number; but, as they who know affirm, more pure also in truth than all the rest. But the question of truth is another; but, what is enough for such as are in search, there is one Catholic, to which different heresies give different names, whereas they themselves are called each by names of their own, which they dare not deny. From which may be understood, by judgment of umpires who are hindered by no favour, to which is to be assigned the name Catholic, which all covet. But, that no one may suppose that it is to be made matter of over garrulous or unnecessary discussion, this is at any rate one, in which human laws themselves also are in a certain way Christian. I do not wish any prejudgment to be formed from this fact, but I account it a most favourable commencement for enquiry. For we are not to fear lest the true worship of God, resting on no strength of its own, seem to need to be supported by them whom it ought to support: but, at any rate, it is perfect happiness, if the truth may be there found, where it is most safe both to search for it and to hold it: in case it cannot, then at length, at whatever risk, we must go and search some other where.

viii. 20. Having then laid down these principles, which, as I think, are so just that I ought to win this cause before you, let who will be my adversary, I will set forth to you, as I am able, what way I followed, when I was searching after true religion in that spirit, in which I have now set forth that it ought to be sought. For upon leaving you and crossing the sea, now delaying and hesitating, what I ought to hold, what to let go; which delay rose upon me every day the more, from the time that I was a hearer of that man[d], whose coming was promised to us, as you know, as if from heaven, to

[d] i. e. Faustus, v. Conf. b. v. §. vi. al. 10.

explain all things which moved us, and found him, with the exception of a certain eloquence, such as the rest; being now settled in Italy, I reasoned and deliberated greatly with myself, not whether I should continue in that sect, into which I was sorry that I had fallen, but in what way I was to find the truth, my sighs through love of which are known to no one better than to yourself. Often it seemed to me that it could not be found, and huge waves of my thoughts would roll toward deciding in favour of the Academics. Often again, with what power I had, looking into the human soul, with so much life, with so much intelligence, with so much clearness, I thought that the truth lay not hid, save that in it the way of search lay hid, and that this same way must be taken from some divine authority. It remained to enquire what was that authority, where in so great dissensions each promised that he would deliver it. Thus there met me a wood, out of which there was no way, which I was very loath to be involved in: and amid these things, without any rest, my mind was agitated through desire of finding the truth. However, I continued to unsew myself more and more from those whom now I had proposed to leave. But there remained nothing else, in so great dangers, than with words full of tears and sorrow to entreat the Divine Providence to help me. And this I was content to do: and now certain disputations of the Bishop of Milan[e] had almost moved me to desire, not without some hope, to enquire into many things concerning the Old Testament itself, which, as you know, we used to view as accursed, having been ill commended to us. And I had decided to be a Catechumen in the Church, unto which I had been delivered by my parents, until such time as I should either find what I wished, or should persuade myself that it needed not to be sought. Therefore had there been one who could teach me, he would find me at a very critical moment most fervently disposed and very apt to learn. If you see that you too have been long affected in this way, therefore, and with a like care for thy soul, and if now you seem to yourself to have been tossed to and fro enough, and wish to put an end to labours of this kind, follow the pathway of Catholic teaching,

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

[e] i. e. S. Ambrose. v. Conf. b. v. §. xiii. xiv. al. 23. 24. 25.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI. IX.

which hath flowed down from Christ Himself through the Apostles even unto us, and will hereafter flow down to posterity.

21. This, you will say, is ridiculous, whereas all profess to hold and teach this: all heretics make this profession, I cannot deny it; but so, as that they promise to those whom they entice, that they will give them a reason concerning matters the most obscure: and on this account chiefly charge the Catholic [Church], that they who come to her are enjoined to believe; but they make it their boast, that they impose not a yoke of believing, but open a fount of teaching. You answer, What could be said, that should pertain more to their praise? It is not so. For this they do, without being endued with any strength, but in order to conciliate to themselves a crowd by the name of reason: on the promise of which the human soul naturally is pleased, and, without considering its own strength and state of health, by seeking the food of the sound, which is ill entrusted save to such as are in health, rushes upon the poisons of them who deceive. For true religion, unless those things be believed, which each one after, if he shall conduct himself well and shall be worthy, attains unto and understands, and altogether without a certain weighty power of authority, can in no way be rightly entered upon.

22. But perhaps you seek to have some reason given you on this very point, such as may persuade you, that you ought not to be taught by reason before faith. Which may easily be done, if only you make yourself a fair hearer. But, in order that it may be done suitably, I wish you as it were to answer my questions; and, first, to tell me, why you think that one ought not to believe. Because, you say, credulity, from which men are called credulous, in itself, seems to me to be a certain fault: otherwise we should not use to cast this as a term of reproach. For if a suspicious man is in fault, in that he suspects things not ascertained; how much more a credulous man, who herein differs from a suspicious man, that the one allows some doubt, the other none, in matters which he knows not. In the mean while I accept this opinion and distinction. But you know that we are not wont to call a person even curious without some reproach; but we call him studious even with praise.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

Wherefore observe, if you please, what seems to you to be the difference between these two. This surely, you answer, that, although both be led by great desire to know, yet the curious man seeks after things that no way pertain to him, but the studious man, on the contrary, seeks after what pertain to him. But, because we deny not that a man's wife and children, and their health, pertain unto him; if any one, being settled abroad, were to be careful to ask all comers, how his wife and children are and fare, he is surely led by great desire to know, and yet we call not this man studious, who both exceedingly wishes to know, and that (in) matters which very greatly pertain unto him. Wherefore you now understand that the definition of a studious person falters in this point, that every studious person wishes to know what pertain to himself, and yet not every one, who makes this his business, is to be called studious; but he who with all earnestness seeks those things which pertain unto the liberal culture and adornment of the mind. Yet we rightly call him one who studies[1], especially if we add what he studies[1] to hear. For we may call him even studious of his own (family) if he love only his own (family), we do not however, without some addition, think him worthy of the common name of the studious. But one who was desirous to hear how his family were I should not call studious of hearing, unless taking pleasure in the good report, he should wish to hear it again and again: but one who studied, even if only once. Now return to the curious person, and tell me, if any one should be willing to listen to some tale, such as would no way profit him, that is, of matters that pertain not to him: and that not in an offensive way and frequently, but very seldom and with great moderation, either at a feast, or in some company, or meeting of any kind; would he seem to you curious? I think not: but at any rate he would certainly seem to have a care for that matter, to which he was willing to listen. Wherefore the definition of a curious person also must be corrected by the same rule as that of a studious person. Consider therefore whether the former statements also do not need to be corrected. For why should not both he, who at some time suspects something, be unworthy the name of a suspicious

[1] studentem

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

person; and he who at some time believes something, of a credulous person? Thus as there is very great difference between one who studies any matter, and the absolutely studious; and again between him who hath a care and the curious; so is there between him who believes and the credulous.

X. 23. But you will say, consider now whether we ought to believe in religion. For, although we grant that it is one thing to believe, another to be credulous, it does not follow that it is no fault to believe in matters of religion. For what if it be a fault both to believe and to be credulous, as (it is) both to be drunk and to be a drunkard? Now he who thinks this certain, it seems to me can have no friend; for, if it is base to believe any thing, either he acts basely who believes a friend, or in nothing believing a friend I see not how he can call either him or himself a friend. Here perhaps you may say, I grant that we must believe something at some time; now make plain, how in the case of religion it be not base to believe before one knows. I will do so, if I can. Wherefore I ask of you, which you esteem the graver fault, to deliver religion to one unworthy, or to believe what is said by them who deliver it. If you understand not whom I call unworthy, I call him, who approaches with feigned breast. You grant, as I suppose, that it is more blameable to unfold unto such an one whatever holy secrets there are, than to believe religious men affirming any thing on the matter of religion itself. For it would be unbecoming you to make any other answer. Wherefore now suppose him present, who is about to deliver to you a religion, in what way shall you assure him, that you approach with a true mind, and that, so far as this matter is concerned, there is in you no fraud or feigning? You will say, your own good conscience that you are no way feigning, asserting this with words as strong as you can, but yet with words. For you cannot lay open man to man the hiding places of your soul, so that you may be thoroughly known. But if he shall say, Lo, I believe you, but is it not more fair that you also believe me, when, if I hold any truth, you are about to receive, I about to give, a benefit? what will you answer, save that you must believe?

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

24. But you say, Were it not better that you should give me a reason, that, wherever that shall lead me, I may follow without any rashness? Perhaps it were: but, it being so great a matter, that you are by reason to come to the knowledge of God, do you think that all are qualified to understand the reasons, by which the human soul is led to know God, or many, or few? Few I think, you say. Do you believe that you are in the number of these? It is not for me, you say, to answer this. Therefore you think it is for him to believe you in this also: and this indeed he does: only do you remember, that he hath already twice believed you saying things uncertain; that you are unwilling to believe him even once admonishing you in a religious spirit. But suppose that it is so, and that you approach with a true mind to receive religion, and that you are one of few men in such sense as to be able to take in the reasons by which the Divine Power is brought into certain knowledge; what? do you think that other men, who are not endued with so serene a disposition, are to be denied religion? or do you think that they are to be led gradually by certain steps unto those highest inner recesses? You see clearly which is the more religious. For you cannot think that any one whatever in a case where he desires so great a thing, ought by any means to be abandoned or rejected. But do you not think, that, unless he do first believe that he shall attain unto that which he purposes; and do yield his mind as a suppliant; and, submitting to certain great and necessary precepts, do by a certain course of life throughly cleanse it, that he will not otherwise attain the things that are purely true? Certainly you think so. What, then, is the case of those, (of whom I already believe you to be one,) who are able most easily to receive divine secrets by sure reason, will it, I ask, be to them any hindrance at all, if they so come as they who at the first believe? I think not. But yet, you say, what need to delay them? Because although they will in no way harm themselves by what is done, yet they will harm the rest by the precedent. For there is hardly one who has a just notion of his own power: but he who has a less notion must be roused; he who has a greater notion must be checked: that neither the one be broken by despair, nor the other carried headlong by rash-

vis divina

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

ness. And this is easily done, if even they, who are able to fly, (that they be not alluring the occasion of any into danger,) are forced for a short time to walk where the rest also may walk with safety. This is the forethought of true religion: this the command of God: this what hath been handed down from our blessed forefathers, this what hath been preserved even unto us: to wish to distrust and overthrow this, is nothing else than to seek a sacrilegious way unto true religion. And whoso do this, not even if what they wish be granted to them are they able to arrive at the point at which they aim. For whatever kind of excellent genius they have, unless God be present, they creep on the ground. But He is then present, if they, who are aiming at God, have a regard for their fellow men. Than which step there can be found nothing more sure Heavenward. I for my part cannot resist this reasoning, for how can I say that we are to believe nothing without certain knowledge? whereas both there can be no friendship at all, unless there be believed something which cannot be proved by some reason, and often stewards, who are slaves, are trusted by their masters without any fault on their part. But in religion what can there be more unfair than that the ministers of God believe us when we promise an unfeigned mind, and we are unwilling to believe them when they enjoin us any thing. Lastly, what way can there be more healthful, than for a man to become fitted to receive the truth by believing those things, which have been appointed by God to serve for the previous culture and treatment of the mind? Or, if you be already altogether fitted, rather to make some little circuit where it is safest to tread, than both to cause yourself danger, and to be a precedent for rashness to other men?

antistites

xi. 25. Wherefore it now remains to consider, in what manner we ought not to follow these, who profess that they will lead by reason. For how we may without fault follow those who bid us to believe, hath been already said: but unto these who make promises of reason certain think that they come, not only without blame, but also with some praise: but it is not so. For there are two (classes of) persons, praiseworthy in religion; one of those who have already found, whom also we must needs judge most blessed; another of

those who are seeking with all earnestness and in the right way. The first, therefore, are already in very possession, the other on the way, yet on that way whereby they are most sure to arrive[f]. There are three other kinds of men altogether to be disapproved of and detested. One is of those who hold an opinion, that is, of those who think that they know what they know not. Another is of those who are indeed aware that they know not, but do not so seek as to be able to find. A third is of those who neither think that they know, nor wish to seek. There are also three things, as it were bordering upon one another, in the minds of men well worth distinguishing; understanding, belief, opinion. And, if these be considered by themselves, the first is always without fault, the second sometimes with fault, the third never without fault. For the understanding of matters great, and honourable, and even divine, is most blessed[g]. But the understanding of things unnecessary is no injury; but perhaps the learning was an injury, in that it took up the time of necessary matters. But on the matters themselves

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

opinantium

[f] cf. Retract. b. i. ch. 14. 2. "I also said, 'For there are two &c.' In these words of mine if 'those who have already found,' whom we have said to be 'now in possession,' are in such sort understood to be 'most happy,' as that they are so not in this life, but in that we hope for, and aim at by the path of faith, the meaning is free from error: for they are to be judged to have found that which is to be sought, who are now there, whither we by seeking and believing, that is by keeping the path of faith, do seek to come. But if they are thought to be or to have been such in this life, that seems to me not to be true: not that in this life no truth at all can be found that can be discerned by the mind, not believed on faith; but because it is but so much, what there is of it, as not to make men 'most blessed.' For neither is that which the Apostle says, *We see now through a glass in a riddle*, and, *now I know in part*, (1 Cor. 13, 12.) incapable of being discerned by the mind. It is discerned, clearly, but does not yet make us most blessed. For that makes men most blessed which he saith, *but then face to face*, and, *then I shall know even as I am known*. They that have found this, they are to be said to stand in possession of bliss, to which leads that path of faith which we keep, and whither we desire to arrive by believing. But who are those most blessed, who are already in that possession whither this path leads, is a great question. And for the holy Angels indeed, there is no question but they be there. But of holy men already departed, whether so much may yet be said of them as that they stand already in that possession, is fairly made a question. For they are already freed from the corruptible body that weigheth down the soul, (Wisd. 9.) but they still wait for the redemption of their body, (Rom. 8.) and their flesh resteth in hope, nor is yet glorified in the incorruption that is to come. (Ps. 16.) But whether for all that they are none the less qualified to contemplate the truth with the eyes of the heart, as it is said, *Face to face*, there is not space to discuss here."

[g] cf. Retract. b. i. ch. 14. 2. "Also what I said, 'for to know great and noble and even divine things,' we should refer to the same blessedness. For in this life whatsoever there be of it known amounts not to perfect bliss, because that part of it which remains unknown is far more without all comparison."

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

that are injurious, it is not the understanding, but the doing or suffering them, that is wretched. For not, in case any understand how an enemy may be slain without danger to himself, is he guilty from the mere understanding, not the wish; and, if the wish be absent, what can be called more innocent? But belief is then worthy of blame, when either any thing is believed of God which is unworthy of Him, or any thing is over easily believed of man. But in all other matters if any believe aught, provided he understand that he knows it not, there is no fault. For I believe that very wicked conspirators were formerly put to death by the virtue of Cicero; but this I not only know not, but also I know for certain that I can by no means know. But opinion is on two accounts very base; in that both he who hath persuaded himself that he already knows, cannot learn; provided only it may be learnt; and in itself rashness is a sign of a mind not well disposed. For even if any suppose that he know what I said of Cicero, (although it be no hindrance to him from learning, in that the matter itself is incapable of being grasped by any knowledge;) yet, (in that he understands not that there is a great difference, whether any thing be grasped by sure reason of mind, which we call understanding, or whether for practical purposes it be entrusted to common fame or writing, for posterity to believe it,) he assuredly errs; and no error is without what is base. What then we understand, we owe to reason; what we believe, to authority; what we have an opinion on, to error[h]. But every one who understands also believes, and also every one who has an opinion believes; not every one who believes understands; no one who has an opinion understands. Therefore if these three things be

[h] cf. Retract. b. i. ch. 14. 3. "And what I said, 'that there is a great difference whether any thing be grasped by sure reason of mind, which we call knowing, or whether for practical purposes it be entrusted to common fame or writing, for posterity to believe it,' and presently after, 'what therefore we know, we owe to reason; what we believe, to authority;' is not to be so taken as that in conversation we should fear to say we 'know' what we believe of suitable witnesses. For when we speak strictly we are said to know that only which by the mind's own firm reason we comprehend. But when we speak in words more suited to common use, as also Divine Scripture speaketh, we should not hesitate to say we know both what we have perceived with our bodily senses, and what we believe of trustworthy witnesses, whilst however between one and the other we are aware what difference exists."

referred unto the five kinds of men, which we mentioned a little above; that is, two kinds to be approved, which we set first, and three that remain faulty; we find that the first kind, that of the blessed, believe the truth itself; but the second kind, that of such as are earnest after, and lovers of, the truth, believe authority. In which kinds, of the two, the act of belief is praiseworthy. But in the first of the faulty kinds, that is, of those who have an opinion that they know what they know not, there is an altogether faulty credulity. The other two kinds that are to be disapproved believe nothing, both they who seek the truth despairing of finding it, and they who seek it not at all. And this only in matters which pertain unto any system of teaching. For in the other business of life, I am utterly ignorant by what means a man can believe nothing. Although in the case of those also, they who say that in practical matters they follow probabilities, would seem rather to be unable to know than unable to believe. For who believes not what he approves[1]? or how is what they follow probable, if it be not approved? Wherefore there may be two kinds of such as oppose the truth: one of those who assail knowledge alone, not faith; the other of those who condemn both: and yet again, I am ignorant whether these can be found in matters of human life. These things have been said, in order that we might understand, that, in retaining faith, even of those things which as yet we comprehend not, we are set free from the rashness of such as have an opinion. For they, who say that we are to believe nothing but what we know, are on their guard against that one name 'opining[2],' which must be confessed to be base and very wretched, but, if they consider carefully that there is a very great difference, whether one think that he knows, or moved by some authority believe that which he understands that he knows not, surely he will escape the charge of error, and inhumanity, and pride.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

[1] probat

[2] opinationis

26. For I ask, if what is not known must not be believed, in what way may children do service to their parents, and love with mutual affection those whom they believe not to be their parents? For it cannot, by any means, be known by reason. But the authority of the mother comes in, that it be believed of the father; but of the mother it is usually not

xii.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

the mother that is believed, but midwives, nurses, servants. For she, from whom a son may be stolen and another put in his place, may she not being deceived deceive? Yet we believe, and believe without any doubt, what we confess we cannot know. For who but must see, that unless it be so, filial affection, the most sacred bond of the human race, is violated by extreme pride of wickedness? For what madman even would think him to be blamed who discharged the duties that were due to those whom he believed to be his parents, although they were not so? Who, on the other hand, would not judge him to deserve banishment, who failed to love those who were perhaps his true parents, through fear lest he should love pretended. Many things may be alleged, whereby to shew that nothing at all of human society remains safe, if we shall determine to believe nothing, which we cannot grasp by full apprehension[1].

[1] tenere perceptum.

27. But now hear, what I trust I shall by this time more easily persuade you of. In a matter of religion, that is, of the worship and knowledge of God, they are less to be followed, who forbid us to believe, making most ready professions of reason. For no one doubts that all men are either fools or wise. But now I call wise, not clever and gifted men, but those, in whom there is, so much as may be in man, the knowledge of man himself and of God most surely received, and a life and manners suitable to that knowledge; but all others, whatever be their skill or want of skill, whatever their manner of life, whether to be approved or disapproved, I would account in the number of fools.

[1] cf. Retract. b. i. ch. 14. 4. "Also what I said, 'No one doubts that all men are either fools or wise,' may seem contrary to what is read in my third book *On Free Will*, (c. 24.) 'as though human nature admitted of no middle state between folly and wisdom.' But that is said when the question was about the first man, whether he was made wise, or foolish, or neither: since we could in no wise call him foolish, who was made without fault, since folly is a great fault; and how we could call him wise, who was capable of being led astray, did not appear. So for shortness I thought well to say, 'as though human nature admitted of no middle state between folly and wisdom.' I also had infants in view, whom though we confess to bear with them original sin, yet we cannot properly call either wise or foolish, not as yet using free will either well or ill. But now I said that men were either wise or foolish, meaning those to be understood who are already using reason, by which they are distinguished from cattle, so as to be men: as we say, that 'all men wish to be happy.' For can we in so true and manifest a statement be in fear of being supposed to mean infants, who have not yet the power of so wishing?"

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

And, this being so, who of moderate understanding but will clearly see, that it is more useful and more healthful for fools to obey the precepts of the wise, than to live by their own judgment? For every thing that is done, if it be not rightly done, is a sin, nor can that any how be rightly done which proceeds not from right reason. Further, right reason is very virtue. But to whom of men is virtue at hand, save to the mind of the wise? Therefore the wise man alone sins not. Therefore every fool sins, save in those actions, in which he hath obeyed a wise man: for all such actions proceed from right reason, and, so to say, the fool is not to be accounted master of his own action, he being, as it were, the instrument and that which ministers[1] to the wise man. Wherefore, if it be better for all men not to sin than to sin; assuredly all fools would live better, if they could be slaves of the wise. And, if no one doubts that this is better in lesser matters, as in buying and selling, and cultivating the ground, in taking a wife, in undertaking[2] and bringing up children, lastly, in the management of household property, much more in religion. For both human matters are more easy to distinguish between, than divine; and in all matters of greater sacredness and excellence, the greater obedience and service we owe them, the more wicked and the more dangerous is it to sin. Therefore you see henceforth[3] that nothing else is left us, so long as we are fools, if our heart be set on an excellent and religious life, but to seek wise men, by obeying whom we may be enabled both to lessen the great feeling of the rule of folly, whilst it is in us, and at the last to escape from it.

[1] ministerium.

[2] or 'begetting.' suscipiendis.

[3] Ben. a modo. Mss. admodum.

xiii.

28. Here again arises a very difficult question. For in what way shall we fools be able to find a wise man, whereas this name, although hardly any one dare openly, yet most men lay claim to indirectly: so disagreeing one with another in the very matters, in the knowledge of which wisdom consists, as that it must needs be that either none of them, or but some certain one be wise? But when the fool enquires, who is that wise man? I do not at all see, in what way he can be distinguished and perceived. For by no signs whatever can one recognise any thing, unless he shall have known that thing, whereof these are signs. But the fool is ignorant

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

of wisdom. For not, as, in the case of gold and silver and other things of that kind, it is allowed both to know them when you see them, and not to have them, thus may wisdom be seen by the mind's eye of him who hath it not. For whatever things we come into contact with by bodily sense, are presented to us from without; and therefore we may perceive by the eyes what belong to others, when we ourselves possess not any of them or of that kind. But what is perceived by the understanding is within in the mind, and to have it is nothing else than to see. But the fool is void of wisdom, therefore he knows not wisdom. For he could not see it with the eyes: but he cannot see it and not have it, nor have it and be a fool. Therefore he knoweth it not, and, so long as he knoweth it not, he cannot recognise it in another place. No one, so long as he is a fool, can by most sure knowledge find out a wise man, by obeying whom he may be set free from so great evil of folly.

29. Therefore this so vast difficulty, since our enquiry is about religion, God alone can remedy: nor indeed, unless we believe both that He is, and that He helps men's minds, ought we even to enquire after true religion itself. For what I ask do we with so great endeavour desire to search out? What do we wish to attain unto? Whither do we long to arrive? Is it at that which we believe not exists or pertains to us? Nothing is more perverse than such a state of mind. Then, when you would not dare to ask of me a kindness, or at any rate would be shameless in daring, come you to demand the discovery of religion, when you think that God neither exists, nor, if He exist, hath any care for us? What, if it be so great a matter, as that it cannot be found out, unless it be sought carefully and with all our might? What, if the very extreme difficulty of discovery be an exercise for the mind of the inquirer, in order to receive what shall be discovered? For what more pleasant and familiar to our eyes than this light? And yet men are unable after long darkness to bear and endure it. What more suited to the body exhausted by sickness than meat and drink? And yet we see that persons who are recovering are restrained and checked, lest they dare to commit themselves to the fulness of persons in health, and so bring to pass by means of their very food

their return to that disease which used to reject it. I speak of persons who are recovering. What, the very sick, do we not urge them to take something? Wherein assuredly they would not with so great discomfort obey us, if they believed not that they would recover from that disease. When then will you give yourself up to a search very full of pains and labour? When will you have the heart to impose upon yourself so great care and trouble as the matter deserves, when you believe not in the existence of that which you are in search of? Rightly therefore hath it been ordained by the majesty of the Catholic system of teaching, that they who approach unto religion be before all things persuaded to have faith. DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

30. Wherefore that heretic, (inasmuch as our discourse is of those who wish to be called Christians,) I ask you, what reason he alleges to me? What is there whereby for him to call me back from believing, as if from rashness? If he bid me believe nothing; I believe not that this very true religion hath any existence in human affairs; and what I believe not to exist, I seek not. But He, as I suppose, will shew it to me seeking it: for so it is written, *He that seeketh shall find.* Therefore I should not come unto him, who forbids me to believe, unless I believed something. Is there any greater madness, than that I should displease him by faith alone, which is founded on no knowledge, which faith alone led me to him? xiv. Matt. 7, 8.

31. What, that all heretics exhort us to believe in Christ? Can they possibly be more opposed to themselves? And in this matter they are to be pressed in a twofold way. In the first place we must ask of them, where is the reason which they used to promise, where the reproof of rashness, where the assumption of knowledge? For, if it be disgraceful to believe any without reason, what do you wait for, what are you busied about, that I believe some one without reason, in order that I may the more easily be led by your reason? What, will your reason raise any firm superstructure on the foundation of rashness? I speak after their manner, whom we displease by believing. For I not only judge it most healthful to believe before reason, when you are not qualified to receive reason, and by the very act of faith thoroughly to

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

cultivate the mind to receive the seeds of truth, but altogether a thing of such sort as that without it health cannot return to sick souls. And, in that this seems to them matter for mockery and full of rashness, surely they are shameless in making it their business that we believe in Christ. Next, I confess that I have already believed in Christ, and have convinced myself that what He hath said is true, although it be supported by no reason: is this, heretic, what you will teach me in the first place? Suffer me to consider a little with myself, (since I have not seen Christ Himself, as He willed to appear unto men, Who is said to have been seen by them, even by common eyes,) who they are that I have believed concerning Him, in order that I may approach you already furnished beforehand with such a faith. I see that there are none that I have believed, save the confirmed opinion and widely extended report of peoples and nations: and that the mysteries of the Church Catholic have in all times and places had possession of these peoples. Why therefore shall I not of these, in preference to others, enquire with all care, what Christ commanded, by whose authority I have been moved already to believe that Christ hath commanded something that is profitable? Are you likely to be a better expounder to me of what He said, Whose past or present existence I should not believe, if by you I were to be recommended to believe thus? This therefore I have believed, as I said, trusting to report strengthened by numbers, agreement, antiquity. But you, who are both so few, and so turbulent, and so new, no one doubts that ye bring forward nothing worthy of authority. What then is that so great madness? Believe them, that you are to believe in Christ, and learn from us what He said. Why, I pray you? For were they to fail and to be unable to teach me any thing; with much greater ease could I persuade myself, that I am not to believe in Christ, than that I am to learn any thing concerning Him, save from those through whom I had believed in Him. O vast confidence, or rather absurdity! I teach you what Christ, in Whom you believe, commanded. What, in case I believed not in Him? You could not, could you, teach me any thing concerning Him? But, says he, it behoves you to believe. You do not mean,

do you, that I am (to believe) you when you commend Him to my faith? No, saith he, for we lead by reason them who believe in Him. Why then should I believe in Him? Because report hath been grounded. Whether is it through you, or through others? Through others, saith he. Shall I then believe them, in order that you may teach me? Perhaps I ought to do so, were it not that they gave me this chief charge, that I should not approach you at all; for they say that you have deadly doctrines. You will answer, They lie. How then shall I believe them concerning Christ, Whom they have not seen, (and) not believe them concerning you, whom they are unwilling to see? Believe the Scriptures, saith he. But every writing[1], if it be brought forward new and unheard of, or be commended by few, with no reason to confirm it, it is not it that is believed, but they who bring it forward. Wherefore, for those Scriptures, if you are they who bring them forward, you so few and unknown, I am not pleased to believe them. At the same time also you are acting contrary to your promise, in enforcing faith rather than giving a reason. You will recal me again to numbers and (common) report. Curb, I pray you, your obstinacy, and that untamed lust, I know not what, of spreading your name: and advise me rather to seek the chief men of this multitude, and to seek with all care and pains rather to learn something concerning these writings from these men, but for whose existence, I should not know that I had to learn at all. But do you return into your dens, and lay not any snares under the name of truth, which you endeavour to take from those, to whom you yourself grant authority.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

[1] Scripturæ

32. But if they say that we are not even to believe in Christ, unless undoubted reason shall be given us, they are not Christians. For this is what certain pagans say against us, foolishly indeed, yet not contrary to, or inconsistent with, themselves. But who can endure that these profess to belong to Christ, who contend that they are to believe nothing, unless they shall bring forward to fools most open reason concerning God? But we see that He Himself, so far as that history, which they themselves believe, teaches, willed nothing before, or more strongly than, that He should

DR UTILITATE CREDENDI.

be believed in: whereas they, with whom He had to do, were not yet qualified to receive the secret things of God. For, for what other purpose are so great and so many miracles, He Himself also saying, that they are done for no other cause, than that He may be believed in? He used to lead fools by faith, you lead by reason. He used to cry out, that He should be believed in, ye cry out against it. He used to praise such as believe in Him, ye blame them. But unless either He should change water into wine, to omit other (miracles), if men would follow Him, doing no such, but (only) teaching; either we must make no account of that saying, *Believe ye God, believe also Me;* or we must charge him with rashness, who willed not that He should come into his house, believing that the disease of his servant would depart at His mere command. Therefore He bringing to us a medicine such as should heal our utterly corrupt manners, by miracles procured to Himself authority, by authority obtained Himself belief, by belief drew together a multitude, by a multitude possessed antiquity, by antiquity strengthened religion: so that not only the utterly foolish novelty of heretics dealing deceitfully, but also the inveterate error of the nations opposing with violence, should be unable on any side to rend it asunder.

