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SAINT AUGUSTINE
THE CITY OF GOD AGAINST
THE PAGANS

V

BOOK XVI—BOOK XVIII, CHAPTERS I-XXXV

SAINT
AUGUSTINE
THE CITY OF GOD AGAINST
THE PAGANS

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

V

BOOK XVI—BOOK XVIII, CHAPTERS I—XXXV

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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PREFATORY NOTE

MISS SANFORD had completed, before her sudden and lamented death on 26th March 1954 the revised draft of about half of the present volume. Mr. Green has completed the revision of her work, added notes and an introduction, prepared the text, finally revised the whole translation and seen the book through the press.

INTRODUCTION

IN the opening chapter of Book XVIII (p. 363 below) Augustine gives a survey of his plan for the *City of God* which may serve as a guide to what the reader can expect to find in this volume. In the first ten books of the work, he tells us, he had refuted the pagans, and promised in the remainder to write about "the origin, progress, and appointed ends of the two cities, the one of God and the other of this world." In fulfilment of this threefold promise the origins of both cities were summarized in four books (XI through XIV). Book XV describes their progress till the flood, in the first age of world history. Book XVI goes on with the second and third ages, which end with Abraham and David, respectively, and Book XVII continues to the advent of Christ. But from Abraham on, in Books XVI and XVII, attention is given only to the city of God, and so, to repair the omission, Book XVIII is devoted to a parallel account of the other city. In these three books, then, we have a sketch of world history from the deluge to the time of Christ, as viewed by the Christian apologist.

This world history is presented in a scheme of six ages. Augustine found a Biblical warrant for his plan in the first chapter of Matthew, where, in the genealogy of Jesus, three periods of fourteen generations each are marked off, beginning with Abraham,

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David and the Babylonian captivity. To complete the scheme Augustine adds two preceding periods beginning with Adam and Noah, and one following, which begins with Christ. These six ages correspond to the six days of creation, and are to be followed by a seventh day, a sabbath of eternal rest for the people of God. The ages correspond also to six periods of a man's life: infancy, childhood, adolescence, young manhood, settled life and old age (*infantia, pueritia, adulescentia, iuventus, gravitas, senectus*). Though the plan is frequently referred to at different points in the *City of God*, it is nowhere formally presented, but is casually referred to as something presumably familiar to the reader. The pattern, however, is made sufficiently clear at the end of Book XVI.¹

The design to portray world history in the form of a struggle between the city of God and its earthly rival was indeed a noble one. But the reader will discover little that can be called "history" in this part of the *City of God*. Books XVI and XVII are chiefly concerned: (1) with a defence of the credibility of the Old Testament, and (2) with its meaning as allegory and prophecy, and the chief emphasis falls on the latter. Both the Jewish and the Christian faith are based on alleged facts of history, set forth in the Bible. Taken literally, the Bible shows how

¹ The notion of six or seven ages of history was old, going back to Jewish sources, but the use of Matthew 1 as a basis for the division of the ages seems to be the invention of Augustine. See W. M. Green, "Augustine on the Teaching of History," in *Univ. of Calif. Pub. in Class. Phil.*, 2 (1944), 315-332; R. Schmidt, "Aetates Mundi," in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 67 (1955), 288-317.

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God carries out his plans, step by step, in history. Taken allegorically, as Augustine elsewhere remarks, the Old Testament shows how God foreshadows the greater things which were to be revealed in the New Testament (commonly called "typology"), how he corrects the morals of his people ("tropology") and points to the eternal things of heaven ("anagoge").¹

Augustine insists, first of all, on the literal, or historical sense of the Bible. In his time this was a point of special attack by the Manichees. They ridiculed the Old Testament as unworthy of God, and absurd in many passages. While he was a student in Carthage, as Augustine relates in his *Confessions*, he had been converted by the Manichaean arguments. Later on he was troubled by difficulties in Manichaean doctrine, difficulties which their renowned bishop Faustus was unable to clear up. It was about the year 400 when Augustine, now a Catholic bishop, came upon a book by Faustus which renewed the Manichaean attack on the Bible. On the urgent request of his friends, Augustine wrote a reply in thirty-three books, which took up the arguments of Faustus, point by point, mostly relating to difficulties in the Old Testament. These include moral difficulties and alleged discrepancies in chronology and other matters. Later, to deal more exhaustively with difficulties in the historical books from Genesis

¹ *On the True Religion*, 50, 99. Augustine here anticipates the medieval distinction of *sensus historicus* (or *literalis*), *tropologicus*, *allegoricus*, *anagogicus*. See Harry Caplan, "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching," in *Speculum*, 4 (1929), 282-290.

through Judges, Augustine wrote a special treatise, *Questions on the Heptateuch*.¹

Along with the exposition of Bible history and its defence against objectors, Augustine constantly expounds the hidden meanings which he finds in proper names, things and events. The meaning discovered is generally prophetic. With the seventeenth book the account of the prophets and their writings becomes the centre of attention. While the prayer of Hannah, as she dedicated her child Samuel to the Lord, is recorded in ten verses (1 Samuel 2.1-10), its exposition occupies as many pages (pp. 225-79 below). Eleven long chapters (pp. 286-338) are devoted to a few of the psalms, selected for their significance as prophecies of the Messiah. The books ascribed to Solomon, including Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, are found to be rich in meaning, but a meaning which can be found only by one who has the key in the New Testament revelation. Towards the end of Book XVII something is said of the prophets of Israel and Judah, but the last three prophets, Malachi, Haggai and Zechariah are deferred to the next book, with the explanation, "Thus I avoid

¹ For a systematic treatment of difficulties in Genesis Augustine had been anticipated by Jerome in his work, *Hebrew Questions in the Book of Genesis* (PL 23, 935-1010), published about 389, a work which Jerome described as "a new undertaking, hitherto unheard of both among Greeks and Latins." Augustine once refers to the work by name (*Quaest. Hept.* 1.26: CSEL 28, 15f.) and evidently made frequent use of it. F. Cavallera in *Miscellanea Agostiniana* II (1932), 359-372, has shown how Augustine differs from Jerome, owing to his reliance on the Septuagint and his fondness for allegorical explanation. See note on 16.15, p. 82, below.

adding more to the burden of this book, which is already so long" (p. 359 below). Actually, Book XVII is shorter than the average, and the symmetry of Augustine's plan would have been better maintained if these prophets had been included in it.

Book XVIII, as was noted above, returns to the time of Abraham in order to show how the earthly city ran its course in time, parallel to that of the city of God. But while the city of God has an obvious unity in history through God's arrangement of the six ages, the earthly city seems to lack any such unity, at least since the time of Babel, when the nations were divided by the confusion of tongues. But Augustine was able to impose a kind of unity upon them by recognizing as an embodiment of the hostile world power first the empire of Assyria, and then of Rome. The former was established by the conquests of Ninus, in whose reign Abraham was born, and his wife Semiramis made Babylon the capital. Such it remained until it was conquered by the Medes, shortly before the founding of Rome. Rome then became the new Babylon in the West, the enemy of the church, even as the old Babylon had been the enemy of Jerusalem. As for other kings and kingdoms in Egypt, Greece, or elsewhere, they are regarded as mere appendages of Assyria and Rome (Book 18.2, p. 367 below). Furthermore, as the city of God derives its life principle from the love of God, so the earthly city was formed by love of self, a pride which darkened the foolish hearts of men and led them everywhere to worship idols.¹

¹ See F. Thonnard, "Le Symbolisme dans l'Histoire de la Cité Terrestre" in *Bibliothèque Augustinienne*, 36, 744-747.

INTRODUCTION

The chronology of these kingdoms had been worked out and synchronized with Bible history by Eusebius, the well-known writer of church history. His *Chronicle*, as it was known, consisted of two parts. The first was an introduction, with short epitomes of the history of the Chaldaeans, Assyrians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. It survives only in an Armenian translation, with some fragments in Greek and Latin. The second part, or *Chronici canones*, consists of synchronous tables of kings arranged in parallel columns, with brief notes to mark the beginning and end of kingdoms and other notable events. This was translated into Latin by Jerome, who also added notes about Roman affairs and continued it to the year 378.¹ It was this work which was the basis of Augustine's chronology.

To add something to the bare tables of Jerome's *Chronicle* Augustine made use of a treatise by Varro *On the Race of the Roman People*. Varro here sought to show the connection between the Romans and the early Greeks, going back as far as the flood in the time of Ogygus (or Ogyges). This man, the founder of Thebes, was supposed to have lived in the period 2160–2100 B.C. Among the Greek states only Sicily had a record of kings which reached back to so early a date. Along with Varro and Jerome, Augustine also used other sources for the historical notices of Book 18.²

¹ See J. Quasten, *Patrology*, III (1960), 311–314.

² C. Frick, *Die Quellen Augustins im XVIII. Buche seiner Schrift de civitate dei*, 1886, 1–10 names Julius Africanus, Sallust, Justin and the Bible among the sources. The fragments of Varro's work *De gente populi Romani* are collected by H. Peter in *Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, 1883, xiv

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If the importance of an idea is to be measured by its lasting effects, then Augustine's view of world history must be given a distinguished place. Two centuries after Augustine, when Isidore undertook, as he says, to "collect in brief form everything which needs to be known," world history was represented by a chronicle of the six ages as defined by Augustine. In fact, he wrote two chronicles, the larger of which is liberally sprinkled with excerpts from Augustine's *City of God*. A century later the Venerable Bede of England drew up a similar work as a textbook for his students, later enlarged in A.D. 725 under the title *De temporum ratione*. These books became the model for innumerable chronicles which continued to be written through medieval times. Among these was one written by Hugo of St. Victor (c. A.D. 1140–1200), a teacher so distinguished as to be called "the second Augustine." In his programme of elementary study he gave first place to a condensed chronicle entitled *De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum*. After an introduction on the importance of the memory, and the basic place of history in monastic studies, it presents some forty folios of historical tables for memorizing. Here the "Creation" in six days is followed by "Restoration" in six ages. About half the space is devoted to the sixth age, ending with a chronological table of popes and emperors since the time of Christ.¹

228–235; several of the most important are from Book XVIII (see pp. 368, 374–80, 390–96, 408, 416–20, 440 below.)

¹ See W. M. Green, "Hugo of St. Victor: De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum," in *Speculum*, 18 (1943), 484–493, and "Augustine on the Teaching of History," cited in note 1, p. x.

INTRODUCTION

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Westminster, Md. 1950-1960.
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Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und herausgegeben
von der Erzabtei Beuron.* Freiburg im Breisgau,
Herder.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

- CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.*
Vienna, Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky. 1866-.
- GCS *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der
ersten drei Jahrhunderte.* Berlin. 1897-.
- LXX *Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum Graece
iuxta LXX Interpretes,* edidit Alfred Rahlfs.
Stuttgart, Privilegierte Württembergische
Bibelanstalt. Editio Sexta. No date.
- PL *Patrologia Latina,* ed. J. P. Migne. 221 vols.
Paris, 1857-1866.
- RE A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, *Realencyclo-
pädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.*
Stuttgart, 1893-1956.

SAINT AUGUSTINE

THE CITY OF GOD AGAINST THE PAGANS

S. AURELII AUGUSTINI
DE CIVITATE DEI CONTRA
PAGANOS

LIBER XVI

I

*An post diluuium a Noe usque ad Abraham aliquae
familiae secundum Deum viventium reperiantur.*

POST diluuium procurrentis sanctae vestigia civitatis utrum continuata sint an intercurrentibus impietatis interrupta temporibus, ita ut nullus hominum veri unius Dei cultor existeret, ad liquidum scripturis loquentibus invenire difficile est, propterea quia in canonicis libris post Noe, qui cum coniuge ac tribus filiis totidemque nurbus suis meruit per arcam vastatione diluvii liberari, non invenimus usque Abraham cuiusquam pietatem evidenti divino eloquio praedicatam, nisi quod Noe duos filios suos Sem et Iapheth prophetica benedictione commendat, intuens et praevidens quod longe fuerat post futurum. Unde factum est etiam illud, ut filium suum medium, hoc

SAINT AURELIUS AUGUSTINE
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BOOK XVI

I

*Whether any families may be found in the period after
the flood, from Noah to Abraham, whose members lived
according to God's precepts.*

THE question whether the holy city ran a continuous course after the flood, or was so interrupted by recurrent periods of irreligion that not a single man worshipped the one true God, is one for which it is difficult to discover any clear answer in the words of Scripture. For from Noah, who with his wife and three sons and their three wives won the privilege of escaping by means of the ark from the all-engulfing flood, to Abraham, we find not a single man mentioned in the canonical books whose devotion to God is clearly attested by any statement in the divine word, apart from the fact that Noah, by a prophetic blessing, commends his sons Shem and Japheth, since he knew by intuition and foresight what was to occur in the distant future. This, moreover, explains the terms in which he cursed his middle son, that is, the

est primogenito iuniorem ultimoque maiorem, qui peccaverat in patrem, non in ipso, sed in filio eius suo nepote malediceret his verbis: *Maledictus Chanaan, puer famulus erit fratribus suis*. Chanaan porro natus fuerat ex Cham, qui patris dormientis nec texerat sed potius prodiderat nuditatem. Unde etiam quod secutus adiunxit benedictionem duorum maximi et minimi filiorum dicens: *Benedictus Dominus Deus Sem, et erit Chanaan puer illius; latificet Deus Iapheth, et habitet in domibus Sem*, sicut ipsa eiusdem Noe et vineae plantatio et ex eius fructu inebriatio et dormientis enudatio, et quae ibi cetera facta atque conscripta sunt, prophetis sunt gravidata sensibus et velata tegminibus.

II

Quid in filiis Noe propheticè fuerit figuratum.

SED nunc rerum effectum iam in posteris consecuto, quae operta fuerant satis aperta sunt. Quis enim haec diligenter et intellegenter advertens non agnoscit in Christo? Sem quippe, de cuius semine in carne natus est Christus, interpretatur nominatus.

¹ Genesis 9. 25. For punctuation of the quotation see LXX (ed. Swete, Cambridge, 1909) and cf. Vulgate: *Maledictus Chanaan, servus servorum erit fratribus suis*.

² Reading *latificet*. Some MSS. read *laetificet*, "May the Lord give joy to Japheth."

³ Genesis 9. 27.

⁴ Augustine here resumes his practice of allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament narrative, for which he found his model in Paul (see 15.2 above, where Galatians 4. 21-31 is cited). The notion that Noah's drunkenness was a type of the

one younger than his first-born and older than his youngest, who had sinned against his father. For he did not curse him in his own person but in that of his son, Noah's grandson, in these words: "Cursed be Chanaan, he shall be a slave and thrall to his brothers."¹ This Chanaan was the son of Ham, who had not covered his father's nakedness as he slept, but instead had exposed it. This also explains why Noah then pronounced this blessing for two of his sons, the eldest and the youngest, saying: "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Chanaan shall be his slave; may the Lord enlarge² Japheth, and may he dwell in the habitations of Shem."³ Thus the vineyard that Noah planted, the drunkenness caused by its fruits, and his nakedness as he slept, with all the other matters recorded in this passage, were fraught with prophetic meaning and obscured by prophetic veils.⁴

II

What was prophetically prefigured in the sons of Noah.

Now that the fulfilment of these prophecies has been achieved in later times, those things which before were veiled have been sufficiently revealed. For what careful and intelligent student can fail to recognize their fulfilment in Christ? Shem, indeed, of whose seed Christ was born in the flesh, means in our language 'He who is named.' And what is

passion of Christ was borrowed from Cyprian (see *On Christian Doctrine* 3.21.45), and had been used in controversy with the Manichees (*Against Faustus* 12.23 f.), who found such stories scandalous.

Quid autem nominatius Christo, cuius nomen ubique iam fragrat ita ut in cantico canticorum etiam ipsa praecedente prophetia unguento comparetur effuso; in cuius domibus, id est ecclesiis, habitat gentium latitudo? Nam Iapheth latitudo interpretatur. Cham porro; quod interpretatur calidus, medius Noe filius, tamquam se ab utroque discernens et inter utrumque remanens, nec in primitiis Israelitarum nec in plenitudine gentium, quid significat nisi haereticorum genus calidum, non spiritu sapientiae sed impatientiae quo solent haereticorum fervere praecordia et pacem perturbare sanctorum? Sed haec in usum cedunt proficientium iuxta illud apostoli: *Oportet et haereses esse, ut probati manifesti fiant in vobis*. Unde etiam scriptum est: *Filius eruditus sapiens erit, imprudente autem ministro utetur*. Multa quippe ad fidem catholicam pertinentia, dum haereticorum calida inquietudine exagitantur ut adversus eos defendi possint, et considerantur diligentius et intelleguntur clarius et instantius praedicantur, et ab adversario mota quaestio discendi existit occasio. Quamvis non solum qui sunt apertissime separati, verum omnes qui Christiano vocabulo gloriantur et perditae vivunt non absurde possunt videri medio Noe filio figurati; passionem quippe

more truly 'named' than Christ, whose name now sheds its fragrance everywhere, so that in the Song of Songs it is compared by an anticipatory prophecy to ointment that is poured out?¹ In his habitations, too, that is, in the churches, the enlargement of the nations dwells. For Japheth means 'Enlargement.' Furthermore, Ham, whose name means 'Hot', Noah's middle son, distinguishing himself, as it were, from both the others, and placed midway between them, figuring neither among the first-fruits of the Israelites nor in the full harvest of the Gentiles, what does he signify but the hot breed of heretics? For heretical hearts are wont to be fired not by the spirit of wisdom, but by that of impatience, and thus to disturb the peace of the saints. Yet such things make some contribution to our progress, according to the words of the Apostle: "There must also be heresies, that those who are approved may be made known among you."² Wherefore also it is written: "The son who is well-instructed will be wise, he will employ the foolish as his servant."³ No doubt many matters pertaining to the catholic faith are not only more diligently investigated when they are attacked by the feverish restlessness of the heretics, but are more clearly understood and more fervently expounded for the sake of defending them against these enemies. Thus the controversy stirred up by the adversary affords an opportunity for instruction. It is not illogical, however, to consider Noah's middle son as a type not only of the most open dissenters, but of all who vaunt the name of Christian, despite the wickedness of their lives. Surely such men both proclaim by their professions Christ's passion, of

¹ Song of Solomon 1.3.

² 1 Corinthians 11.19

³ Proverbs 10.4 (LXX version).

Christi, quae illius hominis nuditate significata est, et adnuntiant profitendo et male agendo exhonorant. De talibus ergo dictum est: *Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.*

Ideo Cham in filio suo maledictus est, tamquam in fructu suo, id est in opere suo. Unde convenienter et ipse filius eius Chanaan interpretatur motus eorum; quod aliud quid est quam opus eorum? Sem vero et Iapheth tamquam circumcisio et praepitium, vel sicut alio modo eos appellat apostolus, Iudaei et Graeci, sed vocati et iustificati, cognita quoquo modo nuditate patris, qua significabatur passio Salvatoris, sumentes vestimentum posuerunt supra dorsa sua et intraverunt aversi et operuerunt nuditatem patris sui, nec viderunt quod reverendo texerunt. Quodam enim modo in passione Christi et quod pro nobis factum est honoramus et Iudaeorum facinus aversamus. Vestimentum significat sacramentum, dorsa memoriam praeteritorum, quia passionem Christi eo scilicet iam tempore quo habitat Iapheth in domibus Sem et malus frater in medio eorum, transactam celebrat ecclesia, non adhuc prospectat futuram.

Sed malus frater in filio suo, hoc est, in opere suo, puer, id est servus, est fratrum bonorum, cum ad exercitationem patientiae vel ad provectum sapientiae scienter utuntur malis boni. Sunt enim teste

¹ Matthew 7.20.

² Genesis 9.23.

³ That is, Gentiles and Jews live together in the Christian church, with heretics among them.

which Noah's nakedness was the symbol, and dishonour it by their evil deeds. Of these men therefore it was said: "By their fruits you shall know them."¹

For this reason Ham was cursed in his son's person, as it were in his fruit, that is in his work. Thus it is appropriate that the name of his son Canaan means 'Their movement', for what is that but their work? On the other hand, Shem and Japheth, who denote circumcision and uncircumcision respectively, or, as the Apostle identifies them in other terms, Jews and Greeks (but only such as were called and justified), when they learned, no matter how, of their father's nakedness, which symbolized the Saviour's passion, took a garment, placed it on their backs, and entering with eyes averted covered their father's nakedness; and they did not look on that which they reverently veiled.² For in a way, in regard to the passion of Christ, we both honour the thing that was done for us and turn our backs on the wickedness of the Jews. The garment betokens a mystery. Their backs signify the memory of past deeds, for surely at the present time when Japheth dwells in the habitations of Shem and their wicked brother dwells between them,³ the Church celebrates Christ's passion as already accomplished and no longer looks forward to it as a future event.

But the wicked brother, in the person of his son, that is through the deeds that he has done, becomes the slave or thrall of his good brothers, when the good prudently employ the wicked to train their endurance or to increase their wisdom. For

apostolo, qui Christum adnuntiant non caste. Sed *sive occasione*, inquit, *sive veritate Christus adnuntietur*. Ipse quippe plantavit vineam, de qua dicit propheta: *Vinea Domini Sabaoth domus Israel est*, et bibit de vino eius—sive ille calix hic intellegatur, de quo dicit: *Potestis bibere calicem, quem ego bibiturus sum?* et: *Pater, si fieri potest, transeat calix iste*, quo suam sine dubio significat passionem; sive, quia vinum fructus est vineae, hoc potius illo significatum est, quod ex ipsa vinea, hoc est ex genere Israelitarum, carnem pro nobis et sanguinem ut pati posset adsumpsit—*et inebriatus est*, id est passus est, *et nudatus est*; ibi namque nudata est, id est apparuit, eius infirmitas, de qua dicit apostolus: *Etsi crucifixus est ex infirmitate*. Unde idem dicit: *Infirmum Dei fortius est hominibus, et stultum Dei sapientius est hominibus*. Quod vero cum dictum esset: *Et nudatus est*, addidit scriptura: *In domo sua*, eleganter ostendit quod a suae carnis gente et domesticis sanguinis sui, utique Iudaeis, fuerat crucem mortemque passurus.

Hanc passionem Christi foris in sono tantum vocis reprobi adnuntiant; non enim quod adnuntiant intellegunt. Probi autem in interiore homine habent tam grande mysterium atque honorant intus

according to the Apostle there are men who preach Christ unworthily. But "whether in pretence," he says, "or in truth, Christ is preached."¹ Christ himself planted the vineyard, of which the prophet says: "The vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel."² He also drinks of its wine, by which we may perhaps understand that cup of which he says: "Are you able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of?"³ And again: "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me."⁴ By this he doubtless refers to his passion, or, since the wine is the fruit of the vineyard, the following meaning is preferable, that from the vineyard itself, that is, from the race of the Israelites, came the flesh and blood that he assumed for our sakes, in order to undergo his passion. "He was intoxicated," that is, he suffered. "And he was naked," for then his weakness was uncovered, that is, it became evident. Of this the Apostle says: "Though he was crucified through weakness."⁵ Wherefore he also says: "The weakness of God is stronger than men, and the foolishness of God is wiser than men."⁶ However, after saying "And he was naked," the Scripture added the words "in his house,"⁷ a neat turn of phrase to indicate that Christ was to endure death on the cross at the hands of people of his own flesh, those of his own household and blood, namely the Jews.

It is only by the outward sound of their voices that wicked men preach the passion of Christ, for they do not understand what they preach. The righteous, on the other hand, possess this great mystery in their inmost being, and inwardly in their hearts

¹ Philippians 1.18. One MS. adds: *in hoc gaudeo, sed et gaudebo*.

² Isaiah 5.7.

³ Matthew 20.22.

⁴ Matthew 26.39.

⁵ 2 Corinthians 13.4.

⁶ 1 Corinthians 1.25.

⁷ Genesis 9.21.

in corde infirmum et stultum Dei, quia fortius et sapientius est hominibus. Huius rei figura est quod Cham exiens hoc nuntiavit foris; Sem vero et Iapheth, ut hoc velarent, id est honorarent, ingressi sunt, hoc est interius id egerunt.

Haec scripturae secreta divinae indagamus ut possumus, alius alio magis minusve congruenter, verum tamen fideliter certum tenentes non ea sine aliqua praefiguratione futurorum gesta atque conscripta neque nisi ad Christum et eius ecclesiam, quae civitas Dei est, esse referenda; cuius ab initio generis humani non defuit praedicatio, quam per omnia videmus impleri.

Benedictis igitur duobus filiis Noe atque uno in medio eorum maledicto, deinceps usque ad Abraham de iustorum aliquorum, qui pie Deum colerent, commemoratione silentium est per annos amplius quam mille. Nec eos defuisse crediderim, sed si omnes commemorarentur, nimis longum fieret, et esset haec historica magis diligentia quam prophetica providentia. Illa itaque exequitur litterarum sacrarum scriptor istarum vel potius per eum Dei Spiritus quibus non solum narrentur praeterita verum etiam praenuntientur futura, quae tamen pertinent ad civitatem Dei; quia et de hominibus qui non sunt cives eius quidquid hic dicitur ad hoc dicitur ut illa ex comparatione contraria vel

¹ *Praedicatio* is used here, as often in late Latin, as equivalent to *praedictio*.

² Augustine bases his calculation on the LXX and Old Latin version, according to which 1170 years separate the Flood from the birth of Abraham. The Hebrew and Vulgate give only 290 years (see Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, I,

honour the weakness and foolishness of God, inasmuch as it is stronger and wiser than men. This is typified by Ham's going out to spread the news abroad, whereas Shem and Japheth entered in to veil or honour it. That is, their action was of a more inward nature.

These hidden meanings of the holy Scriptures we trace out as best we may, one with greater and another with less success, yet all holding firmly to the conviction that they were not enacted and recorded without some forecast of things to come, and that they must be understood as referring solely to Christ and his church, which is the city of God. Its prophetic announcement¹ has never failed from the very beginning of the human race, and we now see the prophecy fulfilled in every detail.

Accordingly, after two sons of Noah had been blessed and the middle son cursed, from that time to Abraham, a period of over a thousand years,² there is no record of any just man who duly worshipped God. I cannot bring myself to believe that none such existed, but if all were recorded the tale would be too long, and would exemplify diligent historical research rather than prophetic foresight. Consequently the writer of these sacred Scriptures, or rather the spirit of God working through him, deals not only with the narrative of past events but also with the forecast of things to come, though only in so far as they concern the city of God, for whatever is here said of those also who are not citizens of that city is said to the end that the city may gain profit or

398). The problem of such discrepancies was discussed at length in the preceding book (15.10-13).

proficiat vel emineat. Non sane omnia quae gesta narrantur aliquid etiam significare putanda sunt; sed propter illa quae aliquid significant, etiam ea quae nihil significant adtexuntur. Solo enim vomere terra proscinditur; sed ut hoc fieri possit, etiam cetera aratri membra sunt necessaria; et soli nervi in citharis atque huius modi vasis musicis aptantur ad cantum; sed ut aptari possint, insunt et cetera in compagibus organorum quae non percutiuntur a canentibus, sed ea quae percussa resonant his conectuntur. Ita in prophetica historia dicuntur et aliqua quae nihil significant, sed quibus adhaereant quae significant et quodam modo religuntur.

III

De generationibus trium filiorum Noe.

GENERATIONES ergo filiorum Noe deinceps intuendae, et quod de his dicendum videtur adtexendum est huic operi, quo civitatis utriusque, terrenae scilicet et caelestis, per tempora procursus ostenditur. Coeptae sunt enim commemorari a minimo filio, qui vocatus est Iapheth, cuius filii octo nominati sunt, nepotes autem septem de duobus filiis eius, tres ex uno, quattuor ex altero; fiunt itaque omnes quindecim. Filii autem Cham, hoc est medii filii Noe, quattuor et nepotes quinque ex uno eius filio, pronepotes duo ex nepote uno; fit eorum

¹ This chapter is based on Genesis 10. The Old Latin text is a translation of the Septuagint, which differs in several places from the Hebrew, Vulgate and modern versions.

distinction by contrast with its opposite. Of course one must not assume that all the events narrated are symbolic, but those that lack such significance are interwoven in the interest of such as do possess it. It is only the ploughshare that furrows the earth, but to enable it to do this you must have the other parts of the plough also. Only the strings of harps and other musical instruments are designed to produce music, but to accomplish this design other parts are built into the fabric of these instruments. They are not plucked by the musician, but those that when plucked give forth musical notes are joined with them. So also in prophetic history some details are included that have no significance in themselves but are closely related to significant matters and are, so to speak, bound up with them.

III

On the descendants of Noah's three sons.¹

WE must now turn our attention to the lines of descent from Noah's sons and weave the essential points about them into the pattern of our work, as it depicts the progress in successive periods of both cities, the earthly and the heavenly. The list begins with the youngest son, called Japheth, whose eight sons are named, with seven grandsons by two of his sons, three by one and four by the other, making a total of fifteen names. Next come the sons of Ham, that is of Noah's middle son, who are four in number, with five grandsons through one of his sons and two great-grandsons through one grandson,

summa undecim. Quibus enumeratis reditur tamquam ad caput et dicitur: *Chus autem genuit Nebroth; hic coepit esse gigans super terram. Hic erat gigans venator contra Dominum Deum. Propter hoc dicunt: Sicut Nebroth gigans venator contra Dominum. Et factum est initium regni eius Babylon, Orech, Archad et Chalanne in terra Sennaar. De terra illa exiit Assur et aedificavit Nineven et Roboth civitatem et Chalach et Dasem inter medium Ninevae et Chalach: haec civitas magna.*

Iste porro Chus, pater gigantis Nebroth, primus nominatus est in filiis Cham, cuius quinque filii iam fuerant computati et nepotes duo. Sed istum gigantem aut post nepotes suos natos genuit aut, quod est credibilius, seorsum de illo propter eius eminentiam scriptura locuta est; quando quidem et regnum eius commemoratum est, cuius initium erat illa nobilissima Babylon civitas, et quae iuxta commemoratae sunt sive civitates sive regiones. Quod vero dictum est de terra illa, id est de terra Sennaar, quae pertinebat ad regnum Nebroth, exisse Assur et aedificasse Nineven et alias quas contexit civitates, longe postea factum est, quod ex hac occasione perstrinxit propter nobilitatem regni Assyriorum, quod mirabiliter dilatavit Ninus, Beli filius, conditor Ninevae civitatis magnae; cuius civitatis nomen ex illius nomine derivatum est, ut a Nino Nineve vocaretur. Assur autem, unde Assyrii,

making eleven names in all. After these have been enumerated, the record returns to its starting-point with the words: "And Cush begot Nimrod; he began to be a mighty one upon the earth. Now he was a mighty hunter against¹ the Lord God. Because of this men say: 'Even as Nimrod a mighty hunter against the Lord.' And the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon, Erech, Accad and Calneh in the land of Shinar. Out of that land went forth Assur, and built Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Dasem, midway between Nineveh and Calah, and this is a great city."

Now this Cush, father of the mighty Nimrod, was named first among the sons of Ham, and his five sons and two grandsons had been listed earlier. Either he begot this mighty one after his grandsons were born, or, which is more credible, the Scripture singled out Nimrod for special mention because of his fame. For not only is his kingdom mentioned, whose commencement was that most noble city of Babylon, but also the other cities and regions which are listed with it. But the statement that Assur went out from that land, that is from the land of Shinar, which belonged to Nimrod's kingdom, and built Nineveh and the other cities named with it, refers to much later events. The writer included them here on account of the great fame of the Assyrian kingdom, whose power was marvellously extended by Ninus,² son of Bel, founder of the great city of Nineveh. The name of the city was derived from his, for it was called Nineveh after Ninus. However, Assur,

² On Ninus, the legendary founder of Nineveh, see 4.6, Vol. 2, p. 23.

¹ The phrase *contra dominum* ("against the Lord") is an Old Latin mistranslation (see the critical apparatus in *Vetus Latina* 2, 1951-1954, 135). In the next chapter (p. 29) Augustine bases his argument on the mistranslation.

non fuit in filiis Cham, medii filii Noe, sed in filiis Sem reperitur, qui fuit Noe maximus filius. Unde apparet de progenie Sem exortos fuisse qui postea regnum gigantis illius obtinerent et inde procederent atque alias conderent civitates, quarum prima est a Nino appellata Nineve.

Hinc reditur ad alium filium Cham, qui vocabatur Mesraim, et commemorantur quos genuit, non tamquam singuli homines sed nationes septem. Et de sexta, velut de sexto filio, gens commemoratur exisse quae appellatur Philistiim; unde fiunt octo. Inde iterum ad Chanaan reditur, in quo filio maledictus est Cham, et quos genuit undecim nominantur. Deinde usque ad quos fines pervenerint commemoratis quibusdam civitatibus dicitur. Ac per hoc filiis nepotibusque computatis de progenie Cham triginta unus geniti referuntur.

Restat commemorare filios Sem, maximi filii Noe; ad eum quippe gradatim generationum istarum pervenit a minimo exorta narratio. Sed unde incipiunt commemorari filii Sem, habet quiddam obscuritatis quod expositione inlustrandum est, quia et multum ad rem pertinet quam requirimus. Sic enim legitur: *Et Sem natus est, et ipsi patri omnium filiorum, Heber, fratri Iapheth maiori.* Ordo verborum est: Et Sem natus est Heber, etiam ipsi, id est ipsi Sem, natus est Heber, qui Sem pater est omnium filiorum. Sem ergo patriarcham intellegi

¹ Augustine first quotes his Old Latin text, which is very obscure, then adds a paraphrase to clarify the meaning.

from whom the Assyrians were descended, was not one of the sons of Ham, Noah's middle son, but was listed among the sons of Shem, who was Noah's eldest son. Hence it is clear that men of Shem's line later occupied the kingdom of that mighty one and went forth from it to found other cities, the first of which was named Nineveh after Ninus.

At this point the account returns to Ham's second son, who was called Mizraim. His descendants are not listed individually, but as seven nations. From the sixth of these, as it were from the sixth son, the nation called Philistines is said to have sprung, making a total of eight. After this we return to Canaan, the son in whose name Ham was cursed, and eleven of his offspring are named. Then we are told the boundaries that they reached, and certain cities are listed. With this addition, reckoning sons and grandsons together, the total number of Ham's line amounts to thirty-one.

It remains to list the descendants of Shem, Noah's first son, to whom the account of these generations has come by successive steps, beginning as it did with the youngest son. There is, however, some ambiguity about the point at which the list of Shem's sons begins, which we must elucidate clearly, as it is most pertinent to our inquiry. This statement reads:¹ "And to Shem was born, even to himself, father of all his sons, Heber, to the elder brother of Japheth." The syntax of the sentence is as follows: "And to Shem was born Heber, even to himself, that is, to Shem himself was born Heber, and this Shem is the father of all his sons." The writer intended, therefore, to indicate that Shem was the

voluit omnium, qui de stirpe eius exorti sunt, quos commemoraturus est, sive sint filii sive nepotes et pronepotes et deinceps indidem exorti. Non sane istum Heber genuit Sem, sed ab illo quintus in progenitorum serie reperitur. Sem quippe inter alios filios genuit Arphaxat, Arphaxat genuit Cainan, Cainan genuit Sala, Sala genuit Heber.

Non itaque frustra ipse primus est nominatus in progenie veniente de Sem et praelatus etiam filiis, cum sit quintus nepos, nisi quia verum est quod traditur, ex illo Hebraeos esse cognominatos, tamquam Heberaeos; cum et alia possit esse opinio, ut ex Abraham tamquam Abrahæi dicti esse videantur; sed nimirum hoc verum est, quod ex Heber Hebraei appellati sunt, ac deinde una detrita littera Hebraei. Quam linguam solus Israel populus potuit obtinere, in quo Dei civitas et in sanctis peregrinata est et in omnibus sacramento adumbrata.

Igitur filii Sem prius sex nominantur, deinde ex uno eorum nati sunt quattuor nepotes eius, itemque alter filiorum Sem genuit eius nepotem, atque ex illo itidem pronepos natus est atque inde abnepos, qui est Heber. Genuit autem Heber duos filios, quorum unum appellavit Phalech, quod interpretatur dividens. Deinde scriptura subiungens rationemque huius nominis reddens: *Quia in diebus, eius divisa est terra.* Hoc autem quid

patriarch of all this line who were to be listed thereafter, whether sons, grandsons or greatgrandsons, or those born in later generations. Shem himself certainly did not beget Heber, but appears in the fifth generation of his ancestors. Shem indeed begot Arphaxad among his other sons; Arphaxad begot Cainan; Cainan begot Salah, and Salah begot Heber.

It is not, therefore, without reason that Heber is named first among Shem's descendants, and is given priority even over his sons, though he belongs to the fifth generation. This is justified by the well-founded tradition that the Hebrews were given his name, being called, as it were, *Hebraei*. There is, however, another plausible theory by which they are supposed to have been named from Abraham, that is, *Abrahæi*.¹ But it must be correct that they were named *Hebraei* from Heber, and later, with one letter elided, *Hebraei* or Hebrews. This Hebrew tongue is the exclusive possession of the people of Israel, among whom the city of God has passed its pilgrimage as well as among the saints, while it has been less perfectly represented by its mysteries among all men.

Thus six sons of Shem are named first; then from one of these were born four grandsons. Another of Shem's sons also gave him a grandson, of whom in turn his great-grandson was born, and of the latter a great-great-grandson, who was Heber. Moreover, Heber had two sons, one of whom he called Peleg, which is translated 'Divider.' At this point the Scripture adds, to explain the appropriateness of the name: "For in his days the earth was divided." The meaning of this statement will be explained

¹ In Genesis 14.13 Abraham is called 'the Hebrew,' which offers support for the former alternative; thereafter this name is restricted to Abraham's descendants. Compare the discussion of this point in Augustine, *Retractationes* 2.16 and *Quæstiones in Heptateuchon* 1.24, as well as in Chapter XI, p. 65, below. On the latter work, see note 6, pp. 82 f., below.

sit, post apparebit. Alius vero, qui natus est ex Heber, genuit duodecim filios; ac per hoc fiunt omnes progeniti de Sem viginti septem. In summa igitur omnes progeniti de tribus filiis Noe, id est quindecim de Iapheth, triginta unus de Cham, viginti septem de Sem fiunt septuaginta tres. Deinde sequitur scriptura dicens: *Hi filii Sem in tribubus suis secundum linguas suas in regionibus suis et in gentibus suis*; itemque de omnibus: *Haec, inquit, tribus filiorum Noe secundum generationes eorum, secundum gentes eorum. Ab his dispersae sunt insulae gentium super terram post diluuium.* Unde colligitur septuaginta tres vel potius—quod postea demonstrabitur—septuaginta duas gentes tunc fuisse, non homines. Nam et prius, cum fuissent commemorati filii Iapheth, ita conclusum est: *Ex his segregatae sunt insulae gentium in terra sua, unus quisque secundum linguam in tribubus suis et in gentibus suis.*

Iam vero in filiis Cham quodam loco apertius gentes commemoratae sunt, sicut superius ostendi. *Misraim genuit eos, qui dicuntur Ludim*; et eodem modo ceterae usque ad septem gentes. Et enumeratis omnibus postea concludens: *Hi filii Cham, inquit, in tribubus suis secundum linguas suas in regionibus suis et in gentibus suis.* Propterea ergo multorum filii non sunt commemorati, quia gentibus aliis nascendo accesserunt, ipsi autem gentes facere nequiverunt. Nam qua alia causa, cum filii Iapheth

later.¹ Another son of Heber begot twelve sons, bringing the total of Shem's line to twenty-seven. To conclude then, the full list of Noah's descendants, reckoning fifteen through Japheth, thirty-one through Ham and twenty-seven through Shem, amounts to seventy-three. The Scripture continues with this statement: "These are the sons of Shem with their tribes, according to their languages, with their regions and with their clans." Then comes a similar statement about the whole group: "These are the tribes of the sons of Noah according to their generations and their clans. In descent from these the islands of peoples were dispersed over the earth after the flood." This leads to the conclusion that there were at this time seventy-three, or to put it more accurately, as will be explained later, seventy-two nations, not merely seventy-two men. The roll of Japheth's sons, given earlier in this passage, ended with a similar remark: "From these the islands of peoples were dispersed, each in its own land, every one after its own language, with its own tribes and its own clans."

But before this the nations were more clearly indicated, as I have shown above, in a passage on the sons of Ham. "Mizraim begot those who are called Ludim," and so on with the others to the number of seven peoples. After enumerating all these the writer concluded: "These are the sons of Ham with their tribes, according to their languages, in their own regions and in their own clans." For many of these no sons are mentioned, because at their birth they were joined with other tribes and could found none of their own. For how else can we

¹ See Chapter X, p. 53 below.

octo enumerentur, ex duobus eorum tantum filii nati commemorantur, et cum filii Cham quattuor nominentur, ex tribus tantum qui nati sunt adiciuntur, et cum filii Sem nominentur sex, duorum tantum posteritas adtextitur? Numquid ceteri sine filiis remanserunt? Absit hoc credere; sed gentes, propter quas commemorari digni essent, non utique fecerunt quia, sicut nascebantur, aliis gentibus addebantur.

IV

De diversitate linguarum principioque Babylonis.

CUM ergo in suis linguis istae gentes fuisse referantur, redit tamen narrator ad illud tempus quando una lingua omnium fuit, et inde iam exponit quid acciderit ut linguarum diversitas nasceretur. *Et erat, inquit, omnis terra labium unum et vox una omnibus. Et factum est, cum moverent ipsi ab Oriente, invenerunt campum in terra Sennaar, et habitaverunt ibi. Et dixit homo proximo: Venite, faciamus lateres et coquamus illos igni. Et facti sunt illis lateres in lapidem, et bitumen erat illis lutum, et dixerunt: Venite, aedificemus nobismet ipsis civitatem et turrem, cuius caput erit usque ad caelum, et faciamus nostrum nomen antequam dispergamur in faciem omnis terrae. Et descendit Dominus videre civitatem et turrem quam aedificaverunt filii*

¹ This chapter is based on Genesis 11.1-9.

account for the fact that eight sons of Japheth are listed, but only the sons born to two of these are named? And that whereas four sons of Ham are mentioned, the sons of only three of these are included? And that though six sons of Shem are named, only the sons born to two of these are listed? Surely we are not supposed to think that the others remained childless? Far from it! Undoubtedly their sons failed to found clans worthy of mention because, as they were born, they were included in clans founded by others.

IV

On the diversity of languages and the foundation of Babylon.¹

ALTHOUGH these tribes are said to have had their own languages, the narrator returns to the time when there was a single language for all men. At this point he explains how the diversity of languages came about. "The whole earth," he says, "had one language and all men had one speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the East, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar and they settled there. And one man said to his neighbour, 'Come, let us make bricks, and bake them in the fire.' Thus bricks were made into stone, and they had bituminous clay for mortar, and they said: 'Come, let us build ourselves a city, and a tower whose top will reach the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves, before we are dispersed over the face of the whole earth.' And the Lord came down to see the city and tower

hominum. Et dixit Dominus Deus: Ecce genus unum et labium unum omnium; et hoc inchoaverunt facere, et nunc non deficient ex illis omnia quae conati fuerint facere; venite, et descendentes confundamus ibi linguam eorum ut non audiant unusquisque vocem proximi. Et dispersit eos Dominus inde super faciem omnis terrae, et cessaverunt aedificantes civitatem et turrem. Propter hoc appellatum est nomen illius confusio, quia ibi confudit Dominus labia omnis terrae; et inde dispersit illos Dominus Deus super faciem omnis terrae.

Ista civitas quae appellata est confusio, ipsa est Babylon, cuius mirabilem constructionem etiam gentium commendat historia. Babylon quippe interpretatur confusio. Unde colligitur gigantem illum Nebroth fuisse illius conditorem, quod superius breviter fuerat intimatum ubi, cum de illo scriptura loqueretur, ait initium regni eius fuisse Babylonem, id est quae civitatum ceterarum gereret principatum, ubi esset tamquam in metropoli habitaculum regni; quamvis perfecta non fuerit usque in tantum modum, quantum superba cogitabat impietas. Nam nimia disponebatur altitudo, quae dicta est usque in caelum, sive unius turris eius quam praecipuam moliebantur inter alias, sive omnium turrium quae per numerum singularem ita significatae sunt, ut dicitur miles et intelleguntur milia militum; ut rana et lucusta; sic enim appellata est multitudo

¹ The Hebrew text of Genesis 11.9 connects the name *Babel* with the verb *batal*, 'to confuse': the LXX and Old Latin translators translate both the name and the verb—"the name Confusion . . . because the Lord confused."

that the sons of men had built. And the Lord God said: 'Behold, the people are one kin and they all have one language. Now they have started this building, nor will anything that they attempt from now on fail. Come, let us go down and confound their speech, that none of them may understand his neighbour's words.' Then the Lord scattered them over the face of the whole earth, and they stopped building the city and the tower. For this reason the name 'Confusion' was given to the city, because it was here that the Lord confused the speech of the whole world. From that place the Lord God scattered the people over the face of the whole earth."

This city named 'Confusion' was none other than Babylon,¹ to whose marvellous construction pagan history also pays tribute. For Babylon means 'Confusion.' From this one may gather that Nimrod the mighty one was the founder of the city, as was briefly suggested above. The passage in which the Scripture mentions him says that the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon, that is, the city that held sway over all the rest, where the king's residence was situated, in the metropolis, as it were, although it was not completed on the huge scale that their arrogant impiety had conceived. For their plan called for excessive height, to reach the heavens, as was said. This great height may have been designed for a single tower which they planned as chief over all the rest, or for all the towers, collectively designated by the singular number. For we say 'the soldier' when we mean thousands of soldiers, and in the same way we say 'the frog' or 'the locust,' for thus the multitudes of frogs and locusts

ranarum ac lucustarum in plagis quibus Aegyptii percussi sunt per Moysen.

Quid autem factura fuerat humana et vana praesumptio, cuiuslibet et quantumlibet in caelum adversus Deum altitudinem molis extolleret, quando montes transcenderet universos, quando spatium nebulosi aeris huius evaderet? Quid denique noceret Deo quantacumque vel spiritalis vel corporalis elatio? Tutam veramque in caelum viam molitur humilitas, sursum levans cor ad Dominum, non contra Dominum, sicut dictus est gigans iste *venator contra Dominum*. Quod non intellegentes nonnulli ambiguo Graeco falsi sunt, ut non interpretarentur *contra Dominum*, sed *ante Dominum*; ἐναντίον quippe et contra et ante significat. Hoc enim verbum est in psalmo: *Et ploremus ante Dominum qui nos fecit*; et hoc verbum est etiam in libro Iob, ubi scriptum est: *In furorem erupisti contra Dominum*. Sic ergo intellegendus est gigans iste *venator contra Dominum*. Quid autem hic significatur hoc nomine, quod est *venator*, nisi animalium terrigenarum deceptor oppressor extinator? Erigebat ergo cum suis populis turrem contra Deum, qua est impia significata superbia. Merito autem malus punitur affectus, etiam cui non succedit effectus. Genus vero ipsum poenae quale fuit? Quoniam dominatio imperantis in lingua

in the plagues with which Moses smote the Egyptians were designated.¹

But what could vain human presumption have achieved, no matter to how great a height it might rear a structure of any size however great into the sky against God, though it should transcend all mountains, though it should escape beyond the limits of this cloudy air? What injury, after all, could any vaulting ambition, spiritual or physical, wreak upon God? It is humility that constructs a true highway, and a safe one, to heaven, uplifting its heart to God, but not against him as that giant did who is described as "a hunter against the Lord." Some men have misinterpreted this phrase, being misled by an ambiguous Greek word so that they did not take it to mean 'against the Lord' but 'before the Lord.' For *enantion* actually means both against and before. For instance, this word occurs in the psalm: "Let us lament before the Lord our maker,"² and again in the book of Job, where we read: "You have broken out in fury against the Lord."³ Hence we must understand that Nimrod was 'a hunter against the Lord.' For what does this word hunter mean but the deceiver, oppressor and destroyer of earthborn creatures? Therefore he, with his subjects, erected a tower against the Lord, which is a symbol of his impious pride. Moreover, an evil desire is deservedly punished even though it is not effectuated. What sort of penalty was actually meted out in this case? Since a ruler's power resides in his tongue, it was in that member that he suffered the penalty for

¹ Sometimes in English, but more commonly in Latin, the singular of a noun such as *miles*, *rana*, *lucusta*, was used in a collective sense for a large number of soldiers, etc. So Augustine thinks that 'the tower' of Babel may refer to a number of towers.

² Psalms 95.6.

³ Job 15.13.

est, ibi est damnata superbia, ut non intellexeretur iubens homini qui noluit intellegere ut oboediret Deo iubenti. Sic illa conspiratio dissoluta est, cum quisque ab eo quem non intellegebat abscederet nec se nisi ei cum quo loqui poterat adgregaret; et per linguas divisae sunt gentes dispersaeque per terras, sicut Deo placuit, qui hoc modis occultis nobisque inconprehensibilibus fecit.

V

*De descensione Domini ad confundendam linguam
aedificantium turrem.*

Quod enim scriptum est: *Et descendit Dominus videre civitatem et turrem quam aedificaverunt filii hominum*, hoc est non filii Dei sed illa societas secundum hominem vivens, quam terrenam dicimus civitatem, non loco movetur Deus, qui semper est ubique totus, sed descendere dicitur, cum aliquid facit in terra quod praeter usitatum naturae cursum mirabiliter factum praesentiam quodam modo eius ostendat; nec videndo dicitur ad tempus qui nunquam potest aliquid ignorare, sed ad tempus videre et cognoscere dicitur quod videri et cognosci facit. Non sic ergo videbatur illa civitas quo modo eam Deus videri fecit quando sibi quantum displiceret

¹ This chapter is a discussion of Genesis 11.5-7.

his pride. Thus he who refused to understand God's commands in order to obey them was not himself to be understood when he gave commands to men. By this means the conspiracy was broken up, for each man withdrew from anyone whom he did not understand, and associated only with one to whom he could talk. Thus the people came to be divided by their languages and scattered through all lands according to the will of God, who accomplished this in hidden ways incomprehensible to us.

V

*On the Lord's descent to confuse the speech of those
who were building the tower.¹*

Now in regard to the statement: "And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower that the sons of men had built"—that is, not the sons of God, but that society living according to human standards that we call the earthly city—God, who is always completely present everywhere, does not actually move from place to place, but yet he is said to descend when he performs some action on earth which, being miraculously wrought contrary to the usual course of nature, somehow manifests his presence. Neither does he who can never fail to be aware of anything learn by the power of vision at a given time, but he is merely said to see and to discover at the time that which he actually causes to be seen and discovered. Just so, that city had not been seen previously in the way in which God caused it to be seen when he showed how much it displeased him. God may,

ostendit. Quamvis possit intellegi Deus ad illam civitatem descendisse, quia descenderunt angeli eius in quibus habitat; ut quod adjunctum est: *Et dixit Dominus Deus: Ecce genus unum et labium unum omnium*, et cetera, ac deinde additum: *Venite et descendentes confundamus ibi linguam eorum*, recapitulatio sit, demonstrans quem ad modum factum sit quod dictum fuerat: *Descendit Dominus*. Si enim iam descenderat, quid sibi vult: *Venite et descendentes confundamus*—quod intellegitur angelis dictum—nisi quia per angelos descendebat qui in angelis descendentibus erat? Et bene non ait: “Venite et descendentes confundite,” sed: *Confundamus ibi linguam eorum*; ostendens ita se operari per ministros suos, ut sint etiam ipsi co-operatores Dei, sicut apostolus dicit: *Dei enim sumus co-operarii*.

¹ The word *recapitulatio* may mean either: (1) a return to the head (*caput*), or beginning of a written account, or (2) a summing up of the headings (*capita*), or topics previously mentioned. The last is the common meaning of ‘recapitulation’ in English, while the former is more common in Augustine. From it is derived (3) a specialized term, ‘recapitulation,’ a rule for solving difficulties in the Biblical narrative. For instance, one reads (Genesis 10.32) that mankind was dispersed “by families, languages, lands and nations,” and then reads (Genesis 11.1) that the whole earth had one language. This appears to be a contradiction until one applies the rule of recapitulation. The second statement goes back to an earlier

however, be understood to have come down to the city, inasmuch as his angels, in whom he dwells, came down. Thus the words that follow: “And the Lord God said, ‘Behold, the people are one and they all have one language,’” and so forth, and the next words, “Come, let us go down and confound their speech,” are a recapitulation¹ which shows how the action described in the words “the Lord came down” was performed. For if he had already come down, what is the meaning of “Come, let us go down and confound” (which is understood as spoken to the angels), except that he who was present in the angels when they descended himself came down through their agency? And he rightly did not say “Come and go down and confound” but rather “Let us confound their speech,” thus showing that he acts through his servitors, in order that they themselves may also be God’s co-workers, as the Apostle says: “For we are labourers together with God.”²

point in the story, when all men did have one language, and tells how they came to have many. Augustine found this rule as the sixth of seven rules of Tyconius, a Donatist scholar, and regarded it as very useful (*On Christian Doctrine* 3.36.52–54). The case in this passage is similar, for only by ‘recapitulation’ could it first be said that the Lord came down, then made the proposal, “Come, let us go down.” In Chapter XV (p. 83 below) the rule is invoked to explain a more difficult problem about the ages of Abraham and his father, with a reference to the earlier case where the dispersion is related before the confusion of tongues.

² 1 Corinthians 3.9.

VI

Qualis intellegenda sit esse locutio, qua Deus angelis loquitur.

POTERAT et illud, quando factus est homo, de angelis intellegi quod dictum est: *Faciamus hominem*, quia non dixit: “*Faciam*”; sed quia sequitur *ad imaginem nostram*, nec fas est credere ad imaginem angelorum hominem factum aut eandem esse imaginem angelorum et Dei, recte illic intellegitur pluralitas trinitatis. Quae tamen trinitas quia unus Deus est, etiam cum dixisset: “*Faciamus*,” “*Et fecit*, inquit, *Deus hominem ad imaginem Dei*,” non dixit “*fecerunt dii*” aut “*ad imaginem deorum*.”