John11, 7—9.

John14, 1.

Mat. 8, 8. 9.

meruit

xv. 33. Wherefore, although I am not able to teach, yet I cease not to advise, that, (whereas many wish to appear wise, and it is no easy matter to discern whether they be fools,) with all earnestness, and with all prayers, and lastly with groans, or even, if so it may be, with tears, you entreat of God to set you free from the evil of error; if your heart be set on a happy life. And this will take place the more easily, if you obey with a willing mind His commands, which He hath willed should be confirmed by so great authority of the Catholic Church. For whereas the wise man is so joined to God in mind, as that there is nothing set between to separate; for God is Truth; and no one is by any means wise, unless his mind come into contact with the Truth; we cannot deny that between the folly of man, and the most pure Truth of God, the wisdom of man is set, as something in the middle. For the wise man, so far as it is given unto him, imitates God; but for a man who is a fool,

there is nothing nearer to him, than a man who is wise, for him to imitate with profit: and since, as has been said, it is not easy to understand this one by reason, it behoved that certain miracles be brought near to the very eyes, which fools use with much greater readiness than the mind, that, men being moved by authority, their life and habits might first be cleansed, and they thus rendered capable of receiving reason. Whereas, therefore, it needed both that man be imitated, and that our hope be not set in man, what could be done on the part of God more full of kindness and grace, than that the very pure, eternal, unchangeable Wisdom of God, unto Whom it behoves us to cleave, should deign to take upon Him (the nature of) man? That not only He might do what should invite us to follow God, but also might suffer what used to deter us from following God. For, whereas no one can attain unto the most sure and chief good, unless he shall fully and perfectly love it; which will by no means take place, so long as the evils of the body and of fortune are dreaded; He by being born after a miraculous manner and working caused Himself to be loved; and by dying and rising again shut out fear. And, further, in all other matters, which it were long to go through, He shewed Himself such, as that we might perceive unto what the clemency of God could be reached forth, and unto what the weakness of man be lifted up.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

34. This is, believe me, a most wholesome authority, this a lifting up first of our mind from dwelling on the earth, this a turning from the love of this world unto the True God. It is authority alone which moves fools to hasten unto wisdom. So long as we cannot understand pure (truths), it is indeed wretched to be deceived by authority, but surely more wretched not to be moved. For, if the Providence of God preside not over human affairs, we have no need to busy ourselves about religion. But if both the outward form of all things, which we must believe assuredly flows from some fountain of truest beauty, and some, I know not what, inward conscience exhorts, as it were, in public and in private, all the better order of minds to seek God, and to serve God; we must not give up all hope that the same God Himself hath appointed some authority, whereon, resting as

xvi.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

on a sure step, we may be lifted up unto God. But this, setting aside reason, which (as we have often said) it is very hard for fools to understand pure, moves us two ways; in part by miracles, in part by multitude of followers: no one of these is necessary to the wise man; who denies it? But this is now the business in hand, that we may be able to be wise, that is, to cleave to the truth; which the filthy soul is utterly unable to do: but the filth of the soul, to say shortly what I mean, is the love of any things whatsoever save God and the soul: from which filth the more any one is cleansed, the more easily he sees the truth. Therefore to wish to see the truth, in order to purge your soul, when as it is purged for the very purpose that you may see, is surely perverse and preposterous. Therefore to man unable to see the truth, authority is at hand, in order that he may be made fitted for it, and may allow himself to be cleansed; and, as I said a little above, no one doubts that this prevails, in part by miracles, in part by multitude. But I call that a miracle, whatever appears that is difficult or unusual above the hope or power of them who wonder. Of which kind there is nothing more suited for the people, and in general for foolish men, than what is brought near to the senses. But these, again, are divided into two kinds; for there are certain, which cause only wonder, but certain others procure also great favour and good-will. For, if one were to see a man flying, inasmuch as that matter brings no advantage to the spectator, beside the spectacle itself, he only wonders. But if any affected with grievous and hopeless disease were to recover straightway, upon being bidden, his affection for him who heals, will go beyond even his wonder at his healing. Such were done at that time at which God in True Man appeared unto men, as much as was enough. The sick were healed, the lepers were cleansed; walking was restored to the lame, sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf. The men of that time saw water turned into wine, five thousand filled with five loaves, seas passed on foot, dead rising again: thus certain provided for the good of the body by more open benefit, certain again for the good of the soul by more hidden sign, and all for the good of men by their witness to Majesty: thus at that time was the divine authority moving towards

Itself the wandering souls of mortal men. Why, say you, do not those things take place now? because they would not move, unless they were wonderful, and, if they were usual, they would not be wonderful[k]. For the interchanges of day and night, and the settled order of things in Heaven, the revolution of years divided into four parts, the fall and return of leaves to trees, the boundless power of seeds, the beauty of light, the varieties of colours, sounds, tastes, and scents, let there be some one who shall see and perceive them for the first time, and yet such an one as we may converse with; he is stupified and overwhelmed with miracles: but we contemn all these, not because they are easy to understand, (for what more obscure than the causes of these?) but surely because they constantly meet our senses. Therefore they were done at a very suitable time, in order that, by these a multitude of believers having been gathered together and spread abroad, authority might be turned with effect upon habits. DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

35. But any habits whatever have so great power to hold possession of men's minds, that even what in them are evil, which usually takes place through excess of lusts, we can sooner disapprove of and hate, than desert or change. Do you think that little hath been done for the benefit of man, that not some few very learned men maintain by argument, but also an unlearned crowd of males and females in so many and different nations both believe and set forth, that we are to worship as God nothing of earth, nothing of fire, nothing, lastly, which comes into contact with the senses of the body, but that we are to seek to approach Him by the understanding only? that abstinence is extended even unto the slenderest food of bread and water, and fastings not only for the day[l], but also continued through several days together; that chastity is carried even unto the contempt of marriage and family; that patience even unto the setting light by crosses and flames; that liberality even unto the distribution xvii.

[k] cf. Retract. b. i. c. 14. 5. "In another place, where I had made mention of the miracles, which our Lord Jesus did, while He was here in the Flesh, I added, saying, 'Why, say you, do not those things take place now?' and I answered, 'Because they would not move unless they were wonderful, and if they were usual they would not be wonderful.' But this I said because not so great miracles, nor all take place now, not because there are none wrought even now."

[l] quotidiana, i.e. each day till evening.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

of estates unto the poor; that, lastly, the contempt of this whole world even unto the desire of death? Few do these things, yet fewer do them well and wisely: but whole nations approve, nations hear, nations favour, nations, lastly, love. Nations accuse their own weakness that they cannot do these things, and that not without the mind being carried forward unto God, nor without certain sparks of virtue. This hath been brought to pass by the Divine Providence, through the prophecies of the Prophets, through the manhood and teaching of Christ, through the journeys of the Apostles, through the insults, crosses, blood, of the Martyrs, through the praiseworthy life of the Saints, and, in all these, according as times were seasonable, through miracles worthy of so great matters and virtues. When therefore we see so great help of God, so great progress and fruit, shall we doubt to hide ourselves in the bosom of that Church, which even unto the confession of the human race from [the] apostolic chair[m] through successions of Bishops, (heretics in vain lurking around her and being condemned, partly by the judgment of the very people, partly by the weight of councils, partly also by the majesty of miracles,) hath held the summit of authority. To be unwilling to grant to her the first place[1], is either surely the height of impiety, or is headlong arrogance. For, if there be no sure way unto wisdom and health of souls, unless where faith prepare them for reason, what else is it to be ungrateful for the Divine help and aid, than to wish to resist authority furnished with so great labour[2]? And if every system of teaching, however mean and easy, requires, in order to its being received, a teacher or master, what more full of rash pride, than, in the case of books of divine mysteries[3], both to be unwilling to learn from such as interpret them, and to wish to condemn them unlearned?

[1] primas

[2] al. strength

[3] sacramentorum

xviii. 36. Wherefore, if either our reasoning or our discourse hath in any way moved you, and if you have, as I believe, a true care for yourself, I would you would listen to me, and with pious faith, lively hope, and simple charity, entrust yourself to good teachers of Catholic Christianity; and cease

[m] He clearly means the Apostolic office and presidency in general. For illustration, see St. Cyprian, on the Unity of the Church, §. 3 and 4. Oxf. Tr. p. 134. and note b.

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

not to pray unto God Himself, by Whose goodness alone we were created, and suffer punishment by His justice, and are set free by His mercy. Thus there will be wanting to you neither precepts and treatises of most learned and truly Christian men, nor books, nor calm thoughts themselves, whereby you may easily find what you are seeking. For do you abandon utterly those wordy and wretched men, (for what other milder name can I use?) who, whilst they seek to excess whence is evil, find nothing but evil. And on this question they often rouse their hearers to enquire; but after that they have been roused, they teach them such lessons as that it were preferable even to sleep for ever, than thus to be awake. For in place of lethargic they make them frantic, between which diseases, both being usually fatal, there is still this difference, that lethargic persons die without doing violence to others; but the frantic person many who are sound, and specially they who wish to help him, have reason to fear. For neither is God the author of evil, nor hath it ever repented Him that He hath done aught, nor is He troubled by storm of any passion of soul, nor is a small part of earth His Kingdom: He neither approves nor commands any sins or wickedness, He never lies. For these and such like used to move us, when they used them to make great and threatening assaults, and charged this as being the system of teaching of the Old Testament, which is most false. Thus then I allow that they do right in censuring these. What then have I learnt? What think you, save that, when these are censured, the Catholic system of teaching is not censured. Thus what I had learnt among them that is true, I hold, what is false that I had thought I reject. But the Catholic Church hath taught me many other things also, which those men of bloodless bodies, but coarse minds, cannot aspire unto; that is to say, that God is not corporeal, that no part of Him can be perceived by corporeal eyes, that nothing of His Substance or Nature can any way suffer violence or change, or is compounded or formed; and if you grant me these, (for we may not think otherwise concerning God,) all their devices are overthrown. But how it is, that neither God begot or created evil, nor yet is there, or hath there been ever, any nature and substance, which God either

DE UTILITATE CREDENDI.

begot not or created not, and yet that He setteth us free from evil, is proved by reasons so necessary, that it cannot at all be matter of doubt; especially to you and such as you; that is, if to a good disposition there be added piety and a certain peace of mind, without which nothing at all can be understood concerning so great matters. And here there is no rumour concerning smoke, and I know not what Persian vain fable, unto which it is enough to lend an ear, and soul not subtile, but absolutely childish. Far altogether, far otherwise is the truth, than as the Manichees doat. But since this discourse of ours hath gone much further than I thought, here let us end the book; in which I wish you to remember, that I have not yet begun to refute the Manichees, and that I have not yet assailed that nonsense; and that neither have I unfolded any thing great concerning the Catholic Church itself, but that I have only wished to root out of you, if I could, a false notion concerning true Christians that was maliciously or ignorantly suggested to us, and to arouse you to learn certain great and divine things. Wherefore let this volume be as it is; but when your soul becomes more calmed, I shall perhaps be more ready in what remains [k].

[k] cf. Retr. b. i. ch. 14. 6. "But in the end of the book I say, 'But since this discourse of ours, &c.' This I did not say in such sort as though I had not hitherto written any thing against the Manichæans, or had not committed to writing any thing at all about Catholic doctrine, when so many volumes before published were witnesses that I had not been silent on either subject; but in this book written to him I had not yet begun to refute the Manichæans, and had not yet attacked those follies, nor had I as yet opened any thing great concerning the Catholic Church itself; because I hoped that after that beginning made, I should write to that same person what I had not yet here written."

INDEX.

Abortions, question of their resurrection, 136, 7.

Abraham, Christ the promised Seed of, 5, 8. His example cited, 296, 297, 298, 300, 303. actions of figurative, 409, 10. told no lie, 448. knew the state of the world from Lazarus, 536.

Abstinence, required before Baptism, 43. easier than moderation, 290, 299. from food &c. for ill ends, 545. practice of, a benefit due to authority, 615.

Academics, most acute men, 99. St. Augustine's work against, 99. St. Augustine once inclined to, 597.

Accident, none distinct from substance in God, 32.

Action, whether implied in permission, 396, 7, 421. always conceived in the heart, 440. indifferent, takes its character from motive, 440, 441. some unconsciously prophetic, 456. character determined by the intention, 506. unless rightly done, sin, 607.

Adam, see man, Paradise, sin, &c. all born of, under condemnation, 116. and Eve, 220. Job how unlike, 549.

Address, (imaginary) to a catechumen, 219—237. another, 238—242.

Admonition, desired by S. Aug. 512.

Adultery, marriage of the divorced is, 38. must be forsaken before Baptism, 43. committed unawares must be corrected, 44. guilt of depends on knowledge, 44. none would defend, 45. inconsistent with repentance, 47, 72. Worse than things which John required to forsake, 73. than dancing, 81. a work of the Devil, 83. included in 'dead works,' 52. as needful to renounce as idolatry, 53, 54. Had not been common even among bad Christians, 70. question what amounts to, 71. what is so, determined by Christ, 66. what? 278, 283. compared with fornication, 283. might be justified on same grounds as lying, 439, 441. is evil, while even second marriage is good, 357. some guilty of, fear perjury, 468. penance done for, 575.

Æsop, Fables of, 445.

Ætiology, explanation by, 582.

Affections, carnal, are 'wood, hay, stubble,' 63, 64, 65, 127.

Africa, Catholic Church not limited to, 181.

Agabus, foretold St. Paul's sufferings, 146.

Agapes, 79. note f.

Age, qualifies to give counsel, 375. flower of, brief, 376.

Aged, marriage, 277, 278.

Ages, seven: of which the last to be an age of rest, 219.

—— six of them defined by S. Augustine, 228, 229.

Albertus Magnus, on relief of future punishment, 152. note a.

Alexis, of Plato and Virgil thought allegorical, 595.

Allegory, in real events, 389, 410, 449. no lie if the thing figured is true, 389. Jacob's deceit was, 448. use of, 449. explanation by, 582. instances of, 584, 5.

Almighty, what He Who is, cannot do, 563.

Alms, requisite in penitence, 128. considered in the Judgment, ib. Do not cover sins not repented of, ib. forgiveness a kind of, 129. other kinds, ib. correction a kind of, ib. The wicked vainly trust in, 130. did they alone cleanse, faith needless, 131. first, mercy to ourselves, 131. such cleanse inner man, 132. Forgiveness of offenders, a kind of, 129. thought to atone for most sins, 70. offered for the deceased, 151. means of, not to be

pardon, 458. given to Christ, 505. to be done for a heavenly reward, 506.
Almsgiving, advanced by Christianity, 615.
Altar, prayers at the, 344. ministers of, Christian Priests, 497. prayers offered at the, 519.
Alternatives, 397, 401, 405—9.
Ambrose, St. Bp. of Milan, on the death of Valentinian without baptism, 141, note p. heard by St. Augustine, 597.
Analogy, explanation by, 582.
Ananias, appearance to St. Paul, 540.
Angel, St. Mary how saluted by, 109. Temple may not be built to a, 574.
Angels, many things believed about, 89. one first gave rise to evil, 102. fallen, not to be renewed, 103. those who stood, assured of stedfastness, 104. number of, to be filled up from mankind, 104, 123. number of unknown, 104. They and men alone capable of injustice, 93. do not wish to be worshipped, 120. divers orders of, 121. our ignorance about, ib. appearances of, ib. Bodily or not, 121, 2. Satan imitates, 122. Christ died not for, 122. reconciled to men in Christ, 123. their knowledge, ib. man raised again to be companion of, 139. reprobate, eternally punished, 140. wills of thwart not God's will, 146. all are beneath Christ, 160. men made like the, in the Resurrection, 185. cannot sin, 256. entertained by Lot, 395. ministry of, to Lazarus, 521. free of both worlds, 537. may communicate the events of this to the dead, ib. blessed in clear knowledge, 603.
Anger, darkens the mind's eye, 445. attributed to God, 543.
Anima, animus, mens, 421.
Anna, and Susanna, 284, 306. more blessed than Ruth, 356. unless Ruth knew what would follow, 360. probably knew Christ should be born of a Virgin, ib. Her long and early widowhood, 366. her piety, 367. recognised Christ with His Virgin Mother, 360, 368.
Antiphrasis, is no lie, 448. instances of, 449.
Antiquity, testimony of, to Religion, 612.
Apocrypha, books of, 537. quoted, 519.
Apostle, God spoke in him, 510.
Apostles, common men chosen to shew Christ's power, 12. prophesied of, 13. in what sense to call none father on earth, 23. did they teach faith before morals? 45, sqq. Must have established rules as to breaking off illicit marriages or not, 72. But in other cases also, 73. all held the same things needful for salvation, 58. allowed some things by way of pardon, 133. not taught all orally by Christ, 180. whether bound to live of the Gospel, 412. Acts of the, a place to find examples, 423, 452. example of, no obligation not to labour, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479. maintained by holy women and those among whom they preached, 476, 477, 478, 479. words not to be derided, 481. divided their provinces, 497. had power not to work, ib. to live by the Gospel, ib. speak with authority, 512. once of the world, 555. chosen not just but justified, 556. else had first chosen Christ, ib. use the fourfold exposition, 582—4. Acts of, rejected by Manicheus, inconsistently, 583. teaching handed down from, 598. effect of their labours on nations, 616.
Apostolic chair, succession from, 616. and note, m.
Apparitions, in dreams, 529—541. of the dead without their consciousness, 529, &c. as of the living, unconscious, 529, 530, 531, &c. 540. images only, not of souls themselves, 530, &c. produced by the ministry of Angels, 530, 534, 539. asking for burial, 529, 530. use of, ib. pointing out places of burial, 529, 530. foretelling things future, 530, not to be denied, 529. instances of in sleep, 531. pointing out where things should be found, 531. seen when awake, 532. in trances, 532, 533. Doctrines taught by, ib. of Samuel to Saul, 537. of St. Felix, 538. of Saints whether themselves or angelic appearances doubtful, 539, 540. of John the Monk, 540. of Ananias to St. Paul, ib. John would have solved S. Aug.'s difficulties, 541.
Aptus, 396.
Archangels, mentioned in Scripture, 121.
Archimedes, not to be explained by Epicurus, 590.
Arena, matches of the, 569.
Arianism, guarded against, 173. Bishops who had consented to, restored 184.
Arians, persecution of the Church by, 184.
Aristotle, not to be explained by an enemy, 590.

Ark, unclean animals in, 82. even they entered by the door, ib.
Army, of the virtues and of the vices, 250.
Artizans, singing at work, 493.
Ascension of Christ foretold, 10. witnessed by Apostles, 12. of Christ's Body, 24. of Christ, how followed, 118. in the Body, 179. how our Lord prefigured, 455. of our Lord, 572, 573, 576.
Ashes, of Martyrs, thrown into the Rhone, 523. scattered, 528.
Asper, a grammarian, 594.
Assent, some would suspend, 99. is necessary to faith, ib.
Assumption of manhood by God the Son complete, 108.
Atoms, soul not formed of, 587.
Augustine, St. discoursed on the Creed before Council at Hippo, 15. occasion of his writing on Faith and Works, 37. his work on the Letter and Spirit, 57. his exposition of salvation by fire, 62, &c. 84. would rather hear others speak, 62. how he escaped danger by a mistake, 95. wrote, on his conversion, against the Academics, 99. his letters on the perpetual virginity of St. Mary, 108. his book on Faith and Works, 126. his complaint (in commenting on the Epistle to Galatians,) 135. his opinion about infants, 141. of the number of the saved, 142 when consecrated Bishop, 159. wrote on the Christian Conflict in a humble style, 159. his feelings when discoursing to others, 188. listened to with eagerness, 189. his beautiful advice to those who are catechizing, 205, 206. his condescension in discourse implied, 209. recommends that the catechumens should sit, 210. relates a personal anecdote, 210. how he felt while catechising, 214, 215. how he catechized, 215. expresses doubt on a point connected with marriage, 292. not at variance with Council of Carthage, 353. his many engagements, 353. his books on marriage and virginity, 369, 384. wrote against Faustus, 369. works of, on Divine grace, 372. his works on Lying of different dates, 382. uses a homely style in practical matters, 383. his avocations, 426. life laborious, (bodily infirmity) 509, 510. did what he exhorted others to do, 511. found a Bishop's life more laborious than a Monk's, 510. not submitting to man's judgment, 511. desired to be admonished, 512. visited nightly by his mother while she lived, 534. not after her death, 534. never completed his Retractations, 543. when ordained Priest, 577. his early love of truth, 578, 581. his prayer for Honoratus, 578. how led into Manicheism, ib. nine years in it, ib. tempted by discussions, 579. only a 'Hearer,' ib. did not then give up the world, ib. helped to mislead Honoratus, ib. his hopes at that time earthly, 580. contrast afterwards, 580. his eyes weak from past delusions, 581. his book 'De Spiritu et Litera,' 586, note c. his belief about the Old Testament, 590. young when led into error, 590, 91. his way of search for true religion, 598. disappointed in Faustus, 596, 7. tended at times toward Academics, 597. his prayers for help, ib. hears St. Ambrose, ib. becomes a Catechumen, ib. his purpose of writing further to Honoratus, 618.
Aurelius, Bp. of Carthage, desired S. Aug. to write on the work of Monks, 470, 511.
Authority, see *Faith*. of doctrine to be strictly guarded, 402, 431—3. necessity of in religion, 598. source of what we believe, 604. lovers of truth believe, 605. for doctrine same as for belief in Christ, 610. some probable a priori, 613. shewn by miracles on multitudes, 614. brought to bear on life through numbers, 615. seat of in Catholic Church, 616.

B.

Babylon, meaning of the word, 226. the Church imprisoned there, 226, 227. represents the world, 459.
Bagaia, Council of, 159.
Ball, pleasure of playing with, 378.
Baptism, (see *Regeneration*, *Type*) some put it before instruction in duty, 37. of persons unlawfully married, 38. of those living in other sin, ib. abstinence and continence in preparation for, 43. much more sin to be forsaken before, ib. instruction of life should precede, except in the approach of death, ib. remission of sins in, ib. preparation for, best time for instruction, ib. Did the Apostles give, before teaching duty? 45, sqq. of the Eunuch, 48, 54. profession required in, longer than his, 48. Creed taught before, 51. principles taught in, 52. makes us temples of God, 54. not named by our Lord to the young

man, 56. old man to be put off before, and new put on, 44. requires love to man as well as to God, 51. Red Sea a figure of, ib. of John, required repentance, 55. at any rate teaching of duties, 55, 6. publicans required to renounce extortion for, 73. regeneration not conferred in John's, 116. might be received in sin, if ill livers were 'saved by fire,' 59. public offenders not admitted to, unreformed, 60, 73. to be refused to fornicators, 66, 69. refused to harlots, stage-players, &c. 69, 70. received in sin saves not without conversion, 69. may perhaps be allowed in doubtful cases, 71. symbol delivered in, ib. all sin remitted in, 72. not needed, if repentance not needed, 76. will not save those who continue in sin, 80. insufficient without Christian life, 81. salvation not promised without, ib. dancers not admitted to, 82. sin of receiving unreformed, ib. Sacrament of, death to sin, 113. new birth in, ib. even infants die to original sin by, ib. the likeness of Christ's death, 117. all sin remitted in, 124. needful to salvation, 131. case of those who die without, 140, and note p. makes men sons of God and the Church, 111. saves not evil livers, 126. of the Church, impudently held invalid by Donatists, 183. of Heretics, not to be repeated, ib. is of the Church only, ib. of heretics, 'form of Godliness,' ib. remits original sin, 258. puts away all sin, 295. of children, 312. remits from all sin, 347. supposed case of lying in order to give, 466. necessary for admission to Paradise, 533. at Easter, ib. in order to the judgment, 573. makes men temples of God the Holy Ghost, 574. remission of all sins in, 575. received, to be guarded by good life, ib. washes once for all, ib. why not repeated, 576.

Baptized persons pray, 347.

Barnabas, simulation of corrected, 390, 452.

Barrenness, does not make divorce lawful, 282, 291, 304.

Beauty, of truth, 463. inward is what Christ loves, 374, 5. false, lawful to none, 375. spiritual, decays not, ib.

Bees, have progeny without intercourse, 276.

Begging Monks, 509.

Beginners, lying, well meant, excused in, 389, 416, 458, 460.

Beginning, of God's ways, Christ the, 28. The Father is Beginning of The Son, ib. The Son also The Beginning, ib. Godhead has none, 569.

Belief, see *Faith*. of historical facts, 604. implies objects unseen, 2. of things on earth requisite, ib. a step before understanding, 16. different from opinion, 383. needed before understanding, 396. of a lie, not always hurtful, 403, 430. of false doctrine, a real misery, 430. in the heart, not enough without confession, 438. of historical facts, 604.

Bene-dictio better than *bona dictio*, 202.

Betrayal, sin of, 405, 6, 460. by silence, 407, 8.

Bible, see *Scripture*.

Bill of divorcement, 283.

Bimembris, instance of, 137.

Birds, their habits alluded to, 296. who? 349. image of the proud, 498. not to be imitated in all points, 499, 500, 501, &c. in cages, 500. not imitated in picking food or flies, 501. caught by want of water, 579.

Bishop, empowered to relax certain excommunications, 353. addresses another Bishop's flock by permission, 508, 516.

Bishop's life laborious, 509, 510. recent increase of occupation, 509.

Bishops, represented in the Gospel by fishers, 68. Catholic, overthrew Priscillianism, 435. called upon to judge and mediate in secular matters, 500. by Apostolic injunction, ib. to be obeyed, 511. succession of from Apostles, 616.