Poterat et hic eadem intellegi trinitas, tamquam Pater dixerit ad Filium et Spiritum sanctum: *Venite, et descendentes confundamus ibi linguam eorum*, si aliquid esset quod angelos prohiberet intellegi. Quibus potius convenit venire ad Deum motibus sanctis, hoc est cogitationibus piis, quibus ab eis consulitur incommutabilis Veritas, tamquam lex aeterna in illa eorum curia superna. Neque enim sibi ipsi sunt veritas, sed creatricis participes Veritatis ad illam moventur, tamquam ad fontem vitae, ut quod non habent ex se ipsis, capiant ex ipsa. Et eorum stabilis est iste motus, quo veniunt qui non recedunt.

¹ Genesis 1.26.

² Genesis 1.27.

VI

What sort of speech we are to suppose that God used in speaking to the angels.

THE words that were spoken when man was created: “*Let us make man*,”¹ might also have been understood as referring to the angels, since God did not say ‘*let me make*.’ However, since the words ‘*in our image*’ follow, and since it is not lawful to believe that man was made in the likeness of the angels, or that the angels and God have the same image, the plural is correctly understood in this case as referring to the Trinity. Since, however, the Trinity is one God, even after he said ‘*let us make*’ the Scripture adds: “*And God made man in the image of God*,”² but it does not say ‘*the gods made*’ or ‘*in the image of the gods*.’

In the present passage also the same Trinity might have been understood, as though the Father said to the Son and the Holy Spirit: “*Come, let us go down and confound their speech*,” if there were any difficulty in referring this to the angels. But it is more fitting for the angels to approach God with holy movements, that is by reverent thoughts, which are the means whereby they consult invariable truth as the eternal law that is found in that heavenly court of theirs. For they themselves are not truth in their own sight, but, as participants of creative truth, they are moved towards it, as towards the source of life, to receive from it what they do not possess of themselves. Now this motion of theirs is a steady one, by which they approach but do not withdraw.

Nec sic loquitur angelis Deus, quo modo nos in vicem nobis vel Deo vel angelis, vel ipsi angeli nobis sive per illos Deus nobis, sed ineffabili suo modo; nobis autem hoc indicatur nostro modo. Dei quippe sublimior ante suum factum locutio ipsius sui facti est inmutabilis ratio, quae non habet sonum strepentem atque transeuntem sed vim semperiternam manentem et temporaliter operantem. Hac loquitur angelis sanctis, nobis autem aliter longe positus. Quando autem etiam nos aliquid talis locutionis interioribus auribus capimus, angelis propinquamus. Non itaque mihi adsidue reddenda ratio est in hoc opere de locutionibus Dei. Aut enim Veritas incommutabilis per se ipsam ineffabiliter loquitur rationalis creaturae mentibus, aut per mutabilem creaturam loquitur, sive spiritalibus imaginibus nostro spiritui sive corporalibus vocibus corporis sensui.

Illud sane quod dictum est: *Et nunc non deficient ex illis omnia quae conati fuerint facere*, non dictum est confirmando sed tamquam interrogando, sicut solet a comminantibus dici, quem ad modum ait quidam:

Non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur?

Sic ergo accipiendum est tamquam dixerit: "Nonne omnia deficient ex illis quae conati fuerint facere?" Sed si ita dicatur, non exprimit comminantem. Verum propter tardiusculos addidimus particulam, id est "ne," ut diceremus "nonne," quoniam vocem pronuntiantis non possumus scribere.

Neither does God speak to the angels in the way in which we speak to one another or to God or the angels, or the angels to us, or God to us through their agency, but he addresses them in his own indescribable fashion. Yet his words are revealed to us after our fashion. For in fact the sublime speech of God in advance of his action is the immutable reason of the action itself. Nor has his speech a noisy and transitory sound; it has a power that abides eternally and operates temporally. By this he addresses the holy angels, but speaks otherwise to us, who are far away. We too, however, when we apprehend something of such speech by our inward ears, are not far from angels. Therefore there is no need for me to keep explaining the speeches of God in this work. For invariable truth either speaks ineffably by itself to the minds of rational creatures, or speaks through a mutable creature, whether to our minds by means of incorporeal images or to our physical senses by means of corporeal voices.

Surely those words: "Nor will anything that they attempt from now on fail"¹ were spoken not as an assertion but as a question, such as men are wont to use when they utter threats, as when a certain writer says: "Shall they not procure arms and follow from the whole city?"² We must interpret this sentence, therefore, in this way, as though he said: "Will not all the things that they may attempt fail?" Now saying the words in this way does not give them a threatening tone. But to help those who are somewhat slow of comprehension we have added the participle *-ne* to form the word *nonne*, inasmuch as the speaker's tone of voice cannot be indicated in writing.

¹ Genesis 11.6, quoted in Chapter IV, p. 27 above.

² Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.592.

Ex illis igitur tribus hominibus, Noe filiis, septuaginta tres, vel potius, ut ratio declaratur est, septuaginta duae gentes totidemque linguae per terras esse coeperunt, quae crescendo et insulas impleverunt. Auctus est autem numerus gentium multo amplius quam linguarum. Nam et in Africa barbaras gentes in una lingua plurimas novimus.

VII

An omne bestiarum genus etiam remotissimae a terris insulae ex eo numero acceperint, qui in arca a diluvii inundatione servatus est.

Et homines quidem multiplicato genere humano ad insulas inhabitandas navigio transire potuisse, quis ambigat? Sed quaestio est de omni genere bestiarum quae sub cura hominum non sunt neque sicuti ranae nascuntur ex terra sed sola commixtione maris et feminae propagantur, sicut lupi atque huius modi cetera, quo modo post diluvium, quo ea quae in arca non erant cuncta deleta sunt, etiam in

¹ Whereas Punic and Latin, introduced by the Phoenicians and Romans in turn, were the two recognized languages of civilization in Africa, there were still in Augustine's time barbarians who spoke African dialects of an earlier time, known as 'Libyan.' The language survives today among the Berbers, whose name is derived from the *barbari* here mentioned by Augustine. See Green, "Augustine's Use of Punic," in *Univ. of Calif. Pub. in Sem. Philol.*, 11 (1951), 171-190.

² It was long commonly believed that small animals were

To sum up, from these three men, the sons of Noah, seventy-three, or rather, as a reckoning will make clear, seventy-two nations and the same number of languages came into existence on earth, and by their increase filled even the islands. Moreover, the nations increased much more in number than the languages did. For even here in Africa we know cases where very many barbarous tribes speak only a single language.¹

VII

Whether the islands farthest from land also received all kinds of animals from the number that were preserved in the ark from being overwhelmed by the flood.

Who can doubt that men at least were able, once the human race had multiplied, to cross over by boats to inhabit the islands? But there is a problem about all kinds of beasts that are not under human care and are not, like frogs, propagated from the earth,² but only by the intercourse of male and female, such as wolves and similar animals. After the flood, in which all creatures that were not in the ark were destroyed, how could these animals also exist on the

spontaneously generated in the earth, water, or decaying objects. Augustine elsewhere speaks of flies and bees (15.27, above), and of mice, snakes and scorpions (*On the Morals of the Manichees* 2.63). Frogs are mentioned by Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.375 and Pliny, *Natural History* 9.51. The subject is discussed in a dissertation by W. Rodemer, *Die Lehre von der Urzeugung bei den Griechen und Römer* (Giessen, 1928), with 480 references to ancient and medieval writers. This passage, however, is not included.

insulis esse potuerint, si reparata non sunt nisi ex his quorum genera in utroque sexu arca servavit. Possunt quidem credi ad insulas natando transisse, sed proximas. Sunt autem quaedam tam longe positae a continentibus terris ut ad eas nulla videatur natare potuisse bestiarum. Quod si homines eas captas secum advexerunt et eo modo ubi habitabant earum genera instituerunt venandi studio, fieri potuisse incredibile non est; quamvis iussu Dei sive permissu etiam opere angelorum negandum non sit potuisse transferri. Si vero terra exortae sunt secundum originem primam, quando dixit Deus: *Producat terra animam vivam*, multo clarius apparet non tam reparandorum animalium causa quam figurandarum variarum gentium propter ecclesiae sacramentum in arca fuisse omnia genera, si in insulis, quo transire non possent, multa animalia terra produxit.

VIII

An ex propagatione Adam vel filiorum Noe quaedam genera hominum monstrosa prodierint.

QUAERITUR etiam, utrum ex filiis Noe vel potius ex illo uno homine unde etiam ipsi extiterunt propagata esse credendum sit quaedam monstrosa

¹ Genesis 1.24.

² For this list of monstrosities among men Augustine is chiefly indebted to Pliny. The latter (*Natural History* 7.2.10-30) gives names for most of these creatures: the Arimaspi with one eye, the forest-dwellers of Abarimon with feet turned backward, the Androgyni who combine the sexes,

islands, if they could be replenished only from those species that the ark preserved in both sexes? It is indeed credible that they crossed over to the islands by swimming, but only to the nearest ones. But there are certain islands situated so far away from continental lands that it seems impossible for any creatures to have swum to them. But suppose men captured animals and took them with them, and thus established them where they lived, for the sake of hunting? It is not incredible that this may have happened. We must not, however, deny that they could also have been transported by the angels at God's command or by his permission. But if they sprang from the earth, as when they were first created, when God said: "Let the earth bring forth the living creature,"¹ then it appears much more obvious that all species were in the ark not so much for the sake of renewing animal life as to typify the different races, in order to symbolize the church. It must be so if the earth brought forth many animals on islands to which they could not cross.

VIII

Whether certain monstrous races of men sprang from the seed of Adam or the sons of Noah.

ANOTHER moot question is whether we are to believe that certain monstrous races of men described in pagan history² were descended from the sons of

the Astomi with no mouth, the pygmies, the Calingi where girls conceive at five and die before eight, the swift runners known as Monocoli from their one leg and as Sciapodae from

hominum genera, quae gentium narrat historia, sicut perhibentur quidam unum habere oculus in fronte media, quibusdam plantas versas esse post crura, quibusdam utriusque sexus esse naturam et dextram mammam virilem, sinistram muliebrem, vicibusque inter se coeundo et gignere et parere; aliis ora non esse eosque per nares tantummodo halitu vivere, alios statura esse cubitales, quos Pygmaeos a cubito Graeci vocant, alibi quinquennes concipere feminas et octavum vitae annum non excedere. Item ferunt esse gentem, ubi singula crura in pedibus habent nec poplitem flectunt, et sunt mirabilis celeritatis. Quos Sciopodas vocant, quod per aestum in terra iacentes resupini umbra se pedum protegant; quosdam sine cervice oculos habentes in umeris, et cetera hominum vel quasi hominum genera, quae in maritima platea Carthaginis musivo picta sunt, ex libris deprompta velut curiosioris historiae.

Quid dicam de Cynocephalis, quorum canina capita atque ipse latratus magis bestias quam homines confitetur? Sed omnia genera hominum, quae dicuntur esse, credere non est necesse. Verum quisquis uspiam nascitur homo, id est animal rationale mortale, quamlibet nostris inusitatam sensibus gerat

the shadow cast by their large feet, and the neckless men with eyes in their shoulders. Aulus Gellius, in his *Attic Nights* 9.4.6-10, has a similar list, partly derived from Pliny, but including barking men with dogs' heads who live in the mountains of India. These are called Cynocephali by Augustine, a term generally applied to baboons, or to the Egyptian god Anubis. For a comparable list of marvels drawn from inanimate nature, see 21.5.

Noah, or rather from that one man from whom they themselves sprang. Among such cases are certain men said to have one eye in the middle of their foreheads, others with the soles of their feet turned backwards behind their legs, others who are bisexual by nature, with the right breast male and the left female, who in their intercourse with each other alternately beget and conceive. Then there are some with no mouths, who live only by breathing through their nostrils. There are men only a cubit high whom the Greeks call pygmies from their word for cubit.¹ Elsewhere there are said to be females who conceive at the age of five and do not live beyond the eighth year. Likewise some say that there is a race whose feet grow from a single leg; they cannot bend their one knee, and yet are amazingly swift. They are called 'Skiopods' or 'Shadow-feet' because in the hot season they lie on their backs on the ground, taking shelter under the shadow cast by their feet. There are certain men with no necks, who have their eyes in their shoulders, and other types of men and quasi-men such as are pictured in mosaic on the esplanade at Carthage, taken from books as samples of the curiosities of natural history.

What am I to say of the Cynocephali, whose dogs' heads and actual barking are evidence that they are rather beasts than men? To be sure, we do not have to believe in all the types of men that are reported to exist. Yet whoever is born anywhere as a human being, that is, as a rational mortal creature, however strange he may appear to our senses in bodily form

¹ The Greek *pygme*, like the Latin *cubitus*, was the distance from elbow to knuckles, about 18 inches.

corporis formam seu colorem sive motum sive sonum sive qualibet vi, qualibet parte, qualibet qualitate naturam, ex illo uno protoplasto originem ducere nullus fidelium dubitaverit. Apparet tamen quid in pluribus natura obtinuerit et quid sit ipsa raritate mirabile.

Qualis autem ratio redditur de monstrosis apud nos hominum partibus, talis de monstrosis quibusdam gentibus reddi potest. Deus enim creator est omnium, qui ubi et quando creari quid oporteat vel oportuerit, ipse novit, sciens universitatis pulchritudinem quarum partium vel similitudine vel diversitate contextat. Sed qui totum inspicere non potest tamquam deformitate partis offenditur, quoniam cui congruat et quo referatur ignorat. Pluribus quam quinque digitis in manibus et pedibus nasci homines novimus; et haec levior est quam ulla distantia; sed tamen absit ut quis ita desipiat ut existimet in numero humanorum digitorum errasse Creatorem, quamvis nesciens cur hoc fecerit. Ita etsi maior diversitas oriatur, scit ille quid egerit, cuius opera iuste nemo reprehendit.

Apud Hipponem Zaritum est homo quasi lunatas habens plantas et in eis binos tantummodo digitos,

¹ Of the seaport cities founded by Phoenician traders on the north coast of Africa, two bore the name of Hippo. One, Hippo Regius, where Augustine was bishop, is now Bone in Algeria; the other, Hippo Diarrhytus (or Zaritus), lay more than a hundred miles to the east, and is now the site of Bizerte in Tunis. Several of Augustine's sermons were preached in the latter city, presumably when he was passing

or colour or motion or utterance, or in any faculty, part or quality of his nature whatsoever, let no true believer have any doubt that such an individual is descended from the one man who was first created. Yet there is a clear distinction between what has by nature persisted in the majority, and what is marvellous by its very rarity.

Furthermore, the same explanation that is used to account for monstrous human births among our race can be applied to certain monstrous races also. For God is the creator of all things, and he himself knows at what place and time a given creature should be created, or have been created, selecting in his wisdom the various elements from whose likenesses and diversities he contrives the beautiful fabric of the universe. But one who cannot see the whole clearly is offended by the apparent deformity of a single part, since he does not know with what it conforms or how to classify it. We know instances of men born with more than five digits on their hands and feet. This, to be sure, is too slight to be considered a serious aberration from the norm, yet far be it from any one to suppose in his folly that the Creator made a mistake in the number of human fingers, even though he may not know why God acted as he did. So, even if a greater variation were to arise, he whose works no one has the right to censure knows what he has done.

At Hippo Zaritus¹ there is a man with feet that are roughly crescent-shaped, with only two toes on

through the city *en route* to or from Carthage, and was invited by the bishop. See J. Mesnage, *L'Afrique Chrétienne*, 39 f.

similes et manus. Si aliqua gens talis esset, illi curiosae atque mirabili adderetur historiae. Num igitur istum propter hoc negabimus ex illo uno, qui primus creatus est, esse propagatum?

Androgyni, quos etiam Hermaphroditos nuncupant, quamvis admodum rari sint, difficile est tamen ut temporibus desint, in quibus sic uterque sex apparet, ut ex quo potius debeant accipere nomen incertum sit; a meliore tamen, hoc est a masculino, ut appellarentur loquendi consuetudo praevaluit. Nam nemo umquam Androgynaecas aut Hermaphroditas nuncupavit. Ante annos aliquot, nostra certe memoria, in Oriente duplex homo natus est superioribus membris, inferioribus simplex. Nam duo erant capita, duo pectora, quattuor manus, venter autem unus et pedes duo, sicut uni homini; et tamdiu vixit ut multos ad eum videndum fama contraheret.

Quis autem omnes commemorare possit humanos fetus longe dissimiles his ex quibus eos natos esse certissimum est? Sicut ergo haec ex illo uno negari non possunt originem ducere, ita quaecumque gentes in diversitatibus corporum ab usitato naturae cursu quem plures et prope omnes tenent velut exorbitasse traduntur, si definitione illa includuntur, ut rationalia animali sint atque mortalia, ab eodem ipso uno primo patre omnium stirpem trahere confitendum est, si tamen vera sunt quae

each, and his hands are like his feet. If there were any race like this it would be added to the curious marvels of natural history. Surely, then, we shall not on this account deny, shall we, that this man is descended from that one man who was first created?

Although androgyni, whom men also call hermaphrodites, are very rare, yet it is difficult to find periods when they do not occur. In them the marks of both sexes appear together in such a way that it is uncertain from which they should properly receive their name. However, our established manner of speaking has given them the gender of the better sex, calling them masculine. For no one ever called them in the feminine *androgynaecae* or *hermaphroditae*. A few years ago, certainly within my own memory, a man was born in the East with his upper limbs double, but with a single set of lower limbs. For he had two heads, two chests and four arms, but only one belly and two feet, as if he were but a single man. And he lived long enough for the report about him to attract many visitors.

Moreover, who could enumerate all the human infants that are very unlike the parents of whom they were indubitably born? Therefore, since we cannot deny that these are descended from that one man, such is the case also with any races whatsoever that are reported to have deserted, as it were, by their divergent physical types, the normal path of nature that the majority and, in fact, nearly all men follow. If these peoples are classified among rational and mortal animals, then we must admit that their stock is descended from that same single first father of all mankind, always providing that the tales told about

de illarum nationum varietate et tanta inter se atque nobiscum diversitate traduntur. Nam et simias et cercopithecus et sphingas si nesciremus non homines esse sed bestias, possent illi historici de sua curiositate gloriantes velut gentes aliquas hominum nobis inpunita vanitate mentiri. Sed si homines sunt, de quibus illa mira conscripta sunt, quid si propterea Deus voluit etiam nonnullas gentes ita creare, ne in his monstribus, quae apud nos oportet ex hominibus nasci, eius sapientiam qua naturam fingit humanam velut artem cuiuspiam minus perfecti opificis putaremur errasse? Non itaque nobis videri debet absurdum ut quem ad modum in singulis quibusque gentibus quaedam monstra sunt hominum ita in universo genere humano quaedam monstra sint gentium.

Quapropter ut istam quaestionem pedetemtim cauteque concludam: aut illa quae talia de quibusdam gentibus scripta sunt, omnino nulla sunt; aut si sunt, homines non sunt; aut ex Adam sunt, si homines sunt.

IX

An inferiorem partem terrae, quae nostrae habitationi contraria est, antipodas habere credendum sit.

Quod vero et antipodas esse fabulantur, id est homines, a contraria parte terrae, ubi sol oritur

the diverse characteristics of these races and their great differences from one another and from us are authentic. For if we did not know that apes and long-tailed monkeys and chimpanzees are not human beings but beasts, those same natural historians who take pride in curious lore might with unscathed vanity foist them upon us as divers distinct tribes of men. Even if we grant, however, that the creatures of whom such marvels are recorded are men, what if God willed to create some races of this sort expressly to prevent us from thinking that the wisdom by which he moulds the forms of men was at fault in the case of such monsters as are duly born among us of human parents, as if it had been the craft of an unskilled artisan? It should not then seem to us unnatural that, even as there are certain monsters among individual races of men, so also within the human race as a whole there may be certain monstrous tribes.

Let me then tentatively and guardedly state my conclusion. Either the written accounts of certain races are completely unfounded or, if such races do exist, they are not human; or, if they are human, they are descended from Adam.

IX

Whether it is credible that there are men foot to foot opposite us in the lower part of the earth, which is opposite to our dwelling-place.

But in regard to the story of the *antipodes*, that is, that there are men on the other side of the earth,

quando occidit nobis, adversa pedibus nostris calcare vestigia, nulla ratione credendum est. Neque hoc ulla historica cognitione didicisse se adfirmant sed quasi ratiocinando coniectant eo quod intra convexa caeli terra suspensa sit eundemque locum mundus habeat et infimum et medium; et ex hoc opinantur alteram terrae partem quae infra est habitatione hominum carere non posse. Nec attendunt, etiamsi figura conglobata et rutunda mundus esse credatur sive aliqua ratione monstretur, non tamen esse consequens ut etiam ex illa parte ab aquarum congerie nuda sit terra; deinde etiamsi nuda sit, neque hoc statim necesse esse ut homines habeat. Quoniam nullo modo scriptura ista mentitur quae narratis praeteritis facit fidem eo, quod eius praedicta complentur, nimisque absurdum est ut dicatur aliquos homines ex hac in illam partem, Oceani immensitate traiecta, navigare ac pervenire potuisse ut etiam illic ex uno illo primo homine genus institueretur humanum.

Quapropter inter illòs tunc hominum populos qui per septuaginta duas gentes et totidem linguas

¹ From the time of Aristotle to that of Ptolemy (A.D. 150) there was general agreement among the learned that the earth was a sphere, about which the sphere of heaven revolved. The inference was often made that there might be inhabitants on the opposite side of the earth (*antipodae*). But the older view of the world as a disk on which the inverted sky rested also survived, and in later times prevailed. The Christian Lactantius, like many Roman writers before him, scoffed at the idea of antipodes, and ascribed the supposed absurdity to the mistaken view of philosophers who declared both the earth and sky to be spherical (*Divine Institutes* 3.24). August-

where the sun rises when it sets for us, who plant their footprints opposite ours, there is no logical ground for believing this. Its authors do not claim that they have learned it from any historical evidence, but offer it as a sort of logical hypothesis. Their theory is that the earth hangs suspended within the heavenly sphere, so that the lowest and middle points of the world are one and the same. From this they conjecture that the other half of the earth, which lies beneath our portion, cannot lack human occupants. They fail to observe that even if the world is held to be global or rounded in shape,¹ or if some process of reasoning should prove this to be the case, it would still not necessarily follow that the land on the opposite side is not covered by masses of water. Furthermore, even if the land there be exposed, we must not jump to the conclusion that it has human inhabitants. For there is absolutely no falsehood in the Scripture, which gains credence for its account of past events by the fact that its prophecies are fulfilled. And the idea is too absurd to mention that some men might have sailed from our part of the earth to the other and have arrived there by crossing the boundless tracts of ocean, so that the human race might be established there also by descent from the one first man.

Let us, therefore, search among the early races of mankind, who are reckoned to have been divided into seventy-two tribes and as many languages, to

tine elsewhere (*On Genesis according to the Letter* 2.9.20) says that it makes no difference to the Christian which view is correct, provided that no charge of misstatement is made against the Bible. See F. Gisinger in *RE*, Supp. 4, 679-683.

colliguntur fuisse divisi quaeramus si possumus invenire illam in terris peregrinantem civitatem Dei, quae usque ad diluvium arcamque perducta est atque in filiis Noe per eorum benedictiones perseverasse monstratur, maxime in maximo qui est appellatus Sem, quando quidem Iapheth ita benedictus est ut in eius, fratris sui, domibus habitaret.

X

De generatione Sem, in cuius progenie tendens ad Abraham civitatis Dei ordo dirigitur.

TENENDA est igitur series generationum ab ipso Sem ut ipsa ostendat post diluvium civitatem Dei, sicut eam series generationum ab illo qui est appellatus Seth ostendebat ante diluvium. Propter hoc ergo scriptura divina cum terrenam civitatem in Babylone, hoc est in confusione, monstrasset, ad patriarcham Sem recapitulando revertitur et orditur inde generationes usque ad Abraham, commemorato etiam numero annorum quanto quisque ad hanc seriem pertinentem filium genuisset quantoque vixisset. Ubi certe agnoscendum est quod ante promiseram ut appareat quare sit dictum de filiis Heber: *Nomen unius Phalech, quia in diebus eius divisa est terra.* Quid enim aliud intellegendum est terram esse divisam nisi diversitate linguarum?

¹ Cf. Chapter III, p. 22 above.

² Genesis 10.25.

see whether we can find among these the City of God in its earthly pilgrimage. We have traced its history down to the flood and the ark, and have pointed out its continuation in the sons of Noah by his benediction of his sons, and especially in the eldest of them, who was called Shem. For Japheth was blessed only in that he was to dwell in the habitations of his brother Shem.

X

On the generations of Shem, by way of whose descendants the course of the City of God is directed towards Abraham.

THE series of generations must therefore be traced from Shem himself, to show us the city of God after the flood, just as the line of descent from the man named Seth showed it in the period before the flood. On this account the holy Scripture, after describing the earthly city in Babylon, that is, in 'Confusion', returns for a new start to the patriarch Shem, and begins with him the list of generations to Abraham, recording also the number of years that had elapsed before each individual begot a son belonging to this line, and how long each lived. We must surely recognize in this a reference to a point that I promised to explain earlier,¹ in order to show why it was said of the sons of Heber: "The name of one was Peleg, for in his days was the earth divided."² For how else can the statement that the earth was divided be understood except as referring to the diversity of languages?

Omissis igitur ceteris filiis Sem ad hanc rem non pertinentibus illi conectuntur in ordine generationum per quos possit ad Abraham perveniri; sicut illi conectebantur ante diluvium per quos perveniretur ad Noe generationibus quae propagatae sunt ex illo Adam filio qui est appellatus Seth. Sic ergo incipit generationum ista contextio: *Et hae generationes Sem. Sem filius centum annorum, cum genuit Arphaxat, secundo anno post diluvium. Et vixit Sem, postquam genuit Arphaxat, quingentos annos et genuit filios et filias et mortuus est.* Sic exsequitur ceteros dicens quoto quisque anno vitae suae filium genuerit ad istum generationum ordinem pertinentem qui pertendit ad Abraham, et quot annos postmodum vixerit, intimans eum filios filiasque genuisse; ut intellegamus unde potuerint populi adlescere, ne in paucis qui commemorantur hominibus occupati pueriliter haesitemus unde tanta spatia terrarum atque regnorum repleti potuerint de genere Sem, maxime propter Assyriorum regnum unde Ninus ille Orientalium domitor usquequaque populorum ingenti prosperitate regnavit et latissimum ac fundatissimum regnum, quod diuturno tempore duceretur, suis posteris propagavit.

Sed nos, ne diutius quam opus est inmoremur, non quot annos quisque in ista generationum serie vixerit, sed quoto anno vitae suae genuerit filium, hoc ordine memorandum tantummodo ponimus ut

¹ Genesis 11.10 f.

² On the legendary Ninus, see 4.6, Vol. II, p. 22, and note.