Blasphemy, worst in one who knows it such, 434, 5, 457, 466. none can be allowable, 465, 468. suggested by Job's wife, 550.

Blessedness, called Right Hand of God, 573.

Blessing, put for cursing, 449.

Blood, of Christ given the pardoned to drink, 575.

Bodies of the married are holy, 288.

Body, (see *Flesh. Christ.*) palpable after resurrection, 15. how acts on the soul, 23. of Christ ascended, 24. objections to this, ib. spiritual, what, 24, 25. lowest part of man, 34. less quickly restored than soul and spirit, ib. resurrection of, ib. renewed, will not be flesh and blood, 35. human, caused by God to walk on water, 36. may be raised by Him to Heaven, ib. death of, a punishment, 102, 140. the Temple of the Holy Ghost, 120. in what kind angels have appeared, 121, 122. a weight on the soul, 124. matter of, known to God, 138. to be restored as a statue

recast, 138. how called spiritual, 139. animal, is not soul, (anima,) ib. of Christ called Flesh after resurrection, ib. of the wicked rises incorruptible but capable of suffering, 140. celestial in the resurrection, 160. chastening of the, 165. of the just to rise in a better state, 166. pain of, afflicts the bad, cleanses the good, 166, 7. while in, we see not some things, 167. brought to obedience, by the soul obeying God, 171. of Christ real, assumed through soul, 174. not merely like the dove, 176. of Christ's risen, not to be judged of as other bodies, 178. after resurrection will be heavenly, 185. may be holy in marriage, 358, 9. of all the Faithful is 'members of Christ,' 359. its peaceful members made the soul's pattern, 265. soul to be preferred to, 394. purity of, depends on soul, 394, 465. Priscillianists erred concerning, 432. hurt only by the pain of dying, not after death, ib. 526, 528, 620. resurrection of, 520, 521. faith in resurrection of, confirmed by care for the dead, 521, 542. obtained by the spirit, 525. not affected by the treatment of the corpse, 520, 521, 526, 528. motions of, affect the mind, 524. an interest felt in, by us while living, 526, 7, 9. overcome by the Martyrs, 526. real good of, in the life to come, 546, 7. to be restored entire, 547. patience partly in, ib. mangling of, in Martyrs, 548. a creature of God, 574. Temple of the Holy Ghost, ib. resurrection of, 576. not our object in religion, 592.

Bona dictio, Pagan; *Benedictio*, Christian, 202.

Boyhood, good and bad reasons for preferring, 588. rashness incident to, 590.

Bread, daily, prayer for, 154. breaking of, at Troas, the Eucharist, 494, 5.

Breviary, Roman, on Feast of St. John Baptist, 71, note d.

Bridegroom, Christ the, 14.

Burial, of Christ, 24. in the memorials of martyrs, 517, 523, 539, 542. place of, 518. want of, does not affect the dead, 519, 520, 522, 525, 528, 529. a grief to the living, 528. external rites of, for the comfort of the living. 520, 528, 542. no benefit to the wicked, 520, 529. care for, a duty, 521. why, 529. by the Patriarchs and their children, 521. significative, 522. commended in Scripture, 521, 2. rewarded, 522. want of, and place of, does not hinder resurrection, 520. or rest, 522, 5, 530. place of, a benefit only as occasioning prayer, 523, 4, 5, 542. to slight, irreligious, 530. place of, naturally a subject of interest, 526, 7. loss of, how a punishment, ib. only to cure feelings while living, ib. how a kindness, 529.

Business distracting the mind unsuitable to preachers, 288.

But, force of, in the Lord's Prayer, 155.

Butler, Analogy, 1.

C.

Calling, each to remain in, 483.

Canaanitish Woman, had living faith, 65. her reply, 232.

Candidianus, bearer of S. Aug.'s book 'on Care for the Dead,' 542. urged S. Aug. to write it, ib.

Canticles, prophecy of Christ and the Church, 14.

Care for the Dead, book on, occasion of writing, 537, 542.

Caring for temporal things forbidden, 472.

Caring not, by some limited to spiritual wants, 471.

Carnally-minded like grass, 498.

Carthage, fourth Council of, 353. introduction of monasteries into, 470. divisions respecting them, ib.

Cassiodorus, his book, De Inst. Div. Lit. 159, 577.

Catechising, (see *Catechumen*,) recollection of, appealed to, 44. subjects of, indicated in the Gospels, 55. should strike hard at sin, 69. why some things neglected in, 70. should include points of duty, 82. difficulties of, 187, 8. treated under three heads, 191. (1) *Manner of narration*:—how Scripture is to be discoursed of, 191. charity must reign, 191, 208. love to be the end proposed, 195. of which S. Aug. gives an illustration by his beautiful advice, 196, 200. how it may be sometimes begun, 197. may commence with Genesis, 197, 218. compared to golden links which should just hold together the jewel-truths of Scripture, 197, 8. (2) *Precept and Exhortation*:—resurrection and judgment may follow narration, 198. to be general rather than particular, ib. of what duration, 199, 238. how well-informed persons are to be dealt with, 200. (3) *Of cheerfulness in the speaker*:—impeded by difficulties of giving utterance to thought, 203. the condescension required in talking to simple people is distressing

to the speaker, 204. an exercise of patience and love, ib. feeble, when the speaker's heart is secretly consumed by some uneasiness, ib. how the preceding impediments are to be remedied, so that the speaker may proceed with cheerfulness, 205. should be done in the same spirit as we act towards children, 205, 208. its pleasures, 208. a thought suggested to those who must needs catechize with a heavy heart, 211, 12. another consideration, 212. another, 213. use of excited feelings in catechizing, ib. a comfort under the sense of sin, ib. the style of it must differ with the auditory, 214. a specimen promised, 203. one actually supplied, 215..... beginning with an examination of the catechumen's motive, 216—218. ....proceeding to a review of Revelation, from its commencement, 218. our first parents, 220. the fall, 221. the flood, 222. the call of Abraham, 223. the deliverance from Egypt, 224. the forty years in the wilderness, 225. the promised land, ib. the Babylonish captivity, 226. the return to the land, 228.....The mystery of times and seasons, ib. the sixth age begins with Christ's coming, 229. brief view of His lowly condition, and mysterious humility, 230. the passion, the resurrection, the Christian pentecost, 231. early converts, ib. S. Paul, 232. the Church, the Day of Judgment, heaven and hell, 233. the immortality of the soul, 234....Exhortation to holiness, 234-237.....conclusion of the address, 237—238. another shorter specimen, 238—242.

Catechumen, (see *Catechizing* and *Sacrament*,) Instruction preparatory to making, (1) S. Aug. first supposes the case of a very humble person, his frame of mind unknown, 196. desirable that something should be first known of him, ib. possible motives for coming, 196, 217, 18. what to be warned against, 198. by our mouth hears God, 199. how long to be kept, ib. (2) the case of a very learned applicant supposed, ib. how such an one is to be dealt with, 200. (3) a case in the mean between (1) and (2), how to be dealt with, 201, 2. what to be warned against, 202. all who come to be catechized are to be regarded with patient love: see *Catechizing* (3). how their contempt should affect us, 207. pleasure of guiding them, 208, 9. how their confidence to be won, 209. when they seem inaccessible, how to be dealt with, 209. should be allowed to sit, if possible, 210. anecdote of one, ib. should be made to feel interested, 211. affect the speaker differently, 214. specimen of an address to one, 216-237. another shorter address, 238-242. ceremony of making one, 237, *note*. having a second wife, case of, 295. St. Augustine becomes one, 597.

Catechumens, use of their state, 44. no special epistles to, 46. none made without renouncing heathenism, 53. learned and repeated the Creed, 563. still under their sins, 576. regeneration prayed for for them, ib.

Catholic, title of, whose by consent, 596.

Catholics, see *Church*, do not rebaptize, 183.

Catiline, his powers of endurance, 545.

Cato, gave up his wife to another, 45. cited, 296.

Cataphryges, see *Montanists*.

Causes, see *God*, *Nature*, of good and evil worth knowing, 94. of common things obscure, 615.

Centurion, case of the, 331, 2. ready faith of, praised, 612.

Chalcedon, Council of, excommunicates (Church) widows who marry, 353.

Chance, see *Fate*.

Change of elements, possible in the body, 36. sudden at resurrection, ib.

Chant, inequality of voices in, 139.

Character, care of, a point of charity, 378.

Characterem, (of Baptism,) 576.

Charity, feasts of, 79. all things to be referred to, 191, see *Love*. of the married state, 278. shewn in communicating any good to others, 354. in keeping good repute, 378. unity of the Church belongs to, 559. a mark of the free-born, 561. the Church abides in, 575.

Chase, simile of, 383.

Chastity, may not be broken to serve another; why then truth? 101. of continence, better than married chastity, 302. wedded, is a good, 357, 362. wedded, is God's gift, 372. complete, (*integritas*,) of virgins and widows, 372. spiritual delights in, 377. not to be broken to save a life, 393. or a soul, 466. not lost by violence, 394, 421. of mind what, 421, 465. of mind not to be broken, more than of body, to detect heresy, 439, 40. is of the truth, 464, 5. cannot

teach adultery, 465. advanced by Christianity, 615.
Cheerfulness, see *Catechizing* (3).
Children, why baptized, 312. the Three Holy, 352. Song of, ib. having, a reason for not marrying again, 361. spiritual, may serve instead of natural, 361, 376. virginity of, a compensation to parents, 361, 368. desire of, lawful, but not most praiseworthy, 362. having, a blessing, not a merit, 366, 368. bringing up well, is of good will, 368. spiritual fruits in place of, 375, 6. lawfully begetting, for God a good work, 440. power of a parent over, 446. loss of, 549, 570. exorcised, 564. know their parents by faith, 4, 605.
Childhood, why a grown man may prefer, 588.
Chrism, anointing, 6.
Christ, (see *Love*) the Seed of Abraham, 5. nations blessed in, 6. whence so called, ib. So honoured though crucified, a miracle, 8. witnessed to by Jewish prophecy, 11. sufferings of, contrasted with His Victory, 12. name of, honoured even by heretics, 13. The Bridegroom, 14. Rose again with real body, 15. The Only Begotten Son, 18. Created as Head of the Church, 20. In what sense First-begotten, 21. Unchangeable, ib. Perfect Man from His conception, 22. had a mother on earth, ib. as God, had no mother, ib. not defiled by conception, 23. crucified, dead, and buried, 24. rose again, ib. ascended into Heaven, ib. sitteth at the right hand, 25. will judge quick and dead, ib. Was, is, and is to come, as Man, 26. Called The Beginning, 28. Texts alleged against equal Godhead of, 29. explained, ib. bore with a devil among His Apostles, 40. Doctrine of, comprehends character of His Body as well as His Person, 49. crucified, implies crucifixion to the world, 50. way made for, by repentance, 55. answer of, to the young man, 56. the foundation, 62. His dealing with the woman of Canaan, 66. They come not to, who persist in breaking His laws, 66. Advocacy of, no encouragement to sin, 75. Grace of, needed by all for salvation, 77. the way of righteousness, 78. born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, 110. not Son of the Holy Ghost, ib. as Man, was made by Him, 111. One Person in two Natures, 112. conceived without
as Mediator takes away sin, 115. alone, needed not to be born again, ib. Born at first of the Spirit, 116. Baptized with the Holy Ghost, ib. Baptized for humiliation, ib. Mysteries of His life patterns for us, 117. His coming to Judgment future, 119. His words thunder, 130. able to raise the dead, ib. Looked on St. Peter to move him. 136. in what sense 'died to sin,' 113, 118. died not for Angels, 122. Body of, called flesh after resurrection, 139. could not have freed us were He not God, 150. example of, ib. unchangeable and above every creature, 160. every where called Son of the Most High, 170. our highest example, ib. honoured both sexes, 177. took His body to Heaven, 179. Seated at God's right Hand, ib. is the foundation of the Catholic faith, 87. so not among Heretics, 88. our belief concerning, 89. To think He shall die again were a great evil, 97. faith in, the way to God, 100. sacrifice of, 107. Birth of, 108. wholly free from sin, though perfect man, ib. both God and Man, ib. a reasonable soul, ib. Son not by grace but nature, ib. full of grace as Son of Man, ib. as God, without beginning, ib. as man how full of truth, 110. brought in grace, 156. old Fathers saved by faith in, ib. in Himself unchangeable, 169. could have freed man otherwise if He would, ib. Each fool has his objection to, for this or that in His life, ib. His medicine for all our ills, 170. is 'True God,' 173. is no mere man, ib. is real Man, 174. Assumed soul through Spirit, body through soul, ib. By so doing not defiled, ib. Suffering no objection to His Godhead, 177, 8. Rose again in the same body that died, 178. His coming, the object of the Old Testament, 194. His condescension a motive and model for ours, 205. why He paid tribute, 227. reason of His life of denial, 229, 230. lowly condition, 230. our pattern, ib. condescends to our slowness, 245. and the Church, their union, 263. heretical notion concerning, 264. came in real flesh, 264. took a human body and a human soul, 267. really hungered and thirsted, &c. 299. saw fit not to abstain like the Baptist, ib. imitation of, 328. the object of love, 351. taught humility when near His Passion, 333,

love, 351. crucified, to be gazed on with the inward eyes, ib. the best Husband, 352. may not be loved little, ib. ancients served, by marriage, 359, 60. recognised by Anna as a child, 360, 368. conceived in chastity, can make virginity fruitful, 364. shewn to be worthiest object of love, 374. loves an inward beauty, ib. marriage to, by vow of continence, how to be understood, 363. allowable to a wife with husband's consent, ib. A husband, in the Spirit, to the married as to the Church. 363, 4. did and commanded all for our salvation, 393. no lie to be told about, 401, 2. patience of, perfect, 410. yet did not literally turn the other cheek, 410. sayings of, that seem false, are figurative, 423, 454, 5. denied before men in pretending heresy, 435, 6. few deny sincerely, 437. kept back some truth, 447. called a 'Rock,' 'Lion,' &c. 448. under our sins figured by Jacob, 450. Himself a Prophet, 454. assumed shew of ignorance, 454. His 'feigning,' ib. not to be denied to make another a Christian, 468. exhorts Martyrs to patience, 547. forbearance of, to Judas, 548. chose and justified the Apostles, 556. faith of, saved the old Saints, 556, 7. made poor for our sakes, 561. poor of, to be made rich, 562. without sin, restores from sin, 564, 5. what He teaches of Himself, 567. born of the Holy Ghost, and of the Virgin Mary, ib. His birth lowly as being among men, ib. Passion and Death of, ib. born perfect as Son of God, 569. born of the Virgin in fulness of time, when He would, ib. how Man, ib. God and Man, ib. death of, a pattern to Martyrs, ib. Resurrection of, 569, 576. sets a prize as in the arena, 568. arose to die no more, 570. example of, goes beyond Job's, 572. forsaken of God only for this life, ib. what He suffered of the Jews, ib. ascension of, ib. sitting at the right hand of God, 573. shall come to judge quick and dead, ib. the Church abides in, as branches in the Vine, 575. the Root, ib. sin of killing, not unpardonable, ib. members of, shall follow Him, 576. used the four ways of exposition, 582—4. veil of Law done away by, 586. teaching handed down from, 598. even heretics bid us believe in, 609. on whose testimony we do so, 610. planted His religion by the way of faith, 612. death and resurrection of, shut out fear, 613. God in true Man, 614. miracles of, various, ib. their use, 614, 15. effects of His Incarnation and teaching, 616.

Christianity, derided as credulous, 1. is not without evidence, 5. testimony of mankind to, 595. profession of, free, ib. effects of, on the masses, 615, 16.

Christians, bad conduct of some, 70. marked by Faith as Jews by Law, 78. not to be made like Jewish Proselytes, 80. holy life required of, 81. under stricter rule than Jews, 101. children of God and the Church by Baptism, 111. must be conformed to Christ's Cross, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension, 118. called gods, 120. may call God 'Father,' 128. not to return evil, 129. law-suits between, 134. state of those who have left the faith, but claim the name, 168, 171. all one commonwealth, 505. state of, as longing for inheritance, 561. work and prize of, 569. more numerous than Jews and Pagans united, 596. they are not, who forbid faith in Christ before reason, 611. misrepresented, 618.

Church, (see *Ministers*,) quotes herself as fulfilment of prophecy, 5, 9. called the 'Queen,' 6. visible as such, 7. is herself an evidence, 10. witness of past and future, 11. spread abroad by suffering, 13. Bride of Christ, 14. sin of dividing, ib. Christ Head of the, 20. Holy, means the Catholic, 33. must have discipline, though containing evil men, 38, 40. not to use the visible sword, 38. power of, to bind and loose, 40. abiding though with evil men, 42. good will be mixed with evil in, to the last, ib. marriage, how sacred in, 45. character of, implied in truth concerning its Head, 49. good and evil in, 78. evil men enter not as such, 67. how open to 'good and bad,' 67, 81, 2. sin brings persecution on, 71. severity of, figured, 82. the, mother of the Baptized, 111. our faith concerning, 119, 20. temple of God the Holy Ghost, 120. militant and triumphant, ib. Heavenly part to be known to us hereafter, 122. part on earth redeemed, ib. remission of sin granted in, 125. examples of seeking things above in the, 171. conquers by suffering, ib. minds not vain questions, ib. corn and chaff in the, ib. difference between Head and members of, 175. to be at God's right hand, 179. heedless living in, 181. not limited to Africa, ib. the, struck, not slain, by Donatus, 182. progress

of, since the Donatists were cut off, 183. should be full of mercy, 184. our mother, 188. the wicked must be endured in it, 199, 217, 218, 221, 226, 235, 240, 241. its authority supreme over private opinion, 200. like Jerusalem of old, is held in captivity by the world's Babylon, 207. in what sense the old Fathers belonged to the Christian, 224. a Vine, watered by the blood of Martyrs, 233. an heretical notion concerning, 264. Christ and the, 263, 265. not yet perfect, 265. made subject to Christ, ib. in what sense it "lusteth against Christ," 266. her daily cry, ib. dealt with by Christ as the body is by the spirit, 267. the, a Mother and a Virgin, 309. a holy Virgin, 315. sometimes called the kingdom of heaven, 325. the, a virgin and spouse of Christ, 364, 375, 6. includes the departed, 380. in a household, 381. authority of its practices though not in Scripture, 519. disunion with, breaks charity, 559. mother of God's children, 563. named in Creed after the Holy Trinity, 575. the Temple of God, ib. victorious over heresies, ib. abides in charity, ib. Body of Christ, 576. milk from the teats of, 579. with what error charged by Manichees, 589, 598. Catholic, primâ facie claims of, 596. her teaching from Christ and the Apostles, 598. witnessed to by people and nations, 610. testimony of mankind leads us to, 616. doctrines of, concerning God, 617.

Churches, building of, 441. seats in, the exception, (apparently) in S. Augustine's time, 210. of withdrawing from in time of service, ib. by whom filled on Festival days, 236.

Cicero, lectured on, 531. his rule for argument, 580. studied because acknowledged by all, 593. conspirators put to death by, 604.

Circumcelliones, plots of, 95, note h.

Circumcision, made uncircumcision by leaving the law, 390, 92. for whom lawful, 391. a seal, ib. is not for Christians, 586.

City of God, St. Aug. on, 15.

Clean, who are in God's sight, 400.

Clergy, habitual crimes of, 135. not bound to labour, 476, 7, 8, 9, 80. may claim maintenance from their people, 476, 7, 8, 9, all, as well as Apostles, 480, 84, 85. employments fitted for, 488. receiving support not as mendicants—of right, ib. receive support that they may avoid distracting occupations, 489. injunctions to support, 488, 491, 2. for the good of the people, 491. have the same right to maintenance as Apostles, 497. ministers of the altar dispensers of Sacrament, ib. to become, for the sake of a maintenance wrong, 505, 507. not to be careful, 507.

Cæcilianus, falsely accused, 41. Donatus could not prove charges against, 182.

Cæcilius, not studied instead of Cicero, 593.

Coeval, image of the Coeternal, 568.

Coin, adulterate, 83.

Colours, divers, signify what, 6.

Commandments, the two chief, 51, 74. not to be separated, 51, 56. ten, division of, 52. mention of by our Lord, 56, 61, 62. breach of, forfeits salvation, 64, 83. pertain not to mere faith only, 74. of love to God and man, Gospel hangs on, as well as Law, 157, 194, 5.

Command, of the Lord, why S. Paul had none, 316.

Commands, clear, to be obeyed at all risks, 409, 10. explained by examples, 410, 11.

Communion, of the Father and the Son, 30. is no substance, 32.

Community of goods at Jerusalem, 489. of goods, benefit of, 507. all Christians one, 505.

Compacts, sexual, how far sinful, 279, 280.

Competentes, learned the Creed, 15. why so called, 44. earnestness of, ib. 82. a step beyond other Catechumens, ib. 533.

Concealment, not in itself lying, 447, 8. of many things lawful, 589.

Conceptaculum, 412.

Conception, of our Lord no defilement, 23.

Concubinage for offspring's sake unlawful, 291. was lawful among the ancient fathers, 292. lawfulness of a certain kind of, doubtful, ib.

Concupiscence, gradually weakened, 515. patience not to minister to, 546.

Confession, of sins, 350. medicine of, 417. remedy for lies, 468.

Confinis, 585.

Conflict, Christian, the field of, within, 161. of virtues and vices in the soul, 248. of the Christian, 250, 260, 61.

Conjugal love, see *Love*.

Conscience, good, excuses not carelessness of repute, 378. solace of, in evil report, 379. sinning against, 434.

moves all good minds to seek God, 613.
Consent, in thought constitutes sin, 246, 47. yielded and withheld, 260, 61. withheld is mortification of the members, 271. what constitutes, 397—400. when it justifies doing a man a wrong, 401. chastity not lost without, 421.
Consentius, his enquiries about Priscillianists, 382, 428. St. Augustine's epistles to, 426, note a. praise of, 427. advised to write against Priscillianism, 436, 450.
Continence, required before Baptism, 43. door of, 244, 246. why mentioned last by S. Paul, 250. God's gift, 243, 267. the gift of God's Spirit, 253. difficult to treat of, 243. from marriage glorious, ib. of the lips, ib. to attain, we must not trust in our own strength, 251. forbears excuses, 253. sought of God by David, 254. required against all sin, 256. peace the prize of, 257. not a persecution of our nature but its healthful chastisement, 267. falsely laid claim to, ib. different kinds of, so called, but not deserving the name, 268. falsely so called, ib. its office, 269. is refusing the consent of the mind; 271. must watch the thoughts, ib. how puts down lust, 272. glory of perseverance in, due to God, 273. the greater of two goods, 283, 302, 320. and marriage two goods, 283. compared to fasting, 284. how, is not on a level with the marriage of the old Fathers, 296, 298. a virtue of the soul, 298. in habit and in act, 300. praise of the state of, 301. the root-virtue, 305. profitable for the life to come, 315, 316, 320, 323. when unwillingly professed, 334. of widows: its rank, 345. widowed, better than nuptial chastity, 357. best for those who 'receive' it, 361, 2. strength of, measures merit of widowhood, 366. of heretics not to persuade us, 368. all is God's gift, 369, 70. though willing, 371. term properly used of virgins or widows, 372. universal supposed danger of, 389. praised by Epicurus, 587.
Contraries, none to being, 21. rule of logicians for, fails in good and evil, 93. instances of, 429.
Conversion, not to be brought about by lying, 424, 432, 33.
Cornutus, a grammarian, 594.
Correction, a kind of alms, 129.
Corruption of nature, what, 92.
Council at Hippo, A.D. 393, 15. fourth of Carthage, its canon about widows, 353.
Councils, weight of, against heretics, 516.
Counsel, spiritual, beyond law, 157.
Creation, of matter implied in omnipotence, 17. sometimes confounded with begetting, 20. doctrine of, 90. all good, the whole better than each part, 359.
Creature, The Son not a, 20. Wisdom of God became, ib. the, held unclean by some, 41. goodness of, not as the divine, 90. each good, and all together very good, 91. gives pleasure by approach to that which loves it, 558. visible and invisible, 564.
Credulousness, distinguished from faith, 598, 600.
Creed, learned by heart, 15, 16. known before the Scriptures, 16. commented on for defence against heresy, ib. briefly delivered to novices, 36. see *Faith*. heads of, mentioned, 48. asked again from candidates for Baptism, 51. easy to commit to memory, 88. carnally understood, milk; spiritually, strong meat, 153. rule of faith or symbol, 563. not written, ib. repeated by Catechumens, 564. scattered through Scripture, 563. calls not the Son Almighty, yet implies this, 567.
Crime, difference of, from sin, 124. holy men live without, ib. capable of pardon, 125. alms remit not, without amendment, 128, 132.
Crimes, penance done for, 575.
Crispina, mentioned, 344.
Crispus, baptized by St. Paul, 50.
Critics, destructive, 368.
Cross, of Christ, Baptism in the, 117. used in making a Catechumen, 225, and 237. (*where see the note.*) why Christ chose, 569.
Crown, promised to those only who strive, 160. is not for the impatient, 551. for those who strive, 569.
Crucifixion, 24.
Cry, great sin called, 135.
Cup, of the Lord, Catechumens prepare to be admitted to, 44.
Cups, three, of one water, 28.
Curia, of Tullium, 532.
Curiosity, idle, danger of, in reading, 275. of the unlearned, 164. forbidden, 573. what it means, 598, 9.
Curma, vision of, 532, 3.
Cynegius, buried in the Basilica of Felix, 517.
Cyprian, St. his letter on the lapsed, 70 what he says of evil men in the Church, 83. on unity of the Church, 616, note m.

D.