Therefore, omitting the other sons of Shem who have no significance in this connection, the account follows a particular line, giving the list of their generations, in order to bring us down to Abraham, in the same way that only those were listed before the flood who belonged to the line leading down to Noah in direct descent from that son of Adam who was named Seth. This series of generations, accordingly, begins as follows: "Now these are the generations of Shem. Shem, the son, was a hundred years old when he begot Arphaxad in the second year after the flood. And Shem lived five hundred years after he begot Arphaxad, and begot sons and daughters, and he died."¹ The account then continues with a similar list of the others, stating in what year of his life each individual begot the son who belonged to this line of descent that leads to Abraham, and how many years each lived thereafter, and mentions his begetting of sons and daughters. This tells us the sources from which the population increased, so that we need not stick, noting the small number of men named, and childishly ask how such vast stretches of lands and kingdoms could have been populated by the descendants of Shem, especially when we consider the Assyrian power. For from Assyria Ninus, the famous conqueror of all eastern peoples whatsoever, ruled with great prosperity and created for his successors an exceedingly vast and stable empire, which was to continue for a long time.²

However, to avoid undue waste of time, we do not set down the number of years that each man in those successive generations lived, but only the year of his life in which each begot a son, and these we list in due

et numerum annorum a transacto diluvio usque ad Abraham colligamus et praeter illa in quibus nos cogit necessitas inmorari breviter alia cursimque tangamus.

Secundo igitur anno post diluvium Sem genuit Arphaxat; Arphaxat autem, cum esset centum triginta quinque annorum, genuit Cainan; qui cum esset centum triginta genuit Sala; porro etiam ipse Sala totidem annorum erat quando genuit Heber; centum vero et triginta et quattuor agebat annos Heber cum genuit Phalech, in cuius diebus divisa est terra; ipse autem Phalech vixit centum triginta et genuit Ragau; et Ragau centum triginta duo, et genuit Seruch; et Seruch centum triginta et genuit Nachor; et Nachor septuaginta novem et genuit Thara; Thara autem septuaginta et genuit Abram; quem postea Deus mutato vocabulo nominavit Abraham. Fiunt itaque anni a diluvio usque ad Abraham mille septuaginta et duo secundum vulgatam editionem, hoc est interpretum septuaginta. In Hebraeis autem codicibus longe pauciores annos perhibent inveniri, de quibus rationem aut nullam aut difficillimam reddunt.

Cum ergo quaerimus in illis septuaginta duabus gentibus civitatem Dei, non possumus adfirmare illo tempore quo erat eis labium unum, id est loquella una, tunc iam genus humanum alienatum fuisse a

succession for the sole purpose of computing the number of years from the end of the flood to Abraham. Any additional items that require mention will be cited only briefly and in passing.

In the second year after the flood, then, Shem begot Arphaxad. Arphaxad in turn, when he was a hundred and thirty-five years old, begot Cainan. He, at the age of a hundred and thirty, begot Salah. Moreover, Salah himself was also of this same age when he begot Heber. Now Heber was a hundred and thirty-four years old when he begot Peleg, in whose time the earth was divided. Peleg himself, moreover, lived a hundred and thirty years, and begot Reu. And Reu lived a hundred and thirty-two years and begot Serug. And Serug lived a hundred and thirty years and begot Nahor. Nahor lived seventy-nine years and begot Terah. Terah lived seventy years and begot Abram, whom God later, changing his name, called Abraham.¹ Thus the years from the flood to Abraham add up altogether to one thousand and seventy-two according to the common version, that is, that of the seventy translators. But they say that in the Hebrew manuscripts a much smaller total of years is given, for which either no explanation is offered or one very difficult to accept.²

When, therefore, we search for the city of God among those seventy-two tribes we cannot affirm that at that time, when men had one tongue, that is, one mode of speech, the human race had already been so alienated from the worship of the one true God

(his *vulgata editio*) followed the LXX, while Jerome's "Vulgate" follows the Hebrew.

¹ Genesis 11.10–26; 17.5.

² On the discrepancy between LXX and Hebrew numbers see 16.2 and note, pp. 12 f. above. Augustine's Old Latin text

cultu veri Dei ita ut in solis istis generationibus pietas vera remaneret quae descendunt de semine Sem per Arphaxat et tendunt ad Abraham; sed ab illa superbia aedificandae turris usque in caelum, qua impia significatur elatio, apparuit civitas, hoc est societas, impiorum. Utrum itaque ante non fuerit an latuerit, an potius utraque permanserit, pia scilicet in duobus filiis Noe, qui benedicti sunt, eorumque posteris; impia vero in eo, qui maledictus est, atque eius progenie, ubi etiam exortus est gigans venator contra Dominum, non est diiudicatio facilis.

Fortassis enim, quod profecto est credibilius, et in filiis duorum illorum iam tunc antequam Babylonia coepisset institui fuerunt contemptores Dei, et in filiis Cham cultores Dei; utrumque tamen hominum genus terris numquam defuisse credendum est. Si quidem et quando dictum est: *Omnes declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sunt; non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum*, in utroque psalmo, ubi haec verba sunt, et hoc legitur: *Nonne cognoscent omnes, qui operantur iniquitatem, qui devorant populum meum in cibo panis?* Erat ergo etiam tunc populus Dei. Unde illud quod dictum est: *Non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum*, de filiis hominum dictum est, non de filiis Dei. Nam praemissum est: *Deus de caelo prospexit super filios hominum, ut videret si est intellegens aut requirens Deum*, ac deinde illa

that true piety survived only in those generations which were descended from the seed of Shem through the line of Arphaxad, leading down to Abraham. However, by men's arrogance in building a tower to reach the sky, a symbol of impious self-exaltation, the city or community of the ungodly was revealed. Whether, then, this city had not existed before that time, or had been concealed, or whether instead both cities had existed side by side, the good city surviving of course in the two sons of Noah who were blessed, and in their descendants, and the evil in the son who was cursed, and in his progeny, among whom arose that mighty hunter against the Lord, all this is a difficult problem to solve.

For perhaps, and this is certainly the most tenable theory, there were already among the descendants of Noah's two good sons men who scorned God even before the founding of Babylon, and likewise worshippers of God among the sons of Ham. In any case we must believe that the world never lacked men of either type. Indeed, when it was said: "All men have gone astray, they are altogether become worthless; there is none that doeth good, no, not one," in both the psalms where these words are found we also read: "Will none of the doers of iniquity understand, those who devour my people as they eat bread?" The conclusion is that the people of God did exist even at that time. Therefore the words "There is none that doeth good, no, not one," were said of the sons of men, not of the sons of God. For the preceding line is as follows: "God looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any who understood or sought after God."¹

¹ Psalms 14.2-4; 53.2-4.

subiuncta quae omnes filios hominum, id est, ad civitatem pertinentes quae vivit secundum hominem, non secundum Deum, reprobos esse demonstrant.

XI

Quod ea primitus lingua in usu hominum fuerit quae postea Hebraea ab Heber nomine nuncupata est, in cuius familia remansit cum diversitas esset facta linguarum.

QUAM ob rem sicut lingua una cum esset omnium, non ideo filii pestilentiae defuerunt—nam et ante diluvium una erat lingua, et tamen omnes praeter unam Noe iusti domum deleri diluvio meruerunt—ita, quando merito elatioris impietatis gentes linguarum diversitate punitae atque divisae sunt et civitas impiorum confusionis nomen accepit, hoc est, appellata est Babylon, non defuit domus Heber ubi ea quae antea fuit omnium lingua remaneret. Unde, sicut supra memoravi, cum coepissent enumerari filii Sem, qui singuli gentes singulas procrearunt, primus est commendatus Heber, cum sit abnepos ipsius, hoc est ab illo quintus inveniatur exortus. Quia ergo in eius familia remansit haec lingua, divisis per alias linguas ceteris gentibus; quae lingua prius humano generi non inmerito

¹ See 16.3, p. 21 above.

Next follow the words just quoted, which point out that all the children of men, that is, those who belong to the city which lives by human, not by divine standards, are reprobates.

XI

That the language originally used by men was the one later called Hebrew from the name of Heber, in whose family it stayed unchanged when the diversity of languages began.

HENCE, just as when all men spoke one language, the sons of pestilence were not lacking on that account—for there was only one language before the flood, and yet all men except the single family of the righteous Noah were justly destroyed by the flood—so also when the peoples were deservedly punished for their presumptuous wickedness by diversity of languages, and the city of the wicked received its name ‘Confusion,’ that is, when it was named Babylon, one house was still found, that of Heber, in which the language formerly spoken by all men might persist. This accounts for the fact mentioned above,¹ that in the enumeration of the sons of Shem who individually founded separate tribes, Heber was mentioned first though he was Shem’s great-great-grandson; in other words, he is found in the fifth generation after Shem. Since, then, this language remained in use among his family when the other tribes were divided by various tongues, the language that, not without good reason, is believed to have served previously as the common speech of all man-

creditur fuisse communis, ideo deinceps Hebraea est nuncupata. Tunc enim opus erat eam distingui ab aliis linguis nomine proprio, sicut aliae quoque vocatae sunt nominibus propriis. Quando autem erat una, nihil aliud quam humana lingua vel humana locutio vocabatur, qua sola universum genus humanum loquebatur.

Dixerit aliquis: Si in diebus Phalach filii Heber divisa est terra per linguas, id est homines, qui tunc erant in terra, ex eius nomine potius debuit appellari lingua illa quae fuit omnibus ante communis. Sed intellegendum est ipsum Heber propterea tale nomen inposuisse filio suo, ut vocaretur Phalech, quod interpretatur divisio, quia tunc ei natus est quando per linguas terra divisa est, id est ipso tempore, ut hoc sit quod dictum est: *In diebus eius divisa est terra.* Nam nisi adhuc Heber viveret quando linguarum facta est multitudo, non ex eius nomine nomen acciperet lingua quae apud illum potuit permanere. Et ideo credenda est ipsa fuisse prima illa communis, quoniam de poena venit illa multiplicatio mutatioque linguarum et utique praeter hanc poenam esse debuit populus Dei.

Nec frustra lingua haec est, quam tenuit Abraham, nec in omnes suos filios transmittere potuit, sed in eos tantum qui propagati per Iacob et insignius atque eminentius in Dei populum coalescentes Dei

kind was thereafter called Hebrew on this account. For from that time it needed to be distinguished from other languages by its proper name, as the others also were given distinctive names. When, however, there was only one language, it had no other name than the human tongue or human speech, being the sole language in which the whole human race spoke.

Someone may say: If in the days of Peleg the son of Heber, the earth was divided according to languages, that is, by the men who were on earth at that time, then the language that was formerly shared by all men ought rather to have been called by his name. But we must understand the reason why Heber himself gave his son the name he did, and called him Peleg, which means 'Division,' namely, because he was born to him at the time when the earth was divided among different languages, that is, at that very time, in order to make the statement hold good, "In his days was the earth divided."¹ For if Heber had not still been living when the multitude of languages was created, the language that was permitted to persist in his household would not have received its name from him. And for the same reason we must believe that this was that first common language, because the multiplication and change of language came as a punishment, and surely the people of God must have been exempted from this penalty.

It is significant that this is the language that Abraham used, and that he could not transmit it to all his sons, but only to those who, being descended from him through Jacob, and combining most notably and eminently to form the people of God, proved

¹ Genesis 10:25. On Heber and Peleg, see Chapter III, p. 21, above.

testamenta et stirpem Christi habere potuerunt. Nec Heber ipse eandem linguam in universam progeniem suam refudit, sed in eam tantum cuius generationes perducantur ad Abraham. Quapropter etiamsi non evidenter expressum est fuisse aliquod pium genus hominum quando ab impiis Babylonia condebatur, non ad hoc valuit haec obscuritas ut quaerentis fraudaretur, sed potius ut exerceretur intentio. Cum enim legitur unam fuisse linguam primitus omnium et ante omnes filios Sem commendatur Heber, quamvis ex illo quintus oriatur, et Hebraea vocatur lingua, quam patriarcharum et prophetarum non solum in sermonibus suis, verum etiam in litteris sacris custodivit auctoritas profecto cum quaeritur in divisione linguarum ubi lingua illa remanere potuerit quae fuit ante communis—quae sine ulla dubitatione ubi remansit, non ibi fuit illa poena quae facta est mutatione linguarum—quid aliud occurrit, nisi quod in huius gente remanserit a cuius nomine nomen accepit, et hoc iustitiae gentis huius non parvum apparuisse vestigium quod, cum aliae gentes plecterentur mutatione linguarum, ad istam non pervenit tale supplicium?

Sed adhuc illud movet, quo modo potuerunt singulas gentes facere Heber et filius eius Phalech, si una lingua permansit ambobus. Et certe una est Hebraea gens ex Heber propagata usque ad Abraham, et per eum deinceps donec magnus fieret

capable of preserving God's covenants and the stock from which Christ sprang. Nor did Heber himself transmit the same language to all his progeny, but only to the line whose generations are traced down to Abraham. Wherefore, even though there is no explicit statement that there was any godly race of men at the time when Babylonia was founded by the wicked, this obscurity is not so great as to frustrate, but only to exercise, the ingenuity of any who investigate the question. For we read that all men originally shared one language, and Heber is singled out for mention before all the sons of Shem, though he is in the fifth generation from him, and the language that the authority of patriarchs and prophets has safeguarded, not only in their discourses but also in the sacred books, is called Hebrew. Surely when the question arises in connection with the division of languages, in what domain that early common language could have survived—and beyond any shadow of doubt the punishment involved in change of language was not imposed in any domain where this language survived—what other answer comes to mind save that it persisted in the family of the man from whose name its own was derived? Thus we find no slight indication of the righteousness of this tribe, in that, when other peoples were stricken by the change of languages, it alone was exempt from any such penalty.

But now my opponent brings up this point: How could Heber and his son Peleg found separate tribes if both kept the same language? And certainly the Hebrew tribe was propagated in a single line from Heber to Abraham, and thereafter through Abraham,

populus Israel. Quo modo igitur omnes filii, qui commemorati sunt trium filiorum Noe, fecerunt singulas gentes, si Heber et Phalech singulas non fecerunt? Nimirum illud est probabilius, quod gigans ille Nebroth fecerit etiam ipse gentem suam, sed propter excellentiam dominationis et corporis seorsum eminentius nominatus est ut maneat numerus septuaginta duarum gentium atque linguarum. Phalech autem propterea commemoratus est, non quod gentem fecerit—nam eadem ipsa est eius gens Hebraea eademque lingua—sed propter tempus insigne, quod in diebus eius terra divisa sit.

Nec movere nos debet, quo modo potuerit gigans Nebroth ad illud aetatis occurrere quo Babylon condita est et confusio facta linguarum atque ex hoc divisio gentium. Non enim quia Heber sextus est a Noe, ille autem quartus, ideo non potuerunt ad idem tempus convenire vivendo. Hoc enim contigit cum plus viverent ubi pauciores sunt generationes, minus ubi plures; aut serius nati essent ubi pauciores, maturius ubi plures. Sane intellegendum est, quando terra divisa est, non solum iam natos ceteros filios filiorum Noe, qui commemorantur patres gentium, sed etiam eius aetatis fuisse, ut numerosas familias haberent, quae dignae fuissent nominibus gentium. Unde nequaquam putandum quod eo fuerint ordine geniti quo commemorati leguntur.

until Israel became a great people. How, then, did it happen that the descendants of Noah's three sons who are recorded each founded a tribe of his own, whereas Heber and Peleg did not do so? Surely the most plausible explanation is that the giant Nimrod himself also founded his own tribe, but because of his outstanding power and physique he was named separately for greater distinction. Thus the number of seventy-two tribes and languages holds good. Moreover, the reason why Peleg was mentioned is not that he founded a tribe—for his tribe is none other than the Hebrew people itself, and his language is Hebrew—but to mark a notable epoch, since in his days the earth was divided.

We must not be disturbed by the question how the giant Nimrod could have lived at the time when Babylon was founded and the confusion of tongues occurred, and because of it the division of the tribes. For the fact that Heber is in the sixth generation from Noah, whereas Nimrod is in the fourth, does not preclude their having lived at the same time. It might well happen that men lived longer in cases where there were fewer generations, and a shorter time in cases where there are more. Or else men were born later in cases where there were fewer generations, and earlier in cases of more. Surely we must understand that when the earth was divided not only had the other descendants of Noah's sons been born, who are mentioned as the fathers of tribes, but they were actually old enough to have substantial families, worthy the name of tribes. Hence we must by no means assume that they were born in the same order as that in which they are listed. Otherwise, how

Alioquin duodecim filii Iectan, qui erat alius filius Heber, frater Phalech, quo modo potuerunt iam gentes facere, si post Phalech fratrem suum Iectan natus est, sicut post eum commemoratus est; quando quidem tempore quo natus est Phalech divisa est terra. Proinde intellegendum est priorem quidem nominatum, sed longe post fratrem suum Iectan fuisse natum, cuius Iectan duodecim filii tam grandes iam familias haberent ut in linguas proprias dividi possent.

Sic enim potuit prior commemorari qui erat aetate posterior, quem ad modum prius commemorati sunt ex tribus filiis Noe procreati filii Iapheth, qui erat minimus eorum; deinde filii Cham, qui erat medius; postremo filii Sem, qui erat primus et maximus. Illarum autem gentium vocabula partim manserunt, ita ut hodieque appareat unde fuerint derivata, sicut ex Assur Assyrii et ex Heber Hebraei; partim temporis vetustate mutata sunt ita ut vix homines doctissimi antiquissimas historias perscrutantes nec omnium sed aliquarum ex istis origines gentium potuerint reperire. Nam quod ex filio Cham, qui vocabatur Mesraim, Aegyptii perhibentur exorti, nulla hic resonat origo vocabuli; sicut nec Aethiopicum, qui dicuntur ad eum filium Cham pertinere qui Chus appellatus est. Et si omnia considerentur, plura mutata quam manentia nomina apparent.

¹ The Latin and modern European names for 'Egyptians' and 'Ethiopians' are derived from the Greek. These the LXX translators had substituted for the Hebrew 'Mizraim' and 'Cush,' but kept the latter in Genesis 10.6 for the 'sons of Ham.' The Greek names were in use as early as Homer, but are of obscure origin.

could the twelve sons of Joktan, who was another son of Heber, and brother of Peleg, have already founded tribes, if we assume that Joktan was born after his brother Peleg merely because he is listed after him? For indeed the earth was divided at the time when Peleg was born. Consequently, we must understand that he was indeed mentioned first, but was born long after his brother Joktan, whose twelve sons already had such large families that they could be divided, each with its own language.

For the son who was later in respect of age could be mentioned first, just as in the case of Noah's three sons. Those descended from his son Japheth, who was the youngest of them, were listed first, then those descended from Ham, the middle son, and last of all the sons of Shem, who was first and eldest. Moreover, the names of these tribes have survived in part, so that their derivation is clear even today; for example, the Assyrians from Assur and the Hebrews from Heber. Some names have been so changed in the course of time that even the most learned men, carefully scrutinizing the most ancient records, have not been able to discover the origins of them all, but only those of a few tribes. For the fact that the Egyptians are said to be descended from Ham's son who was called Mizraim preserves no echo of the origin of their name. A similar case is that of the Ethiopians, who are said to be descended from that son of Ham who was called Cush.¹ If, indeed, everything is taken into account, more names seem to have been changed than to have survived unaltered.

XII

*De articulo temporis in Abraham, a quo sanctae
successionis novus ordo contexitur.*

NUNC iam videamus procursum civitatis Dei etiam ab illo articulo temporis qui factus est in patre Abraham, unde incipit esse notitia eius evidenter, et ubi clariora leguntur promissa divina quae nunc in Christo videmus impleri. Sicut ergo scriptura sancta indicante didicimus, in regione Chaldaeorum natus est Abraham, quae terra ad regnum Assyrium pertinebat. Apud Chaldaeos autem iam etiam tunc superstitiones impiae praevalebant, quem ad modum per ceteras gentes. Una igitur Tharae domus erat, de quo natus est Abraham, in qua unius veri Dei cultus et, quantum credibile est, in qua iam sola etiam Hebraea lingua remanserat—quamvis et ipse, sicut iam manifestior Dei populus in Aegypto, ita in Mesopotamia servisse diis alienis Iesu Nave narrante referatur—ceteris ex progenie illius Heber in linguas paulatim alias et in nationes alias defluentibus.

Proinde sicut per aquarum diluvium una domus

¹ Literally 'from the joint,' or 'turning-point' of time. Augustine divided world history into six ages, of which the third began with Abraham. See 16.43 on p. 203, below, with note 2; also 22.30. The casual reference to the 'new era' suggests that the whole scheme was already familiar to Augustine's readers.

² Genesis 11.28, according to the Old Latin and LXX versions. The Vulgate, which follows the Hebrew text, has "in the land of his birth, in Ur of the Chaldeans." According to the chronology of Eusebius and Jerome, which Augustine regularly follows (see 16.16 on pp. 90 f. below, with note 2),

XII

*On the beginning of a new era with Abraham, when the
new order of the sacred succession sets in.*

LET us now survey the progress of the city of God from that new era of time¹ which began with the life of father Abraham. For from his time the evidence for the city of God becomes more explicit, and there are clearer indications of divine promises which we now see fulfilled in Christ. As we have learned, then, from the account in the holy Scripture, Abraham was born in the Chaldean region,² a land that belonged to the Assyrian power. Moreover, even at that time godless superstitions prevailed among the Chaldeans, as they did among other peoples. So it was only in the house of Terah, of whom Abraham was born, that the worship of the one true God had survived, and, as we may well believe, the Hebrew language also—yet Terah himself is reported by Joshua³ to have served strange gods in Mesopotamia,⁴ even as God's people are more definitely known to have done in Egypt—whereas the other descendants of Heber gradually drifted away to other languages and other nations.

Thenceforward, just as only the family of Noah had

Abraham was born in 2150 B.C. This would be in the 'golden age' of Babylonia, when Ur had a history of a thousand years. The Assyrian power did not extend to this region until after 1000 B.C. (see Leonard Wooley, *Ur of the Chaldees*, 1952, pp. 29, 139).

³ The Latin 'Iesu Nave' (for 'Joshua the son of Nun') is from the LXX, thus distinguished from Jesus of the New Testament.

⁴ Joshua 24.2.

Noe remanserat ad reparandum genus humanum, sic in diluvio multarum superstitionum per univ-
sum mundum una remanserat domus Tharae, in
qua custodita est plantatio civitatis Dei. Denique
sicut illic enumeratis supra generationibus usque ad
Noe simul cum annorum numeris et exposita diluvii
causa, priusquam Deus inciperet de arca fabricanda
loqui ad Noe, dicitur; *Hae autem generationes Noe*, ita
et hic enumeratis generationibus ab illo qui est
appellatus Sem, filio Noe, usque ad Abraham,
deinde insignis articulus similiter ponitur ut dicatur:
*Hae sunt generationes Tharae. Thara genuit Abram
et Nachor et Arran, et Arran genuit Loth. Et mortuus
est Arran coram Thara patre suo in terra in qua natus
est, in regione Chaldaeorum. Et sumpsit Abram et
Nachor sibi uxores; nomen mulieris Abram Sara et
nomen mulieris Nachor Melcha, filia Arran. Iste
Arran pater Melchae fuit et pater Iescae, quae
Iesca creditur ipsa esse etiam Sarra uxor Abrahae.*

XIII

*Quae ratio fecisse videatur ut in transmigratione Tharae,
qua Chaldaeos deserens in Mesopotamiam transiit, nulla
filii eius Nachor facta sit mentio.*

DEINDE narratur quem ad modum Thara cum suis
regionem reliquerit Chaldaeorum et venerit in Mesop-
otamiam et habitaverit in Charra. Tacetur autem

¹ Genesis 6.9.

² Genesis 11.27-29.

survived the flood of waters, to provide for the restora-
tion of mankind, so in the flood of manifold super-
stitions that engulfed the entire world, only the
family of Terah had survived to serve as the nursery
of the city of God. Finally, in the earlier instance
the words: "These, moreover, are the generations
of Noah,"¹ follow the listing of the generations to
Noah's time, together with the number of years for
each and the explanation of the cause of the flood,
before God began to speak to men about building the
ark. In precisely the same way, in the present in-
stance, after listing the generations from the man
called Shem, Noah's son, down to Abraham, a new
era is clearly indicated by the words: "These are the
generations of Terah. Terah begot Abram and
Nahor and Haran, and Haran begot Lot. And
Haran died in the presence of his father Terah in the
land where he was born, in the Chaldean region.
And Abram and Nahor took themselves wives. The
name of Abram's wife was Sarah, and Nahor's wife
was Milcah, the daughter of Haran."² This Haran
was the father of Milcah and of Iscah, and Iscah is
believed to be identical with Sarah, the wife of
Abraham.

XIII

*What reason seems to have caused the omission of Terah's
son Nahor from the account of his migration when he left
the Chaldeans and crossed over into Mesopotamia.*

NEXT follows an account of how Terah and his
family left the land of the Chaldeans and arrived in
Mesopotamia and settled in Haran. Nothing, how-

de uno eius filio qui vocabatur Nachor, tamquam eum non duxerit secum. Nam ita narratur: *Et sumpsit Thara Abram filium suum et Loth filium Arran, filium filii sui, et Saram nurum suam, uxorem Abram filii sui, et eduxit illos de regione Chaldaeorum ire in terram Chanaan; et venit in Charran et habitavit ibi.* Nusquam hic nominatus est Nachor et uxor eius Melcha. Sed invenimus postea, cum servum suum mitteret Abraham ad accipiendam uxorem filio suo Isaac, ita scriptum: *Et accepit puer decem camelos de camelis domini sui et de omnibus bonis domini sui secum, et exurgens profectus est in Mesopotamiam in civitatem Nachor.*

Isto et aliis sacrae huius historiae testimoniis ostenditur etiam Nachor frater Abrahae exisse de regione Chaldaeorum sedesque constituisse in Mesopotamia, ubi cum patre suo habitaverat Abraham. Cur ergo eum scriptura non commemoravit, quando ex gente Chaldaea cum suis profectus est Thara et habitavit in Mesopotamia; ubi non solum Abraham filius eius, verum etiam Sarra nurus et Loth nepos eius commemorantur, quod eos duxerit secum? Cur, putamus, nisi forte quod a paterna et fraterna pietate desciverat et superstitioni adhaeserat Chaldaeorum et postea inde sive paenitendo sive perse-

¹ Genesis 11.31. Haran (Harran, Charran) is in northern Mesopotamia, and is famous in Roman history as Carrhae, the site of the battle where Crassus and his army were defeated by the Parthians in 53 B.C.

² Genesis 24.10. 'Mesopotamia' is the Greek rendering of the Hebrew *Aram-naharaim*, or 'Syria of the two rivers,' a country that stretches eastward from maritime Syria.

ever, is said about one of his sons, who was called Nahor, as if to imply that he did not take him along. For the tale runs thus: "And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sara his daughter-in-law, and led them forth from the land of the Chaldeans to go into the land of Canaan, and he came to Haran and settled there."¹ Here there is no mention whatever of Nahor and his wife Milcah. But later on, when Abraham sent his slave to bring home a wife for his son Isaac, we find these words: "And the boy took ten camels from among his lord's camels, and he took with him a portion of all his lord's goods, and he arose and departed into Mesopotamia to the city of Nahor."²

By this passage and by other statements in this sacred history Nahor also, Abraham's brother, is shown to have gone out from the Chaldean region and to have established his residence in Mesopotamia, where Abraham had settled with his father. Why, then, did the Scripture fail to mention him when Terah set out from among the Chaldean people with his household and settled in Mesopotamia, whereas it is stated that he took with him not only his son Abraham but also his daughter-in-law Sarah and his nephew Lot? What reason can we give except perhaps that Nahor had abandoned his father's and brother's religion and had embraced the superstition of the Chaldeans, and it was later when he, too, emigrated, either because he repented of his error

For Greek and Roman writers Mesopotamia is the country of the Tigris and Euphrates, usually excluding the southern portion which was known as Babylonia or Chaldea. See *OCD*.

cutionem passus, quod suspectus haberetur, et ipse emigravit?

In libro enim qui inscribitur Iudith, cum quaereret Holofernes, hostis Israelitarum, quaenam illa gens esset, utrum adversus eam bellandum fuisset, sic ei respondit Achior dux Ammanitarum: *Audiat dominus noster verbum de ore pueri sui, et referam tibi veritatem de populo qui habitat iuxta te montanam hanc, et non exhibit mendacium de ore servi tui. Haec enim progenies populi est Chaldaeorum, et antea habitaverunt Mesopotamiam, quia noluerunt sequi deos patrum suorum, qui fuerunt in terra Chaldaeorum gloriosi, sed declinaverunt de via parentum suorum et adoraverunt Deum caeli, quem cognoverunt, et proiecerunt eos a facie deorum suorum et fugerunt Mesopotamiam et habitaverunt ibi dies multos. Dixitque illis Deus eorum ut exirent de habitatione sua et irent in terram Chanaan, et illic habitaverunt, et cetera, quae narrat Achior Ammanites. Unde manifestum est domum Tharae persecutionem passam fuisse a Chaldaeis pro vera pietate, qua unus et verus ab eis colebatur Deus.*

XIV

De annis Tharae, qui in Charra vitae suae tempus implevit.

DEFUNCTO autem Thara in Mesopotamia, ubi vixisse perhibetur ducentos et quinque annos, iam

¹ Judith 5.5-9.

or because he was persecuted when he came under suspicion?

For in the book of Judith, when Holofernes, the enemy of the Israelites, asked what race they were and whether he should make war on them, Achior the leader of the Ammonites answered him thus: "Let our Lord hear a word from his servant's mouth, and I will tell you the truth about the people that live in this hilly land near you, and no lie shall pass your servant's lips. These people, then, are descendants of the Chaldeans, and formerly lived in Mesopotamia, because they were not willing to follow the gods of their fathers, who were of great repute in the land of the Chaldeans. They turned aside from the ways of their parents and worshipped the God of heaven, whom they had come to know. They cast them out from before the face of their gods, and they fled to Mesopotamia and lived there many days. And their God bade them leave their dwellings and go into the land of Canaan, and there they abode," and so forth, according to the account given by Achior the Ammonite.¹ From this it is clear that the household of Terah suffered persecution at the hands of the Chaldeans for the true religion, whereby they worshipped the one true God.

XIV

On the years of Terah, who completed the span of his life in Haran.

Now at the time when Terah died in Mesopotamia, where he is said to have lived two hundred and five

incipiunt indicari ad Abraham factae promissiones Dei, quod ita scriptum est: *Et fuerunt dies Tharae in Charra quinque et ducenti anni, et mortuus est Thara in Charra.* Non sic autem accipiendum est quasi omnes hos dies ibi egerit, sed quia omnes dies vitae suae, qui fuerunt anni ducenti quinque, ibi compleverit; alioquin nescietur quot annos vixerit Thara, quoniam non legitur quoto anno vitae suae in Charran venerit; et absurdum est existimare in ista serie generationum ubi diligenter commemoratur quot annos quisque vixerit, huius solius numerum annorum vitae non commendatum esse memoriae. Quod enim quorundam quos eadem scriptura commemorat tacentur anni, non sunt in hoc ordine in quo temporum dinumeratio decessione gignentium et genitorum successione contexitur. Iste autem ordo, qui dirigitur ab Adam usque ad Noe et inde usque ad Abraham, sine numero annorum vitae suae neminem continet.

XV

De tempore projectionis Abrahae, qua secundum praeceptum Dei exiit de Charra.

QUOD vero commemorata morte Tharae, patris Abraham, deinde legitur: *Et dixit Dominus ad Abram: Exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua et de domo patris tui et cetera, non quia hoc sequitur in sermone*

¹ Genesis 11.32.

² Genesis 12.1.

years, God's promises made to Abraham were already beginning to be revealed, for it is written: "And the days of Terah in Haran were two hundred and five years, and Terah died in Haran."¹ We must not, however, take this to mean that he spent all his days there, but only that he completed there the days of his life, which amounted to two hundred and five years. Otherwise we should not know how many years Terah lived, since we are not told at what age he came to Haran. It is absurd to suppose that in this listing of generations, where the total years of each man's life are carefully recorded, the number of years of this man's life alone were not put on record. For the omission of the age of certain men whom the same Scripture mentions is due to their having no place in that line in which the chronological pattern is worked out according to the deaths of fathers and their sons' succession. This line, however, which extends from Adam to Noah and from him to Abraham, does not mention any individual without stating the years of his life.

XV

On the time of Abraham's departure, when at God's command he went away from Haran.

BUT the account that we read after the mention of the death of Terah, Abraham's father; "And the Lord said to Abram: 'Depart from your land and from your kindred and from the house of your father,'"² and so forth, must not be supposed to follow Terah's death in the actual order of events, merely

libri hoc etiam in rerum gestarum tempore sequi existimandum est. Erit quippe, si ita est, insolubilis quaestio. Post haec enim verba Dei quae ad Abraham facta sunt scriptura sic loquitur: *Et exiit Abram, quem ad modum locutus est ei Dominus, et abiit cum eo Loth. Abram autem erat quinque et septuaginta annorum, cum exiit ex Charra.* Quo modo potest hoc esse verum, si post mortem patris sui exiit de Charra? Cum enim esset Thara septuaginta annorum, sicut supra intimatum est, genuit Abraham; cui numero additis septuaginta quinque annis, quos agebat Abraham, quando egressus est de Charra, fiunt anni centum quadraginta quinque. Tot igitur annorum erat Thara, quando exiit Abraham de illa Mesopotamiae civitate; agebat enim annum aetatis suae septuagensimum quintum, ac per hoc pater eius, qui eum septuagensimo anno suo genuerat, agebat, ut dictum est, centensimum quadragensimum et quintum. Non ergo inde post mortem patris, id est post ducentos quinque annos, quibus pater eius vixit, egressus est; sed annus de illo loco protectionis eius, quoniam ipsius septuagensimus quintus erat, procul dubio patris eius, qui eum septuagensimo suo anno genuerat, centensimus quadragensimus quintus fuisse colligitur.

Ac per hoc intellegendum est more suo scripturam redisse ad tempus quod iam narratio illa transierat; sicut superius, cum filios filiorum Noe commemorasset, dixit illos fuisse in linguis et gentibus suis, et tamen postea, quasi hoc etiam in ordine temporum

because it comes next in the words of the book. Indeed, if it does, an insoluble problem will arise. For after these words of God to Abraham, the Scripture continues: "And Abram departed, as the Lord told him to do, and Lot went with him. Now Abram was seventy-five years old when he departed from Haran."¹ How can this be true, if he left Haran after his father's death? For when Terah was seventy years old, as was stated above,² he begot Abraham. Adding the seventy-five years of Abraham's age when he left Haran to this number makes a total of a hundred and forty-five years. This, then, was Terah's age when Abraham left that city of Mesopotamia, for Abraham was then in his seventy-fifth year, and consequently his father, who had begotten him in his seventieth year, was, as I have said, a hundred and forty-five years old. Hence he did not leave after his father's death, that is, after the two hundred and five years of his father's lifetime, but the year of his departure from that place, since it was the seventy-fifth of his own age, is unquestionably found to be the hundred and forty-fifth year of his father, who had begotten him in his seventieth year.

Soby this account we must understand that the Scripture, as often, was reverting to a time that its narrative had already covered, just as in the earlier case, after listing the sons of Noah, it said that they lived according to their languages and their tribes,³ and then afterwards, as if this also followed in chronological

¹ Genesis 12.4.

² In the Biblical narrative (Genesis 11.26) it had been stated

that "Terah lived seventy years, and begot Abram, Nahor, and Haran."

³ Genesis 10.31.

sequeretur: *Et erat, inquit, omnis terra labium unum et vox una omnibus.* Quo modo ergo secundum suas gentes et secundum suas linguas erant, si una erat omnibus, nisi quia ad illud quod iam transierat recapitulando est reversa narratio? Sic ergo et hic cum dictum esset: *Et fuerunt dies Tharae in Charra quinque et ducenti anni, et mortuus est Thara in Charra, deinde scriptura redeundo ad id quod ideo praetermiserat ut prius de Thara id quod incohatum fuerat compleretur: Et dixit, inquit, Dominus ad Abram: Exi de terra tua et cetera.* Post quae Dei verba subiungitur: *Et exiit Abram, quem ad modum locutus est illi Dominus, et abiit cum eo Loth. Abram autem erat quinque et septuaginta annorum, cum exiit ex Charra.* Tunc itaque factum est, quando pater eius centensimum quadragensimum et quintum annum agebat aetatis; tunc enim fuit huius septuagensimus quintus. Soluta est autem ista quaestio et aliter, ut septuaginta quinque anni Abrahae, quando egressus est de Charra, ex illo computarentur ex quo de Igne Chaldaeorum liberatus, non ex quo natus est, tamquam tunc potius natus habendus sit.

¹ Genesis 11.1, a passage discussed in 16.4, pp. 25 f. above.

² On "recapitulation" see note of Chapter V, pp. 32 f. above.

³ Genesis 11.32.

⁴ Genesis 12.1.

⁵ Genesis 12.4.

⁶ In his *Questions on the Heptateuch* 1.25 (CSEL 28.2, 12–15) written about 419, Augustine had proposed three possible explanations. The second of these is taken from Jerome's *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, pp. 19 f. Lagarde, where a Jewish legend is related, based on a translation of the Hebrew as "the fire of the Chaldaeans," not "Ur of the Chaldaeans." Abram, it is said, refused to worship the

order, it says: "And all the earth was of one tongue; and all men had one speech."¹ How, then, did they live according to their tribes and their languages, if all shared a single one, unless we assume that the narrative, in its recapitulation,² has here returned to events that had already been told? In the same way, therefore, in the present instance, after the Scripture has said: "And the days of Terah in Haran were two hundred and five years, and Terah died in Haran,"³ it then returns to a point that had been omitted before in order that the account of Terah which had been commenced might first be completed. "And the Lord," it says, "said to Abram: 'Depart from your land,'" and so forth.⁴ And after these words of God we read: "And Abram departed as the Lord commanded him, and Lot went with him. Now Abram was seventy-five years old when he departed from Haran."⁵ This happened, therefore, when his father was in the hundred and forty-fifth year of his age, for this was Abraham's seventy-fifth year. Another solution of this question, however, is that Abraham's seventy-five years when he departed from Haran were computed from the time of his liberation from the fire of the Chaldeans, not from his birth, as though one should consider him to have been born on the later occasion.⁶

fire-god, and so was put into a fire, from which he was freed by the help of God. He then departed from the region, and his age was reckoned from that time. Jerome invites his readers to find another explanation of the chronological problem, if they can. Augustine proposes three solutions: (1) the argument from 'recapitulation' here offered; (2) the legend about the 'fire of the Chaldaeans'; and (3) the suggestion that since Terah could not have begotten all three sons at the

Sed beatus Stephanus in actibus apostolorum cum ista narraret: *Deus*, inquit, *gloriae apparuit Abraham patri nostro, cum esset in Mesopotamia, priusquam habitaret in Charra, et ait ad illum: Exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua et de domo patris tui, et veni in terram, quam tibi demonstrabo. Secundum haec verba Stephani non post mortem patris eius locutus est Deus Abrahæ, qui utique in Charra mortuus est, ubi cum illo et ipse filius habitavit, sed priusquam habitaret in eadem civitate, iam tamen cum esset in Mesopotamia. Iam ergo exierat a Chaldaeis.* Quod itaque adiungit Stephanus: *Tunc Abraham egressus est de terra Chaldaeorum et habitavit in Charra*, non quid sit factum, postea quam locutus est illi Deus—neque enim post illa Dei verba egressus est de terra Chaldaeorum, cum dicat ei locutum Deum cum esset in Mesopotamia—sed ad totum illud tempus pertinet quod ait: “Tunc, id est ex quo, egressus est a Chaldaeis et habitavit in Charra.” Item quod sequitur: *Et inde postquam mortuus est pater eius, conlocavit illum in terra hac, in qua vos nunc habitatis et patres vestri*, non ait: “Postquam mortuus est pater eius, exiit de Charra”; sed: “Inde hic eum conlocavit, postquam mortuus est pater eius.”

Intellegendum est igitur locutum Deum fuisse ad Abraham cum esset in Mesopotamia priusquam

age of seventy (see note 2, pp. 80 f.), Abram may have been the youngest of the three, and enough younger to solve the riddle.

Many of the Biblical difficulties discussed in this book had been dealt with previously in *Questions on the Heptateuch*,

But the blessed Stephen, when he told the same story in the Acts of the Apostles, said: “The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he settled in Haran, and said to him: ‘Depart from your land and from your kindred and from the house of your father, and come into the land that I shall show you.’”¹ According to these words of Stephen, God did not speak to Abraham after the death of his father, who certainly died in Haran, where Abraham too lived with him as his son, but before he settled in that city, although he was already in Mesopotamia. So he had already left the Chaldeans. For Stephen’s additional statement: “Then Abraham went forth from the land of the Chaldeans and settled in Haran,” does not indicate what happened after God spoke to him—for he did not go out of the Chaldean land after God’s instructions to him, since Stephen says that God spoke to him when he was already in Mesopotamia—but it refers to that period as a whole, inasmuch as he says ‘then,’ that is, after the time when “he went forth from the Chaldeans and settled in Haran.” Likewise the following words: “And then after his father died, he settled him in this land, where you now dwell, and your fathers before you,”² do not mean ‘after his father died, he departed from Haran,’ but ‘after his father died, then he settled him here.’

We must therefore understand that God had spoken to Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia,

but Augustine seems now to have reached more settled opinions on a number of them.

¹ Acts 7.2 f.

² Acts 7.4.

habitaret in Charra, sed eum in Charram pervenisse cum patre, retento apud se praecepto Dei, et inde exisse septuagensimo et quinto suo, patris autem sui centesimo quadragensimo et quinto anno. Conlocationem vero eius in terra Chanaan, non perfectionem de Charra post mortem patris eius factam esse dicit, quia iam mortuus erat pater eius quando emit terram cuius ibi iam suae rei coepit esse possessor. Quod autem iam in Mesopotamia constituto, hoc est iam egresso de terra Chaldaeorum, dicit Deus: *Exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua et de domo patris tui*, non ut corpus inde eiceret, quod iam fecerat, sed ut animum avelleret, dicitur. Non enim exierat inde animo, si spe redeundi et desiderio tenebatur, quae spes et desiderium Deo iubente ac iuvante et illo oboediente fuerat amputandum. Non sane incredibiliter existimatur, cum postea secutus esset Nachor patrem suum, tunc Abraham praeceptum Domini implesse, ut cum Sarra coniuge sua et Loth filio fratris sui exiret de Charra.

XVI

De ordine et qualitate promissionum Dei, quae ad Abraham factae sunt.

IAM considerandae sunt promissiones Dei factae ad Abraham. In his enim apertiora Dei nostri, hoc est Dei veri, oracula apparere coeperunt de populo

¹ Genesis 17.1.

before he lived in Haran, but that he had come into Haran with his father, following God's commands, and had departed thence in his seventy-fifth year, which was his father's hundred and forty-fifth year. Now his settling in the land of Canaan does not imply that he left Haran after his father's death, for his father was already dead when Abraham bought the land of which he then first became owner in his own right. Furthermore, God's words to him when he was already settled in Mesopotamia, that is, when he had already left the land of the Chaldeans: "Depart from your land and from your kindred and from the house of your father,"¹ were not said to make him remove his body from that place, which he had already done, but to detach his mind from it. For he had not departed thence in spirit if he was bound by the hope and desire of returning, which hope and desire had to be cut off by the command and help of God and by his own obedience. Surely there is no reason to disbelieve that it was at the time when Nahor followed after his father that Abraham fulfilled the Lord's command to go out of Haran with Sarah his wife, and Lot, his brother's son.

XVI

On the order and the nature of God's promises that were made to Abraham.

WE must now examine the promises of God made to Abraham. For in these were first made more manifest the oracles of our God, that is of the true God, about the nation of his worshippers, which the authority of

piorum quem prophetica praeunntiavit auctoritas. Harum prima ita legitur: *Et dixit Dominus ad Abram: Exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua et de domo patris tui et vade in terram, quam tibi demonstravero; et faciam te in gentem magnam et benedicam te et magnificabo nomen tuum, et eris benedictus, et benedicam benedicentes te et maledicentes te maledicam, et benedicentur in te omnes tribus terrae.*

Advertendum est igitur duas res promissas Abrahae; unam scilicet, quod terram Chanaan possessurum fuerat semen eius, quod significatur ubi dictum est: *Vade in terram, quam tibi demonstravero, et faciam te in gentem magnam;* aliam vero longe praestantiores non de carnali, sed de spiritali semine, per quod patër est non unius gentis Israeliticae, sed omnium gentium quae fidei eius vestigia consequuntur, quod promitti coepit his verbis: *Et benedicentur in te omnes tribus terrae.* Hanc promissionem factam arbitratur Eusebius septuagesimo quinto anno aetatis Abrahae, tamquam mox ut facta est de Charra exierit Abraham; quoniam scripturae contradici non potest, ubi legitur: *Abram erat quinque et septuaginta annorum, cum exiit ex Charra.* Sed si eo anno facta est ista promissio, iam utique in Charra cum patre suo demorabatur Abraham. Neque enim exire inde posset, nisi prius ibi habitasset. Numquidnam ergo contradicitur Stephano dicenti: *Deus gloriae apparuit Abrahae patri nostro, cum esset in Mesopotamia, priusquam habitaret*

the prophets heralded. The first of these promises reads as follows: "And the Lord said to Abram: 'Depart from your land and from your kindred and from your father's house and go into the land that I shall show you; and I will make of you a great nation, and will bless you, and make your name great, and you shall be blessed, and I will bless those that bless you and curse those that curse you, and in you shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed.'" ¹

We must note, then, that two promises were made to Abraham. One, indeed, is that his seed should possess the land of Canaan, and this is indicated by the words: "Go into the land that I shall show you, and I will make of you a great nation." But the other is much more notable, since it refers not to his carnal but to his spiritual seed, by which he is father not alone of the people of Israel, but of all peoples who follow in the footsteps of his faith. And this promise was first made in these words: "And in you shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed." Eusebius thinks that this promise was made in the seventy-fifth year of Abraham's life,² on the ground that Abraham left Haran as soon as it had been made, inasmuch as the words of the Scripture cannot be contradicted, in which we read: "Abram was seventy-five years old when he went away from Haran."³ But if the promise was made in that year, Abraham was certainly already sojourning with his father in Haran. For he could not have departed there, unless he had lived there previously. Is there, then, any real contradiction in Stephen's words: "The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he lived in

¹ Genesis 12.1-3.

² Jerome, *Chronicle*, a. Abr. 75 (Eusebius ed. Helm, *GCS* 24, 23a).

³ Genesis 12.1.

in Charra? Sed intellegendum est quod eodem anno facta sint omnia, et Dei promissio, antequam in Charra habitaret Abraham, et in Charra habitatio eius et inde profectio; non solum quia Eusebius in chronicis ab anno huius promissionis computat et ostendit post quadringentos et triginta annos exitum esse de Aegypto, quando lex data est, verum etiam quia id commemorat apostolus Paulus.

XVII

De tribus excellentioribus gentium regnis, quorum unum, id est Assyriorum, iam Abraham genito sublimius eminebat.

PER idem tempus eminentia regna erant gentium, in quibus terrigenarum civitas, hoc est societas hominum secundum hominem viventium, sub dominatu angelorum desertorum insignius exellebat, regna videlicet tria, Sicyoniorum, Aegyptiorum, Assyriorum. Sed Assyriorum multo erat potentius

¹ Acts 7.2.

² Galatians 3.17. This passage is cited also by Eusebius.

³ The reference to the three kingdoms is an anticipation of the account of their history which begins 18.2 p. 367, below. The synchronism with Abraham is taken from Eusebius' chronicle (*GCS* 24, 20 ed. Helm). Eusebius, in turn, is dependent on Castor of Rhodes for the chronology of Oriental, Greek and Roman history, beginning with Ninus and continuing to 61 B.C. As for Greek chronology, there were trustworthy records of victors in the quadrennial Olympic

Haran"?¹ No, for we must understand that all this happened in the same year—God's promise before Abraham lived in Haran, his living in Haran and his departure from the place. We must assume this not only because Eusebius in his chronicle reckons from the year of this promise and shows that the exodus from Egypt, when the law was given, took place four hundred and thirty years later, but also because the apostle Paul mentions it.²

XVII

On the three most powerful kingdoms of the Gentiles, one of which, that of the Assyrians, was already notable in power when Abraham was born.

AT this same time there were eminent kingdoms of the Gentiles, in which the city of earth-born men, that is, the society of men who live by human standards, reached great heights under the domination of the rebellious angels. There were three of these kingdoms, those of the Sicyonians, the Egyptians and the Assyrians.³ But the Assyrian was much more

games from 776 B.C. For earlier periods there was myth and legend, and lists of kings whose dates could be filled in, back to the Trojan war and before. Sicyon, near Corinth, was, as Augustine remarks (18.2 p. 369, below), a very small kingdom, but preserved a list of kings which reached back to the time of Assyrian Ninus, about 2000 B.C.! Thus for Castor, Eusebius, Augustine and the chroniclers which followed during a thousand years, Sicyon achieved the distinction of first place in the chronology of European history. See *OCD* under "Castor of Rhodes," and Jacoby's collection of fragments, with commentary, there cited. On Ninus and the legendary history of Assyria see 4.6, Volume II, p. 22, and note 1.

atque sublimius. Nam rex ille Ninus Beli filius excepta India universae Asiae populos subiugaverat. Asiam nunc dico non illam partem quae huius maioris Asiae una provincia est, sed eam quae universa Asia nuncupatur, quam quidam in altera duarum, plerique autem in tertia totius orbis parte posuerunt, ut sint omnes Asia, Europa et Africa; quod non aequali divisione fecerunt. Namque ista quae Asia nuncupatur a meridie per orientem usque ad septentrionem pervenit; Europa vero a septentrione usque ad occidentem, atque inde Africa ab occidente usque ad meridiem. Unde videntur orbem dimidium duae tenere, Europa et Africa, alium vero dimidium sola Asia. Sed ideo illae duae partes factae sunt quia inter utramque ab Oceano ingreditur quidquid aquarum terras interluit; et hoc mare magnum nobis facit. Quapropter si in duas partes orbem divides, Orientis et Occidentis, Asia erit in una, in altera vero Europa et Africa. Quam ob rem trium regnorum quae tunc praecellebant Sicyoniorum non erat sub Assyriis, quia in Europa sunt; Aegyptiorum autem quo modo eis non subiacebat, a quibus tota Asia tenebatur, solis Indis, ut perhibetur, exceptis?

In Assyria igitur praevaluerat dominatus impiae civitatis; huius caput erat illa Babylon, cuius terrigenae civitatis nomen aptissimum est, id est confusio. Ibi iam Ninus regnabat post mortem patris sui Beli, qui primus illic regnaverat sexaginta

powerful and lofty than the others. For the famous king Ninus, son of Bel, had subjugated the peoples of the whole of Asia, with the single exception of India. Now by Asia I do not mean that portion which is only a province of greater Asia, but what we call the whole of Asia, which certain men have counted as one of the two divisions of the world, while the majority make it one of three parts of the whole, Asia, Europe and Africa. This division is not an equal one. For the part called Asia stretches from the south eastward to the north; Europe from the north to the west, and Africa, adjoining it, from the west to the south. Consequently two divisions, Europe and Africa, are seen to occupy half the world, while Asia alone occupies the other half. But the first two are considered distinct portions of the world because between them enters from the Ocean the body of water that flows between their shores, and this forms our Great Sea. Therefore, if you divide the world into two parts, east and west, Asia will be in one, and Europe and Africa in the other. For this reason, of the three powers that were pre-eminent at that time, that of the Sicyonians, being located in Europe, was not subject to the Assyrians. But how could the Egyptians fail to be subject to those by whom all Asia was held, with the single exception of India, as we are told?

So in Assyria the domination of the wicked city had acquired great power. Its head was that Babylon whose name 'Confusion' is most appropriate for the earthborn city. There Ninus was reigning at this time after the death of his father Bel, who was the first to reign there, for sixty-five years. Now his

quinque annos. Filius vero eius Ninus, qui defuncto patri successit in regnum, quinquaginta duo regnavit annos, et habebat in regno quadraginta tres quando natus est Abraham, qui erat annus circiter millensimus ducentissimus ante conditam Romam, veluti alteram in occidente Babyloniam.

XVIII

De iterato alloquio Dei ad Abraham, quo ei et semini eius Chanaan terra promittitur.

EGRESSUS ergo Abraham de Charra septuagensimo quinto anno aetatis suae, centesimo autem quadragensimo et quinto patris sui, cum Loth filio fratris et Sarra coniuge perrexit in terram Chanaan et pervenit usque ad Sichem, ubi rursus divinum accepit oraculum, de quo ita scriptum est: *Et apparuit Dominus Abrae, et dixit illi: Semini tuo dabo terram hanc. Nihil hic de illo semine dictum est, in quo pater factus est omnium gentium, sed de illo solo de quo pater est unius Israeliticae gentis, ab hoc enim semine terra illa possessa est.*

XIX

De Sarrae pudicitia in Aegypto per Deum custodita, quam Abraham non uxorem suam esse dixerat, sed sororem.

DEINDE aedificato ibi altari et invocato Deo, Abraham profectus est inde et habitavit in heremo

¹ Genesis 12.7.

son Ninus, who succeeded to the kingdom on his father's death, reigned fifty-two years and had completed forty-three years of his reign when Abraham was born. This was about twelve hundred years before the founding of Rome, which was to be, so to speak, a second Babylonia in the west.

XVIII

On God's second address to Abraham, in which the land of Canaan is promised to him and to his seed.

ABRAHAM, then, departed from Haran in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the hundred and forty-fifth year of his father. He journeyed with Lot, his brother's son, and with his wife Sarah, to the land of Canaan, and went as far as Shechem, where he again received a divine oracle, of which this is written: "And the Lord appeared to Abram, and said to him: 'I will give this land to your seed.'" ¹ There is no reference here to that seed by virtue of which he became the father of all the nations, but only to that by which he is the father of the single Israelite nation, for it was by this seed that the land was occupied.