Dancers, not admitted to Baptism, 82.
Danger, seeking, tempting God, 508.
Daniel and S. Paul, 321.
Darius Comes, Ep. to, 1. St. Augustine's letter to, 543.
Darkness, what, in which devils rule, 162. Race of, a fable of the Manichees, ib. part of God supposed in prison of, 163. Rulers of, in heavenly places, what, 164.
David, child of, died uncircumcised, yet saved, 141, note p. a great saint, 253. spake rashly, 273. rash oath of, no example, 445—7. his feigned madness, 449. patient forbearance of, 547.
Day, of eternity, meant by 'to-day,' 116. the first and the Lord's day, 495.
Days, observing, how great a sin, 134.
Dead, care for, 517—542. pagan opinions of, 518, 519, 528, 529. at rest, 522, 525, 529. sacrifice for, in Maccabees, 519. benefited by the sacrifice of the altar, prayers, and alms, 542. not affected by the condition of the body, 519, &c. unconscious when seen in visions, 530, &c. do not know what happens in this world, 534, 535, 538. or their happiness would be affected, 534, 535. except in special cases, 536, 537. perhaps by information from other spirits, 536, 537. from Angels, 537. from the Holy Spirit, ib. interpose not ordinarily, 534, &c. 538. nor as they please, 538. sometimes, 537, 538. a blessing thereby, 535. by extraordinary divine permission, 538. we care and *pray for* without knowing their state, 536, 538. (see *Prayers*.)
Deadly, see *Sin*.
Deadworks, what, 52, 69.
Death, of the soul, what, 35. victory over, 36. of the body, man's punishment, 102. man capable of, as soon as alive, 137. the second, undying, 140, 152. even the first, caused by sin, ib. of the reprobate, to God, eternal, 153. question of lying to prevent, 388, 462–464. sin worse than, 393. wrongly thought of as worst evil, 419. for mercy and truth, a gain, 469. sin the sting of, 468.
Decalogue, division of, 52, and note p. (see *Commandments*.)
Deceit, purpose of, implied in lying, 384. may be by means of truth, 385. safest to avoid, entirely, 387. turns on itself, 456.
Defamation, question of, to prevent crime, 401. especially condemned, 414. in will, ib.
Degradation, punishment of, 38. punishment for Clergy, 135.
Degrees of glory in Heaven, 327, 328, 346.
Deifica, 554.
Delight of righteousness now made superior to that of sin, 135. in righteousness, 156.
Delights, spiritual, supersede carnal, 177.
Demetrias, consecrated a Nun A.D. 413, 353 her choice of virginity praised, 356, 368, and note a. become like St. Mary, 370. before her mother in the kingdom, 374. grandmother of, 375. care needed for, as young, ib. book on virginity recommended to her, 381.
Demons, not to be thought to dwell in highest Heaven, 162. why called rulers of darkness, ib. served, 268. confess themselves tormented by Martyrs, 540, 541. by living Saints 541.
Deogratias, a deacon of Carthage, addressed by S. Augustine, 187.
Deserter, mark of, not changed, 576.
Desire, see *Lust*.
Desires, earthly, lead to endurance, 545. such following of, considered lawful, ib.
Despair, remedy against, in Christ, 171.
Devil, fall of the, 103. Christ overcame the, by justice, not by mere power, 116. the, overcome by the nature he had deceived, 151. kingdom of, 152. the, how to overcome, 159, 164, 186. conquered by our Lord, 160. how cast out, ib how he rules, 161. where to be fought with, ib. sinners the dust he eats, ib. where he dwells, 162. overcome in both sexes, 177. his temptation, 235, 241. the, called a lion, 448.
Devils, confessed the same as St. Peter, 59. believe and tremble, 63. have dead faith, 66, 73, 74, 90. final punishment with, 102. fell irrecoverably, 103. number of, unknown, 104.
Dictinius, reformed from his error, 431. his book called the 'Pound,' 432, 462, 468.
Diet, what St. Augustine used, 580.
Difficulties, to be borne with, 541.
Dilectiones, 79, note f.
Discipline, see *Excommunication*. the Church must have, 38. enforced by

St. Paul, 39. some think, needless, 42. can only deal with what is known, 67, 83. restrains evil doctrine, 68. not to be conformed to bad precedents, 69. not to be given up, 82. of the Church to be applied to particulars, 42. loving, a work of mercy, 129. lack of, complained of, 135. responsibility of not enforcing, ib.
Discourse to a catechumen. see *Address.*
Disease, different, needs different treatment, 40. of nature, what, 258.
Dispensation, in time, for man's salvation, 173.
Dives, care for his brethren did not imply that he knew of their state, 536.
Divorce, allowed in Roman Republic, 45. rebuked by Christ, 283. may not take place for barrenness, 282, 291, 304. does not dissolve marriage, 283, 291, 304. dissolves marriage in the world's opinion, 283. why permitted the Jews, 582.
Doctrine evil, to be prevented, 68. is bad, whether obeyed or not, 69. not to be corrupted, 82. origin of errors in, 201. sound, a protection to good purpose, 368, 9. error of, in some good men, 372. authority of, done away by lying, 396, 432, 3. some to be believed before understood, 396. lying about, worse than suffering any thing, 401, 422. may be withheld, not falsified, 402. teaching to sin to be shunned, 458.
Dogs, to be endured in the Church, 42. what is holy not to be given them, ib. Canaanitish woman no longer a dog when received, 67. return to their vomit, 80.
Donatists, lay in ambush for St. Augustine, 95. reception of Prætextatus and Felicianus, 64, 159. their account of the prophecies of the Church's universality, 182. suicides of, 550. not martyrdoms, 551.
Donatus, schism of, 41. party of, divided, 159, 182. portion of, not the Catholic Church, 181. struck the Church, but slew her not, 182.
Donatus, the grammarian, 594.
Double-shape, instance of, 137.
Dove, in which the Holy Ghost appeared real, 176, 7. compared with Christ's Humanity, 176. not born of a dove, 177. what signified in it, ib. power of God to create, ib.
Dreams, caused by angels, 121. and miracles, admonitory, 197. appearances in, 529, &c. see *Apparitions.*
Drunkenness, sober, of the Spirit, 168. a fault in act or habit, 600.
Dulcitius, brother of Laurentius, 85. questions of, ib.
Duty of marriage among the early people of God, 285, 292, 294, 313. higher, supersede slower, 418. cannot require a sin, 443.
Duumvir, 532.
Dwelling called 'sitting,' 573.

E.

Earth, sinners are, and so Satan's food, 161. creation of the, 564.
Ecclesiastics, said to be written by Solomon, 537. not in the canon of the Hebrews, ib.
Eclipses, no need to know cause of, 40.
Economy, some, used toward aliens without lying, 439. practised by our Lord, 447.
Egypt type of state of sin, 52. represents the world, 459.
Election, by free grace, 144. Divine, is grace, 555. precedes faith, 556. examples of, 557.
Elements, changes possible in, 35.
Eligere, 557.
Eloquence, few attain, yet masters of known, 593.
Emmanuel, to be the name of the Virgin's Son, 6.
Emperor, heathen, grants pardon to the courage of Firmus, 406, 7.
Enchiridion, what, 86.
End of the Lord, our example, 572.
Endurance, not patience, 267. of sufferings for worldly objects, 544. of men for temporal objects, ib. even for vain things is praised, 545. practised for wicked ends, 545, 548. such is not patience, 545, 6. yet is an example, 546. in surgical cases, ib. worldly, strong in proportion to lust, 553, 555, 558. this is animal and devilish, 554. like stupor of disease, 557. frantic, of misguided lust, 558.
Enemies, prayer for, shews that goodwill comes by grace, 107.
Envying and pride, 331.
Epicurus, sometimes praises continence, 587. his error about pleasure, 587, 8. not fit to explain Archimedes, 590.
Epistle to the Romans, chief object of, 77, 78.

Epistles, written to the baptized, 46. order of teaching in, ib. no argument from, against teaching Catechumens morals, ib. Catholic, chiefly aimed against Antinomianism, 57. of St. Paul written for men's salvation, 411, 425. truth clearly put forth in, 452. of St. Paul, said by Manichees to be interpolated, 583.
Erasmus, his opinion of the 'De Patientia,' 543.
Error, from not keeping a mean, 40. instances of, on each side, 41. what, dangerous, 94, 95, 96. of what kind may be useful, 95. what is, ib. necessity of, a misery, ib. ugliness of, 96. in faith worse even than lying, 97. of doctrine worse than of fact, 98. from deception of senses, 98, 99. some would avoid, by suspending all assent, 99. when a sin or fault, 100. hurtful when we think we know, 122. is in knowledge what wickedness in action, 172. arises from pride, 173. truth frees from, falsehood involves in, 383. of fact does little harm, 430. easy to talk against, 579. three kinds of, in reading, 587. hurts not unless believed, ib. charitable no evil, 588.
Ercicius, Orations of, 593.
Esau, rejection of, 143. birthright of, what it signified, 450.
Eternal Life the penny in the parable, 327.
Eternity, Christ called, 169. not understood by men, 169. no space of, between the Father and the Son, 568.
Eucharist, sacrifice of the Mediator, 151. Blood of Christ given to drink in, 575.
Eulogius, sees S. Aug. in a dream, 581.
Eunuch, the, with what profession baptized, 48.
Eunuchs, for the Kingdom of Heaven, 324. monks professed to be as, 513.
Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. translated by Ruffinus, 525.
Evanescere, 437.
Eve, a help to the tempter, 549. Adam tempted by, 570.
Every, used for 'any,' 415.
Evidence, of prophecy, 5, 8, &c. of the Jews, 11, 12.
Evil, place of, 91. good brought out of, 91, 97. is privation of good, 91. is no substance, ib. cannot exist without good, 92. in what sense, cannot produce good, 94. cause of, a mutable will, 102. course of, ib. not to be returned for evil, 129. that ill things should be is good, and therefore permitted, 142, 146. good brought out of, 145. origin of, asked by Manichees, 163. not self-existent, 255. Manichæan errors concerning, 255, 257, 262. permitted, but not therefore approved, 255. turned into good by God, 255, 56. see *Sin*. uses of, 256. lusts, what, 260. perfected hereafter, ib. not a substance, 261. its nature explained, ib. others doing, is not our sin, 398. question of doing less, to avoid greater, 399, 400, 403. wrongly measured through earthly affections, 419. comparison of evils, 424. not to be done that good may come, 441. good brought out of, 456. God not author of, 617. is no substance, ib.
Examination of candidates for Baptism, 44.
Examples, see *Saints*. how to be judged of, 456.
Excommunication, punishment of, 38, &c. to be used in charity, 39. acknowledged needful for greater sins, 70, 81, 125. prevented by prevalence of sins, 135. may be incurred by a valid marriage, 353. needed for crimes, 575. caution not to incur, ib.
Excuses, shunned by continence, 253. useless before God, 254. of fatalism, ib.
Exhortation, needful to spur us to action, 354, 369. use of, implies acting on others' will, 373. less effective than prayer, ib.
Exorcism, before Baptism, 43. of children shews original sin, 564.
Experience, of friendship leaves room for faith, 3.
Exsufflation of children, 564.
Eye, inward and outward, 1.
Eyes, their honourable place in the body, 359. want of, supplied by hearing, &c. 377. weak from darkness cannot bear light, 608. fools use, more readily than the mind, 613.

F.

Fables, are no lies, 455.
Fairness of Christ, the love of virgins, 350. what Christ seeks, 351.
Faith, (see *Grace*,) of things unseen derided, 1. defended by analogy, ib. necessary to friendship, 2. even after trial, 3. if due to human things, more so to divine, 5. prophesied of, a ground of faith, 13. fruitful by as-

ceive, 35. learned in order to obedience, 36. some think it will save without good works, 37. professed in a few words in clinical Baptism, 43. sometimes mentioned before morals, 45, &c. as well as practice in Ten Commandments, 53. without works is dead, 83. more articles of, required than sometimes named, 48. law cannot be kept without, 56. implied in obedience, ib. not sufficient for salvation without love, 56, 7, 61, 83. man justified by, before works, 57. doctrine of St. Peter, 58. of St. James, 59. Christ dwells in the heart by, 62. of grace has love, 63, 73, 83. of Canaanitish woman, 65. violence of, 73. distinguishes Christians from others, as law does Jews, 78. how far independent of reason, 87. progress from, to sight, ib. believes, 88. love and hope cannot be without, ib. implies assent, 99. in Christ, working by love, the way to God, 100. a gift of God, 105. our Lord conceived by, 108. not working by love is dead, 126. Catholic, what founded on, 87. Hope, and Charity, 86, &c. their connection, 88. special objects of, 89. of future good, causes hope, 89. implies concurrent will, 106, 616. without love is worthless, 155. love to God and our neighbour by, 157. Catholic, a security against deceivers, 164, 181. some have left, and yet would be called Christians, 168. set forth in few words, 172. contains mysteries above reason, and also facts, ib. clearly set forth in Scripture, 181. simple food of, 185. good life to be added to, 185, 6. our means of victory, 159. rule of, ib. 563. bows the soul to God, 171. leads to hope and love, ib. needful before we can understand truth, 172. of the ancient Saints, 219. and works, 271. without putting down lust is dead, 272. in wedlock, 279. conjugal, less worthy than virginity, 355. of profession, to be kept, 362. whence named, 422. of Christ, none justified without, 557. before understanding, 566. is in order to eternal life, 573. on authority, blamed by Manichees, 578, 598. distinguished from credulity, 598—600. question if still a fault, 600. necessary for friendship, 600, 602. teacher uses, towards learner, 600. no harm in, though reason might be used, 601. distinguished from knowledge and opinion, 608. faulty only when rash or on authority, ib. needful in common life, 605. parents known by, 4, 605, 6. most needful of all in religion, and why, 606. before reason no rashness, 609. they are not Christians who forbid faith in Christ before reason, 611. miracles lead to, 612. prepares way to wisdom, 616.

Fall of man through pride, 20, 567.

Falling, danger of, 340.

Falsehood, not all, is a lie, 96, 383. leads to error, ib. some may be thought useful, 386, 7. (see *Lie.*)

Fallonia, Proba, mother of Juliana, 368, note a.

Fame, endurance from desire of, 544.

Famine, provided against, 411.

Fasting, compared to continence, 284. adds to the merit of widowhood, 367. time of, how to be used, 378. before receiving the Eucharist, 494. continuous for several days, 615.

Fatalism, its excuses blasphemous, 254.

Fate, inconsistency of those who speak of it, 254.

FATHER, The, The SON anointed by, 6. made all things by The Son, 18. to declare himself, begat what Himself Is, 19. distinct from The Son, 20. Himself God, 26. The Beginning of The Son, 28. hath not His Being from The Son, 28. nor from any other, 29. how greater than The SON, 108. coeternal with Son imaged by coeval, 568. The, One God with The Son, 566. doth what He will, ib. never without The Son, 568.

Father, human, death of, supposed threatened to compel to sin, 397, 8. power of over children, 446. why greater than sons, 566.

Fathers, (see *Saints*,) Catholic, remark on their writings, 201. their occasional errors, as individual writers, to be expected, and pardonable, ib. the old, how they married, 290, 293, 4, 366. typical in their marriage of many wives, 295.

Faustus, the Manichee, attacked Patriarchs' marriages, 369. his pretensions and failure, 596, 7.

Fear, what, 102. of God, comes before love, 186. of God, salutary, 195. to displease God entertained by love, 338, 9. spoken of by St. Paul, 339. likely to mislead, 444. of God, His gift, 559. patience founded on, 560.

Feast, conversation at a, 599.

Feasts of charity, 79.

Feigning, in our Lord no falsehood, 454, 455.

Felicianus, reception of, by Donatists,

Felix, St. burial in his Basilica, 517. appeared at Nola, 537.
Fellowship, attainable without marriage, 285.
Female, contrasted with male, 294.
Festival-days, 236.
Fides, from *fieri*, 422.
Figure, of the Divine economy, exhibited in the birth of Jacob, 192, 224. (see *Type*) of speech, 271, 272. in speech no lie, 449, 454, 455.
Filth of soul, love of any thing but God and the soul, 614.
Final goods, 284.
'*Finger of God*,' means the Holy Spirit, 225.
Fire, salvation through, 38. some think ill livers saved through, 55, 59, 126. everlasting burns everlastingly, 61. meaning of salvation through, 62, &c. 84, 126, 127. evil livers not saved by, 79, 126. trial by, even in this life, 127. prepared for the devil and his angels, 161. coeval father of light, 568.
Firmus, Bishop, courage of, 406, 407.
Fish, hooked, like a bad man with the baits of pleasure, 165. The just signified by, 179.
Five periods of times, 192. ages of the world accomplished at Christ's coming, 228.
Flames of the world, 352.
Flesh and blood, what, 15, 35. soul called flesh where it seeks fleshly goods, 34. resurrection of the flesh, 34, 35. changed in resurrection, 185. put for man, 108. matter of, in God's keeping, 138. all to be restored, yet not each particle to same place, 138. celestial body how not flesh and blood, 139. living after the, what, 251. meaning of, in Scripture, 251, 252. how saved, 259. Manichæan error concerning, 262, 264. as created, spoken well of by S. Paul, 262. Christ's, was true, 264. not evil, ib. likened to the Church, 265, 266. its works, may be sins of the soul, 269.
Flora, a pious widow, 517.
Fœtus, beginning of life in, 137.
Food, allegorical interpretation of, 161. preserves man: so generation mankind, 292, 293. uncooked, needs exercise to digest, 501. necessary in retreats, 502. strong, not for the diseased, 598, 608.
Fools, all who are not wise, 606, and note i. do best to follow the wise, 607, 613. cannot know wisdom surely, 608. incapable of reason concerning God, 611, 614. easiest led by means
Forgery of wills, 441.
Forgiveness of offenders a kind of alms, 129. when asked due by Divine command, 130. asked by all, shews all sinful, 357. of sins, realised in baptism, 575. three ways of, ib. only for the baptized, ib.
Form, prescribed, 87. of all things from God, 17. power of receiving, from Him, ib. of godliness given in heretical baptism, 183.
Fornication, compared with adultery, 183.
Fornicators, no fitter for baptism than idolaters, 54. to be refused baptism, 66.
Fortitude, spirit of, 559.
Forum, said to talk, (see *Figure of speech.*)
Fowlers, why the, cover up waters, 579.
Foxes, who? 349.
Free, why man is left, 256.
Free-born, love is of, 561.
Free-will, (see *Will*) lost by sin, 104.
Friendship, founded on faith, 2. exists before fully proved, 3. attainable without marriage, 285. none without faith, 601, 602.
Fronto, informant of Consentius, 430.
Fruitfulness, not to be compared to virginity, 313, 315.
Fruits, thirty-fold and hundred-fold, 344, 345. sixty-fold, 345.
Future, past used for, 180.
Future life, continence profitable for, 315, 316, 320, 323, 324.

G.

Gaius, baptized by St. Paul, 50.
Games, brutality of them, 216. what men will suffer for, 544. illustrate the Christian conflict, 569.
Gaul, martyrs of, 523.
Generation, Divine, 26. Eternal, difficult to behold in the mind, 173. (see *Duty*) preserves mankind, as food man, 292. of mortal creatures is by corruption, 565. of The Son from eternity, 568. of light by fire shews the coeval, ib. coeternal without parallel, ib.
Genius, finds not truth without God's help, 602.
Gentiles, as well as Jews needed grace, 77. not to use Jewish customs, 390, 392, 453. typified by the woman

called Pagans, 483, 487. debtors to Jews, 498.
Gift, The Holy Ghost called, 29.
Gifts, are all from God, 341. prayed for, are not of ourselves, 342. of different kinds, 345. spiritual, one person may have many, 539.
Girding the loins, what? 257.
Glory, state of, after resurrection, 156. different degrees of, 327, 328, 346.
Gladiators, baptism denied to, 70.
GOD, blessed Abraham, 5. most fitly born of a Virgin, 6. is not in any special place, 10. the True, now invoked by all, 12. if Almighty, created matter, 17. begat That which Himself Is, 19. no being contrary to, 21. not to be imagined in human form, 25. human likeness of, not to be placed in a temple, ib. Trinity in Unity, 26, 41. not Three Gods, 27. is Love, 31. the Head of Christ, ib. seen by the pure in heart, 33. love of, excludes love of the world, 51. dead faith really knows not, 74. our duty to, ib. shrinks not from destroying the evil-minded, ib. requires Christian life as well as Baptism, 81. chastises negligent Churches, 71. worship of, is wisdom, 86. to be worshipped by faith, hope, and love, 86. sight of, highest happiness, 87. is the Cause of all things, 90. 'Ruler Supreme of things,' 91. why He permits evil, ib. the way to, 100. Cause of all good, 101, 2. His dealing with man as free, 102. just anger of, ib. continues life even to fallen angels, ib. His mercy, ib. salvation wholly ascribed to, 106. wrath of, no emotion, 107. the Father of the baptized, 111. the Church His Temple, built of gods, 120. what passeth all understanding passeth not His, 124. wrath of, for sins of fathers tempered with mercy, 115. His favour not 'bought' by alms, 128. wonderful working of, 133. will of, not frustrated by man, 141, 145. how, 'wills all men to be saved,' 142, 147. gathered children of Jerusalem against her will, 142. can change man's will at His pleasure, 143. wrath of, no perturbation, 153. exclusion from His presence great misery, ib. loved now by faith, 157. thought by the Manichees to divide Himself into portions, &c. 162. part of, miserable according to them, 163. subjection to, makes us masters of ourselves, 165, 191. makes all serve of, in placing His creatures, 167. care of, in governing them, 167. service of, matter of revelation, ib. sweetness of, 168. power of, misjudged by unbelievers, 177. substance of, unchangeable, ib. meaning of His 'Right Hand,' 179. His judgment of foreknowledge, 181. His Love, 193. His severity the foundation of man's love, 195. only hears the *soul's* cry, 202. worthy of praise, let man act as he will, 220. long-suffering with the ungodly, 222. permits evil, why? 255, 6. brings good out of evil, 256. Manichæan heresy concerning, 255, 257. His nature, 257. a Physician, 258. favour of, gives continence, 369. gifts of, no blessings unless owned, 370. all good comes from, 377. labours to win, pleasant, 378. 'hates' sinners, 'destroys' liars, 392, 3, 427. who unclean in sight of, 400. hears our inward speech, 413. wronged, though not hurt, by sins of luxury, 420. to be honoured outwardly as well as inwardly, 429. Priscillianists erred concerning, 432, 3. sin against, worse than against man, 434. sometimes heals secretly, 436. we must depend on, after all means, 461. will provide where we cannot rightly, 467. impassible, 543. passions attributed to, ib. patience His gift, ib. and 562. Himself long-suffering, though not suffering, 543, 4. His wrath, jealousy, &c. ineffable, ib. His 'repentance' implies no error, 544. cares for our body, 547. not lost but by will, 549. Himself afflicted Job, ib. riches of, 552, 562. patience likens to, 554. (see *Patience*.) free mercy of, to old Saints, 557. how first loves sinners, ib. works in us good will, 558, 562. Father of those to whom the Church is Mother, 563. hence called Father in the Creed, ib. Almighty yet cannot lie, &c. ib. does what He will, but can will no wrong, 564. made all things, visible and invisible, ib. image of, in the mind, ib. the Son of, is God, 565. one will in, ib. not two Gods, ib. not lost by misfortunes, 570, 1. a Temple is for Him, 574. willed to have a house on earth where He might be prayed to, ib. Who clothes the grass, creates it, ib. not three Gods, but one God, ib. just in binding men by law, 586. dwells in pure souls, 590. called to witness, ib. reasons concerning, understood by few, 601. helps those

knowledge of, the true wisdom, 606. search for true religion presupposes faith in, 608. cannot be displeased with our believing, 609. demands faith, 611. the wise most near to, 612. mercy of, shewn in Christ, 613. conscience moves us to seek, ib. now known by nations not to be of earth or fire, 615. Old Testament charged with false doctrines about, 617. not author of evil, ib. reasons for seeking to, ib. kingdom of, universal, ib. liable to no passion, ib. providence of, points out the Church, 616. never lies, 617. no substance but is of Him, 618.

Godhead, of Father and Son, some call The Holy Ghost so, 30. others held not to be a Substance, 32.

Gods, men called, 26. Christians so called, 120.

Gold, may be known and not had, 608.

Goliath and Zacchæus compared, 302.

Good, created, 90, 91. diminution of, evil, 91. in what sense it cannot produce evil, 94. and evil, causes of, must be known, ib. calling evil good and good evil is in doctrine not in fact, 98. cause of, God's goodness, 101, 2. brought out of evil, 256. all nature is, 257. in what degree attainable, 260. perfect, reserved for the future life, ib. man so created, 261. the substance of the flesh is, ib. men not exempt from sin, 266. superior, makes not lesser good an evil, 357, 8. some implied in 'better,' ib. more honoured by having a good below it than an evil, 359, 364. fall from a higher, is an evil, 362, 3. all, comes from God, 377. sin aims at some, in this life, 420. temporal, may be given up without sin, ib. of other kinds may be kept by doing some things otherwise wrong, 420, 421. three things to be kept, for sanctity's sake, 421. luminous, of truth, 463. impassible, 554. highest, not attained without loving it, 613.

Good men, few, compared with the wicked, 221.

Goods, final and instrumental, 284. when abused, become sin, 285. of marriage are offspring, faith, sacrament, 305.

Good work, what, 207.

Gospel, first preaching of, 13. not to seem sold, 482, 486.

Gospels, said by Manichees to be interpolated, 583.

Government, (God's moral,) of the world, 255.

Grace, faith of, has love, 63, 73, 83, of Holy Spirit sets us free from condemnation, 77. needed both by Jew and Gentile, ib. time of, foretold, 88. precedes all human merit, 106, 107. dispensation of, 106, &c. Christ full of, as Man, 108. Manhood made without sin by, 109. St. Mary full of, ib. made natural to Man in Christ, 112. justifies from many offences, 116. freedom of, to Jacob, 143. alone separates the redeemed from the lost, 144. was needed in Paradise, 149. alone sets the will free, ib. state of man under, 156. not wanting under the law, ib. need of, denied by some, 371. destroys not free-will, 371—3. election of, 555. assists the just, and justifies the ungodly, 556. frees from the Law, but condemns it not, 585, 6.

Grammarians, how good ones act, 197. expected to find good sense in Virgil, 591. several named, 594.

Grass, image of the carnal, 498.

Gratitude, due from virgins to God, 341.

Greek, words borrowed from, 582.

Greeks, philosophers, shoemakers, 487.

Guests, duty of protecting, 443, 445.

Guidance of Scripture and of Signs contrasted, 197.

H.

Habits, hard to change, 615.

Hair, bosses of, 335. worn long by some monks, 512. long, thought a sign of sanctity, ib. St. Paul's rule against, ib. to imitate Nazarites, 513. of Nazarites figure of the veil of the Law, ib. pretended humility of long, ib. every, in God's keeping, 547.

Happiness, supreme, what, 87. is not in knowledge of nature, 94. perfect, excludes error, 100. cannot be in things which Christ despised, 171. of perfect knowledge not yet ours, 603.

Head, place of, in the body, 175.

Head dress of women, 334.

Health and immortality, two goods, 283.

Hearers, order of, among Manichees, 579. what said of, when they left them, 580.

Hearing, studiousness of, 599.

Heart, its mouth, 244, 245, 247. continence must be seated there, 244. its consent, 244, 246. its language, 244. picture of purity of, 271.

Heathen, urge reasons about Heaven, 24. poetry, how dealt with, 197.

Heaven, Christ ascended to, 24. promised the same to us, ib. body how fitted for, ib. 36. and earth, explained of spirit and body, 154. used in several senses, 162. the air so called, 164. degrees of glory in, 327, 328, 346.
Heavenly places, rather ours called than the devil's, 164. we are said to be in,
Hebrews, authority of Epistle to the, 89.
Heresies, what, refuted in the Enchiridion, 85. discussion of, endless, 88. what, mentioned in the book on the Christian Conflict, 159. fight in vain against the Church, 575.
Heresy, acknowledges Christ, 13. permitted for trial's sake, ib. calls for comments on the Creed, 16. Arian and Sabellian, 20. pretence of, may cause real, 431, 2. how to be exposed, 436. secret, sometimes healed secretly, ib.
Heretic, he is a, who contradicts faith, hope, or charity, 87. not every one is a, who believes heretics, 577. what makes a, 577, 8. silence to be kept to a, ib. each, claims name of Catholic, 596. spoils that claim by pretending to reason, 598, 611. cannot claim authority, or do without it, 610, 11. that on which we believe Christ is against them, 611.
Heretics, have some belief in common with us, 87. have not Christ, ib. call their congregations Churches, 33. seeking glory in the Name of Christ, 171. their minds confused with strife and carnal views, 173. the heedless give heed to, 181. continence of, should not persuade us, 368. widows and virgins of, inferior to Catholic wives, 369. not to be tracked out by lying, 427, &c. sin less in speaking heresy than Catholics would, 430, 435. little harm in believing, when they pretend Catholicism, 430. converted, may take comfort in their former ignorance, 435. converted, will correct others, 436. yet in their sins, 576. why not rebaptized, ib. all, would have us believe in Christ, 609. many ways condemned, 616.
Herod, called 'they' who sought the child's life, 114.
Hidden life with Christ, 270.
Hilary, St. de Trinitate, 28, n.
Hippo Regius, Council at, 15.
History, explanation by, 582. of the Exodus allegorical, though true,
Holy Ghost, (see *Spirit*.) Reconciles us to God, 31. final unbelief sins against, 66. sin against, 136. help of, needful for any good, 155.
Holy Spirit, procession of, 90, and note g. given us through a Mediator, 107. Christ born of, 110, 116. a gift equal to the Giver, 110. not Father of Christ, as Man, ib. but Creator, 111. works of the Trinity ascribed to, ib. our belief concerning Him, 119, 20. shewn to be God by His place in the Creed, 120. is God, as having a Temple, ib. gives remission of sins, 125, 136. body of any Christian a temple of, 359. speaking in St. Paul, 492.
Homicide, lying to screen from punishment, 405. justifiable, 407.
Homo, put for Manhood, 170, note a.
Honoratus, several of the name, 577. one a companion of St. Aug. in Manicheism, ib. a lover of truth, 578. prayed for, 578, 581. how led astray, 578. not then a Christian, 579. his friendship with St. Augustine, 587. will wonder at the Old Testament being called pure, 590. called on to take more pains, 595. a sincere and earnest enquirer, 616, 618.
Honorius, laws of, against idols, 1.
Hope, with faith leads to prayer, 88. sometimes used for expectation in general, 88, 89. not to be placed in man, 122, 154, 552. carried forward by miseries of this life, 125. springs from faith, and has love with it, 153. matter of in the Lord's Prayer, 154. without love is vain, 155. of eternal life followed by many, 171. of Christians in the Judgment, 573. worldly, its objects, 580. of discovery implied in search, 609.
Horace, fable of quoted, 455.
Hour of Christ, as Man what, 23.
House, temporal and eternal, 459.
Humility, recovery of man through, 20. of Christ, 230. most needful for virgins, 331, 351. who would follow Christ, 350. its praise, 331. instances of, 332, 33. commended by our Lord, 332. 335. taught by Christ near His Passion, 332. learnt of Christ, 336. unfeigned, needed, 344. treated fully of by S. Aug., 349. of Saints, 352. and holiness, ib. need of in pious widows, 367.
Hundred-fold, fruits of virginity, 344, 346.
Hunting, pleasure of, 378.
Husband (see *Marriage*, *Wife*) and

ties, 263, 268. might once have many wives, 294. must have but one, 295.