XIX

How God in Egypt guarded the chastity of Sarah, whom Abraham had called his sister instead of his wife.

AFTER this Abraham built an altar in that place, and calling on the name of God, departed thence and

atque inde ire in Aegyptum famis necessitate compulsus est. Ubi uxorem suam dixit sororem, nihil mentitus; erat enim et hoc, quia propinqua erat sanguine; sicut etiam Loth eadem propinquitate, cum fratris eius esset filius, frater eius est dictus. Itaque uxorem tacuit, non negavit, coniugis tuendam pudicitiam committens Deo et humanas insidias cavens ut homo; quoniam, si periculum quantum caveri poterat non caveret, magis temptaret Deum quam speraret in Deum. De qua re contra calumniantem Faustum Manichaeum satis diximus. Denique factum est quod de Domino praesumpsit Abraham. Nam Pharaon rex Aegypti, qui eam sibi uxorem acceperat, graviter adflictus marito reddidit. Ubi absit ut credamus alieno concubitu fuisse pollutam, quia multo est credibilius hoc Pharaonem facere adflictionibus magnis non fuisse permissum.

XX

De secessione Loth et Abrahae, quae illis salva caritate conplacuit.

REVERSO igitur Abraham ex Aegypto in locum unde venerat, tunc Loth fratris filius ab illo in terram Sodomorum salva caritate discessit. Divites quippe facti erant pastoresque multos pecorum

lived in the desert, and from there he was forced by pressure of famine to go into Egypt. When he said that his wife was his sister ¹ this was no falsehood, for she was this too, being closely related to him. So also Lot, who bore the same relationship to him, was called his brother, though he was actually his brother's son. And so Abraham kept silence about her status as his wife, but did not deny it, entrusting his wife's chastity to God, and as a man guarding against human treachery. For not to take all possible precautions against danger would have been to test God rather than to put his hope in him. But I have discussed this point sufficiently in my answer to the falsehoods of Faustus the Manichaeon.² And Abraham's confidence in God was justified by the outcome. For Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who had taken Sarah to be his wife, was sorely afflicted, and returned her to her husband. Far be it from us to believe that she had been stained by unlawful intercourse, for it is much more worthy of credence that Pharaoh was thwarted in his design by his grievous sufferings.

XX

On the separation of Lot and Abraham by mutual agreement, without detriment to their brotherly love.

Now when Abraham returned from Egypt to the place from which he had come, Lot his brother's son went away from him into the land of Sodom, with no detriment to their love for one another. For in truth they had grown rich, and had begun to have

¹ Genesis 12.7 to end.

² *Contra Faustum* 22.36 (CSEL 25¹, 629). On Faustus, the Manichaeon bishop, and his criticism of the Old Testament, see the introduction of this volume, p. xi.

habere coeperant, quibus inter se rixantibus eo modo familiarum suarum pugnacem discordiam vitaverunt. Poterat quippe hinc, ut sunt humana, etiam inter ipsos aliqua rixa consurgere. Proinde hoc malum praecaventis Abrahae verba ista sunt ad Loth: *Non sit rixa inter me et te, et inter pastores meos et inter pastores tuos, quia homines fratres nos sumus. Nonne ecce tota terra ante te est? Discede a me; si tu in sinistram, ego in dextram; vel si tu in dextram, ego in sinistram.* Hinc fortassis effecta est inter homines pacifica consuetudo ut, quando terrenorum aliquid partiendum est, maior dividat, minor eligat.

XXI

De tertia promissione Dei qua terram Chanaan Abrahae et semini eius in perpetuum pollicetur.

CUM ergo digressi essent separatimque habitarent Abraham et Loth necessitate sustentandae familiae, non foeditate discordiae, et Abraham in terra Chanaan, Loth autem esset in Sodomis, oraculo tertio dixit Dominus ad Abraham: *Respicens oculis tuis vide a loco in quo nunc tu es ad aquilonem et Africum et orientem et mare, quia omnem terram quam tu vides tibi dabo eam et semini tuo usque in saeculum, et faciam semen tuum tamquam harenam terrae. Si potest aliquis*

many herdsmen for their flocks. When these quarrelled with each other, the brothers thus avoided hostile discord between their households. For this indeed might even have led to quarrels between them also, such being the way of human nature. These are the words which Abraham addressed to Lot to avert this evil: "Let there be no quarrel between you and me, and between my herdsmen and your herdsmen, for we men are brothers. See, does not the whole land lie before you? Depart from me; if you go to the left, I shall go to the right; or if you go to the right, I shall go to the left."¹ This was possibly the origin of the peaceable practice among men that when any landed property is to be divided, the elder heir makes the division, and the younger takes his choice.²

XXI

On God's third promise, by which the land of Canaan was promised to Abraham and his seed for ever.

WHEN therefore Abraham and Lot had gone their separate ways and were living apart, not disgraced by discord, but forced to find means to maintain their households, when Abraham was in the land of Canaan, whereas Lot lived among the people of Sodom, the Lord addressed his third promise to Abraham. "Lift up your eyes and look from the place where you now are to the north and the south and the east, and to the sea, for all the land that you see I will give to you and to your seed for ever, and I will make your seed like the sands of the earth. If any man can count the

¹ Genesis 13.8 f.

² Seneca, *Controv.* 6.3, cites this as a principle of the Roman law of inheritance.

dinumerare harenam terrae, et semen tuum dinumerabitur. Surgens perambula terram in longitudinem eius et in latitudinem, quia tibi dabo eam.

In hac promissione utrum sit etiam illa, qua pater factus est omnium gentium, non evidenter apparet. Potest enim videri ad hoc pertinere: *Et faciam semen tuum tamquam harenam terrae*, quod ea locutione dictum est quam Graeci vocant hyperbolen, quae utique tropica est, non propria. Quo tamen modo, ut ceteris tropis, uti solere scripturam, nullus qui eam didicit ambigit. Iste autem tropus, id est modus locutionis, fit quando id quod dicitur longe est amplius quam quod eo dicto significatur. Quis enim non videat quam sit incomparabiliter amplior harenae numerus quam potest esse hominum omnium ab ipso Adam usque ad terminum saeculi? Quanto ergo magis quam semen Abrahae, non solum quod pertinet ad Israeliticam gentem, verum etiam quod est et futurum est secundum imitationem fidei toto orbe terrarum in omnibus gentibus! Quod semen in comparatione multitudinis impiorum profecto in paucis est; quamvis et ipsi pauci faciant innumerabilem multitudinem suam, quae significata est secundum hyperbolen per harenam terrae. Sane ista multitudo quae promittitur Abrahae non Deo est innumerabilis sed hominibus; Deo autem nec harena terrae.

Proinde quia non tantum gens Israelitica, sed universum semen Abrahae, ubi est et promissio non

sands of the earth, then shall your seed also be numbered. Arise then and pace out the land in its length and in its breadth, for I will give it to you.”¹

Whether this promise also includes that by which Abraham became the father of all peoples is not entirely clear. For the statement “I will make your seed like the sands of the earth” may seem to imply this. It is an example of the turn of phrase which the Greeks call hyperbole, and is surely a figurative, not a literal expression. For no one who has studied the matter questions the fact that the Scripture uses this figure just as it uses other tropes. Now this trope, that is, this figure of speech, occurs when the words used are a much more sweeping assertion than the bare facts to which they refer. For who could fail to see how incomparably greater the number of grains of sand is than that of all men from Adam himself to the end of the world can possibly be? How much more numerous they are, then, than the seed of Abraham, not only in the limited sense of the people of Israel, but also his present and future seed of those who follow the example of his faith among all peoples throughout the entire world! For his seed is certainly limited to a few men in comparison with the multitude of the wicked. And yet these few are a countless host in their own right, which is here hyperbolically expressed in terms of the sands of the earth. Of course the multitude promised to Abraham is innumerable not in the sight of God, but in that of men; for to God not even the sands of the earth are beyond reckoning.

Since then it is not the Israelites alone, but rather the whole seed of Abraham to whom the promise of

¹ Genesis 13.14-17.

secundum carnem, sed secundum spiritum plurimum filiorum, congruentius harenae multitudini comparatur, potest hic intellegi utriusque rei facta promissio. Sed ideo diximus quod non evidentem apparet, quia et illius gentis unius multitudo, quae secundum carnem nata est ex Abraham per eius nepotem Iacob, in tantum crevit ut paene omnes partes orbis impleverit. Et ideo potuit et ipsa secundum hyperbolen harenae multitudini comparari, quia et haec sola innumera est homini.

Terram certe illam solam significatam quae appellata est Chanaan ambigit nemo. Sed quod dictum est: *Tibi dabo eam et semini tuo usque in saeculum*, potest movere nonnullos, si usque in saeculum intellegant 'in aeternum.' Si autem *saeculum* hoc loco sic accipiant quem ad modum fideliter tenemus initium futuri saeculi a fine praesentis ordiri nihil eos movebit; quia, etsi expulsi sunt Israelitae de Hierosolymis, manent tamen in aliis civitatibus terrae Chanaan, et usque in finem manebunt; et universa terra illa cum a Christianis inhabitatur, etiam ipsum semen est Abrahae.

¹ Both here and in 16.26, p. 129, below, Augustine is faced with the problem of God's promise that the land of Canaan would be given to Abraham's descendants "for ever" (*in saeculum*), to be an "eternal possession" (Genesis 13.15; 17.8). The facts of Augustine's day seemed hardly in accord with the promise. The Romans ruled the land, the population as a whole was Christian, and the Jews had long been forbidden even to enter Jerusalem. Augustine seems to

many descendants refers, meaning those descended from him not after the flesh but after the spirit, these are the more appropriately compared to the multitudinous sands, and thus the twofold promise can be understood to have been made on this occasion. But our reason for discussing this point is that the text does not make the case clear, inasmuch as the number of that single race descended from Abraham after the flesh through his grandson Jacob multiplied so greatly that it has filled almost all parts of the world. Consequently even this one people could have been hyperbolically compared to the countless sands on the ground that this group, taken by itself, is also incapable of being counted by man.

Surely no one doubts that only the land called Canaan is referred to here. Yet the words "I will give it to you and to your seed for ever" may disturb some, if by 'for ever' they understand 'for eternity.' If, however, they interpret the word *saeculum* in the light of our firm belief that the beginning of the future age is to coincide with the ending of the present one¹ it will not disturb them at all. For even though the Israelites have been driven out of Jerusalem, yet they still remain in other cities of the land of Canaan, and shall remain till the end. And since that whole land is peopled by Christians, these too are the seed of Abraham.

waver between two explanations: (1) though the Jews were excluded from Jerusalem, they were in other cities of the land, and would remain there until the end of the age (*in saeculum, in finem*); and (2) granting that the whole land is occupied by Christians, these, too, may properly be counted as children of Abraham, and so the promise is fulfilled in them.

De superatis ab Abraham hostibus Sodomorum, quando et Loth de captivitate eripuit, et a Melchisedech sacerdote benedictus est.

Hoc responso promissionis accepto migravit Abraham et mansit in alio eiusdem terrae loco, iuxta quercum Mambre, quae erat Chebron. Deinde ab hostibus qui Sodomis inruerant, cum quinque reges adversus quattuor bellum gererent et victis Sodomitis etiam Loth captus esset, liberavit eum Abraham adductis secum in proelium trecentis decem et octo vernaculis suis et victoriam fecit regibus Sodomorum nihilque spoliolum auferre voluit, cum rex cui vicerat obtulisset. Sed plane tunc benedictus est a Melchisedech, qui erat sacerdos Dei excelsi; de quo in epistula quae inscribitur ad Hebraeos, quam plures Pauli apostoli esse dicunt, quidam vero negant, multa et magna conscripta sunt. Ibi quippe primum apparuit sacrificium quod nunc a Christianis offertur Deo toto orbe terrarum, impleturque illud quod longe post hoc factum per prophetiam dicitur ad Christum, qui fuerat adhuc venturus in carne: *Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Mel-*

¹ Genesis 13.18.

² Genesis 14.

³ Hebrews 7.

⁴ The letter to the Hebrews was late in being admitted to the canon in the West, and even when admitted, some doubt

On Abraham's victory over the enemies of Sodom, when he both rescued Lot from captivity and was blessed by the priest Melchisedech.

AFTER he received this promise, Abraham moved away and settled on another site in the same land, near the oak of Mamre, which was in Hebron.¹ Then when five kings waged war against four, and in the defeat of the Sodomites Lot also was captured, Abraham liberated him from the enemy who had invaded Sodom. He brought with him to the battle three hundred and eighteen men who had been reared in his household, and he won a victory for the kings of Sodom. He refused to accept any of the spoils when the king for whom he had won the victory offered them to him.² Moreover, at that time he was notably blessed by Melchisedech, who was a priest of the most high God. Of him many great things are written in the Epistle to the Hebrews,³ which the majority ascribe to the apostle Paul, though some deny his authorship.⁴ This indeed was the first celebration of the sacrifice that is now offered to God by Christians throughout all the world, in which is fulfilled the prophecy addressed long after this event to Christ, whose incarnation was then still far in the future: "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of

remained about its Pauline authorship. The council of Hippo in 393 lists "thirteen epistles of Paul the apostle, and one letter to the Hebrews by the same." In his work *On Christian Doctrine*, 2.8.13, written about 396, Augustine speaks of fourteen letters of Paul. See D. de Bruyne in *Miscellanea Agostiniana* II, 537.

chisedech; non scilicet secundum ordinem Aaron, qui ordo fuerat auferendus inlucescentibus rebus quae illis umbris praenotabantur.

XXIII

De verbo Domini ad Abraham, quo ei promittitur secundum multitudinem stellarum multiplicanda posteritas; quod credens iustificatus est adhuc in praepotio constitutus.

ETIAM tunc factum est verbum Domini ad Abraham in visu. Qui cum ei protectionem mercedemque promitteret valde multam, ille de posteritate sollicitus quendam Eliezer vernaculum suum futurum sibi dixit heredem, continuoque illi promissus est heres, non ille vernaculus, sed qui de ipso Abraham fuerat exiturus, rursusque semen innumerabile, non sicut harena terrae, sed stellae caeli; ubi mihi magis videtur promissa posteritas caelesti felicitate sublimis. Nam quantum ad multitudinem pertinet, quid sunt stellae caeli ad harenam terrae? Nisi quis et istam comparisonem in tantum esse similem dicat in quantum etiam stellae dinumerari non valent, quia nec omnes eas videri posse credendum est. Nam quanto quisque acutius intuetur, tanto plures videt.

¹ Psalm 110.4. The "sacrifice that is now offered throughout all the world" is the bread and wine of the eucharist,

Melchisedech."¹ Note that it is not after the order of Aaron, for that order was destined to end when the events should dawn that had been forecast earlier by those shadows.

XXIII

On the word of the Lord to Abraham promising him that his posterity should be increased to equal the stars in number, trusting in which he was justified even before his circumcision.

AT this same time the word of the Lord was vouchsafed to Abraham in a vision. For when he promised him his protection and a truly great reward, Abraham, concerned for his posterity, said that one Eliezer, a slave born in his household, was to be his heir. Forthwith an heir was promised him, not that slave, but one who should be born to Abraham himself, and again he was promised countless descendants, comparable in number not to the sands of the earth but to the stars of heaven.² Here, I think, the promise is rather that his descendants are to be exalted in heavenly bliss. For in regard to number alone, how can the stars of heaven be compared to the sands of the earth? One might perhaps argue that the comparison is a sound one, inasmuch as the stars too are innumerable, since we must believe that not all of them are visible to us. For the keener the sight of one who looks at them, the more stars he sees. So

prefigured by the bread and wine that Melchisedech offered to Abraham. See 17.5, 17, pp. 263, 326f. below.

² Genesis 15.1-5.

Unde et acerrime cernentibus aliquas occultas esse merito existimatur, exceptis eis sideribus, quae in alia parte orbis a nobis remotissima oriri et occidere perhibentur. Postremo quicumque universum stellarum numerum comprehendisse et conscripsisse iactantur, sicut Aratus vel Eudoxus vel si qui alii sunt, eos libri huius contemnit auctoritas.

Hic sane illa sententia ponitur, cuius apostolus meminit propter Dei gratiam commendandam: *Credidit Abraham Deo, et deputatum est illi ad iustitiam*; ne circumcisio gloriaretur gentesque incircumcisas ad fidem Christi nollet admitti. Hoc enim quando factum est ut credenti Abrahae deputaretur fides ad iustitiam, nondum fuerat circumcisis.

XXIV

De significatione sacrificiū quod Abraham offerre praeceptus est, cum poposcisset ut de his quae crederetur doceretur.

In eodem visu cum loqueretur ei Deus, etiam hoc ait ad illum: *Ego Deus, qui eduxi te de regione Chaldaeorum, ut dem tibi terram hanc, ut heres sis eius.* Ubi cum interrogasset Abraham secundum quid sciret, quod heres eius erit, dixit illi Deus: *Accipe mihi*

¹ See Cicero, *Republic* 1.14.22, where Eudoxus of Cnidus is said to have constructed a celestial globe which showed all the constellations, an arrangement which served Aratus as the basis for his poetic description of the heavens.

it is a reasonable deduction that some stars are hidden even from those who have the keenest eyesight, not to mention those stars that are said to rise and set in another part of the world far distant from us. Finally, any who boast that they have calculated and listed the whole number of stars, as do Aratus, Eudoxus and any others there may be,¹ the authority of this book holds them in disdain.

At this point, to be sure, a statement occurs which the Apostle quotes to commend God's grace: "Abraham believed in God, and this was accounted to him for righteousness."² He would not have the circumcised boast and refuse to admit uncircumcised peoples to faith in Christ. For at the time when it came to pass that Abraham's faith was accounted to him for righteousness, he had not yet been circumcised.

XXIV

On the meaning of the sacrifice that Abraham was told to offer when he had asked for instruction on the articles of his belief.

In the same vision, while God was speaking to Abraham, he added these words: "I am your God, who brought you out of the land of the Chaldeans, in order to give you this land that you may inherit it."³ When Abraham thereupon asked him whereby he might know that he should inherit it, God said to him: "Take a three-year-old heifer and a three-year-old

² Genesis 15.6; Galatians 3.6; Romans 4.3.

³ Genesis 15.7.

iuvencam trimam et capram trimam et arietem trimum et turturem et columbam. Accepit autem illi haec omnia et divisit illa media et posuit ea contra faciem alterum alteri; aves autem non divisit. Et descenderunt, sicut scriptum est, aves supra corpora quae divisa erant, et consedit illis Abram. Circa solis autem occasum pavor inruit super Abram, et ecce timor tenebrosus magnus incidit ei; et dictum est ad Abram: Sciendo scies, quia peregrinum erit semen tuum in terra non propria, et in servitute redigent eos et adfligent eos quadringentis annis; gentem autem, cui servierint, iudicabo ego. Post haec vero exhibunt hoc cum supellectili multa. Tu autem ibis ad patres tuos cum pace nutritus in senecta bona. Quarta vero generatione convertent se hoc. Nondum enim impleta sunt peccata Amorrhaeorum usque adhuc. Cum autem iam sol erat ad occasum, flamma facta est, et ecce fornax fumabunda et lampades ignis, quae pertransierunt per media divisa illa. In die illa disposuit Dominus Deus testamentum ad Abram, dicens: Semini tuo dabo terram hanc, a flumine Aegypti usque ad flumen magnum flumen Euphraten, Ceneaos et Cenezaeos et Celmonaeos et Chettaeos et Pherzeaeos et Raphaim et Amorrhaeos et Chananaeos et Evaeos et Gergesaeos et Iebusaeos.

Haec omnia in visu facta divinitus atque dicta sunt, de quibus singulis enucleate disserere longum est et intentionem operis huius excedit. Quod ergo

she-goat and a three-year-old ram, and a turtle-dove and a pigeon." Now he took all these and divided them into halves, and put the pieces facing each other, but he did not divide the birds. And birds came down, as it is written, upon the carcasses that had been divided, and Abram sat down beside them. And about sunset a trance fell on Abram, and lo, a horror of great darkness came upon him. And these words were addressed to Abram: "You shall surely know that your seed shall sojourn in a land that is not their own, and they shall be reduced to slavery and be afflicted four hundred years. But I will judge the nation that they shall serve, and after this they shall depart with many goods. Moreover, you shall join your fathers, nourished peacefully in a good old age. But in the fourth generation they shall come again to this place. For the sins of the Amorites are not yet completed, up to the present time." And when the sun was about to set there was a flame, and behold, a smoking oven, and flaming torches that passed between those divided carcasses. On that day the Lord God made a covenant with Abram, saying: "I will give your seed this land from the river of Egypt as far as the great river, the river Euphrates, the Kenites and the Kenizzites and the Kadmonites and the Hittites and the Perizzites and the Rephaim and the Amorites and the Canaanites and the Hivites and the Girgashites and the Jebusites."¹

¹ Genesis 15.8-21. The Old Latin text used by Augustine is a literal translation of the Greek, which is thus a useful guide for translating the Latin. The word *autem* regularly stands for δὲ ("and" or "but"), *pavor* is ἐκστασις ("a trance"), and *facta est* is ἐγένετο ("there came" or "there was").

satis est nosse debemus. Postea quam dictum est credidisse Abraham Deo et deputatum illi ad iustitiam, non eum in fide defecisse ut diceret: *Dominator Domine, secundum quid sciam, quia heres eius ero?*—terrae quippe illius promissa erat hereditas—non enim ait: “Unde sciam?” quasi adhuc non crederet; sed ait: *Secundum quid sciam?* ut ei rei quam crederat aliqua similitudo adhiberetur qua eius modus agnosceretur; sicut non est virginis Mariae diffidentia quod ait: *Quo modo fiet istud, quoniam virum non cognosco?* quod enim futurum esset, certa erat; modum quo fieret inquirebat, et hoc cum quaesisset, audivit, denique et hic similitudo data est de animalibus, iuvenca et capra et ariete et duabus volucris, turture et columba, ut secundum haec futurum sciret quod futurum esse iam non ambigeret.

Sive ergo per iuvencam significata sit plebs posita sub iugo legis, per capram eadem plebs peccatrix futura, per arietem eadem plebs etiam regnatura—quae animalia propterea trima dicuntur, quia, cum sint insignes articuli temporum ab Adam usque ad Noe et inde usque ad Abraham et inde usque ad David, qui reprobato Saule primus in regno gentis Israeliticae Domini est voluntate fundatus, in hoc

¹ Luke 1.34.

² Here earlier editions insert a quotation from Luke 1.35: *Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi*—“The Holy Ghost shall come upon you, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow you.” There is no manuscript authority for this insertion.

³ 1 Samuel 15.

for our purpose. The first point is what happened after the statement that Abraham believed in God and that it was accounted to him for righteousness, that he did not fail in his belief, though he said: “Lord God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?”—this, of course, refers to the promised inheritance of that land—for he did not say “Whence shall I know?” as if he did not yet believe, but, on the contrary, “Whereby shall I know?” in order to have some analogy offered for what he already believed, by which the way of it should be made clear. In a parallel case, it does not indicate lack of faith on the part of the Virgin Mary that she says: “How shall this be, seeing that I know not a man?”¹ for Mary knew that it should be so, but she asked in what way it was to be accomplished, and when she had asked this, she heard.² On this occasion, too, then, the concrete symbol of the animals was presented to Abraham, the heifer, the she-goat, the ram and the two birds, a turtle-dove and a pigeon, in order that he might know that the future event, in regard to which he was already free from doubt, would follow their pattern.

Thus the heifer may have symbolized the people subject to the yoke of law, the she-goat the same people in their future sinfulness, the ram the same people again in their coming time of sovereignty. These animals are designated as three years old because, since the significant eras extend from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, and from Abraham to David, who, after Saul was rejected,³ was the first man established by the Lord’s will in sovereignty over the people of Israel, therefore in the third of these

ordine tertio, qui tenditur ex Abraham usque ad David, tamquam tertiam aetatem gerens ille populus adolevit—sive aliquid aliud convenientius ista significant, nullo modo tamen dubitaverim spirituales in ea praefiguratos additamento turturis et columbae.

Et ideo dictum est: *Aves autem non divisit*, quoniam carnales inter se dividuntur, spirituales autem nullo modo, sive a negotiosis conversationibus hominum se removeant sicut turtur, sive inter illas degant sicut columba; utraque tamen avis est simplex et innoxia, significans et in ipso Israelitico populo, cui terra illa danda erat, futuros individuos filios promissionis et heredes regni in aeterna felicitate mansuri. Aves autem descendentes supra corpora quae divisa erant, non boni aliquid, sed spiritus indicant aeris huius, pastum quandam suum de carnalium divisione quaerentes. Quod autem illis consedit Abraham, significat etiam inter illas carnalium divisiones veros usque in finem perseveraturos fideles. Et circa solis occasum quod pavor inruit in Abraham et timor tenebrosus magnus significat circa huius saeculi finem magnam perturbationem ac tribulationem futuram fidelium, de qua Dominus dicit in evangelio: *Erit enim tunc tribulatio magna, qualis non fuit ab initio*.

Quod vero dictum est ad Abraham: *Sciendo scies*

periods, which runs from Abraham to David, that people had attained maturity in what we may call the third period of its life. Or some other interpretation of these animals may fit better, but I have absolutely no doubt that spiritual descendants of Abraham are symbolized by the added turtle-dove and pigeon.