I.

I AM, meaning of the Name, 21.
Idleness, leads to vain talking, 499.
Idolaters, a minority, 596.
Idolatry, ironical defence of Baptism in, 54. a deadly sin, 70. conforming to, to avoid violence, 397. might be done to save life if lying lawful, 429. conformity to, no where allowed, 453.
Idols, laws of Honorius against, 1. some still believed in, 10. rejection of, prophesied, ib. generally fulfilled 12.
Ignorance, what, harmless, 90, 94. not all, is error, 95. of one's own being alive, impossible, 99. a consequence of the fall, 102. not in matter of faith, harmless, 122. to be borne patiently, 541. for our good, ib.
Image, Christ is, of the Father, 28. of God, not to be placed in a temple, 25. of God, in the mind, 515.
Images, of persons and things seen in visions, 530. &c.
Imitation of Christ, 328.
Immortality, the penny in the parable, 327.
Impatience, evil of, 543. produces greater ills, ib.
Impurity, legal, not always sin, 297.
Incarnation, called dispensation, 26, 108. faith in the, 173.
Incest, compared with adultery and fornication, 283.
Incorruptible, begets Incorruptible, 565.
Incorruption, future gain of, 547.
Indulgentia, 124.
Infants, (see *Baptism*,) die to sin in Baptism, 113, 117, 118. when they began to live, 137. case of those, who die unbaptized, 141, and note p. baptized against their will, 142.
Infirmity, a reason for not working, 496. pleaded as an excuse, ib. of those who have been delicately brought up, 497.
Injury, not to be done to one man to save another, 401, 403.
Inspiration, nature of, 87.
Instrumental, goods, 284.
Integritas, said of virgins and widows, 372.
Intention, determines the character of an action, 506. pure, the single eye, ib.
Intercourse of sexes for pleasure a sin, 133. venial in married state, ib. sexual, when right, when wrong; 440, 1.
Intermediate state, (see *Soul, Purgatory, Fire.*)
Interpolations, supposed in holy Scripture, 583, 4.
Invisible, (see *Faith*,) things seen only by cleansed heart, 23.
Invocation of Saints, (see *Saints.*)
Involuntary continence estimated, 334.
Isaac, son of Abraham, &c. 5. told no lie, 448. inherited otherwise than his brothers, 561.
Israel, compared with Sodom, 389. history of, figurative, 410.
Israelites, not only disbelieved, but slew Christ, 73. whole people as it were a prophet, 360.
Israelitess, without guile, Rahab became, 460.

J.

Jacob, an ancestor of Christ, 5. erred not from faith in thinking Joseph dead, 100. wrestled with the Angel as if in a body, 122. a mystery in the manner of his birth, 192, 224. his example quoted for lying, 388. his deceit was a mystery, 448, 9. acted in the figure of Christ, 449, 50.
James, St. doctrine of, concerning faith and works, 126. says that we all offend, 134.
Jealousy, attributed to God, 543.
Jehu, falsehood of, no safe example, 428, 9.
Jericho, represents the world, 459.
Jerome, St. his comments on Isaiah and St. Paul, 37. did not teach the error condemned by St. Augustine, ib. death of, alluded to, 85, 137. records a monstrous birth, 137. opinion of, about St. Peter's simulation, 390, and note.
Jerusalem, the heavenly, to have her full number, 104, 123. reasonable creation in, 119. meaning of the word, 226. heavenly and earthly, contrasted, 459. Christians living in common at, 489. the heavenly, what gifts her sons have, 561.
Jesus, (see *Christ*,) preaching of, implies teaching the character of members of His Body, 49. supported by

Jewish Christians kept the Law, 484. did not impose it on the Gentiles, ib. were circumcised, ib.
Jews, named from Judah, 5. our witnesses to prophecy, 11, 12. blindness of, foretold, ib. preserved for testimony, ib. (see *Israelites*,) and Gentiles, both needed grace, 77. distinguished by law as Christians by faith, 77, 8. made proselytes children of hell, 80. obstinacy of, 171. (see *Judaism*, *Law*,) their notions of defilements, 409. priesthood of, become vile, 410. heart of, metaphorically called 'stony,' 448. rites of, called 'sacramenta,' 453. permitted to ill-treat our Lord, 572. many of, pardoned after murder of Christ, 575. and heathens, outnumbered by Christians, 596.
Job, his example cited, 298. patience of, in various temptations, 549. was thought to worship God for temporal things, ib. compared with Adam, ib. tried in mind by his friends, 550. an example to such as kill themselves, ib. trials of, fearful, 570. how his children were doubled to him, ib. God's witness to, ib. tempted by his wife, ib. stood fast in God, 571. restored to prosperity for our example, 572. yet we are not to expect the like, ib.
John, St. (Evangelist,) blessed Virgin entrusted to, 23. Epistle of, 47. beautifully alluded to, 266. his example cited, 300. alluded to, 328. Baptism of, (see *Baptism*.)
John, St. the Baptist, required repentance, 55. question for what he reproved Herod, 71.
John, the Monk, 539. had the gift of prophecy, ib. consulted by Theodosius, ib. appeared to one in sleep, 540. patient in hearing and answering questions, ib.
Joke, a, not a lie, 383. whether for a perfect man to use, not discussed, ib.
Joseph, St. his fear, and the Angel's answer, 110. chosen to evidence the perpetual virginity of St. Mary, 487.
Joseph, temptation of, 439. his concealment no lie, 449.
Josephus, his statements about Herod's marriage, 71, note d.
Josiah sparing the Prophet's bones, 527. spared the knowledge of the afflictions which followed his death, 535.
Jotham, parable of, 455.
Joy, of the Lord, in seeing His government, 167. different degrees of
Judah, Jews named from, 5. fornication of, no example, 456, 7.
Judaism, how far St. Paul allowed, 390—2, 453.
Judas, prophesied of, 9. an example of evil tolerated, 476. our Lord's patience with, 548.
Jude, St. agrees with St. Peter about evil livers, 79.
Judge, seems required for 'false witness,' 404, 5. 417. information to, no betrayal, 406. tortures inflicted by, 545.
Judgment, reason for believing, 11. will separate good and evil, 14. office of the Son, 25. of quick and dead, 25, 6. the last, by works, and for eternity, 61, 75, 6. put for 'damnation,' 75, 6, 108. some would explain of temporary punishment, 76. our Lord makes but two parts in, ib. of quick and dead by Christ, 119. even the just to be judged, ib. remission of sins relates to, 125. alms considered in, 128. none lost but by just, 141. fixes the state of bad and good, 152. doctrine of the, 179. sometimes put for condemnation, 180. in what sense forbidden us, ib. of quick and dead, 573. preparation for, our work here, ib.
Juliana, thanks St. Aug. for a warning, 353. address to, ib. asked St. Aug. to write, 353, 4. not to take all as written for herself. 354, 368. had children when left a widow, 361, 367. highest achievements open to, 367. is to communicate the book to others, 373. had vowed continence, ib. household of, a Church, 381.
Justification, (see *Faith*, *Sin*, *Love*,) through Christ's righteousness, 113. by faith before works, 57. true, takes place in Baptism, 117.

K.

Keys, given to the Church in St. Peter, 185. lost by not believing their power, ib.
Kids, skins of, meant sins, 450.
Kind, most kindly, of all things in God, 18.
Kindred, spiritual, preferable to human, 309.
Kingdom of Heaven, who take by violence, 73. of God, prayer for its coming, 154.
Kings, prayed for, though proud, 148. entitled to honour, 227.

Knowledge, (see *Ignorance*,) medical, not given in perfection, 94, 5. some, hurtful, 95, 97. some, needful to worship of God, 97. and charity, two goods, 283. of difficult questions a divine gift, 539. all who know, partake of, 546. different ways of desiring, 599, 600. distinguished from opinion and belief, 603. of evil, no misery, 604. matter of belief may be called, ib. what, is wisdom, 606.

L.

Labour, pleasure in, 378. those able to, happier, 496. a duty of monks, 493. practised in good monasteries, 499. humbling effect of, on the wealthy, 503, 4. spiritual uses of, ib. for the common store, 504. in the rich more charitable than almsgiving, ib. when not lost, 561, 2.
Lamb, The, followed by virgins, 328, 348. by married persons, ib.
Lamps, burning, what, 257.
Language and thought, (see *Thought*,) theory of, as a vehicle of thought, 189. ungrammatical of ministers, 202.
Laurentius, who he was, 85. St. Augustine's good hope of, 158.
Law, not given till after Red sea, 51. contains faith as well as practice, 53, how it made offences abound, 169. distinguishes Jews, as faith does Christians, 76. without the spirit condemns, 73. where no, no transgression, 76. who are 'without law,' 77. helpless without the Spirit, 155. state of man under, 156. comprehended in Love, 157. counsel given beyond, ib. old, not become detestable, 391—393. of God, unmoved by circumstances, 444. "and the prophets:" more than these now hang on the two commandments, 194, 195. of nature, 294. under, in, without, distinguished, 483. under, Jews, ib. in, spiritual men, ib. without, unbelieving Gentiles, ib. of Moses, of God, not contrary to the Gospel, ib. St. Paul *in*, not *under*, ib. Jewish, permitted eating in the fields, 501. supposed wish to combine, with the Gospel, 584. in what sense contrary to the Gospel, 585. Ceremonial, mysteries of, 586. In the letter, killeth, ib. wants an expounder, 590.
Laws, of man in some sort Christian, 596.
Law-suits, venial unless before heathens, 133.
Laying out more, St. Paul, 497.
Lazarus, (see *Resurrection*,) borne by Angels, 521. buried, what signified in, 454. told Abraham the state of the Jews, 536.
Lectures of Rhetoricians, 531.
Leeches, (see *Surgeons*,) 546.
Left-hand, what means, 573.
Legal purification shews not marriage sinful, 297. was for the type of sin, 298.
Leisure, what, had St. Paul, 402.
Leonas, messenger of Consentius, 426.
Letter and spirit, work of St. Augustine on, 59.
Lewdness, worse than theft, 443, 444.
Liar, not every one is a, who lies, 402.
Liberty, (see *Free Will*,) spirit of, 31. Christian, not freedom to sin, 78. of fallen man is only to sin, 104. true, given by new creation, 105. Christian, 391, 392, 452.
Lie, (see *Lying*,) question if ever a duty, 96. more or less sinful according to intention and subject, 96, 100. truth is a, if not thought true when spoken, 97. question if ever lawful, 382, &c. a joke is not a, 383. nor a mistake, 383, 384. definition of, 384, 388, 454. how to be safe from, 387. question if ever useful, 387, 447. examples quoted in favour of, 388, 456, 468. cases of danger requiring, 388, 462, 465. condemned as false witness, 388. and in more general terms, 389, and note, 407, 423. allegory is not, 389, 448. sometimes allowed in imperfect state, 390. New Testament never favours, 300, 452. God hates, even to destroying, 392, 393, 427. corrupts the soul, 395, any sin as easily justified, 395, 457. good men lose authority by telling, 396. about Christ, 401. several cases of, 402. none lawful in doctrine, 402, 445. not to be told to give pleasure, 403. useful, question of, 403, 414, 419, 459. if not to defend crime, 404. how to escape, when questioned, 406. how to escape, when silence betrays, 408. Five kinds of, condemned, three still questioned, 408, 409. wish to use, forbidden, 415. what, threatened with destruction, 416. Deceit is, even when it is not 'false witness,' 417. a harmless one, to save pudicity of body, allowed, yet truth may be preferred, 422. Eight sorts of, all shewn to be evil, 424. which sorts

less culpable, ib. none is good, 427. examples of, quoted from Scripture, 428, 448. every, contrary to truth, 429. pretending heresy worst kind of, 430. metaphor or antiphrasis is not, *448, none is 'just,' 457, 433: no holy* person glories in, 460. one, leads to *another, 463. about religion worst,* 464, 469. not to be told to save a *soul, 466. rather trust God, 467. put* for sin in general, 467. not less wicked than lewdness, 468.

Life, eternal, 36. some thought faith only needful to, 37. what required for entering into, 56, 61, 63. dead faith will not win, 74. eternal, promised to baptism and Christian life, not to either alone, 81. eternal obtained through remission, 125. this, unhappy in the necessity of error, 96. when it begins in man, 137. of the wicked why prolonged, 238. eternal, not to be given for temporal, 393, 419. good here, eternal hereafter, worth patience, 546.

Lifting up the heart, is by God's help, 37.

Light, coeval offspring of fire, 568. real and pretended, 580. strong, not borne at once, 608. beauty of, a standing miracle, 615.

Lips, (see *Mouth*,) have spoken if the heart has consented, 244.

Literal sense the usual one of the Epistles, 472.

Liturgy, quoted, 370.

Living after man, is living after the flesh, 251.

Logicians, their rule that contraries cannot coexist in one subject, 93.

Lombard, Peter, on relief of future punishment, 152, note a.

Lord, The, not greater and lesser, 565.

Lot, entertained Angels, 395. his example discussed, 395, 443, 445. excused by perturbation, 445. knew not his guests to be Angels, 461.

Lot's Wife, type of returning to sin, 80.

Love, act of, invisible, 3, 4. title of, how applied to The Holy Ghost, 30. means of our reconciliation to God, 31. Godhead called by some, ib. whether, be a Substance, 32. to God and man commanded, 33. ineffable, in eternal life, 36. of God cannot stand alone, 51. of God and man must go together, 56. fulfils the law, 58, 73. of self required, 16, 63. faith of grace has, (see *Grace*,) leads to prayer, 68. shed abroad by The Holy Spirit, 74. of enemies a high virtue, 129. of God, His own gift, 131. of self after the world self-hatred, 132. of self, after God, 133. greater than Faith and Hope, 155. is the measure of goodness, ib. Gospel and Apostles hang on, as well as Law, 157, 194, 195. prevailing, expels lust, 158. perfected hereafter, ib. to another in Christ, ib. of God and man, Christian character, 186. excludes *fear or desire of the world*, ib. of God, exhibited in the coming of Christ, 193. incentives to Christian, ib. of Christ towards man constrains a return of, illustrated by human regards, 193, 194, 205. the end of Christ's coming, 194, also 193. should always be the end proposed, 195, 197, 207. makes works "good," 208. dictates what S. Aug. says, 214. is differently affected, according to the object it addresses, 215. of husband for wife, Apostolical argument for, 263. fears to displease God, 338, 339, owed to God by virgins, 341. of Christ, on the part of virgins, 351. the remedy for pride, 352. of neighbour as self, 393. misdirected, makes false estimates, 419. rectitude of, the soul's chastity, 421—3. of God, is God's gift, 553. the ground of patience, 553, 557. kindled by The Holy Ghost, 554. of creature, already in creature loving, 558. of God, not in creature unless given, 559. submits without hope of temporal rewards, 571. only way to attain highest good, 613.

Lucan, quoted, 88, 520.

Lucifer, Luciferians fall with, 184.

Luciferians, do not rebaptize, 183. yet are cut off through their pride, 184.

Lucretius, error of, about the soul, 587.

Lucus quod non luceat, 448.

Luke, St. gives the Lord's Prayer in five petitions, 154.

Lust, (see *World, Concupiscence, Desire*,) the means by which the body pollutes the soul, 23. (see *Sin.*) love prevailing, expels, 158. the means of Satan's rule, 161, 2. what is chiefly so called, 246, 247. our enemy, to be resisted, 248. its resistance the business of man, 249. (see *Continence, Sin, Good, Evil, Flesh, Church.*) proved to be of the soul as much as of the body, 269. how put down, 272. sexual, its sinfulness, 279, 280. definition of, 395.

Lying, (see *Lie*,) more miserable than erring, 96. defended by Priscillianists, 96, and note i. about the way of life inexcusable, 96. not always worse than error, 97. not sufficient defence of, that it may be useful, 101. New Testament forbids strictly, ib.

M.

Maccabees, book of, referred to, 519.
Madmen, strength of, not healthy, 368.
Magic arts, 268. in bringing up Samuel, 537.
Male and female contrasted, 294.
Malefici, 469.
Man, (see *Christ*,) how different from brutes, 22. body, soul, and spirit, 33. good, as a nature, 93. or angel alone capable of injustice, ib. good and evil together in, ib. fall of, 102. corruption of the race, 102, 115. preserved to be renewed, 103. wrath of God on the whole race, 107. hope not to be placed in, 122, 522. not to glory in his own merits, 144, 150. every, under condemnation by original sin, 145. of all kinds saved, and all that are saved, saved by God's will, 147. would have increased in Paradise, 148. created with free-will, ib. created upright, 150. evil overcome by, in Christ, 151. four states of, Nature, Law, Grace, Glory, 156. heart of, not known to man, 157. our duty to, revealed, 167. created free, 168. learns his place in creation from Christ, 170. distinguished from brute by reason, 174. not to be trusted in, 183. assumed by God The Son, 169, 70, and note a. 178. (see *Manhood*.) One Person with the Wisdom of God in Christ, 175. assumed in Christ not merely as in saints, ib. in Christ has a human spirit, 176. fall of, foreseen, 220. living after, what, 251. (see *Free-will*.) image of God in, 564. his dominion over the creatures, ib. begins in imperfection, 569. knowledge concerning, a part of wisdom, 606. nature of, assumed by God, 613. height he may attain to, shewn in Christ, ib.
Manes or *Manichæus*, (see *Manichees*.)
Manhood, assumed by The Son, 28. perfect in Christ, 108. of Christ had no merit till assumed, 109. assumed by the Son of God, 170, 174. in Him, loved not the things of time, 170. perfect in Christ, 174, 176.
Manichees, denied creation, 17. thought conception unworthy of Christ, 23. held the sun for a god, ib. their notion of the 'race of darkness,' 159, 162. ridiculed the Christian Faith, 159. their crafty advances, 163. thought the Holy Ghost came in Manichæus, 181. misunderstood plain Scripture, ib. their heresy, 255, 257, 262, 264, refuted, 262. dismissed, 267. their saying, 300. their heretical opinion, 305. said the law was not of God, 483. object to believing on authority, 578. their pretence of reason and learned discussions, 579. their order of Hearers, 579, 80. refute rather than prove, 579. their contemptuous phrases, 580. attack the Old Testament, ib. think Scripture interpolated, 583. and how, 584. of what error they accuse the Church, 589. worship the sun, 590. boasted of Faustus, 596. enquire origin of evil, 617. charges of against Scripture, ib. of bloodless bodies, but coarse minds, ib. fables of, 618.
Manichæus, place claimed for among Apostles, 584.
Mankind, how they *might* have multiplied had Adam not sinned, 276, 277.
Mansions, many in heaven, 327.
Manual, Christian, what it must contain, 86, 88. size of, limited, 158.
Marriage, (see *Divorce*, *Husband*, *Wife*,) of the divorced, adultery, 38. some condemned, 41. others made it equal to virginity, ib. unlawful, when so known to be, is adultery, 44. Sacrament of, in the Church, 45. Christian, indissoluble, ib. Roman law allowed this, ib. possession, in good faith, though wrongful, if not known so, 45. such must be given up when discovered, ib. brings temptation to worldliness, 61. in what case separation allowed, 64. how to live in, without worldliness, 65. with unbelievers condemned, 70. by St. Cyprian, 71. allowed in later times, ib. of Herod, question about, ib. doubtfully lawful to be avoided, ib. prevents not original sin in the offspring, 115. makes that venial which were else crime, 133. a remedy against fornication, ib. forbearing, a spiritual counsel, 157. its end, 268, 269. not regarded as unholy by the Fathers, 275. Manichæan view of, ib. a lower state than virginity, ib. the first bond of human society, ib. that of our first parents, holy, 276. Christ went to one, 277. how a good, 277, 283, 305. intended as well for help as offspring, 277. of aged persons, 277, 278. continence in, praiseworthy, 278. brings good out of evil, ib. its uses, 278, 80, 81. its grave joy, 278. how far certain compacts deserve the name, 279, 80. its abuse, not the sin of marriage, but of persons, 280. Sacramental, 282, 291, 295. the lesser of two goods, 283, 302, 320. of

the just, better than the virginity of the impious, 284. not evil, but good, 283, 84, 298. in what sense it is "better" not to marry, 285, 292. was once a duty, ib. no longer a duty, ib. S. Paul's view of, 286. not sinful, 286, 295. to be not sinful must be without excess, 287. holy, though the partner is unholy, 288. that looks only to pleasing God rare, 289. how piously contracted by the old Fathers, 290, 293, 294, 296, 303. cannot be dissolved, except by death, 282, 201, 304. of many wives, allowable once, 292. compared to the taking of food, 292, 93. was once contracted with spiritual desire, 294, 306. hard, to use it like Abraham, 301. compared to ordination, 304. goods of, three, 305. of the old Fathers, holier than virginity now, 306. summary of S. Aug.'s book on, 308. how that of the old Fathers must be regarded, ib. not sinful, but full of trouble, 318, 319, 320. not even indirectly condemned by S. Paul, 318, 320, 322. its fruits thirty fold only, 344. of (professed) widows wrong but valid, 353. ends with the life of either party, 355. good of, shewn, in that the bodies of married Christians are members of Christ, 355. due of, not to be withheld for fear of temptation, 356. chastity in, God's gift, 356, 372. evil of excess in, not of marriage, but venial through it, 356. ends of, ib. Sacrament of, ib. second, allowable, 356, 366. second attacked by Montanists, &c. 357. Body as well as Spirit, holy in, 357, 8. more desirable in old Covenant, 359. of Patriarchs, was for offspring, 360, and so for Christ's coming, ib. provides against temptation, 361. not needed when we may have spiritual children, 361, 380. better than unstable purpose of widowhood, 361, 2. still good under the Gospel, 362. desire of, wrong after vows, ib. not itself then condemned, but the breach of vow, 363. this marked in that 'wishing,' not 'marrying,' is mentioned, ib. in such case is not adultery, ib. though worse, 364. argument from 'marriage to Christ' refuted, 363. dissolution of culpable, leads to real adultery, 364. third or fourth, lawful, though less worthy, 365. seventh allowed by our Lord to be marriage, ib. and not damnable, ib. often repeated, naturally matter of shame, 366. hard questions about, 369. ranks below continence, ib. book 'on the good of,' ib. of Patriarchs attacked by Faustus, ib. holiness of, inferior by reason of cares, 374. less needful since the world is perishing, 376. many in it have to keep continence, ib. fools should consult the wise about, 607. many have learned to despise, 615.

Married, faithful women are mothers of Christ, 312. persons in one respect cannot follow the Lamb, 329. may be fitter than virgins for Martyrdom, 344. fruitfulness may not vie with virgin chastity, 312, 315 persons may follow the Lamb, 329, 349.

Martha and Mary, 284.

Martyr, supposed terms put to a, 397. no place for, if doctrine may be denied, 428. makes real gain, 460.

Martyrs, said to die though their souls die not, 178. their blood nourished the early Church, 233. not prayed for at the Altar, 444, memorials of, 523, 539, 542. (see *Saints*.) care for others, the living, 523, 528, &c. prayers to, 523. ashes dispersed, ib. of Gaul, ib. bodies of, 523, 528. overcame natural regard for the fate of their bodies, 527, 8. removed from knowledge of earthly things, 538. tormenting demons, 540. patience of, in scorn and pain, 548. true, do not kill themselves, 550. who suffer out of the Church, 559. effect of their sufferings on mankind, 616.

Martyrdom, higher than virginity, 346. often a hidden gift, ib. a thought to humble virgins, ib. common among Christians, 615.

Mary, (see *Virgin*.) the B. Virgin, of Jewish race, 5. Virgin after Christ's birth, 6. truly Mother of Christ, 22. acknowledged by Him as Man on the Cross, 23. the Blessed Virgin conceived by Faith, 108. like the Church, an ever Virgin Mother, ib. saluted as 'full of grace,' 109. her question to the Angel, 110. suspected, ib. conceived Christ in chastity, 364. holy virgins become like, 370. Christ born of, 567. Virgin after His birth, ib. ever Virgin, 487.

Mary, (sister of Lazarus,) 210. and Martha, 284, 306, 321.

Master, one, to many slaves, 294. power of over slaves, 446. opposed to 'schoolmaster,' 586. of grammar, 591.

Masters, and servants, 237.

Matrimony, (see *Marriage*.)

Matter, created, 17. before it received form, 18. analogies of, hold not in Godhead, 32.

Matthew, St. gives the Lord's Prayer in 7 petitions, 155.
Mean, necessity of keeping, 41.
Meats, some held some unclean, 41.
Mechanics, became Monks, 498.
Mediator, a, needed for man, 107, 140. what He must be, 150.
Medicine, what, for all our ills, 170. taking, implies hope of recovery, 609.
Meditation, in the Law of God, 378. consistent with work, 493.
Members of sin, how mortified, 270, 271. all members, though differing in honour, 359.
Memorials of Martyrs, 518, 523. prayers offered there, obtain special blessings, 517, 18, 23. buried, 542.
Men, Christians truly so, 513. figure the ruling principle of the mind, 515.
Mercy, works of, 129, of God prevents us, 133. of God, free, 144. how far an excuse for wrong actions, 458, 459.
Merits of man cannot procure salvation, 104. none before grace, 105, 6, and note d. 555. not to be gloried in as differing from others, 144. none ever without preventing grace, 149. none to be acquired after this life, 151.
Metaphor, is no lie, 448.
Midwives, Hebrew, quoted for lying, 388, 458. were not prophesying, 389, 459. temporally rewarded, 389. excused as beginners, 410, 458. believed, as to parents, 605.
Milan, St. Ambrose Bishop of, 597.
Mind, things in, perceived without sight, 1. of others, not directly perceived, 2, &c. begets not, but makes words, 19. as it were reproduced in speech, ib. rational spirit called, 22. sovereign power of, disgraced by body's sin, 440. parts of the, how figured, 515. patience a virtue of, 547. wounds of, 548. incomprehensible to itself, 564. prepared for truth by believing, 602, 610. of the wise brought in contact with God, 612.
Ministers may chance to be very unlearned, 202. how they are to be borne with, ib. sit, in some Churches, 210.
Miracle, spread of the Gospel a, 8.
Miracles and Dreams, admonitory, 197. meant to produce faith, 612. what are, 614. better than reasons to impress fools, 613. point out authority, 614. some more gracious, some more wonderful, ib. why less frequent, 615, and note k. witness of against heretics, 616.
Mistrust of self our security, 251.
Monachism, a holy purpose, 509. S. Aug. desires its increase, ib.
Monasteries, introduction of, into Carthage, 470. good, practise manual labour, 499. indifferent to which one's property has been given, 505. time divided for labour and devotion and study, 510.
Monastery, some may labour others instruct, 494. by turns, ib. owes a maintenance to those who have surrendered their property to it, 504. division of works in, 505.
Monica, St. failed not to visit St. Aug. every night, 534. would have come in spirit if possible, 534, 5.
Monks not labouring for their own support, 470. the work of, occasion of writing, ib. some wore their hair long, ib. labouring in spiritual things, 471. instructing and consoling secular persons, ib. a holy society, 487. had not preached the Gospel to the heathen, ib. idle, corrupt others, 490. cause scandals, 499. to avoid giving offence, to labour, and be obedient, 493. ecclesiastical occupations and teaching of, 493, 496. life holy and praiseworthy, 493. employed in prayers, psalms, reading, and teaching, ib. their necessities to be relieved by the faithful, ib. to have leisure through the gifts of the faithful for storing the mind, ib. aiming at higher degrees of holiness, ib. duty of contributing to support, ib. gave all their time to ecclesiastical learning, 496. who have been delicately brought up to be borne with, 497. not Evangelists nor Priests, ib. giving up their private property, ib. to the use of the Monastery, 504. persons admitted without signs of amendment, 498. from class of slaves, peasants, mechanics, ib. not to admit them a heavy sin, ib. have become great and exemplars, ib. idle, condemn those who work, 499. kept stores of provisions, 500. might have dressed provisions, ib. drawing water, ib. close retirements for prayer, 501, 2. who have been rich not *compelled* to bodily labour, 505. none to be idle, ib. light works to be found for, ib. chiefly from the labouring classes, ib. disentangled from secular affairs to please God, 507, 8. trusting for support in labour if able, without, if unable, ib. called servants of God, 508. soldiers of Christ, ib. poor of Christ, 504. objects of the Bishop's care, 508.

hypocritical and vagrant, pretended ones, 509. a device of Satan to discredit that life by scandal, 508, 9. accused of wishing to be maintained in idleness, 509. to labour to counteract reproach, ib. vagrant, hawking pretended relics, ib. false stories, ib. begging, ib. assuming outward marks of sanctity in dress, ib. wearing long hair, 512. life preferred to Bishop's, 510. good ones accused and unsettled by the idle, 511. idle ones regarded as more holy, ib. wore long hair, 512.
Monsters, will rise again with shape corrected, 137. instance of one in the East, ib.
Montanists, attacked second marriages, 357. not first, ib.
Montanus, Holy Ghost came not in, 181.
Moral government of the world, 255.
Mortification of the members, what? 270, 271.
Moses, taught the Name of God, 21. punished many, though he bore with sinners, 38. the Law given by, 156. veil of, 513. appeared after death, 537.
Mothers of Christ, who? 311, 312.
Mouth of the heart as well as of the body, 244, 245, 247. not to be always literally taken in Scripture, 245. of the heart, 412—14. confession with the mouth required, 437.
Multitude, can shew whom to attend to, 593, 611, 614. testimony of followed in common life, 594. must be led by steps to religion, 601. is believed concerning Christ, 610. gathered by Him in the way of faith, 612. some good in their acknowledging more than they practise, 615. led by faith to approve many good things, 615, 16. witness of, against heretics, 616.
Mundi. Mundani, 185.
Murder, a deadly sin, 70.
Mysteries, holy, words used in celebrating, 370.
Mystery in the manner of Jacob's birth, 192, 224. to be borne with, 541. defence of, not popular, 581. (see *Type.*)

N.

Nabal, David right in sparing, 445.
Naboth, charge against, 449.
Name of God, prayer that it be hallowed, 154. eternal, promised to the eunuchs, 326.
Nations, (see *Multitudes*,) blessed in Christ, 6. come to God by believing, 10.
Nativity, Eternal, of the Son, 568. of Christ in time, 573.
Naturalists, of the Greeks, their error, 90.
Nature, none contrary to God, 21. divine and human, in Christ, 22. every, either divine or created, 90, 1. every, is good in itself, 91, 2. corruption of, what, 92. of man, received grace in Christ, 109. knowledge of, not needed for happiness, 90, 94. state of, before the Law, 156. all, is good, 257. lust is a disease of, 258. wonders of, familiar, 615.
Nazarites, long hair a figure of the veil of the Law, 513.
Neighbour, who? 238. even an alien is, 438.
Net, of the Gospel, takes bad and good, 14, 68.
New Testament, (see *Christians*, *Scripture.*) children in, not under their fathers' sins, 114.
Novatians, against second marriages, 357. dared not speak against first, ib.
Novices, Faith briefly delivered to, 36.
Nuns, holy, deceased, 344.
Nurses, believed as to parents, 606.

O.

Obedience, implies Faith, 56. required for eternal life, 56, 74. implied in Faith, 79. of necessity, little good, 168. strengthens hope and nourishes love, 171. above continence, 302. implies chastity, 303. unmurmuring, duty of Monks, 493. the Christian's work, 569.
Objections, would be made were things otherwise, 169. various, to our Lord's doings and sufferings, ib.
Old persons, why they marry, 277.
Old Testament, (see *Scripture.*)
Olibrius, husband of Juliana, 376, and note e.
Opinatio, 604.
Opinion, different from belief, 383. holds certain what is not so, 384. distinguished from knowledge and

belief, 603. (if taken for knowledge) a base thing, 604. of faith, not taken for knowledge, not so, 605. several on Gen. i. 28; 276, 277.
Ordination, to be withheld from the husband of a second wife, 295. a sacrament, 304.
Original sin, remitted by Baptism, 258.
OUR LORD had a store, 502.

P.

Pagans, why they hate Christianity, 171. idolatrous heathen so called, 483, 487. opinions of burial, 519. philosophers, 520. soldiers, ib. poets, ib. yet in their sins, 576.
Paint, not to be used by women, 375.
Parables, are no lies, 455.
Paradise, happiness of, preparatory to a higher state, 102, 148. was a state of grace, 149. Adam careless in, 549. how man forfeited, 551. man deceived in, 570. vision of, 533. baptism necessary for admission to, ib.
Parcæ, quod non parcant, 448, 9.
Pardon, (see *Sins*,) granted, implies sin, 286. to what granted by S. Paul, 286.
Parents, known by testimony, 4. must not hinder ministry, 23. known to children by faith, 605, 6. yet love due to, 606.
Parricide, Catiline, of his country, 545. why worst homicide, 550.
Passion, foretold by same writers as things now seen fulfilled, 9. in Jewish Scriptures, 11.
Passions, how attributed to God, 543.
Passover, mysteries implied in, 52.
Past, put for future, 180.
Patience, differs from endurance, 267. a great gift of God, 543. attributed to God, ib. in what sense, ib. of man, 544. defined, ib. relieves from evils, ib. of God, without passion, 543, 4. in man, what, 544. waits for good, 544, 547. compared with worldly endurance, 544, 552. for ill ends is no patience, 545. truth of, is in the cause, 546. not like science, which is of all who know, ib. in mind and body, 547. shewn without bodily
saults, 548, 9. is God's gift, 551, 2. being from love of God, is from grace, 553. likens to God, 554. her words by St. Paul, ib. for Christ in schismatics how far rewarded, 560. is it God's gift? ib. whose 'perishes not,' 561, 2. of Christ, 569. of Job, 570. is not to be for temporal hopes, 570, 1.
Patriarchs, had several wives for offspring, 360. marriages of, attacked by Faustus, 369. fed cattle, 487. ignorant of what befel the Jews, 535.
Paul, St. (see *Saul*,) enforced discipline, 39. Epistles of, 47. preached only Christ crucified, 50. whom he baptized, ib. not satisfied with faith without love, 57. his Epistles misunderstood, 58, 62. his preaching from Jerusalem to Illyricum, 72. his Epistle to the Romans, 77. never meant to allow freedom to sin, 78. obtained mercy from his ignorance, 80. agrees with St. James, 126. really gives reason for not questioning *God's judgments*, 145. good men would not have him go to Jerusalem, 146. God's will that he should go and suffer, ib. his warfare, 162. overcame the world, 165. a spiritual man, ib. Holy Ghost came not in, 181. St. Peter corrected by, 184. 391, 2. his counsels and commands concerning marriage and virginity, 316, 317. what he "spared," 318, 320. the Teacher, 354. 'vessel of election,' 354. chose the unmarried state as higher good, 355. rightly allows second marriage, 357. cared not for men's praise, 379. yet kept good repute with care, ib. acted no lie in circumcising, 390. his answer to the high priest, 410. his oaths, 411, 418, 425. right in not 'living of the Gospel,' 411. used sympathy, not falsehood, 424. charged by some with a lie, 425. which would be a perjury, ib. not compelled by want to preach, 482. not using his liberty, 476, &c. 484, 5. bearing with the weak, 483, 4. condescending, not of craft, ib. sympathising, 483, 4, 6. becoming all things to all men, 483. did not feign himself a Jew any more than a Gentile, ib. is not under the Law, ib. becoming weak, putting himself in their place, 484. relieved by distant Churches, 485. declined gifts out of sympathy for the weak to avoid suspicion of venal motives, 484, 5, 6. laboured in temporal as

ments, 487. his manual labour, ib. worked by day and night, ib. avoiding suspicion of dishonesty, 491. rejoicing in the liberality of believers, 492. had special times for labour and teaching, 494. at Troas, ib. at Athens, 495. possibly did not work there, ib. could work by night and day, 496. strong in mind and body, ib. not receiving support was to avoid offence, 497, 499. because his ministry was among the Gentiles, 497. did not blame those who acted otherwise, ib. did more than he was obliged to, ib. not contrary to his Lord, 502. used means for self-preservation, 507. rapt into Paradise, 537. saw Ananias without his consciousness, 540.

Paulinus, St. of Nola, enquiries about burial, 517. his opinion, 518. difficulty about prayers for the dead, ib.

Peace, in heaven and earth, 123. a great 'power of godliness,' 183. the prize of continence, 257.

Peasants, became Monks, 498, 505.

Pelagianism, noted by S. Aug. in his book on Widowhood, 353, 370–372. dangerous approaches to, 372, 373.

Pelagians, think patience man's attainment, 551. argument of, for free-will, 552, 3.

Penance, humility of, needed to heal deadly sin, 70, 81, 125. time for, appointed, 125. often refused through weakness, 136. refusal of, condemned, 416. done openly in Church, 575. way of remission for the baptized, 576.

Penitents, class of, in the Church, 81. order of, 575.

Penny, in the parable, 327.

Pentecost, day of, 181.

Peoples and nations, (see *Multitudes*,) our witnesses to Christ, 610.

Perfect, are not even to wish to lie, 416.

Perfecting, good and evil, 260.

Perfection, precepts of, 56, 63. all should aim at, 130. counsels of, 157.

Perjury, strangely justified by some, 464. none can be allowable, 465. real though not of truth, 466. feared even by the adulterous, 468.

Permission, not same as consent, 421.

Persecution, flight from, 507, 8.

Perseverance, need of grace for, 380, 381.

rally God, 26, 28. distinction of, unity of, in Christ, 111, 12, 19. God and Man One in Christ, 175.

Peter, St. Epistle of, 47. preached repentance as well as faith, 47, 50. some words of, not mentioned, 48. wrote to correct misunderstanding of St. Paul, 58, 78. confession of, 59. preached repentance, 72. erred not from faith in thinking he saw a vision, 100. how moved to repentance, 136. called Satan when he spoke against God's will, 146. his walking on the water beyond nature, 178. his use of the sword, 182. as penitent sustains the person of the Catholic Church, 184. his falls, restoration, and martyrdom, ib. The Rock to be seen in, 185. his example cited, 300. his shadow raises a dead man, 231. simulation of, corrected, 390, 452. his denial, 392. justifying him makes St. Paul a liar, 425. denied only with the mouth, yet sinned, 437.

Pharisee and Publican, 332.

Pharisees, righteousness of, 81. not saved by alms without faith, 131. omitted justice while they gave alms, 132. tithed all herbs, i. e. all kinds, 148.

Pharaoh, justly hardened, 144.

Philip, how he baptized, 48.

Philosophers, arguments of, 24.

Phineas, punished adultery, 38.

Physician, hates sickness, loves the sick, 557. best judge for the sick, 571.

Pity, how attributed to God, 543.

Plagæ, 578.

Plato, hidden meanings of, in amorous writing, 595.

Players, not received to Baptism, 69.

Pleasure, in holy labour, 378. in worldly occupations, ib. of earthly things a known motive to natural will, 558. thought chief good by Epicurus, 587.

Plural put for singular, 114.

Pontius Pilate, named to mark the date, 567.

Poor, feeding, for man's praise not good, 440. of Christ, monks so called, 504. patience of the, 552. long for the inheritance, 561. of Christ, to be made rich, 562.

Possidius, his life of St. Augustine, 95, note h, 353.

Posture in prayer increases fervour, 524.

Pound, the, (see *Dictinius.*)

Powers, Angels called, 121.
Prayer, The Lord's, owns the Church a daughter, 7. easy to commit to memory, 88. lighter sins daily remitted to, 128. teaches forgiveness, 130. is for help as well as pardon, 136. expresses our Hope, 154. exposition of, 154—7. number of petitions in, 154. needed against temptation, 371. does more than exhortation, 373. called, 'The Prayer,' 575. remission of lighter sins by, ib. to the baptized, 576.
Prayer, sin of infirmity remitted through, 81. for all sorts of men, 148. of humble perchance saves the proud, ib. of Proba for her daughter and granddaughter, 375, 381. spiritual delight in, 377, 8. helped by alms, 378. of the obedient heard, 493. interrupted for necessary labours, ib. for manual labour, ib. retirement for, 502. posture at, increases fervency, 524. yet is not necessary to it, 524.
Prayers, to saints. (see *Saints*.) for the dead, 344. an universal practice, 517. at the Altar, 519. authority for, though not in Scripture, ib. in Maccabees, ib. profit of, depends on past life, 518, 19. not inconsistent with each receiving after his deeds, ib. do not profit all, ib. profitable to the dead, 518, 523, 542. for the dead to saints, 523, 542. a duty, 523, 5. not to be pretermitted, ib. for all the faithful departed, 524. a duty, 542. for our departed friends especially, ib. that we may be prayed for in turn, ib.
Preaching, Christ of contention, 39. the Gospel, reward of, 482. without necessity rewarded, ib. the Gospel for support might offend the weak, 484, 6. for the sake of a maintenance wrong, 505.
Precepts, (see *Obedience*,) extreme interpretations of, 41.
Predestination, 75. unto life, 123, 380. of the number of saints in each class, 380.
Prelates, preaching of, 436.
Pride, discountenanced by Christ's humility, 230. and envying, 331. to be guarded against, ib. of Pelagians, 551. ground of false patience, 552. Christ born in lowliness to heal, 567.
Priesthood, of the Jews become vile, 410.
Primicerius Notariorum, 85.
Principles, what taught in Baptism,
Priscillian, (see *Priscillianists*,) artful praise of, 431. himself detected without lies, 436.
Priscillianists, enquiries of Consentius about, 382. thought it lawful to deny doctrines, 426, 438, 451. countenanced by the like practised against them, 427, 431, 2, 451. examples quoted by, 428. lies told to detect, are of worst kind, 430. how a spy would deal with, 431. some of their notions, 432, 3. sin less than Catholics in blaspheming, 433, 5. anathematise Priscillian in pretence, 435. false martyrdoms of, ib. heresy of, overthrown by Catholic Bishops, 435, 6. God can detect without our sin, 436. numbers of, ib. might as well be sought out by lewdness as by lying, 439, 442. exposed by Consentius, 450.
Proba Faltonia, mother-in-law of Juliana, 368, note a. 381. grandmother of Demetrias, a holy woman, 375.
Probare, 605.
Prætextatus, reception of, by Donatists, 159.
Profession, (see *Vows*,) of continence, not to be forsaken, 361, 2.
Promises of support do not exclude our exertions, 507, 508.
Property, question of lying to save, 404, 424. giving up of, a pattern to us, 503. management of, 607.
Prophecy, evidence of, conclusive, 6—8. even for Gospel records, 8—10. of things we see proves things unseen, 11. notion of forgery refuted, ib. Passion foretold in, ib.
Prophetic meaning of Patriarch's care for burial, 522.
Prophets, many had been slain by the Israelites, 73. in time of, women served God by marriage, 360. God's ancient people a prophet, ib. marriages of, attacked by Faustus, 369. knew only what God thought fit, 537. effect of their teaching on multitudes, 616. disobedient, (1 Kings xii.) punished temporally only, 526, 7. soul saved, ib. body cared for, 527.
Proud, like birds lifted up, 498.
Providence, not excluding our exertions, 507, 508.
Provision, for the morrow how forbidden, 411. to be made for the future, 502. promised to the able in working, to the unable without, 507, 8.
Psalmody, a spiritual delight, 377, 8. no hindrance to work, 493.

Publican and Pharisee, 332.
Punishment, eternal, 11. (see *Judgment*, *Fire*, *Sin*.) supposed temporary, 76. this not to be promised to evil livers, 79. of ungodly believed, not looked for, 88. special, of man, death, 102. some would have not eternal, 152. as surely eternal as reward, 153. may perhaps be mercifully mitigated, ib. for sin inevitable, 255. no sin to avoid, 405. not escaped by assigning a motive, 442. of sin called 'sin,' 457. future, of suicide, 550, 51. less for schismatics who suffer for Christ, 560.
Punishments, temporal, given sometimes without eternal, 125. may be acts of mercy, 129. degrees of, as of sin, 140. of reprobate men and angels, eternal, ib. threatened to correct the foolish, 585.
Purgatory, (see *Fire*,) note on St. Augustine's doubtful opinion of, 84. ignis purgatorius, 128, note l. St. Augustine's doubtful opinion of, 152, and note a.
Purification, (see *Legal*,) why ordered under the Law, 297.
Purity, false notions of, 23. need of, for seeing divine mysteries, 32, 33, 36. pretenders to, really worldly, 185.

Q.

Queen, The Church a, 7.
Quick and Dead, who meant by, 25, 26, 119, 573.

R.

Rahab, not approved for lying, 458. how she might have avoided it, 460.
Reading, false, making Christ to have 'wrought sin,' 113. spiritual delight in, 377, 8. pursued to the neglect of doing what is read, 494. profits through doing what is read, ib. more time than is good may be given to, ib. three kinds of error in, 587.
Reality of Christ's flesh, 264.
Reason, office of, in religion, 86, 87. use of, makes responsible, 124. given by St. Paul when he seems only to rebuke, 145. souls possessed of, how placed, 167. natural, teaches how to
tinguishes man from brute, 174. Manichees would prove all by, 578, 592. pretenders to, should not descend to commonplace arts, 580. not enough to keep men from sin, 585. why not to be followed before faith, 598. good if to be had, but not to be had for all, 601. why those capable of, should believe first, ib. we owe to it what we understand, 604. least of all able to master religion, 606. what is rightly done proceeds from, 607. right, is virtue, ib. faith prepares for, 609.
Red Sea, a figure of Baptism, 51. no creed given before, ib. implies repentance, if passover implies faith, 52.
Refuge, is one seeking, to be saved by a lie? 388, 393, 405.
Regeneration, by the Holy Spirit, 31. laver of, some would give before change of life, 37. appointed, because our generation was corrupted, 115. Christ alone needed not, ib. not conferred in John's baptism, 116. none free from condemnation without, 117. remission of sin in, 124. is in order to pleasing God, 131. in Baptism, 258. had we no other birth we should not sin, 467. prayer for, for Catechumens, 576.
Relics of martyrs (or pretended ones) hawked about, 509.
Religion, search after true, implies care for the soul, 592. supposed case of ignorance of, ib. use of testimony of many in, 593. free and popular, though few perfect in, 595. authority needful in, 598. wrong to deliver, to the unworthy, 600. yet we trust those who come to learn, 600, 602. most men need steps to, 601. two classes of men praised in—those who have, and who seek the truth, 602, 3. three blamed, 603. faith specially needed for, and why, 606. search for true, presupposes belief in God, 608, 9.
Remission of sins, 33. not for the unforgiving, ib. of sin, likeness of Christ's Death, 117. of sins, our faith concerning, 124. granted in the Church alone, 125. not without amendment, 128. of lighter sins by prayer, ib. requires forgiveness on our part, 129. of all sins in the Church, 184.
Repentance, required as well as faith, 47. some make of unbelief only, ib. a first principle, 52. required for John's baptism, 55. remedy for sin

healed by, ib. measured by sorrow rather than by time, 125. necessary to salvation, 128. measures of, ib. in God, 543. of God without error, 544.
Report, good, duty of keeping, 379. evil, if not incurred by fault, no loss, ib.
Restoration, of branches cut off, 183, 4.
Resurrection, of Christ, prophesied, 9. of the dead, part of same prophecy with things we see, 11. asserted by Apostles, 12. of the body, real, 15, 34. an article of faith, 24. man changed in, 25. preached by St. Paul, 50. of judgment means damnation, 75, 76, 119. Saints to be made equal to Angels in, 104. of Christ, imitated in Baptism, 113, 118. of Christ, foreshews ours, 130. of the body, our faith concerning, 136, &c. is of all men, 136. question of abortions, 136, 7. what is wanting may be supplied in, 137. of monstrous births, ib. difficulties raised about it, 138. question of stature, 139. of the wicked to punishment, 140. questions about, ib. Kingdom of God comes in, 154. how not of 'flesh and blood,' 159, 60. of Christ, a remedy for fear, 170. of Christ, in the same body that was buried, 178. of the flesh, 185. a not incredible mystery, 234, 240. of the body, 515. without death, our prize, 569, 70. of Christ, gives hope, 569, 576. Lazarus died after, 570, 576. of the flesh, 576.
Retreat of monks, for prayer, 501, 2.
Revelations, by visions, 532, 533. to Prophets partial, 537.
Revenge, forbidden to Christians, 129.
Reward, of Christian soldier, 379. of evangelizing, 482.
Rhadamanthus, fable of, 587.
Rhetoric, learned from the few whom the many acknowledge, 593, 4.
Rhone, ashes of martyrs thrown into the, 523.
Rhyming terminations, 543.
Rich, the, humbled before the Church, 7. healed of pride in becoming poor, 503. men, became monks, 504, 5.
Riches, loved, though well used, a loss, 64. desire of, condemned in widows, 877, 8. what men will suffer to gain, 544. of God, 552.
Right ear, cut off, what it means, 182, 3.
Righteousness, actual, of Christians to exceed Pharisees', 81. man may live in, here by faith, 156.
Right Hand of God, what meant by,
Right side, the nets why cast on, 179.
Rising with Christ, what, 270.
Robbers, lying in wait, 385, 6. endurance of, 545.
Rome, republic of, allowed divorce, 45. the usage of, in respect of divorce, 282. love of the commonwealth, 504.
Root-virtue, continence, 305.
Ruffinus, translated Eusebius' Eccl. Hist. 523.
Rule of Faith, the Creed, 563.
Ruth, blessed, though Anna more so, 356. continent widows may not set themselves above, 359. married again to be an ancestor of Christ, 360. not less blessed than Anna, if she knew Christ should descend from her, ib.

S.

Sabbath, St. Paul discoursed in the Synagogue on the, 495. not for Christians, 586.
Sabellianism, 20, 41. guarded against, 172.
Sacrament of marriage, 282, 291, 295, 304. of ordination, 304.
Sacramenta, 453.
Sacraments, not marred by presence of the bad, 42. not to be trusted in without obedience, 83. good and evil partook of, 79. benefit of, regards the life to come, 125. applied for by Catechumens, 199, 202, 210, 225, 237. *note* (*where add to the references* Bingham *Antiq.* X. II. §. 16.) of New Law, supersede the old, 391. Truth intimated in, 422
Sacrifice, needed for man, 107. under the Law a shadow of that of Christ, 107, 123. of Christ redeemed man, 122, 3. reconciled him to holy Angels, 123. of Christ for sin, 112. sacrifice called sin, ib. of the Mediator offered in the Church, 151. of the Altar profits not the wicked after death, ib. (some perchance to lesser punishment, 152.) for sin, called sin, 457.
Sacrifices, legal, not for Christians, 536.
Sadducees, our Lord's answer to, 365.
Saints, Church daily renewed in, 7. to rise equal to Angels, 104. do not desire to be worshipped, 120. live without crime, 124. Bodies of, to be raised perfect, 139. mercy and judgment cleave to, hereafter, 141.

assumed as Christ, ib. to be at God's right hand, 179. why their example is proposed to us, 199. ancient, were saved by a prospective faith, 219, 223. were members of the Christian Church, 224. understood the Types, 225, 229. in heaven cannot sin, 256, 260. differ in merits, 327. in glory, 327. and joy, 328. number of to be completed, 380. of Old Testament acted prophecy, 389, 451, 2. of New Testament do not lie, 390, 423, 452, 3. not to be imitated in faults, 392. of New Testament surest examples, 410, 452. prayers to, 538. prayers to profitable, 518, 523, &c. patrons, 523. memorial chapels of, 518, 523. to be remembered, 523. merits aid the souls of the departed, 524, 539. intercession of, 538. may be general, ib. for those who pray to them, ib. interposition of extraordinary, ib. how they aid us mysterious, ib. through God's sending Angels, ib. memorials of, the special places for obtaining their aid, 539. patience of is as their love, 553. of Old Testament saved by grace through faith, 556, 7. general effect of their examples, 616.

Sallust, referred to, 545.

***Salt*, given to Catechumens, 237, note.** (see *Sacrament.*)

Salvation, through fire, (see *Fire.*) faith and love needful for, 57, 58. error of promising to baptism without obedience, 83. of a soul, supposed case of lying for, 466, 7.

Samuel, apparition to Saul, opinions on, 537. prophesying when dead, ib.

Sanctimoniales, 352.

Sanctity, how in sense connected with 'sanction,' 31. treated of, 352. higher, sought in separation from the world, 493.

Sarah, her example cited, 301. an example to wives, 358. denied her laughing, 383. truly called Abraham's sister, 448.

Satan, some delivered to, 39. transformed as an Angel of light, 122, brought low after his pride, 511. tempts through or without instruments, 548, 9. hurt not Job but by God's power, 549. tempted Job, as Adam, by woman, 549, 570. fell by his own will, 558. exorcised from children, as the original of sin, 564. (see *Exorcism.*)

Saul, blasphemed in ignorance, 466.

Saul (King,) those who buried him praised, 528. seeing Samuel, 537.

Scandals to be avoided, 515, 16.

Scars of Christ, 351.

Schism, of Donatus, 41. some abide in, through shame, ib. may arise from attempts at purity, 82. a breach of charity, 559.

Schismatics, claim the name of Churches, 33. are not of the Church, as wanting charity, ib. are slaves, and have their right ear cut off, 182.

School, tempting discussions in, 579.

Schoolmaster, the Law a, 586.

Scipio Africanus, 504. his daughter portioned by the state, ib.

Scripture, Holy, (see *Texts.*) sometimes names inseparable things separately, 56. misinterpreted, 58. plain truths of, not to yield to uncertain expositions, 60, 62. testifies frequently against sin with knowledge, 80. question what may be learned from, about hereditary punishment, 115. agrees not with those who think all the baptized are saved, 126. may teach more on enquiry, 128. teaches man not to glory in himself, 144. passages of, put forward by Manichees, 163, 4. our only evidence for some things, 176. uses past for future, 180. clear, misunderstood by Manichees, 181. how to be discoursed on, 191. the two Testaments compared, 195. frame of mind of those who read aright, ib. (see *Jacob:*) a better guide than signs, 197. its interpretation, 202, 238. use of its dark sayings, 202. its letter and spirit like soul and body, 202. statements all true, 319, 321. forbids being over wise, 354. wrested, 481. to be learnt by heart, 493. practice of the whole Church of authority for what is not written in, 519. cannot deceive, 559. creed scattered about in, 563.