There is also a meaning in the words "but he did not divide the birds." Carnal creatures, indeed, are divided from one another, but spiritual beings are in no wise divided, whether like the turtle-dove they flee from men's workaday dealings with one another, or like the pigeon live in the midst of them. Yet both birds are alike simple and harmless, signifying that in this same Israelite folk to whom that land was to be granted, there would be individual sons of the promise and heirs of the kingdom, who should abide in eternal happiness. Moreover, the birds that swooped down on the divided bodies do not signify anything good, but rather the spirits of our lower atmosphere, looking for their proper food, so to speak, where there is division of carnal from carnal. Moreover, that Abraham sat beside them signifies that even among the factions of carnal men those who are true believers will persevere to the end. Both the trance that came upon Abraham towards sunset and the great and darksome terror signify that towards the end of our age there will be great distress and tribulation among the faithful, concerning which our Lord says in the Gospel: "For then there shall be great tribulation, such as there has not been since the beginning."¹

But the words addressed to Abraham: "You shall

¹ Matthew 24.21.

quia peregrinum erit semen tuum in terra non propria, et servitatem redigent eos et adfligent eos quadringentis annis, de populo Israel, qui fuerat in Aegypto serviturus, apertissime prophetatum est; non quod in eadem servitute sub Aegyptiis adfligentibus quadringentos annos ille populus fuerat peracturus, sed in ipsis quadringentis annis praenuntiatum est hoc futurum. Quem ad modum enim scriptum est de Thara patre Abrahae: *Et fuerunt dies Tharae in Charra quinque et ducenti anni*, non quia ibi omnes acti sunt, sed quia ibi completi sunt, ita et hic proterea interpositum est: *Et in servitatem redigent eos et adfligent eos quadringentis annis*, quoniam iste numerus in eadem adflictione completus est, non quia ibi universus peractus est. Quadringenti sane dicuntur anni propter numeri plenitudinem, quamvis aliquanto amplius sint, sive ex hoc tempore computentur, quo ista promittebantur Abrahae, sive ex quo natus est Isaac, propter semen Abrahae, de quo ista praedicuntur. Computantur enim, sicut superius iam diximus, ab anno septuagesimo et quinto Abrahae, quando ad eum facta est prima promissio, usque ad exitum Israel ex Aegypto quadringenti et triginta anni; quorum apostolus ita meminit: *Hoc autem dico*, inquit: *testamentum confirmatum a Deo post quadringentos triginta annos facta lex non infirmit ad evacuandam promissionem*. Iam ergo isti quadringenti et triginta anni quadringenti poterant

surely know that your seed shall sojourn in a land that is not their own, and shall be reduced to slavery and afflicted four hundred years," were uttered very clearly as a prophecy concerning the people of Israel who were to be held as slaves in Egypt. This does not mean that the people were to pass four hundred years in continuous servitude under their Egyptian persecutors. It is rather a prophecy that this servitude should occur within a period of four hundred years. For as it is written of Terah, Abraham's father: "And the days of Terah in Harran were two hundred and five years,"¹ not implying that all these years were spent in that place, but that his years were completed there, so in this case also the words "and they shall be reduced to slavery and be afflicted four hundred years" are introduced to show that this term of years was completed with the period of their oppression, not that it was all spent in this condition. The estimate of four hundred years, indeed, is given in round numbers, although the time is actually somewhat longer, whether it be reckoned from the date at which these promises were made to Abraham, or from the birth of Isaac, on the ground that he was Abraham's seed, which was the subject of these predictions. For, as we have already said, the time from Abraham's seventy-fifth year when the first promise was made to him, down to the departure of Israel from Egypt, is computed as four hundred and thirty years, as the Apostle testifies in these words: "And this I say, that the law made four hundred and thirty years later does not annul the covenant confirmed by God, to make the promise of no effect."² Consequently those four hundred and thirty years could at

¹ Genesis 11.32.² Galatians 3.17.

nuncupari, quia non sunt multo amplius, quanto magis cum aliquot iam ex isto numero praeterissent, quando illa in visu demonstrata et dicta sunt Abrahae, vel quando Isaac natus est centenario patri suo, a prima promissione post viginti quinque annos, cum iam ex istis quadringentis triginta quadringenti et quinque remanerent, quos Deus quadringentos voluit nominare. Et cetera quae sequuntur in verbis praenuntiantis Dei nullus dubitaverit ad Israeliticum populum pertinere.

Quod vero adiungitur: *Cum autem iam sol erat ad occasum, flamma facta est, et ecce fornax fumabunda et lampades ignis, quae pertransierunt per media divisa illa*, significat iam in fine saeculi per ignem iudicandos esse carnales. Sicut enim ad afflictio civitatis Dei qualis antea numquam fuit, quae sub Antichristo futura speratur, significatur tenebroso timore Abrahae circa solis occasum, id est propinquantem iam fine saeculi, sic ad solis occasum, id est ad ipsum iam finem, significatur isto igne dies iudicii dirimens carnales per ignem salvandos et in igne damnandos.

Deinde testamentum factum ad Abraham terram Chanaan proprie manifestat et nominat in ea undecim gentes a flumine Aegypti usque ad flumen magnum Euphraten. Non ergo a flumine magno Aegypti, hoc est Nilo, sed a parvo quod dividit in

that time be called four hundred because they were not much in excess of that number. How much the more easily could this be done later, after a good many years of the whole had already passed, at the time when this vision and these words were revealed to Abraham, or when Isaac was born to his father, who was then a hundred years old, twenty-five years after the first promise, when of the original four hundred and thirty years only four hundred and five remained, which God chose to call four hundred. As for the words of God's prediction that follow, let no one have any doubt that they all refer to the Israelites.

But the additional statement: "And when the sun was about to set, there was a flame, and behold, a smoking oven and flaming torches that passed between those divided carcasses," signifies that now at the end of the world carnal men are to be judged by fire. For as the affliction of the city of God, such as has never been experienced hitherto, which is expected to take place under Antichrist, is symbolized by Abraham's horror of great darkness towards sunset, that is, when the end of the world is actually imminent, even so at sunset, that is, at the very moment of the end, this fire symbolizes the day of judgment, separating those carnal men who are to be saved by the fire and those who are to be damned in the fire.¹

Finally, the covenant made with Abraham specifically indicates the land of Canaan and names eleven nations in that land, from the river of Egypt to the great River Euphrates. Now this does not mean from the great river of Egypt, that is, the Nile, but from the small river that forms the boundary between

¹ The allusion is to 1 Corinthians 3.12-15, a passage discussed at length in Book XXI, Ch. 26, see also *Enchiridion* 68-69, with Gaudel's note in *Bibliothèque Augustinienne* 9, 1947, 391 f. The 'fire' is understood as the fire of tribulation in this life, which brings some to salvation, others to damnation; but Augustine thinks it may also be understood of a purgatorial fire after this life.

Aegyptum et Palaestinam, ubi est civitas Rhinocorura.

XXV

De Agar ancilla Sarrae, quam eadem Sarra Abrahae esse voluit concubinam.

IAM hinc tempora consequuntur filiorum Abrahae, unius de Agar ancilla, alterius de Sarra libera, de quibus in libro superiore iam diximus. Quod autem adtinet ad rem gestam, nullo modo est inurendum de hac concubina crimen Abrahae. Usus est ea quippe ad generandam prolem, non ad explendam libidinem, nec insultans, sed potius oboediens coniugi, quae suae sterilitatis credidit esse solacium, si fecundum ancillae uterum, quoniam natura non poterat, voluntate faceret suum, et eo iure quo dicit apostolus: *Similiter et vir non habet potestatem corporis sui, sed mulier, uteretur mulier ad pariendum ex altera quod non poterat ex se ipsa. Nulla est hic cupido lasciviae, nulla nequitiae turpitudine. Ab uxore causa prolis ancilla marito traditur, a marito causa prolis accipitur; ab utroque non culpae luxus, sed naturae fructus exquiritur. Denique cum ancilla gravida dominae sterili superbiret et hoc*

¹ Rhinocorura, or Rhinocolura, is a small town, today El Arish, where a small stream of the same name empties into the Mediterranean.

² See above 15.2 f.

Egypt and Palestine, at the site of the city of Rhinocorura.¹

XXV

Concerning Hagar, Sarah's handmaiden, whom Sarah herself chose to be Abraham's concubine.

Now from this point began the period of Abraham's sons, one by the handmaiden Hagar and the other by the free Sarah, of whom we have already spoken in the previous book.² Moreover, in the light of the actual facts, Abraham is by no means to be branded as guilty in regard to this concubine.³ Indeed, he used her for procreation of offspring, not gratification of lust, not insulting but rather obeying his wife, who believed that it would be a consolation for her barrenness if she made her handmaid's fertile womb her own by her own choice, since she could not achieve fertility by nature. Thus she employed the same wifely privilege that the Apostle stated when he said: "Likewise also the man has no power over his body, but the woman,"⁴ in order to have offspring from another when she could not from herself. In this there is no lasciviousness, and no base reproach. The handmaid is given to the husband by the wife for the sake of offspring, and is received by the husband for the sake of offspring. By neither is guilty titillation sought, but only the natural fruition. Finally, when the pregnant handmaid scorned her

³ The charge was made by the Manichaeans, and answered by Augustine in his work *Against Faustus* 22.30.

⁴ 1 Corinthians 7.4.

Sarra suspicione muliebri viro potius inputaret, etiam ibi demonstravit Abraham non se amatorem servum, sed liberum fuisse genitorem et in Agar Sarrae coniugi pudicitiam custodisse nec voluptatem suam sed voluntatem illius implevisse; accepisse nec petisse, accessisse nec haesisse, seminasse nec amasse. Ait enim: *Ecce ancilla tua in manibus tuis, utere ea quo modo tibi placuerit.* O virum viriliter utentem feminis, coniuge temperanter, ancilla obtemperanter, nulla intemperanter!

XXVI

De testificatione Dei ad Abraham, qua eidem seni de sterili Sarra filium spondet patremque eum gentium statuit et promissi fidem sacramento circumcisionis obsignat.

POST haec natus est Ismael ex Agar, in quo putare posset impletum quod ei promissum fuerat, cum sibi vernaculum suum adoptare voluisset, Deo dicente: *Non erit heres tuus hic; sed qui exiet de te, ille erit heres tuus.* Hoc ergo promissum ne in ancillae filio putaret impletum, iam cum *esset annorum nonaginta et novem, apparuit ei Dominus et dixit illi: Ego sum Deus, place in conspectu meo et esto sine querella, et ponam testamentum meum inter me et inter*

¹ Genesis 16.6.

² Genesis 15.4.

barren mistress, and Sarah, with a woman's natural jealousy, put the blame rather on her husband, even then Abraham clearly showed that he was not a servile lover but a free progenitor. He proved that he had guarded the honour of his wife Sarah in his dealings with Hagar, and had not gratified his own pleasure, but his wife's will. He had taken Hagar, but had not sought her, mingled with her but not been entangled, made her the receptacle of his seed but not of his love. For he said: "Lo, your maid is in your hands, do with her as you wish."¹ What a man was this, using women in a true manly fashion, his wife soberly, the handmaiden obediently, no woman immoderately!

XXVI

On the Lord's pledge to Abraham, whereby he promised him a son in his old age by the barren Sarah, and made him the father of nations, and sealed his promise by the rite of circumcision.

AFTER this, Ishmael was born of Hagar, and Abraham might have thought that in him was fulfilled the promise that was made to him when he had decided to adopt his home-born slave, and God said: "This man shall not be your heir, but he who shall issue from you, he shall be your heir."² In order, then, that he might not consider this promise fulfilled in his handmaid's son, when he was "already ninety-nine years old, the Lord appeared to him and said to him: 'I am God, be well pleasing in my sight, and give no cause for complaint, and I will set my

te et implebo te valde. Et procidit Abram in faciem suam. Et locutus est illi Deus dicens: Et ego, ecce testamentum meum tecum, et eris pater multitudinis gentium; et non appellabitur adhuc nomen tuum Abram, sed erit nomen tuum Abraham, quia patrem multarum gentium posui te; et augeam te valde valde et ponam te in gentes, et reges ex te exibunt; et statuam testamentum meum inter me et inter te et inter semen tuum post te in generationes eorum in testamentum aeternum, ut sim tibi Deus et semini tuo post te. Et dabo tibi et semini tuo post te terram in qua incola es, omnem terram Chanaan in possessionem aeternam, et ero illis Deus. Et dixit Deus ad Abraham: Tu autem testamentum meum conservabis, tu et semen tuum post te in progenies suas. Et hoc est testamentum, quod conservabis inter me et vos et inter semen tuum post te in generationes suas: Circumcidetur vestrum omne masculinum, et circumcidemini carnem praeputii vestri, et erit in signo testamenti inter me et vos. Et puer octo dierum circumcidetur, vestrum omne masculinum in progenies vestras. Vernaculus et empticius ab omni filio alieno, qui non est de semine tuo, circumcissione circumcidetur vernaculus domus tuae et empticius. Et erit testamentum meum in carne vestra in testamento aeterno. Et qui non fuerit circumcिसus masculus, qui non circumcidetur carnem praeputii sui octava die, in-

covenant between me and you and will multiply you exceedingly.’ And Abram fell upon his face. And God spoke to him, saying: ‘As for me, behold my covenant with you, and you shall be the father of many nations. And your name shall no longer be called Abram, but your name shall be Abraham, for I have made you the father of many nations. And I will multiply you very greatly, and will make nations of you, and kings shall come forth from you. And I will establish my covenant between me and you and with your seed after you throughout their generations, to be an eternal covenant, that I may be God to you and to your seed after you. And I will give you and your seed after you the land in which you sojourn, all the land of Canaan to be your eternal possession, and I will be their God.’ And God said to Abraham: ‘Moreover, you shall keep my covenant, you and your seed after you, through all their generations. And this is the covenant rite that you shall keep between me and you and your seed after you, throughout their generations. Every male among you shall be circumcised, and you shall be circumcised in the flesh of your foreskins, and this shall be a token of the covenant between me and you. And the boy eight days old shall be circumcised, all your male offspring throughout your entire line. And the slave that is born in your house, and he that is bought from any son of man who is not of your seed, shall be circumcised by circumcision, both he that is born in your house and he that is bought. And my covenant shall be in your flesh as an eternal covenant. And the male that is not circumcised, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the

teribit anima illa de genere eius, quia testamentum meum dissipavit.

Et dixit Deus ad Abraham: Sara uxor tua, non appellabitur nomen eius Sara, sed Sarra erit nomen eius. Benedicam autem illam et dabo tibi ex ea filium, et benedicam illum, et erit in nationes, et reges gentium ex eo erunt. Et procidit Abraham super faciem suam et risit et dixit in animo suo dicens: Si mihi centum annos habenti nascetur filius, et si Sarra annorum nonaginta pariet? Dixit autem Abraham ad Deum: Ismael hic vivat in conspectu tuo. Dixit autem Deus ad Abraham: Ita, ecce Sarra uxor tua pariet tibi filium, et vocabis nomen eius Isaac; et statuum testamentum meum ad illum in testamentum aeternum, esse illi Deus et semini eius post illum. De Ismael autem ecce exaudivi te; ecce benedixi eum et ampliabo illum et multiplicabo eum valde. Duodecim gentes generabit, et dabo illum in magnam gentem. Testamentum autem meum statuam ad Isaac, quem pariet tibi Sarra in tempore hoc ad annum sequentem.

Hic apertiora promissa sunt de vocatione gentium in Isaac, id est in filio promissionis, quo significatur gratia, non natura, quia de sene et anu sterili promittitur filius. Quamvis enim et naturalem procreationis excursus Deus operetur; ubi tamen evidens opus Dei est vitiosa et cessante natura, ibi evidentius intellegitur gratia. Et quia hoc non per generationem, sed per regenerationem futurum

eighth day, his soul shall perish from among his kindred, since he has broken my covenant.'

" And God said to Abraham: ' The name of Sarai your wife shall not be called Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name. Moreover, I will bless her, and give you a son by her, and I will bless him, and he shall become nations, and kings of the nations shall come from him.' Then Abraham fell upon his face, and laughed and spoke in his heart, saying: ' Shall a child be born to me in my hundredth year, and shall Sarah conceive at the age of ninety?' Moreover Abraham said to God: ' Let Ishmael here live in thy sight.' But God said to Abraham: ' Verily, behold, Sarah your wife shall bear you a son, and you shall call his name Isaac. And I will confirm my covenant for him as an eternal covenant, to be his God and God to his seed after him. Moreover, as for Ishmael, behold, I have hearkened to your request; behold, I have blessed him and I will increase him and multiply him exceedingly. He shall beget twelve tribes and I will make him a great nation. But my covenant will I confirm to Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to you next year at this season.' " ¹

Here are more explicit promises of the calling of the Gentiles in Isaac, that is, the son of promise, in whom grace rather than nature is betokened, since he is promised as the son of an old man and a barren old woman. For although it is God also who effects the natural process of procreation, still, when God's work is manifested where nature is already maimed and failing, then his grace is the more clearly recognized. And since this was to take place not merely by generation, but by regeneration, therefore circum-

¹ Genesis 17.1-21.

erat, ideo nunc imperata est circumcisio, quando de Sarra promissus est filius. Et quod omnes non solum filios, verum etiam servos vernaculos et empticios circumcidi iubet, ad omnes istam gratiam pertinere testatur. Quid enim aliud circumcisio significat quam naturam exuta vetustate renovatam? Et quid aliud quam Christum octavus dies, qui hebdomade completa, hoc est post sabbatum, resurrexit? Parentum mutantur et nomina; omnia resonant novitatem, et in testamento vetere obumbratur novum. Quid est enim quod dicitur testamentum vetus nisi novi occultatio? Et quid est aliud quod dicitur novum nisi veteris revelatio? Risus Abrahae exultatio est gratulantis, non inrisio diffidentis. Verba quoque eius illa in animo suo: *Si mihi centum annos habenti nascetur filius et si Sarra annorum nonaginta pariet, non sunt dubitantis, sed admirantis. Si quem vero movet quod dictum est: Et dabo tibi et semini tuo post te terram, in qua tu incola es, omnem terram Chanaan in possessionem aeternam, quo modo accipiatur impletum sive adhuc expectetur implendum, cum possessio quaecumque terrena aeterna cuilibet genti esse non possit, sciat aeternum a nostris interpretari, quod Graeci appellant αἰώνιον quod a saeculo derivatum est; αἰών quippe Graece*

¹ The new covenant, set forth in the books of the New Testament, professes to be the fulfilment of the old, which was, by itself, imperfect, containing only a shadow of good things to come (Hebrews 10.1). The point was important in controversy with the Manichaeans, and prompts Augustine to search for the 'allegorical' meaning of Old Testament

circumcision was instituted at this time, when a son was promised from Sarah. And the fact that he orders not only all the sons but also the home-born and purchased slaves to be circumcised, testifies that this grace is given to all men. For what else does circumcision signify but the renewal of nature by the sloughing off of old age? And what else does the eighth day signify but Christ, who at the end of the seven-day period, that is, after the sabbath, rose from the dead? Then too the names of the parents are changed; every detail rings with novelty, and the new covenant is foreshadowed in the old. For what is that which is called the old covenant but the veiled form of the new? And what else is that which is called the new but the unveiling of the old?¹ Abraham's laughter is the exultation of a thankful man, not the derision of a doubter. So also the words that he said in his heart: "Shall a son be born to me in my hundredth year, and shall Sarah conceive at the age of ninety?"—these express not doubt, but wonder.

If anyone is puzzled by the statement: "And I will give you and your seed after you the land in which you sojourn, all the land of Canaan to be your eternal possession," wondering how this may be thought to be fulfilled, or whether its fulfilment is yet to come, since no earthly possession whatsoever can belong to any nation eternally, let him know that 'eternal' is our term for the Greek word *αιῶνιον*, which is derived from the word for 'age' (*saeculum*). For indeed the Greek equivalent of *saeculum* is *αιῶν*.

events or statements. Cf. *Against Faustus* 6.9; *CSEL* 25,300 and *City of God* 4.33, Vol. 2, p. 125, above.

saeculum nuncupatur. Sed non sunt ausi Latini hoc dicere saeculare, ne longe in aliud mitterent sensum. Saecularia quippe dicuntur multa, quae in hoc saeculo sic aguntur ut brevi etiam tempore transeant; αἰώνιον autem quod dicitur, aut non habet finem aut usque in huius saeculi tenditur finem.

XXVII

De masculo, qui si octavo die non fuerit circumcisis, perit anima eius, quia testamentum Dei dissipavit.

ITEM potest movere, quo modo intellegi oporteat quod hic dictum est: *Masculus qui non circumcidetur carnem praeputii sui octava die interibit anima illa de genere eius quia testamentum meum dissipavit, cum*

¹ See 16.21 p. 102 above with note. Since Augustine's Latin Bible at this point spoke of 'eternal possession,' Augustine now appeals to the Greek, and the ambiguous meaning of *aionion*. This would hardly solve the difficulty for one who was puzzled about the fulfilment of the promise. The mention of future fulfilment might suggest Zionism or Chiliasm. The question is discussed at greater length in *Questions on the Heptateuch* 1.31, *CSEL* 28:2, 18 f., where three solutions of the puzzle are offered.

² Genesis 17.14. This is a favourite text with Augustine to prove his doctrine of original sin. The argument is borrowed from Cyprian (see Augustine, *Against Julian* 2.6.18), and constantly insisted on in the anti-Pelagian writings (see, for example, *PL* 44, 402, 450, 685, 720, 810; *PL* 45, 1053, 1073, 1174, 1192, 1194, etc.). For the word *testamentum* there is no satisfactory translation, except in so far as Biblical usage has given a special meaning to the word 'covenant.' The usual meaning is 'last will, testament,' a meaning shared by the Greek *diatheke*. But both of these are used to translate

But the Latins have not presumed to render it by the word 'secular' for fear of gravely distorting its meaning. In truth, many things are called secular that occur in this age in such a fashion that they pass away even in a short time. But what is described as *aionion* either has no end or endures to the end of this age.¹

XXVII

On the male child whose soul perishes if he has not been circumcised on the eighth day, because he has broken God's covenant.

SOME may also be puzzled by the question how this statement should be interpreted: "The male child the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, his soul shall perish from among his kindred, since he has broken my covenant."² For

the Hebrew *berith*, which is either a covenant between men or between God and man. In the latter case it is neither an ordinary covenant or agreement between parties who are equal before the law, nor is it an ordinary testament, which takes effect only upon the death of the testator. It is rather a declaration of the will and purpose of God; in one way it thus resembles an ordinary 'will,' and the choice of *diatheke*, *testamentum* by the translators is explained. It may include conditions, threats, promises, etc., and any one of these may be referred as a testamentum (e.g., the command regarding the forbidden fruit, the decree of death on all men, the ordinance of circumcision). There were many *testamenta*, but for Christians the 'new covenant' was that given by Christ, and all that preceded was 'old,' and so finally the books which recorded the covenants were called 'Old Testament' and 'New.' See *diatheke* in Arndt and Gingrich, *Lexicon*, and works there cited.

haec nulla culpa sit parvuli, cuius dixit animam perituram, nec ipse dissipaverit testamentum Dei, sed maiores, qui eum circumcidere non curarunt; nisi quia etiam parvuli, non secundum suae vitae proprietatem, sed secundum communem generis humani originem omnes in illo uno testamentum Dei dissipaverunt, in quo omnes peccaverunt. Multa quippe appellantur testamenta Dei exceptis illis duobus magnis, vetere et novo, quod licet cuique legendo cognoscere. Testamentum autem primum, quod factum est ad hominem primum, profecto illud est: *Qua die ederitis, morte moriemini*. Unde scriptum est in libro, qui Ecclesiasticus appellatur: *Omnis caro sicut vestis veterescit. Testamentum enim a saeculo: Morte morieris*. Cum enim lex evidentior postea data sit, et dicat apostolus: *Ubi autem non est lex, nec praevaricatio*, quo pacto in psalmo quod legitur verum est: *Praevaricatores aestimavi omnes peccatores terrae*, nisi quia omnes legis alicuius praevaricatae sunt rei, qui aliquo peccato tenentur obstricti?

Quam ob rem si etiam parvuli, quod vera fides habet, nascuntur non proprie, sed originaliter peccatores, unde illis gratiam remissionis peccatorum necessariam confitemur, profecto eo modo quo sunt peccatores etiam praevaricatores legis illius quae in paradiso data est agnoscuntur; ut

¹ Romans 5.12.

² Genesis 2.17.

this is by no means the fault of the infant whose soul he said was doomed to perish, nor is it the child himself who has broken God's covenant, but his elders, who neglected to circumcise him, unless we take into account that even infants, not in consequence of the character of their own life, but because of the common origin of the human race, have all broken God's covenant by that one act in which all men sinned.¹ Many covenants, to be sure, are called God's covenants in addition to the two chief ones, the old and the new, which all may learn by reading them. Now the first covenant, given to the first man, is really this: "On the day that you eat, you shall die the death."² Wherefore it is written in the book called Ecclesiasticus: "All flesh grows old like a garment. For the covenant from the beginning of time is: 'You shall die the death.'"³ Now since a more explicit law was vouchsafed later, and the Apostle says: "But where there is no law, there is no transgression,"⁴ how can the words we read in Psalms be true, namely: "I have reckoned all sinners on earth as transgressors"?⁵ Only on the ground that all who are held in bondage by any sin are guilty of transgressing some law.

Wherefore if even infants, as the true faith maintains, are born sinners, not by their own act but by their origin, whence we assert that the grace of remission of sins is necessary for them, then certainly even as they are sinners, so they are also seen to be transgressors of the law that was issued in the garden

³ Ecclesiasticus 14.18.

⁴ Romans 4.15.

⁵ Psalms 119.119.

verum sit utrumque quod scriptum est, et: *Praevaricatores aestimavi omnes peccatores terrae*, et: *Ubi lex non est, nec praevaricatio*. Ac per hoc, quia circumcisio signum regenerationis fuit et non inmerito parvulum propter originale peccatum, quo primum Dei dissipatum est testamentum, generatio disperdet, nisi regeneratio liberet, sic intellegenda sunt haec verba divina tamquam dictum sit: "Qui non fuerit regeneratus, interibit anima illa de genere eius," quia testamentum Dei dissipavit, quando in Adam cum omnibus etiam ipse peccavit.

Si enim dixisset: "Quia hoc testamentum meum dissipavit," non nisi de ista circumcissione intellegi cogeret; nunc vero, quoniam non expressit cuius modi testamentum parvulus dissipaverit, liberum est intellegere de illo testamento dictum, cuius dissipatio pertinere posset ad parvulum. Si autem hoc quisquam non nisi de ista circumcissione dictum esse contendit, quod in ea testamentum Dei, quoniam non est circumciscus, dissipaverit parvulus, quaerat locutionis aliquem modum quo non absurde possit intellegi ideo dissipasse testamentum quia licet non ab illo, tamen in illo est dissipatum. Verum sic quoque animadvertendum est nulla in se negligentia sua iniuste interire incircumcisi animam parvuli nisi originalis obligatione peccati.

of Eden. Thus both Scriptures are true: "I have reckoned all sinners on earth as transgressors," and "Where there is no law, there is no transgression." And thus since circumcision was a sign of regeneration and the act of birth deservedly brings perdition upon the infant through the original sin by which God's covenant was first broken, unless regeneration sets him free, these divine words must be interpreted as if they said: "He who has not been regenerated, his soul shall perish from among his people," for he broke God's covenant when, in Adam, together with all mankind, he himself also sinned.

For if God had said 'because he broke this covenant of mine,' it would have to be understood with reference to the rite of circumcision. But as it is, since he did not expressly state what sort of covenant the infant has broken, we are free to understand it as referring to that covenant whose infringement could be attributed to the child. If, however, anyone still insists that these words apply only to the rite of circumcision, because it was in the fact that the child was not circumcised that he broke God's covenant, he must seek some sort of phrasing by which to remove the absurdity of thinking that the infant has broken the covenant, on the ground that though it was not broken by him, still it was broken in his case. But even on this assumption one must note that the soul of the uncircumcised infant who had no personal responsibility for the omission would perish unjustly save for the bondage of original sin.

XXVIII

De commutatione nominum Abrahæ et Sarrae, qui cum ob unius sterilitatem, ob utriusque autem senectutem generare non possent, munus fecunditatis indepti sunt.

FACTA igitur promissione tam magna tamque dilucida ad Abraham, cui evidentissime dictum est: *Patrem multarum gentium posui te; et augeam te valde valde et ponam te in gentes, et reges ex te exibunt. Et dabo tibi ex Sarra filium, et benedicam illum, et erit in nationes, et reges gentium ex eo erunt* (quam promissionem nunc in Christo cernimus reddi), ex illo deinceps illi coniuges non vocantur in scripturis, sicut antea vocabantur, Abram et Sara, sed sicut eos nos ab initio vocavimus, quoniam sic iam vocantur ab omnibus, Abraham et Sarra. Cur autem mutatum sit nomen Abrahæ, reddita est ratio: *Quia patrem*, inquit, *multarum gentium posui te*. Hoc ergo significare intellegendum est Abraham; Abram vero, quod ante vocabatur, interpretatur pater excelsus. De nomine autem mutato Sarrae non est reddita ratio; sed, sicut aiunt qui scripserunt interpretationes nominum Hebraeorum quæ his sacris litteris continentur Sara interpretatur princeps mea, Sarra autem virtus. Unde scriptum est in epistula

XXVIII

On the changing of the names of Abraham and Sarah, who, when they could not have children because of the barrenness of one and the old age of both, received the boon of fertility.