Scriptures, copies of, in hands of Jews, 11. use of, to strengthen believers, 16. not self-contradictory about creation, 18. heathen know not, 24. mistaken by heretics, 28. precepts in, both of peace and of severity, 42. silence of, not always conclusive, 72. must be believed in things beyond experience, 87. justly called divine, ib. men soften, not daring to oppose, 152. of the Old Testament often figurative, 389. records of, ordered by the Spirit, 389. why contain examples as well as precepts, 409, 10. forbid every lie, 423. not to be tampered with, 425. knowledge of praised, 427. true interpretation of, to be urged, 451. three methods to be

of Old Testament attacked by Manichees, 580. why hard to defend, 581. four fold sense of, 582. thought by Manichees to be interpolated, 583. partial use of, 585. how to deal with, 586, 591. three suppositions about, 588, 589. which really in question, 589. Church's belief about, 590. interpretation of, not to be sought from enemies, ib. falsely charged with absurdity, 594. testimony of mankind to, ib. believed on the Church's testimony, 611. folly of condemning uninterpreted, 616.
Seasons, a standing miracle, 615.
Secular judgments imposed on Bishops by Apostolical injunction, 510.
Sedes, dwellings called, 573.
Senators, became Monks, 505.
Senses, source of some knowledge, 87. sometimes deceived, 99. one stopped supplied by another, 377. some would receive nothing but from, 578. things known by, known without having, 608. Now known by multitudes not to perceive God, 615.
Septivira, 363.
Sermon on the mount, 331.
Serpent, who are the food of, 161.
Servants of God, Monks so called, 508.
Session, of Christ at God's right hand, 25. (see *Christ.*)
Seventh age, will be an age of rest, 219.
Sexes, both honoured in the Incarnation, 22. both honoured by Christ, 177. how undistinguished in Christians, 514.
Shame, natural, is against often-repeated marriage, 366.
Side by side, the walk of the married, 275.
Sick, may they be deceived for their health? 388. object of love and hatred to physician, 557.
Sickness of the soul, what, 258.
Sight, arrived at by living well, 87. absence of, common to Faith and Hope, 89.
Signacula, 422.
Signs, not known without the thing, 607, 8.
Singularity, of things that stand chief, 294.
Silence, may involve betrayal, 407, 408.
Similes, easy weapons to find, 580.
Simon, his example cited, 342.
Sin, (see *Baptism*, *Faith*, *Remission*,) all have, in this life, but not all alike, 33. remission of, ib. reigns love of the world, 51. against the Holy Ghost, 66. none should think he has not, in this life, 81. differences of, ib. some remitted through daily prayer, ib. must be forsaken by those who would be saved, 60. three sins allowed deadly, 70. others thought to be atoned by alms, ib. doubtful even, to be avoided, 71. past, remitted in Baptism, not future, permitted, 72. persevered in, parts from God, 74. God willing to pardon, on repentance, ib. wilful, worse than unbelief, 76. abiding in, after Baptism is like returning to, 80. worse with knowledge than without, ib. worse to do than to suffer, 96. this life not past without some, 101. original, in all naturally propagated, 102. original, why not in angels, 103. free-will lost by, 105. slavery to, ib. guilt of original, taken away by regeneration, 108. man justified from, by same grace whereby Christ was without sin, 109. original, Christ far from, 112. Christ sacrificed to wash away, ib. Himself hence called 'sin,' ib. Christ falsely said to have 'wrought,' 113. of Adam included many sins, 114, 15. several specified, 114. after Baptism healed by repentance, ib. original not barred by wedlock, 115. taken away through Christ only, ib. came by one, taken away by One, 116. least punishment where none but original, 140. degrees of, ib. all remitted in Baptism, 124. not every, a crime, ib. great, may be pardoned on repentance, 125. punished in this life, though remitted for the future, ib. persisted in excludes from the kingdom, 126. alms help remission of, 128. Christ took away more than Adam brought in, 116. original, of itself condemns, 106, 144. Christians dead to, 117. of infirmity remitted to daily prayer, 128. against the Holy Ghost, 136. not pardoned while loved, 132. shared by permission, 135. is of ignorance or of weakness, ib. not overcome without God's help, ib. to be weighed by God's judgment, 133. some venial, ib. some heavier than we might think, 134. come to be thought little of by habit, ib. knowledge of, through the law, 155, 6. sole cause of our weakness, 168. how man shoul feel concerning, 218. remitted to the faithful in Baptism, 258. spiritual men not exempt from, 266. is lusting against Christ, ib. venial and deadly, 281, 285. from which we are spared, is

from, 347. creeps on a man, 348. not justified by comparison, 389. not to be committed to save life, 393, &c. not to be screened by falsehood, 404. all, is spoken by the heart, 414. confession of required, 416. wrongly estimated by carnal men, 419. some less violent as bad as murder, 420. slight, is no sin if to avoid something wrong to allow, 421. of others not to be prevented by our own, 423, 444. not to be done to detect sin, 427. against conscience, 434. not justified by motive, 441. yet made less, 442, 458. venial not allowed, 443. alternatives of, 443, 447. of ignorance or infirmity, 447, 459, 485. none can be 'just,' 457. sacrifice called, 457. forgiven for subsequent good works, 458. remitted through alms, ib. comes of our earthly birth, 467. is the sting of death, 468. impossible to God, 564. original in children, ib. law made to restrain fools from, 585. every action not rightly done is, 607.

Singing at work, 493.

Singular, put for plural, 113.

Sinner, to protect a, is not to aid sin, 405. not to be despaired of, 405. unknown as it were to Christ, 454.

Sinners, are earth, the devil's food, 161. punished though good come of their deeds, 167. many compared with the number of the good, 221. learn humility of Christ, 336.

Sins, put for sin in infants, 113, 14. of parents visited on children in the old covenant, 114. question how far this law extends, 115. we commit, here, and here ask remission of, 154. confession of, 350. forgiveness of, in Baptism, 575. none to be despaired of, ib. those we cannot live without are venial, ib. lighter, remitted by daily prayers, ib. warning against such, as cut off, ib. penance done for greater, ib. remitted three ways in Church, ib. all imply Baptism, ib. Catechumens still under, 576.

Sister, a near kinswoman truly called, 448.

Sitting in Churches, 210. at the right hand of God, what, 513.

Six ages, to precede an age of rest, 219. defined by S. Augustine, 228, 29.

Sixty-fold-fruits of widowed life, 345.

Slaves, many, but one master, 294. freed to become Monks, 498. trusted by masters, 602.

Sleep, abstinence from, 545.

Smoke, Manichean notion about, 618.

Sodom, type of the state of sin, 80. justified in comparison of Israel, 389. Lot's conduct in, 395, 443, 5. men of, smitten with blindness, 461.

Soldiers of Christ, Monks so called, 508. mark of, not repeated after desertion, 576.

Solomon, commanded to build God a temple, 574. built of earthly materials, ib.

SON, The, (see *Word, &c.*) anointed by The Father, 6. God made all things by, 18. Only-begotten, called the Word, ib. not made, 19. nor begotten in time, 20. nor unequal, ib. Light of Light, 21. is God, 26. Image of the Father, 28. hath Being of the Father, ib. thought unequal by heretics mistaking Scripture, ib. owes to The Father the being equal to Him, 29. meaning of the term illustrated by examples, 111. of God uncreate, 173. no creature though He suffered in the flesh, 177, 8. only assumed the creature, 178. said to suffer because His humanity suffered, ib. of God is God, 565. of man is man, ib. of God is Almighty, ib. why Only Son, ib. has one will with the Father, ib. doth what He will, 566. One God with the Father, ib. doth all the Father doth, 567. of God suffered and died, 567, 8. begotten before all times, 568.

Song of the Three Holy Children, 352.

Sons, (see *Mankind*.) sons by adoption as well as nature, 112. sons of hell and the kingdom, ib.

Soul, (see *Spirit*,) how defiled by the body, 23. definition of, 34. part of, resists the spirit, 34. should obey the spirit, ib. death and corruption of, 35. intermediate state of, 151. intercession for, ib. sacrifice and alms for, ib. sickness of, hinders taste of God's sweetness, 168. a, assumed by the Eternal Truth, 174. acts in the head especially, 175. may be defiled though the tongue is not moved, 244. meaning of, in Scripture, 252. purity of, more than that of the body, 394, 422, 3. Priscillianists in error about, 432, 3. is what we keep by patience, 546, 7. Lucretius says the, is of atoms, 587. goods of, sought in religion, 592. liable to error, 592. seems made to know truth, 597. filthy, cannot use reason, 614.

Souls, infant, what food for, 580. pure, God dwells in, 590. of the faithful

fitted by prayers, 518, 523. obtain the resurrection of the body, 523. rest of, not affected by the condition of the body, 520—25. nor by the events of the world, 525, 36. (see *Dead.*) some, free from all suffering, 536. some souls suffering, ib.
'*Spare you*,' meaning of the phrase, 318, 320, 322, 23.
Specimen of how S. Augustine catechized, 215-237. another, 238-242.
Spectacles of a brutal kind, denounced, 217.
Speech, true, produces an image of the mind, 19. inward, heard by God, 413.
SPIRIT, HOLY, the Apostles filled with, 12. Son of God born by, 22. not inferior, 26. His peculiar property not yet fully discussed, 29. called The Gift, ib. not begotten of The Father, ib. nor the Son's Son, ib. hath the Being of the Father, 30. double procession of, 30, n. why called 'Sanctus,' 31. faith and good-will first-fruits of, 34. perfection of, to follow God, ib. Christ the Head of, ib. of love, won by earnest faith, 73. asked and received, 74. sheds abroad love, ib. grace of, sets us free from condemnation, 77. refusal of, after Baptism lets in Satan, 80. The, called Holiness, 172, 3. is no creature, nor inferior to The Son, 173. union of Father and Son in The, ib. His appearance in the form of a dove, 176. why not born of a dove, 177. all things made known to Apostles by, 180. came not in St. Paul, Montanus, or Manichæus, 181. coming of, clearly marked in Scripture, ib. foretaste of God by, 168. inebriation by, ib. gives liberty, 182. called the 'Finger of God,' 225. continence the gift of God's, 253. signified by men's actions what they knew not, 389. heareth all things, 413. the fire of Divine Love, 554. hence the source of patience, 554, 557. consubstantial and coequal, 573, 4. called 'Love,' 574. God, as dwelling in Temple, ib. said to have come in Manichæus, 584.
Spirit, God is a, 31. rational, distinguishes men from brutes, 22. assumed by The Son, ib. body subject to, spiritual, 24, spirit and soul named in one, 33. is rational part of soul, ib. brutes have not, ib. and flesh, their union, 263. their opposition, 266, 7. of man, not to be elated or indiscriminating, 359. unclean, makes an evil will frantic, 558.
Spiritual, preferable to human kindred, 309. and carnal things mutually supplied, 492.
Spiritual desire of the old Fathers, 293, 296, 306.
Spy, supposed practice of, 431, 2.
Spies, (see *Rahab.*)
Standing in Church, 210.
Stars, devils are not in region of, 162.
Statue, recast, like the body rising, 138.
Stephanas, household of, baptized by St. Paul, 50.
Steward of the Church must have one wife, 295.
Stewards, trusted though slaves, 602.
Stoics, wrong in making all sins equal, 457.
Stone tables of the Law represent the Jewish heart, 225.
Studiousness, matter of praise, 598, 99.
Substance, Divine, not to be thought of as material, 27. numerical unity of, 28, n. unity of, 28, 41. whether Godhead is, 32. Holy Spirit is, ib. every thing in God is, ib. not to be judged of as if bodily, 172. unity of, in God, 133. none but what God begot or created, 618.
Succession, Apostolic, 616.
Suffering, for good faith and humanity, praiseworthy, 408.
Sufferings, endured for worldly objects, 544. (see *Patience.*)
Suicide, threat of, may not move us to sin, 393, &c. Job's example against, 550. of Donatists, ib. not even Job's wife suggested, ib. worse than parricide, ib. false claim of martyrdom by, 551.
Sun, adored as a god, 23. rays of, not defiled by what they touch, ib. devils are not in region of, 162. rays of, pure, though shining through filth, 174. surpasses, not chides, the stars, 359. weak eyes cannot gaze on, 467. creation of the, 564. temple not to be built to, 574. worshipped by Manichees, 590.
Supererogavit, 457.
Supererogation, 330.
Superstition, in observing times sinful, 134.
Surgeons, men bear pain from, for good, 546.
Susanna and Anna, 284, 306, 320, 321.
Suscipere, 607.
Suspiciousness, what is, 598, 99.
Swearing, instances of, in New Testament, 411. all 'cometh of evil,' 418. rash, of David, 445. false, excused by some, 464.

Sword, spiritual, takes the place of visible, 38. put for evil tongue, 182.
Symbol, (see *Creed.*) form of, delivered in Baptism, 71.

T.

Table, of the Lord, preparation for, 44.
Talents, parable of, 68.
Talking, lust of, leads to lying, 402, 3.
Tamar, falsehood of, not to be imitated, 457.
Tares, in God's field, 41, 2. such as contemn correction, 45. sowing of, to baptize the unreformed, 66. mixed with wheat in the Church, 81, 2. borne with till harvest, 548.
Teacher, The, St. Paul called, 354. worth travelling to find, 594.
Teaching, all implies some faith, 593. multitude may shew where to find, 594, 611. Catholic, origin of, 598. ordinary way of, uses belief, 605. all requires a master, 616.
Temple, (see *Church*,) human image of God not to be placed in, 25. Christian heart a, ib. for God only, 574. Holy Ghost hath, ib.
Temptation, (see *Prayer*,) counsel against, from the aged, 375. hope of gratification a, 377.
Tempting God by not avoiding danger, 508.
Terentianus Maurus, not to be read without expositors, 594.
Tertullian, unwisely attacks second marriage, 357. dared not condemn first, ib.
Testaments, two, signified by Abraham's sons, 410. Old, food for infant souls, 580. agrees with New, 582, 586. passages that seem to condemn it, 585. veil of, removed, 586. what the charge against, 589. St. Augustine's belief about, 590. St. Ambrose's exposition of, 597. charges brought against, 617.
Testimony, (see *Belief*, *Faith*,) parents known by, 4. trusted in human affairs, ib. of the multitude how useful, 593, 4.
Texts, a hard one in Genesis i., 276. in the Colossians illustrated, 270. quoted by the Manichees met by others, 262. quoted against the Manichees, 264.
Thabenna, Honoratus Bishop of, 577.
Thagasta, Firmus, Bishop of, 406, 7.
Theatre, applause of, courted by poets, 594.
Theatres, (see *Spectacles*,) by whom frequented, 236.
Thecla, mentioned, 344.
Theft, not lawful because useful, 101. from rich not lawful, 403. though to feed the poor, 441. is 'from the mouth' of the heart, 414. some think too much of, as compared with sins of luxury, 420. is less sin than lewdness, 442, 3. one worse than another, 442, 3.
Thigh, signification of putting the hand under, 297.
Thirty-fold fruit of marriage, 344, 5.
Thought, sins of, 244, 246. goes before works, 246, 47. sin of thought, 244, 45. of intention, 246. cannot go unpunished, 255. a mystery, 255, 56. why man is free to, 256. though not practiced remains to be mortified, 271. beautiful picture of purity in, ib.
Thought and language contrasted, or remarked upon, 189, 203, 205.
Three Holy Children, the, 352. their song, ib.
Time, shifting course of, 376. to be set apart for labour, 493. for learning Scripture by heart, ib. Christ is before all, 568.
Times, specially assigned to different employments, 494, 5. change of, 582.
Timothy, *St.* his example cited, 298. circumcised by St. Paul, 390, 91. to keep strength for bodily work, 488.
Tithes, paid by the Pharisees, 132.
Titus, *St.* not circumcised, and why, 391.
Tobias, commended for burying the dead,
Tongue, the, a member, and its words acts, 440. not to be yielded to sin, 442.
Torture, to obtain testimony, 406, 545. question of lying to escape, 407. to be borne with love, 410.
Trades, honest, practised by St. Paul, 487. honestly practised, good, ib. manual, suitable to preachers, 488.
Tradition, explains some things implied in Scripture, 49.
Trance, vision in, 532. for several days, ib.
Transfiguration, beyond nature of body, as what Christ did when risen, 178, 9.
Travel, in search of instruction, 594, 5. to Holy Land, 595.
Tribulation, attends marriage, 318, 323.

Tribute, why paid by Christ, 227.
TRINITY, The Holy, One God, 25, 32, 41. signified by 'of,' 'in,' and 'through,' 26, 32. not Three Gods, 27, 32. illustrated by Fountain, River, and Draught, and by Root, Trunk, and Boughs, ib. faith in, required in Baptism, 72. doctrine of The, 90. works of, ascribed to the Holy Ghost, 111. doctrine of The, 172. silent contemplation of the mystery, one of the joys of heaven, 235. doctrine of The, 573, 4.
Tritheism, 172.
Troas, breaking bread at, the Eucharist, 494, 5.
Troubles, (see *Tribulation*.)
Truth, The Son called The, 18. Holy Ghost leads to, 31. beauty of, 96. spoken with lying intent is a lie, 97. not to be despaired of, 99. none can know, while living wickedly, 172. The, may not be thought to have lied, 178. knowledge of, to be increased as we grow in love, 186. of every statement in Scripture, 319. excess in loving, safer, 383. may be spoken in order to deceive, 385. comprises every eternal good, 395. eternal, distinguished from ordinary, 403, 419, 421. notion of keeping 'in the heart,' 412, 13, 438. love of, allows not false witness, 417. must be in the mouth for man, 417, 428. in doctrine injured by a lie, 421. union with the Eternal, ib. intimated in words and Sacraments, 422. may be preferred to every thing external, 422, 463. not to be wronged in defending it, 427. every lie contrary to, 429. to be kept with those without, 438. some to be concealed from aliens, 439. nothing against it 'just,' 457. children of the Church, children of, 460. provoked by systematised falsehood, 464. supremacy of, involuntarily acknowledged, ib. cannot teach lying, 465. defended by examples of chastity, 466, 7. as the sun, gives chastity her light, 467. weak eyes see not beauty of, ib. what He says of Himself, 567. St. Aug.'s early love of, 578. not measured by senses, ib. easy to claim, hard to find, ib. belief prepares for beholding, 578, 581, 610. search after, 592, &c. suppose claimed by some, 593. if with few, hard to find them, 593, 4. itself believed by the blessed, 605. lovers of, believe authority, ib. opposed by attacking science or faith, ib. why made hard to discover, 608. God is, 612. state of mind needful for seeking, 618.
Tullius, (see *Cicero*.)
Tumult, speech of the heart called, 413.
Twins, often taken for each other, 99.
Type, the ark a type of the Cross, 222, 239. the "sacrament of the flood," ib. the flood exhibits the final judgment: the ark, the Church: Noah and his family the setting free of the saints, 222. Jacob, a type in the manner of his birth, 192, 224. the Jewish people clearly prefigured the future Church of Christ, 223. the flood, and the crossing the Red sea, a type of baptism, 224. Moses' rod a type of the cross, 224. the passover typical of Christ's passion, 224, 225. the Jewish Law all typical, 225. understood by the ancient saints, ib. the land of promise full of typical teaching, 226. Babylon typical, 226, 227. the 70 years' captivity typical, 227. the old Law and Pentecost, a type of the new, 231. application of the Three Holy Children, 352. woman, of what, 575.
Typical, meaning of many wives, 295. one wife, ib. view of impurity, 297.

U.

Unbelief, not the only sin of the Jews, 73. leaves men without an advocate, 75. may be spared if impenitence may, 76.
Unchastity, a deadly sin, 70. manifest, if continued in, a bar to baptism, ib.
Uncircumcision not to be feigned, 483.
Unclean, who are, 131.
Understanding, quick, God's gift, 565. faith goes before, 566. distinguished from belief and opinion, 603. is by reason, 694. now known by multitudes to be the way of knowing God, 615.
Unions, three spoken of by the Apostle, 263.
Unity, numerical, of Divine Essence hard to illustrate, 28, n. of the Church, broken by some in hasty zeal, 41. 'power of godliness' lies much in, 183. in Godhead illustrated by that of souls united, 565. but imperfectly, since they are still many, 566.
Unity of communion, how severed, 201.
Unmarried, may mean widows, 354, persons, 'think of things of the Lord.'

357. should give Christ what they reserve from a consort, 374. exhorted to forbear marriage, 380.
Unwilling continence estimated, 334.

V.

Valentinian, St. Ambrose on death of, 141, note p.
Veil of Scripture, 195. of Moses, of the Nazarite, 513. done away in Christ, 586.
Veils, men not to wear, 514. why, 515.
Vengeance, less kingly than forbearance, 547, 8.
Venial, (see *Sin.*)
Ventilare, 585.
Vice can use the instruments of virtue, 546.
Vine, Christ compared to, 575.
Violence, not consented to, corrupts not, 394, 446. lying to escape, wrong, 394. not to be evaded by sin, 397. one suffering, should refuse pleasure, 421.
Virgil, quoted, 89, 91, 94, 99, 113. 519, 587, 595. a better poet than Lucan, 89. grammarians expected to find good sense in, 591. Alexis in Bucolics of, some expound allegorically, 595.
Virgin, (see *Mary.*) God most fitly born of a, 6. birth of a, not Christ's only distinction, 185, how we know Christ was born of a, 175, 6. blessed, her perpetual virginity, 229. the blessed, 284. the blessed, a type and pattern, 309. what was her highest blessedness, 309, 311. had vowed virginity, 310. was born of Christ, 311. how both a Mother and a Virgin, 311.
Virginal chastity above marriage, 320.
Virginity, some placed on a level with marriage, 41. preferred to marriage, 275, 302, 320. (see *Continence.*) is angelic, 283, 315. of the impious inferior to the marriage of the just, 284. the greater of two goods, 302. to be guarded by humility, 306. that of the blessed Virgin, 310. should be free, ib. a good, for the sake of the future life, 315, 316, 320, 323. a higher state than marriage, 320. is the surmounting the good of marriage, 322. its joys in heaven, 327, 328. the gift of God, 341. its fruits hundred-fold, 344. inferior to martyrdom, 346. preferred by St. Paul to conjugal faith, 355. goodness of, makes not marriage evil, 356. of children, a compensation to parents, 361, 368. forsaking, after profession is sinful, 361, 2. of the Church, 364. hard questions about, 369. rank of, ib. St. Aug.'s book on, 369, 381. vow of recommended, 375, 4. of St. Mary ever enduring, 287.
Virgins brought to Christ every where, 7. all holy ones are Mothers of Christ, 311. rich, how they may give birth to members of Christ, 313. distinguished from sacred Virgins, 314, no "command" concerning, 316. have peculiar joys in heaven, 327, 328. follow the Lamb, 328, 329. need humility, 331. unfeigned, 344. their grounds for loving God, 340, 341. may be less fit than married women for martyrdom, 344. humbled by the thought of martyrdom, 346. encouragement to, 350. cautions to, ib. should love the fairness of Christ, 351. must spend their love on Christ, ib. ought to love greatly, 352. distinguished from the 'unmarried,' 354. included under the term, 355. before widows in the kingdom, 374. special song of, 375.
Virtue, what patience is a, 544. instruments of, not to be yielded to vice, 546.
Virtues of the soul may exist unseen in habit, 298, 299.
Visible and invisible creation, 564.
Visions, sometimes mistaken for realities, 99. caused by Angels, 121. of the waking, 532. (see *Apparitions.*) in trances, ib. (see *Apparitions.*) of the unseen world, 533.
Volusianus, letter of S. Aug. to, 188.
Vow, freely made, makes what was lawful unlawful, 357. wrong to desire to revoke, 362. marriage after, is not adultery, 363, 4. but yet is worse, 364. of continence recommended, 373. a protection, 377. marriage to Christ by, 363. more laudable because not required, 364.
Vows of continence, 330.

W.

Wages, paid for service, not given, 150.
Want of necessaries does not break the spirit of the good, 522.
Warfare of the Christian life, 250, 260, 261.

Washing, once for all in Baptism, daily, in prayer, 575.
Watchings, use of, 378.
Water, river, fountain, and draught, one, 27. one in three cups, 28. (see *Birds*.) changed into wine, 612.
Weakness of man, taken on Him by the Son of God, 169.
Wedlock, (see *Marriage*.)
Wells, those called, who know Christ, 79.
Whirling about by false doctrine, 514.
Wicked, (see *Sinners*, *Sin*,) to be separated from in spirit, 14. men, left to punish themselves, 165. enumeration of, 236. their lives prolonged, 238.
Wickedness, part of God in grave of, according to Manichees, 163. is in action, what error is in knowledge, 172. excludes knowledge of the truth, 172.
Wicked persons, must be endured in the Church, 199, 241. (see *Church*.)
Widowed chastity, above marriage, 320.
Widowed continence, its rank, 345.
Widowhood, forsaking, after profession is a sin, 361, 2. this not adultery, but worse, 363, 4. long and early, greater test of continence, 366, 7. prayer and fasting make better, 367. hard questions about, 369. rank of, ib.
Widows, marrying again not adulterous, 185. their continence, 345. Fourth Council of Carthage forbade (professed widows) to marry again, 353. may be called 'unmarried,' 354. better among the members of Christ than married women, 355. may marry again, as Ruth, 356. more blessed if not, as Anna, 356, 366, 373. not therefore better than Ruth herself, 359. do better in not marrying now Christ is come, 360. having family, have no good reason to marry, 361. what they should do according to their ability, 362. desiring to marry, why blamed by St. Paul, ib. merits of, in different cases compared, 366, 7. luxurious living of, condemned, 367, 377. humility an ornament to, 367, 370. alms help their prayers, 378. to draw others to like profession, 380.
Wife, (see *Husband*,) may be a tempter to sin, 64. why the Apostle sets before her no pattern, 260. (see *Marriage*.) why created out of husband, 275. many allowed once, why, 294, 295. only one belongs to a steward of the Church, 295. and woman, Greek word ambiguous, 476.
Will, (see *Mind*, *Freewill*,) an evil, cannot produce good works, 94. makes lying worse than most errors, 96. to deceive, essential to a lie, 101. of mutable beings cause of evil, 102. free, man gifted with, ib. will required for faith, hope, and charity, 106. insufficient without mercy of God, ib. good, precedes not the grace that gives it, ib. of man, can be changed by God, 143. of God, loved Jacob freely, hated Esau justly, 143, 4. of the creature, made to fulfil the Creator's, 145, 6. good or evil may concur, or not with God's good, 146. man created with free, 148. will be free when it cannot turn to ill, 149. of God, done in Heaven and Earth, 154. there must be, to do wrong, 167. of man, the cause of sin, 168. of man, created free, ib. of man, admonished and healed by grace, 371. free, made too much of, by some, 372, 3. if man works on, much more does God, 373. God not lost but by, 549. free, of man, gets not patience by itself, 551. why it produces hardness, yet not true patience, 552, 3. evil, made frantic by devilish incitement, 558. the devil became devil by his own, ib. pleasure in creature a known motive to, ib. has not love of God, but by His gift, 559. of God, always done, 564. true submission of, to God, 571.
Wills, forgery of, 441.
Wisdom, God The Son called, 18. ordereth all things, 19. assumed reasonable soul as well as body, 22. unchangeable, 29. our Lord called, 86. Christ is, not merely partaker of, 175. of God, took Man's nature, 613. Book of, misinterpreted, 74. Christian, 85. all, is from God, 86. is piety, ib. none in refusing assent to what is certain, 100. is God's gift, 343, 372. patience handmaid of, 546. true and false, true from God, 552. to be found in true religion, 592. implies knowledge concerning God and man, 606. he who has not, knows not, 608. prayer to God for, 612.
Wise, who are, 606. fools must follow them, 607. how are fools to find them, 607, 8. are brought near to God, 612.
Witchcraft, not to be detected by witchcraft 469.
Witness, false, forbidden, 388, 404, 407. question if lawful to save life, 397. about God or Christ, 397, 404. definition of, 404, 5. incompatible with love of truth, 417. implies one

who has a right to hear, ib. false, might seem expedient at times, 441.
Wolves, in sheep's clothing, 436. sheep not to wear theirs, 437. to be known by their fruits, ib.
Woman, honoured in the Blessed Virgin, 22. glorified in Christ's birth, 170, 177. how we know Christ was born of a, 176. insult offered to the sun by a, 690.
Women, now, compared to the holy women of old, 293, 303. accompanied and supported the Apostles, 476. and our Lord, 476, 477. figure the concupiscential part of the mind, 575.
Wood, root, trunk, and branch, one, 27.
Word, The, all things created by, 18. Son so called, as making known the Father, 19. of God begotten, not like ours made, ib. assumed entire Man, 22. assumed body by means of Soul and Spirit, 23. thus more separate from frailty, ib. The, equal with the Father, 108. He who duly 'receives,' loves truth, 418.
Words, meant to convey knowledge, 101. (see *Life*, *Mouth*.) are the beginning of works, 244, 246. are deeds, 440. use of Greek, 382.
Work, (see *Action*,) evil, not made good by motive, 441. to refuse, as wrong an error, 486.
Working, understood of labouring in spiritual things enjoined by the Apostle, 471.
Works, good, some severed from faith, 37. dead, condemned, 48, 65. good, follow justification, 57. of man, not able to restore men, 104. good, of believers, 105. future, not excluded from the ground of God's love to His Saints, 143. eternal life the reward of, 150. not rightly done unless done through love, 157. are preceded by thoughts, 246, 247. and Faith, 271. good, a better portion than children, 375, 6. precede not election, 555, 57.
World, pollution of, to be shunned, 79. renounced in words by all at Baptism, 83. put for mankind, 102. the, not called Son of God, 111. how formed according to Manichees, 102. love of, is wickedness, 172. neither desire nor fear of, consistent with 'perfect love,' 186. spirit of this, puffs up, 371. cares of, lower married holiness, 374. passing away, a reason against marrying, 376. waits for the number of Saints, 380. trials of, require patience, 547. love of, produces worldly endurance, 558, 565, 567. lust comes of, but also of man's will, 555. name of, includes man, ib. Apostles were once of, ib.
Wounds of Christ, 351.
Wrath, in God no passion, 543.
Writers, three ways to err in using, 547. sense of, often hard to see clearly, 589.

Z.

Zacchæus and Goliath compared, 302, 336.

INDEX OF TEXTS.

GENESIS.

i—iii. 564
i. 1. 191
27. 229
28. 276
31. 91, 165, 197, 359
ii. 1—3. 218
3. 221
21, 22. 275
iii. 5. 20
14. 161
19. ib.
vi. 7. 222
22. 228
vii. 8, 9. 82
ix. 10. 521
xvii. 4. 228
xviii. 4. 122
15. 388
20. 135
xix. 2. 122
5—11. 461
8. 395, 443
26. 80
xx. 2. 448
12. ib.
xxi. 10. 560
12. 303, 560
xxii. 12. 296
18. 5, 8
xxiii. 521
xxiv. 448
2—4. 297
xxv. 5, 6. 561
9, 10. 521
26. 192, 224
xxvi. 7. 448
xxvii. 16—19. 450
19. 388
xxxii. 24. 122
xxxviii. 14—18. 456
27—30. 224
xlii. 449
xlvi. 27. 252
xlvii. 30. 521

EXODUS.

i. 17—20. 458
19, 20. 388
iii. 14 21
xii. 231
7. 52
15. ib.
xiv. 21, 22. 51
xviii. 2. 114
xix. 1—16. 231
xx. 1—17. 51
3—5. 53
12. 417
13. 330, 407
14. 157, 330
15. 404
16. 388, 404, 407
xxiv. 12. 225
xxxi. 18. ib.
xxxii. 4. 114
31. ib.
xxxiii. 19. 557
xxxiv. 33. 513

LEVITICUS.

xix. 18. 393

NUMBERS.

vi. 5. 513
xiv. 33. 225
xix. 11. 298
xxi. 7. LXX. 113
xxv. 5—8. 38

DEUTERONOMY.

v. 9. 114
vi. 4. 26
5. 33
xxiii. 24, 25. 501
xxiv. 1. 283
xxv. 5—10. 300, 360
xxix. 5. 225, 277
xxxiv. 5. 537

JOSHUA.

ii. 458
vi. 25. ib.

JUDGES.

ix. 8—15. 455

1 SAMUEL.

xxi. 13. 449
xxv. 22—35. 445
xxviii. 11—19. 537

2 SAMUEL.

ii. 5. 528
xvi. 5—12. 547

1 KINGS.

ii. 38. LXX. 573
xiii. 21, 22. 526

2 KINGS.

x. 31. 429
xxii. 18—20. 535

JOB.

i. 8. 298
21. Lat. from LXX. 570, 1
ii. 9. ib. 571
10. 550, 572
vii. 1. LXX. 340, 347
xiv. 1. 107
xxv. 4. 347
xxviii. 28. 86, LXX. 243.

PSALMS.

i. 1. 513
2. 493
3. 168
ii. 7. 9, 116, 181
8. 9, 181
11. 340
iv. 8. 9
v. 3. 26
5. 392, 417, 557
6. 389, 392, 407, 416, 427
7. 417, 427
vi. 7. 445
viii. 4. 557
8. 162
ix. 18. 551, 561
24. 512
x. 3. 134, 512, 545
xi. 5. 61, 132
xiii. 6. 493
xiv. 1. 246
6. 552
xv. 2. 412, 428, 438
xvi. 2. 552
4. 57
xviii. 13. 162
44. 454
xix. 3, 4. 13
7. 343
9. 338
xx. 8. 192
xxii. 1. 572
16, 17, 18. 9
27, 28. ib.
xxiii. 6. 106
xxv. 15. 341
xxvii. 1. 136
4. 339
9. ib.
10. 535
12. 456
xxx. 6, 7. 273
xxxi. 19. 153
22. 454
xxxiv. 8. 168
14. 257

xxxvi. 3. 473
7—9. 168
9. 558
11, 350
xxxvii. 23. 342
xxxviii. 9. 125
xxxix. 3. 509
xli. 4. 74, 258
6—8. 9
9, 10. ib.
xlii. 1. 168
xliii. 1. 119
xlv. 1, Vulg. 328
2. 314, 337, 374
6—17. 6
13. 374
xlvi. 8. 9
xlviii. 1. 45, 283
l. 15. 507
li. 5. 115, 337
10. 105
17. 125, 213
liv. 1. 119
18. 215
lv. 5. 445
lvi. 7. LXX. 556
lviii. 1. 180
lix. 9. 350
10. 106, 133
11. 12, 557
lxii. 5. 552, 559
lxv. 2. 251
lxvi. 4. 272
lxix. 21—23. 11
lxxi. 4. 552
5. 552, 559
lxxv. 7. 571
lxxvii. 9. 152
lxxix. 2, 3. 520
11. 215
lxxxii. 6. 26
lxxxiv. 2. 339
4. 459
lxxxv. 12. 249
lxxxviii. 5. 157
xc. 9. 107
xciv. 19. 267
xcvi. 1. 327
8. 330
ci. 1. 141, 534
ciii. 2. 258
3. 258, 266
cviii. 5. 10
cxi. 2. Vulg. 145
cxiii. 3. 120
11. Vulg. 148
cxv. 3. 141, 148
cxvi. 11. 467
12. 568
15. 460, 520
cxviii. 22. 232
cxix. 4—6. 342
142. 457
cxxi. 2. 57
cxxiii. 4. 551
cxxvii. 1. 341
cxxxviii. 3. LXX. 276
6. 332
cxxxix. 7. 339
cxli. 3. 243, 254, 342
4. 244, ib. ib.
cxlvi. 8. 343
cxlviii. 2. 121
5. 219

PROVERBS.

iii. 11, 12. 551
viii. 22. 20
35. LXX. 106, 149
xix. 21. 212
xx. 9. 347
xxix. 27. LXX. Vulg. 418, 460, 467
xxxi. 27. LXX. 82

ECCLESIASTES.

iii. 5. 289, 361

SONG OF SOLOMON.

i. 3. 7, 508
4. 508
ii. 2. 14

ISAIAH.

ii. 3. 498
v. 7. 135
20. 92, 98
vii. 9. LXX. 16, 172
14. 6, 8
xi. 2. 559
xiv. 12. 184
xxvi. 18. LXX. 338
xxviii. 16. 232
xl. 3. 116
6—8. 216
liii. 2. 374
7. 225
8. 569
lvi. 2. 340, 349
4. 324, 326
5. 324, 326, 330
lxiii. 8. 569
16. 535, 536

JEREMIAH.

xvi. 19.	9, 10
20.	10
xvii. 5.	154, 251, 552
xxv. 12.	227
xxix. 5—7.	226

EZEKIEL.

xviii. 2.	114
4.	444
xxxvi. 26.	448

DANIEL.

ii. 47.	226
iii. 29.	ib.
vi. 26.	ib.

HOSEA.

iv. 8.	112
vi. 6.	213

JOEL.

ii. 32.	88

JONAH.

iii.	222

HABAKKUK.

i. 4.	16, 99, 156, 556

ZEPHANIAH.

ii. 11.	10

ZECHARIAH.

i. 9.	121

MALACHI.

TOBIT.

ii. 7.	521
xii. 12.	ib.

WISDOM.

i. 1.	169
6—11.	393, 413
11.	389, 393, 412
ii. 23.	168
vi. 24.	86
vii. 16.	373
27.	18
viii. 1.	19
21.	243, 269, 372
ix. 15.	124, 139, 261
xi. 17.	17
20.	104, 156
xv. 2.	74

ECCLESIASTICUS.

i. 1.	86
ii. 1—5.	551
14.	550
iii. 18.	306, 331, 333, 343
22.	541
30.	213
x. 12.	35
xv. 20.	128
xix. 1.	463
xxvii. 5.	127
xxx. 23. Vulg.	131
xxxvii. 16. LXX.	244
xl. 1.	125
xlvi. 20.	537

SONG OF THE THREE HOLY CHILDREN.

ver. 65.	352

SUSANNA.

ver. 22.	284
23.	284, 321

BEL AND THE DRAGON.

2 MACCABEES.

xii. 34. 510

ST. MATTHEW.

i. 17. 229
14—25. 176
20. 110, 121
23. 6
ii. 20. 114
iii. 6. 116
7, 8. 55
12. 218
13. 116
16. 176
iv. 19. 68
v. 3—10. 329
3. 331
8. 33, 186
10. 548
11, 12. 379
20. 81
22, 23. 134
27. 157
32. 281
34. 411, 418
37. 96,101,174,389,411.459
39. 410
40. 134
44. 107, 129
vi. 9. 7
9—12. 129
9—13. 154
12. 81,101,134.196,253,
256,258,266,347,575
13. 130, 258, 371
14. 130
15. 83, 130
19—22. 506
24. 507, 565
25—34. 471
26—30. 107
26. 182, 500, 502
30. 574
31. 411
34. 411, 502, 507
vii. 1. 180
2. 182
6. 40
7. 107, 155
8. 609
15. 437
16. 94, 437
18. 94
21, 22. 236
viii. 5. 332
8. 336, 612
9. 612
10. 333
19. 349
29. 59
ix. 11. 336
13. ib.
15. 311
16, 17. 44
x. 7—10. 477
10. 412
11. 67
16. 232, 437
19, 20. 473
22. 273, 376
23. 507
28. 178,303,510,525,528
28—30. 520
29, 30. 167
32. 435
40—43. 506
xi. 12. 73
18. 299
19. 200, 300
21. 141
25—29. 335
27, 28. 349
28. 176
29. 329, 335
30. 186
xii. 1, 2. 501
3, 4. 552
33. 94
35. 92
39, 40. 584
45. 80, 272
46—50. 309
48. 28
xiii. 8. 346
9. 14
25. 70
29. 40
30. 40, 548
39. 67
47—50. 14
55. 487
xiv. 3, 4. 71
25. 178
29. ib.
30. 184
xv. 11. 245
16—20. 414
17—20. 245
22—28. 332
27. 65
28. 66
xvi. 16, 17. 59
18. 575
19. 184
23. 146
xvii. 2. 178
3. 537
26, 27. 224
xviii. 1—3. 332
7. 340

xviii. 15. 81
xix. 8. 283, 582
9. 38, 277, 317
10—12. 324
11. 243, 362, 380
12. 290, 299, 300, 309, 313, 330, 337, 380
16—21. 63
17. 56, 83
17—19. 61
19. 551
21. 345, 503
26. 178
xx. 9, 10. 327
21, 22. 333
22. 344
xxi. 31. 336
xxii. 10. 67
27. 132
29. 365
30. 24, 185, 365
37. 33, 132
37—40. 51, 230, 241
39. 33, 393
40. 74, 157, 194
xxiii. 2. 81
3. 81, 511
9. 23
15. 80, 212
26. 132, 245
37. 142, 205
xxiv. 12. 340
31. 347
xxv. 4. 343
14—30. 68
21. 167
26, 27. 213
32. 119
33. 25, 119, 179
34. 218, 573
34—36. 128
41. 61, 218, 573
41—43. 128
44. 61
46. 61, 153
xxvi. 7—13. 522
41. 371
49. 548
52. 182
75. 184

ST. MARK.

i. 24, 25. 59
ix. 44. 161

ST. LUKE.

i. 27. 284
28. 109, 284
30. 109
32. 170
34. 310
35. 110
42. 148
ii. 36. 366
37. 284, 366
iii. 4. 116
6. 251
12—14. 55
13. 73
22. 116
vi. 30. 134
vii. 6, 7. 332
36. 340
37. 336
38. 336, 338
47. 338, 340
viii. 1—3. 476
8. 346
21. 21
45. 454
ix. 3. 412
x. 1—7. 477, 497
4. 412
7. ib.
27. 132
30—35. 329
30—37. 438
35. 330, 476, 497
39. 210
xi. 2. 154
20. 225
27, 28. 309
37—41. 130
41. 129, 130
42. 132, 148
xii. 4. 178, 519, 520, 525, 529
7. 520
35, 36. 257, 327
xiii. 28—30. 450
29. 548
xiv. 16. 66
xv. 11—32. 455
24. 124
xvi. 3. 489
19—22. 521
22. 537
24—29. 536
xvii. 21. 73
xviii. 10—14. 338
11—14. 332
13. 336
xix. 2—8. ib.
41. 329
xx. 35. 365
36. 104, 123, 235, 240, 365
xxi. 18. 519, 520, 547
19. 546
xxii. 61. 136
xxiii. 34. 11, 329
xxiv. 28. 454
39. 15, 139, 178, 264

ST. JOHN.

i. 1. 29, 108, 173
3. 19, 111, 168, 173
9. 21, 147
12. 351
14. 20, 108, 109, 169, 173, 251, 337
16. 150
17. 156
29. 337
32. 176
47. 460
ii. 2. 277
4. 22, 173
7—9. 612
19. 120
iii. 5. 81, 128
6. 31
8. 157
13. 179
18. 76, 180
21. 417
36. 107, 153
iv. 24. 31
34. 329
v. 14. 72
19. 567
28, 29. 75
vi. 38. 338
67. 207
vii. 24. 180
viii. 23. 555
36. 105
44. 252
x. 30. 29, 108
xi. 7—9. 612
34. 454
xii. 6. 411, 502, 548
31. 160
xiii. 1—17. 333
5. 338
16. 349
23. 266
29. 548
xiv. 1. 612
2. 327
6. 18, 130, 374
9. 29
28. 29, 108
xv. 2. 233
12. 393
13. 158, 393
15. 180
xvi. 12. 180, 447
13. 31
15. 567
23. 507
33. 161
xvii. 2. 251
3. 74
xviii. 22, 23. 410
xix. 26, 27. 23
38. 522
41. 24
xx. 17. 29
26. 178
xxi. 6—11. 179
15. 559
17. 184

ACTS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES.

i. 11. 26
ii. 1—11. 181, 231
2—4. 584
4. 31, 238, 584
38—41. 47
39. 498
40. 72
44. 232, 345, 489
45. 497
iv. 32—35. 232
32. 294, 345, 489, 504, 566
34. 232, 497
v. 15. 231
vii. 47, 48. 574
viii. 1, 4. 232
20. 112
35—38. 48
ix. 12. 540
25. 507
xi. 28—30. 411, 500, 502
xii. 9. 99
xiii. 2. 497
33. 9
xv. 9. 131
xvi. 1—3. 391
xvii. 17, 18, 21. 495
xviii. 1—3. ib.
4. ib.
xx. 7. 494
33—35. 486
xxi. 10—12. 146
xxiii. 3. 410

ROMANS.

i. 1. 502
3. 111, 168
9. 34
17. 16, 99, 104, 156
23. 25
25. 555
26, 27. 287
30. 206
ii. 4. 207, 238
5. 207
11. 207
12. 75

iii. 7. 427, 467
8. 57, 427, 458
19. 145
20. 108, 248, 251
28. 57
iv. 4. 555
15. 76, 248
17. 104
v. 3—5. 166
5. 30, 57, 74, 155, 157, 553, 559
6. 556
8, 9. 131
8—10. 31, 193
9, 10. 107
12. 102, 114
16. 131
16—18. 116
20. 57, 117, 156, 248, 336
vi. 1—3. 117
3. 118
4. ib.
4—11. 117
6. 50
9. 363, 570, 572
12. 246, 249, 272
13. 246, 249, 272. 442
14. 249, 252
23. 150, 262
vii. 7. 76, 248
8. 76
17. 270
18. 247, 259, 260, 262
22, 23. 248
23. 262
25. 34, 259
viii. 3. 112
10. 261
12. 249
13. 249, 252, 3
14. 107, 124, 249, 253, 270
15. 31, 339, 561
18. 544
22. 34
23—25. 547
24, 25. 89
31. 122
32. 122, 193
35—39. 554
ix. 1. 411
2. 559
5. 192, 226
7, 8. 560
11—13. 143
14. 341
14—16. 143
15, 16. 557
16 106
17—21. 144
18. 143
21. 150
x. 3. 192, 248, 341
10. 76, 151, 429, 437, 563
14. 88
xi. 5, 6. 555
17, 18. 308
20. 338, 39, 343
23. 184
36. 26, 32, 172
xii. 1. 265
3. 354, 365
4—6. 355
10. 347
12. 559
16. 228, 343
xiii. 1. 252
1—7. 227
10. 58 73, 193
xiv. 3. 180
5. 429
9. 157
21. 41
23. 268
xv. 3. 338
4. 193
19. 72, 487
25—27. 490
27. 498
xvi. 18. 485
19. 86

1 CORINTHIANS.

i. 13. 266
14—16. 50
20. 85
24. 18, 173
25. 23
27—29. 498
30. 266, 556
31. 144, 273, 556
ii. 2. 49
3. 339
9. 190, 218
12. 370
14. 34
iii. 1, 2, 3. 266
3. 252, 379
5—10. 472
7. 373
9. 228
11. 87, 126
11—15. 38, 59
12. 126
13—15. 127
16. 120, 420
17. 420, 575
22, 23. 32
iv. 3. 379, 511
5. 157, 295
7. 341, 370

v. 1—5. 39
4, 5. 81
8. 52
9—13. 39
vi. 1—7. 133
4—6. 510
9, 10. 54, 60, 66, 69, 126
11. 54, 60
15. 37, 54, 120, 264, 355, 358
19. 120, 288, 358, 574
20. 358
vii. 1. 157
4. 278, 281, 304
5. 133
6. 133, 269, 290, 356
7. 243, 286, 341, 356
8. 354, 355, 357, 361
9. 185, 286, 293, 299, 308, 313, 361
10, 11. 282, 304, 317
14. 288
15. 64
18—20. 390
18. 483
25. 105, 315, 316
26. 247, 315, 316, 320, 322
27. 317
28. 286, 288, 295, 317, 319, 320, 321, 322
29—34. 65, 286
29. 315, 361
32. 127, 305, 323, 338, 344
33. 127, 323
34. 288, 301, 314, 323, 355, 358, 373
35. 357
36. 286, 288, 295
37. 330
38. 319, 322, 358
39. 320, 356, 365
40. 319, 356, 358, 365
ix. 1—7. 475
6—12. 496
7. 489, 509
7—10. 479
7—15. 476
9. 167
11. 490
12—15. 480
13. 412, 480
14. 496
15. 481, 496
16, 17, 18. 482
19—21. 483
20. 453
22. 205, 423, 453, 484
24. 330
26, 27. 164
x. 1—11. 410, 584
4. 448
11. 193, 360
12. 340
x. 32. 487
33. 379
xi. 1. 164
3. 28, 29, 32
4. 513
12. 264
14. 513
16, 17. 512
28, 29. 44
31, 32. 125, 267, 527
xii. 4. 537
7—10. 539
11. 341, 541
12. 264
18. 265, 327
24—26. 265
24. 574
31. 345
xiii. 2. 38, 58, 60
3. 61, 560
4. 331, 337, 553
5. 337
7. 553, 559
8. 283
11. 514
12. 33, 123, 190
18. 283
xv. 3, 4. 50
15. 404
19. 324
26. 247
28. 29, 330
33. 300
36—38. 574
39, 40. 35
41. 317, 327, 359
42. 317, 327
44. 24, 139, 140, 259
50. 15, 35, 139
50—53. 185
51. Vulg. 25, 166
52. 25, 34, 36, 166
53. 34, 327
53—56. 467
54. 36, 259, 515
xv. 55. 36, 247
56. 248
xvi. 1—4. 502

2 CORINTHIANS.

i. 12. 379
19. 174
22. 168
ii. 14. 165
15. 463
16. 424, 463
iii. 5. 252
6. 586
10 513

iv. 16. 7, 467, 514
17. 544
18. 326
v. 6. 167
7. 235
10. 151, 518
13, 14. 205
20, 21. 112
vi. 7, 8. 379
10. 504
16. 54
viii. 1—21. 490
10. 329
21. 379
ix. 491, 492
7. 205
x. 12. 305, 348
xi. 2. 309, 315, 364
7. 476
7—12. 485
9. 488
14. 122
26. 39
33. 507
xii. 4. 537
6. 301
21. 81

GALATIANS.

i. 10. 379
20. 411, 425
ii. 3, 4. 391
9. 497
12. 390
13. 390, 452
14. 391, 425, 452
16. 252
20. 270
24. 340
iii. 11. 16
24. 586
27. 514
28. 170, 514
iv. 4. 300
5. 21
11. 134, 135
19. 311
22. 585
22—24. 410
25. 226, 389, 459
26. 24, 119, 226, 459, 560
30. 560
31. 78
v. 1. Vulg. ib.
2. 391
4. 585
6. 57, 62, 73, 90, 100, 126, 155, 313, 561
13. 78
16—18. 250
17. 139, 156, 247, 257, 262, 265
19—21. 60, 69, 250, 269
22, 23. 250
24. 118, 251
vi. 1. 447, 453
4. 418
6. 412, 489
14. 50
15. 105

EPHESIANS.

i. 5. 21, 24
10. 123
ii. 2. 164
3. 34, 107, 143
6. 180
8, 9. 556
8—10. 105, 341
iii. 7, 8. 31
17. 63, 186
18, 19. 186
iv. 13, 14. 514
21—24. 515
22—24. 44
25. 389, 428, 438
28. 47, 441, 487
v. 8. 162
12. 283
22—28. 263
24. 265
25—28. 262
29. 259, 262, 267, 526, 542, 547
vi. 12. 162
21. 164

PHILIPPIANS.

i. 8. 411
15—18. 39, 439
23. 292
29. 559
ii. 3. 347
6. 20, 29, 109
6—8. 205
7. 20, 29, 109, 331
8. 24, 331, 333
12. 339, 559
13. 106, 269, 339, 559
16. 503
21. 504
iii. 14. 106
15, 16. 369
20. 164
iv. 7. 123
8, 9. 379

COLOSSIANS.

i. 15. 173
16. 121
18. 120, 192
19, 20. 123
ii. 3. 336
15. 161
iii. 1, 2. 271
1—4. 118, 270
5. 165, 270
6. 271
7. ib.
8. 272
9, 10. 44, 515

1 THESSALONIANS.

ii. 5—7. 484
6. 496
7. 205
7—9. 486
9. 487
iv. 5. 290
17. 276

2 THESSALONIANS.

iii. 6—12. 474
8. 480, 487, 496
9. 480
10. 471
12. 488, 511
13. ib. 512
14, 15. 39

1 TIMOTHY.

i. 2. 488
5. 157,191,193,285,312
9, 10. 289
9—11. 65
10, 11. 66
13. 80, 337, 435, 466
20. 39, 434
ii. 1, 2. 227
1—4. 148
4. 142, 508
5. 115, 150, 175
iii. 2. 295
iv. 4. 41
8. 326
v. 5. 367
6. 289, 334, 367, 377
11. 334, 362
12. ib. ib.
13. ib. 499
14. 185, 285, 361
15. 361
20. 40
23. 298, 488
vi. 10. 161
18, 19. 506

2 TIMOTHY.

ii. 3—6. 489
4. 499, 508
8. 264
13. 564
19. 207
25. 136, 342
iii. 5. 183
vi. 7, 8. 160

TITUS.

i. 6. 295
15. 23, 131
iii. 13, 14. 485

HEBREWS.

i. 5. 9, 116
13. 121
ii. 11. 21
v. 5. 9, 116
14. 255, 465
vi. 1, 2. 52
x. 38. 16
xi. 1. 89
xii. 3. 239
xiii. 4. 283

JAMES.

i. 5. 343, 372
14. 258
17. 332, 341, 377, 552
ii. 14. 59, 60, 62, 126, 271
17. 59, 126
19. 59, 73, 90
20. 73
iii. 2. 134
15. 552
iv. 6. 335, 344
v. 11. 570

1 PETER.

ii. 16.	78
21.	205, 328, 329
22.	329
iii. 1—7.	289
5—7.	358
9.	351
21.	60
iv. 1, 2.	50
v. 8.	448

2 PETER.

ii. 4.	121
13, 14	79
17—22.	78
19.	105, 156
iii. 11—18.	58

1 JOHN.

i. 3.	467
8.	124, 266, 467
8—10.	348
9.	467
ii. 1, 2.	75, 348
3, 4.	74
ii. 15.	51, 553
16.	553, 555
21.	458, 459, 464
iii. 1.	31
4.	457
9.	467
16.	193, 351
23.	74
iv. 8.	157, 349
10.	193, 557
16.	31, 32, 157, 554
18.	31, 338
20.	51

JUDE.

ver. 12.	79

REVELATION.

i. 8.	26
ii. 11.	140
v. 5	448
xiv. 1—5.	328
3, 4.	375
4.	304, 348
5.	348, 460
xx. 6, 14.	140

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page 17. line 15. *for* these *read* there
35, note, *for* Eccles. *read* Ecclus.
185. line 31. mar. *add* 1 Cor. 15, 52.
ib. 34. mar. *add* 1 Cor. 15, 50.
283. 8 from end, *for* vanity (twice) *read* charity
360. 10 and 12. *for* sensual *read* sexual
422. 6 from end, *for* thus *read* this