WHEN therefore so great and so distinct a promise was made to Abraham, to whom it was most plainly said: "I have made you the father of many nations, and I will multiply you very greatly and will make nations of you, and kings shall come forth from you. And I will give you a son by Sarah, and will bless him, and he shall grow into nations, and kings of the nations shall issue from him"¹—a promise that we now see fulfilled in Christ—from that time this couple are not called Abram and Sarai in the Scriptures as they were before, but Abraham and Sarah, as we have called them from the first, since they are now so called by everyone. Now the reason for changing Abraham's name is stated thus: "Because," he says, "I have made you the father of many nations." This must then be understood as the meaning of Abraham, whereas Abram, as he was formerly called, is translated 'lofty father.' No explanation is given, however, for the change in Sarah's name, but as those writers who have given the meanings of the Hebrew names contained in the sacred writings assert, Sarai is translated 'my princess,' but Sarah means 'strength.' Hence it is written in the epistle

¹ Genesis 17.5 f., 16.

ad Hebraeos: *Fide et ipsa Sarra virtutem accepit ad emissionem seminis.*

Ambo enim seniores erant, sicut scriptura testatur; sed illa etiam sterilis et cruore menstruo iam destituta, propter quod iam parere non posset, etiam si sterilis non fuisset. Porro si femina ita sit provectoris aetatis, ut ei solita mulierum adhuc fluant, de iuvene parere potest, de seniore non potest; quamvis adhuc possit ille senior, sed de adulescentula gignere, sicut Abraham post mortem Sarrae de Cettura potuit, quia vividam eius invenit aetatem. Hoc ergo est, quod mirum commendat apostolus, et ad hoc dicit Abrahae iam fuisse corpus emortuum, quoniam non ex omni femina, cui adhuc esset aliquod pariendi tempus extremum, generare ipse in illa aetate adhuc posset. Ad aliquid enim emortuum corpus intellegere debemus, non ad omnia. Nam si ad omnia, non iam senectus vivi, sed cadaver est mortui. Quamvis etiam sic solvi solet ista quaestio, quod de Cettura postea genuit Abraham, quia donum gignendi quod a Domino accepit etiam post obitum mansit uxoris. Sed propterea mihi videtur illa, quam secuti sumus, huius quaestionis solutio

¹ Hebrews 11.11. For the change of name from Abram to Abraham, and its meaning, all versions are in sufficient agreement with the Hebrew. But instead of the change from Sarai to Sarah (Sara, Saraa) found in the Hebrew, Vulgate and English Bibles, the LXX and the Old Latin used by Augustine have a change from Sara to Sarra. Jerome defends the Hebrew spelling, explaining the change from Sarai ('my princess') to Saraa ('princess'). See his *Hebrew Questions on the Book of Genesis*, pp. 7-21, 27, ed. Lagarde, also *O-*

to the Hebrews: "Through faith also Sarah herself received strength to deliver a child."¹

For both were far advanced in years, as the Scripture testifies, but she was also sterile and her menstrual flow had already ceased, so that she could no longer have conceived, even if she had not been barren. Furthermore, even though a woman is of advanced age, provided the normal menstrual flow of women still continues, she can bear a child to a young man, but not to an older one. And yet that older man could still beget a child, but only by intercourse with a young woman, as Abraham was able to do in the case of Keturah after Sarah's death, because he came to her when her youth was still vigorous. It is this, then, that the Apostle notes as miraculous, and for this reason he says that Abraham's body was already dead,² because at his age he could no longer beget a child from any and every woman, even though a brief final period of fertility still remained to her. For we must consider that his body was dead in respect to a single function, but not to all. If a body is dead in all respects it is no longer the old age of a living man but the corpse of a dead man. And yet the difficulty could also be resolved in this way, that Abraham later had a child by Keturah because the gift of procreation that he received from the Lord continued even after his wife's death. Still, the solution of the question as outlined above seems to

mastica Sacra, pp. 10, 22, 28, ed. Lagarde. Augustine's statement that the second name means 'strength' seems an inference from the passage in Hebrews, and is not found in Jerome.

² Romans 4.19; Hebrews 11.12.

preferenda, quia centenarius quidem senex, sed temporis nostri, de nulla potest femina gignere; non tunc quando adhuc tamdiu vivebant ut centum anni nondum facerent hominem decrepitae senectutis.

XXIX

De tribus viris vel angelis in quibus ad quercum Mambræ apparuisse Abrahæ Dominus indicatur.

ITEM Deus apparuit Abrahæ ad quercum Mambræ in tribus viris, quos dubitandum non est angelos fuisse; quamvis quidam existiment unum in eis fuisse Dominum Christum, adserentes eum etiam ante indumentum carnis fuisse visibilem. Est quidem divinæ potestatis et invisibilis, incorporalis inmutabilisque naturæ, sine ulla sui mutatione etiam mortalibus aspectibus apparere, non per id quod est, sed per aliquid quod sibi subditum est; quid autem illi subditum non est? Verum tamen si propterea confirmant horum trium aliquem fuisse Christum quia, cum tres vidisset, ad Dominum singulariter est locutus—sic enim scriptum est: *Et ecce tres viri stabant super eum, et videns procucurrit in obviam illis ab ostio tabernaculi sui, et adoravit super terram et dixit: Domine, si inveni gratiam ante te, et cetera*—cur non et illud advertunt, duos ex eis

¹ Genesis 18.2 f. This appearance of the three men, or angels, in whom the one God spoke to Abraham, had long fascinated both Jewish and Christian commentators, including Philo, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Irenæus, Hilary and Ambrose. Elsewhere Augustine finds the Trinity represented

me the preferable one, because though indeed an old man, a centenarian, in our days cannot beget a child by any woman, such was not the case at that time, when the span of life was still so long that a hundred years did not yet subject a man to decrepit old age.

XXIX

On the three men or angels in whom it is stated that the Lord appeared to Abraham by the oak of Mamre.

GOD also appeared to Abraham by the oak of Mamre in the guise of three men, who were undoubtedly angels, although certain men hold that one of them was the Lord Christ, for they assert that he was visible even before his incarnation. It is indeed a property of divine and invisible power, of incorporeal and immutable nature, without changing itself at all, to appear even in mortal forms, not in its own essence, but by some means subordinate to it—and what is not subordinate to it? Now the reason why these men assert that one of the three was Christ is that, though Abraham saw three men, he spoke to the Lord in the singular, for it is written as follows: “And behold, three men stood by him, and when he saw them he ran forward from the door of his tent to meet them, and he bowed down before them and said: ‘Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight,’ ” and so forth.¹ If this be true, why do they not notice

by the three men—an idea he may have learned from Ambrose. See Bardy’s note on this passage in *Bibliothèque Augustinienne*, 36, 726 f.

venisse ut Sodomitae delerentur, cum adhuc Abraham ad unum loqueretur, Dominum appellans et intercedens, ne simul iustum cum impio in Sodomis perderet?

Illos autem duos sic suscepit Loth, ut etiam ipse in conloquio cum illis suo singulariter Dominum appellet. Nam cum eis pluraliter dixisset: *Ecce, domini, declinate in domum pueri vestri*, et cetera quae ibi dicuntur, postea tamen ita legitur: *Et tenuerunt angeli manum eius et manum uxoris eius et manus duarum filiarum eius, in eo quod parceret Dominus ipsi. Et factum est, mox ut eduxerunt illum foras, et dixerunt: Salvam fac animam tuam, ne respexeris retro, nec steteris in tota regione; in monte salvum te fac, ne quando comprehendaris. Dixit autem Loth ad illos: Oro, Domine, quia invenit puer tuus misericordiam ante te*, et quae sequuntur. Deinde post haec verba singulariter illi respondet et Dominus, cum in duobus angelis esset, dicens: *Ecce miratus sum faciem tuam*, et cetera. Unde multo est credibilis, quod et Abraham in tribus et Loth in duobus viris Dominum agnoscebant, cui per singularem numerum loquebantur etiam cum eos homines esse arbitrarentur; neque enim aliam ob causam sic eos susceperunt ut tamquam mortalibus et humana refectioe indigentibus ministrarent; sed erat profecto aliquid quo ita excellabant, licet tamquam homines, ut in eis esse Dominum, sicut adsolet in prophetis, hi qui

this point too, that two of the men had gone to destroy the people of Sodom while Abraham was still speaking to one, calling him Lord and begging him not to destroy one just man along with the wicked in Sodom?

So also Lot, furthermore, received those two men in the same way, calling them Lord in the singular number in his conversation with them. For when he had spoken with them before, he used the plural: "Lo, my lords, turn in to your servant's house,"¹ and the other things that are said in this passage, still we read later on: "And the angels took hold of his hand and the hand of his wife and the hands of his two daughters, forasmuch as the Lord willed to spare him. And it came to pass, as soon as they led him out of doors, that they said: 'Save your life, do not look behind, and do not linger anywhere in this region; take refuge on the mountain, that you may not be entrapped.' But Lot answered them: 'Lord, I pray thee, since thy servant has found mercy in thy sight,'" and so forth.² And then after these words the Lord also uses the singular number in his answer, although he was in the two angels, saying: "Behold, I have marvelled at your face," and so forth.³ Hence it is much more credible that Abraham recognized the Lord in the three men, and Lot in two, and that they both spoke to him in the singular number, even though they thought the men to be men. For they welcomed them as they did for the sole purpose of ministering to them as to mortals in need of human refreshment. But surely there was some quality in them so outstanding, though they seemed to be men, that those who offered them hospitality could not

¹ Genesis 19.2.

² Genesis 19.16-19.

³ Genesis 19.21, Septuagint.

hospitalitatem illis exhibebant dubitare non possent; atque ideo et ipsos aliquando pluraliter et in eis Dominum aliquando singulariter appellabant. Angelos autem fuisse scriptura testatur, non solum in hoc Genesis libro ubi haec gesta narrantur, verum etiam in epistula ad Hebraeos ubi, cum hospitalitas laudaretur: *Per hanc, inquit, etiam quidam nescientes hospitio receperunt angelos.* Per illos igitur tres viros, cum rursus filius Isaac de Sarra promitteretur Abrahæ, divinum datum est etiam tale responsum ut diceretur: *Abraham erit in magnam gentem et multam, et benedicentur in eo omnes gentes terræ.* Et hic duo illa brevissime plenissimeque promissa sunt, gens Israel secundum carnem et omnes gentes secundum fidem.

XXX

De Loth a Sodomis liberato atque eisdem caelesti igne consumptis et de Abimelech, cuius concupiscentia castitati Sarrae nocere non potuit.

POST hanc promissionem liberato de Sodomis Loth et veniente igneo imbore de caelo tota illa regio impiae civitatis in cinerem versa est, ubi stupra in masculos in tantam consuetudinem convaluerant quantum leges solent aliorum factorum praebere licentiam. Verum et hoc eorum supplicium speci-

doubt that the Lord was present in them, as often happens in the case of the prophets. And this is the reason why they sometimes addressed them in the plural, and sometimes, using the singular, addressed the Lord in their persons. Moreover, the Scripture states that they were angels, not only in this book of Genesis in which the tale is told but also in the epistle to the Hebrews, which says, in praise of hospitality: "Thereby some have even entertained angels unawares."¹

Therefore when a son, Isaac, to be born of Sarah, was again promised to Abraham by these three men it was also God's answer that was given him in these words: "Abraham shall become a great and numerous nation, and all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in him."² Here again those two things were promised in the briefest and most generous terms—the people of Israel according to the flesh, and all peoples according to faith.

XXX

On Lot's liberation from Sodom and its destruction by celestial fire, and on Abimelech, whose lust could not harm Sarah's chastity.

AFTER this promise was given, when Lot was liberated from Sodom and a fiery tempest came down from heaven, the whole domain of the wicked city was reduced to ashes—that place where homosexual practices among males had become as prevalent as any other actions that enjoy the customary sanction of the laws. Its punishment was in truth an earnest

¹ Hebrews 13.2.² Genesis 18.18.

men futuri iudicii divini fuit. Nam quo pertinet quod prohibiti sunt qui liberabantur ab angelis retro respicere nisi quia non est animo redeundum ad veterem vitam, qua per gratiam regeneratus exiit, si ultimum evadere iudicium cogitamus? Denique uxor Loth, ubi respexit, remansit et in salem conversa hominibus fidelibus quoddam praestitit condimentum quo sapiant aliquid unde illud caveatur exemplum.

Inde rursus Abraham fecit in Geraris apud regem civitatis illius Abimelech, quod in Aegypto de coniuge fecerat, eique intacta similiter reddita est. Ubi sane Abraham obiurganti regi, cur tacuisset uxorem sororemque dixisset, aperiens quid timuerit etiam hoc addidit: *Etenim vere soror mea est de patre, sed non de matre*, quia de patre suo soror erat Abrahae, de quo propinqua eius erat. Tanta autem pulchritudinis fuit ut etiam in illa aetate posset adamari.

XXXI

De Isaac secundum promissionem nato, cui nomen ex risu utriusque parentis est inditum.

Post haec natus est Abrahae secundum promissionem Dei de Sarra filius, eumque nominavit Isaac, quod interpretatur risus. Riserat enim et pater quando ei promissus est, admirans in gaudio; riserat

¹ Genesis 19.24-26.

² Genesis 20.12.

³ Genesis 17.16.

of the divine judgment still to come. For what else does it signify that those who were rescued by the angels were forbidden to look back, save that we must not return in spirit to the old life which he who is regenerate by grace casts off, if we expect to escape the last judgment? Lastly, Lot's wife stood fixed in the spot where she looked back, and by being turned to salt supplied a bit of seasoning for believers, whereby they may be salted with wisdom to beware of following her example.¹

After this Abraham again employed at Gerar with Abimelech, the king of that region, the ruse in regard to his wife that he had used in Egypt, and as before she was restored to him unharmed. Indeed, when the king upbraided him for concealing the fact that she was his wife, and for calling her his sister, Abraham disclosed his fears, and added these words: "Yet indeed she is my sister on the father's side, but not on the mother's,"² because she was Abraham's sister through her father, through whom she was closely related to him. Moreover, her beauty was so great that even in her old age she could inspire love.

XXXI

On the birth of Isaac, according to the promise, who was named for the laughter of both his two parents.

AFTER this Sarah bore a son to Abraham, according to God's promise, and he named him Isaac, which means 'Laughter.' For his father had laughed when he was promised to him, marvelling in his joy;³

et mater quando per illos tres viros iterum promissus est, dubitans in gaudio; quamvis exprobrante angelo, quod risus ille, etiamsi gaudii fuit, tamen plenae fidei non fuit, post ab eodem angelo in fide etiam confirmata est. Ex hoc ergo puer nomen accepit. Nam quod risus ille non ad irridendum opprobrium, sed ad celebrandum gaudium pertinebat, nato Isaac et eo nomine vocato Sarra monstravit; ait quippe: *Risum mihi fecit Dominus; quicumque enim audierit, congaudebit mihi.* Sed post aliquantulum tempus ancilla de domo eicitur cum filio suo, et duo illa secundum apostolum testamenta significantur, vetus et novum, ubi Sarra illa supernae Hierusalem, hoc est civitatis Dei, figuram gerit.

XXXII

De oboedientia et fide Abrahae, qua per oblationem immolandi probatus est filii, et de morte Sarrae.

INTER haec, quae omnia commemorare nimis longum est, temptatur Abraham de immolando dilectissimo filio ipso Isaac ut pia eius oboedientia probaretur, saeculis in notitiam proferenda, non Deo. Neque enim omnis est culpanda temptatio, quia et gratulanda est qua fit probatio. Et plerumque aliter animus humanus sibi ipsi innotescere non

his mother also had laughed when he was again promised by the three men, doubting in her joy. Yet when the angel reproved her because her laughter, though inspired by joy, was still not inspired by complete faith, thereafter she was also strengthened in her faith by the same angel.¹ Thus the boy received his name. For when Isaac was born and so named, Sarah showed that her laughter was not of the sort that implies derisive insult, but rather the celebration of joy, for, as we see, she said: "The Lord has created laughter for me, for whoever hears will rejoice with me."² But after a short time the handmaiden was cast out of the house with her son. According to the Apostle both covenants, the old and the new, are symbolized here, where Sarah plays the part of the heavenly Jerusalem, that is, of the city of God.

XXXII

On the obedience and faith of Abraham, as to which he was tested by the offering up of his son as a sacrifice, and on the death of Sarah.

IN the course of these events, which would be tedious to recount in full, Abraham underwent temptation in regard to the sacrifice of his beloved son Isaac, to the end that his devoted obedience might be put to the proof, and be brought to the attention of later ages, rather than of God. Nor indeed is temptation always a matter for complaint, since temptation that leads to approval gives cause also for rejoicing. And in general there is no other way for the human

¹ Genesis 21.6.

² Galatians 4.22-26.

potest nisi vires suas sibi non verbo sed experimento temptatione quodam modo interrogante respondeat; ubi si Dei munus agnoverit, tunc pius est, tunc solidatur firmitate gratiae, non inflatur inanitate iactantiae.

Numquam sane crederet Abraham, quod victimis Deus delectaretur humanis; quamvis divino intonante praecepto oboediendum sit, non disputandum. Verum tamen Abraham confestim filium, cum fuisset immolatus, resurrecturum credidisse laudandus est. Dixerat namque illi Deus, cum de ancilla et filio eius foras eiciendis voluntatem coniugis nollet implere: *In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen.* Et certe ibi sequitur ac dicitur: *Et filium autem ancillae huius in magnam gentem faciam illum, quia semen tuum est.* Quo modo ergo dictum est: *In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen,* cum et Ismaelem Deus semen eius vocaverit? Exponens autem apostolus quid sit: *In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen: Id est, inquit, non qui filii carnis, hi filii Dei, sed filii promissionis deputantur in semen.* Ac per hoc filii promissionis, ut sint semen Abrahae, in Isaac vocantur, hoc est in Christo vocante gratia congregantur. Hanc ergo promissionem pater pius fideliter tenens, quia per hunc oportebat impleri, quem Deus iubebat occidi non haesitavit, quod sibi reddi poterat immolatus qui dari potuit non speratus.

¹ Genesis 21.12 f.

² Romans 9.8.

mind to arrive at self-knowledge except by the trial of its strength in answering, not merely by words, but by performance, the questions set by temptation. In such a case, if God accepts its offering, then you have a mind truly devoted, compact of the strength of grace, not merely inflated by empty boasting.

Abraham, of course, could never have believed that God takes pleasure in human victims. Still, when the divine command thunders, we must obey without disputing its orders. Abraham deserves credit for his immediate faith that his son, once sacrificed, would rise again from the dead. For when he refused to comply with his wife's insistence on driving out the handmaid and her son, God had said to him: "In Isaac shall your seed be called." To be sure, the passage continues thus: "And I will also make a great nation of the son of the handmaiden, because he is your seed."¹ How, then, can we explain the words "In Isaac shall your seed be called," since God also called Ishmael his seed? The Apostle, however, interprets the words "In Isaac shall your seed be called" as follows: "It is not the sons of the flesh who are sons of God, but the sons of the promise are reckoned as his seed."² Accordingly, the sons of the promise are called to be the seed of Abraham in Isaac; that is, they are gathered together in Christ by the grace that summons them. The good father, then, faithfully cherishing this promise, since it was bound to be fulfilled by the boy whom God ordered him to slay, did not doubt that if it were possible for a son to be given him after his hopes had failed it was also possible for this son to be restored to him after his sacrificial death.

Sic intellectum est et in epistula ad Hebraeos, et sic expositum. *Fide*, inquit, *praecessit Abraham Isaac temptatus et unicum obtulit, qui promissiones suscepit, ad quem dictum est: In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen, cogitans quia et ex mortuis suscitare potest Deus.* Proinde addidit: *Pro hoc etiam eum et in similitudinem adduxit;* cuius similitudinem, nisi illius unde dicit apostolus: *Qui proprio filio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum?* Propterea et Isaac, sicut Dominus crucem suam, ita sibi ligna ad victimae locum, quibus fuerat et inponendus, ipse portavit. Postremo quia Isaac occidi non oportebat, postea quam est pater ferire prohibitus, quis erat ille aries, quo immolato impletum est significativo sanguine sacrificium? Nempe quando eum vidit Abraham, cornibus in frutice tenebatur. Quis ergo illo figurabatur nisi Iesus, antequam immolaretur, spinis Iudaicis coronatus?

Sed divina per angelum verba potius audiamus. Ait quippe scriptura: *Et extendit Abraham manum suam sumere machaeram ut occideret filium suum. Et vocavit illum angelus Domini de caelo et dixit: Abraham!*

¹ Hebrews 11.17-19. Augustine here offers an unusual Latin version of Hebrews 11.19 (*Pro hoc . . . adduxit*). According to P. Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae* (1743), the usual form of the Old Latin is identical with the Vulgate (*unde eum et in parabolam accepit*), and only this passage from Augustine is cited as a variant. Modern translations vary between 'from whence' and 'wherefore'; also between 'in a figure, figuratively speaking' and 'for a type.'

This interpretation is also given in the letter to the Hebrews, and it is explained in this fashion: "By faith Abraham, when he was undergoing temptation, walked before Isaac, and offered up his only son, who received the promises, to whom it was said: 'In Isaac shall your seed be called,' taking thought that God is also able to raise men up from the dead." Then he added: "Wherefore he also made him a type."¹ A type of whom? Surely of him of whom the Apostle says: "Who did not spare his own son, but delivered him up for us all."² For this reason, even as the Lord carried his own cross, so Isaac himself also carried to the place of sacrifice the wood on which he too was to have been placed. Finally, since it was not fitting that Isaac should be slain, now after his father had been forbidden to strike him, who was that ram whose immolation completed the sacrifice by blood that was fraught with meaning? Note that when Abraham saw the ram it was caught in a thicket by its horns. Who, then, was symbolized by the ram but Jesus, crowned with Jewish thorns before he was sacrificed?³

But let us now turn to the divine words spoken by the angel. For the Scripture says: "And Abraham stretched out his hand to take the sword, to slay his son. And the angel of the Lord called out of heaven to him, and said, 'Abraham.' And he said, 'Here

² Romans 8.32.

³ According to Mark 15.16 f. and John 19.1 it was Roman soldiers who put the crown of thorns on Jesus' head. Augustine, however, like others before and after, was accustomed to blame the Jews for all the sufferings of Jesus. See B. Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins* (1946), 190-194.

Ille autem dixit: Ecce ego. Et dixit: Non incicias manum tuam super puerum, neque facias illi quicquam; nunc enim scivi quia times Deum tuum, et non pepercisti filio tuo dilecto propter me. Nunc scivi dictum est "nunc sciri feci"; neque enim hoc nondum sciebat Deus. Deinde ariete illo immolato pro Isaac filio suo vocavit, ut legitur, Abraham nomen loci illius: Dominus vidit, ut dicant hodie: In monte Dominus apparuit. Sicut dictum est: Nunc scivi, pro eo quod est nunc sciri feci, ita hic Dominus vidit, pro eo quod est Dominus apparuit, hoc est videri se fecit. Et vocavit angelus Domini Abraham secundo de caelo dicens: Per me ipsum iuravi, dicit Dominus, propter quod fecisti verbum hoc et non pepercisti filio tuo dilecto propter me, nisi benedicens benedicam te, et multiplicans multiplicabo semen tuum tamquam stellas caeli et tamquam harenam, quae iuxta labium maris. Et hereditate possidebit semen tuum civitates adversariorum, et benedicentur in semine tuo omnes gentes terrae, quia obaudisti vocem meam.

Hoc modo est illa de vocatione gentium in semine Abrahæ post holocaustum, quo significatus est Christus, etiam iuratione Dei firmata promissio. Sæpe enim promiserat, sed numquam iuraverat. Quid est autem Dei veri veracisque iuratio nisi promissi confirmatio et infidelium quaedam increpatio?

Post hæc Sarra mortua est, centesimo vicensimo

am I.' And the angel said: 'Do not lay hands on the boy, nor do him any harm, for now I have learned that you fear your God, and you have not spared your beloved son, for my sake.'"¹ "Now I have learned" means "Now I have made known," for God was by no means ignorant of the fact previously. Then when the ram had been sacrificed in place of his son Isaac, we read: "Abraham called the name of that place 'The Lord saw,' so that they say today, 'The Lord appeared on the mountain.'"² Just as "Now I have learned" was said in place of "Now I have made known," so in this instance "The Lord saw" stands for "The Lord appeared," that is, he let himself be seen. "And the angel of the Lord called out of heaven to Abraham a second time, saying: 'I have sworn by my own person,' says the Lord, 'forasmuch as you have obeyed my words and for my sake have not spared your beloved son, that I will surely bless you with my blessing, and multiplying you I will multiply your seed like the stars of heaven and like the sand that lies along the rim of the sea. And your seed shall possess the cities of the enemy by right of inheritance, and all nations on earth shall be blessed in your seed, because you have obeyed my voice.'"³

Thus that promise of the calling of the nations in Abraham's seed, after the burnt offering that is a symbol of Christ, was now also confirmed by an oath that God swore. For he had often made promises, but had never sworn to them. And what is the oath of the true and faithful God but the confirmation of his promises, and, in a way, a denunciation of those who will not believe?

After this Sarah died, in the hundred and twenty-

¹ Genesis 22.10-12.

² Genesis 22.14.

³ Genesis 22.15-18.

septimo anno vitae suae, centesimo autem et tricensimo septimo viri sui. Decem quippe annis eam praecedebat aetate; sicut ipse, quando sibi ex illa promissus est filius, ait: *Si mihi annorum centum nascetur filius, et si Sarra annorum nonaginta pariet.* Tunc emit agrum Abraham, in quo sepelivit uxorem. Tunc ergo secundum narrationem Stephani in terra illa est conlocatus, quoniam coepit ibi esse possessor; post mortem scilicet patris sui, qui colligitur ante biennium fuisse defunctus.

XXXIII

De Rebecca nepte Nachor, quam Isaac accepit uxorem.

DEINDE Rebeccam neptem Nachor patris sui, cum annorum quadraginta esset Isaac, duxit uxorem, centesimo scilicet et quadragensimo anno vitae patris sui, triennio post mortem matris suae. Ut autem illam duceret, quando ab eius patre in Mesopotamiam servus missus est, quid aliud demonstratum est cum eidem servo dixit Abraham: *Pone manum tuam sub femore meo, et adiurabo te Dominum Deum caeli et Dominum terrae, ut non sumas uxorem filio meo Isaac a filiabus Chananaeorum, nisi Dominum Deum caeli et Dominum terrae in carne, quae ex illo femore trahebatur, fuisse venturum? Numquid haec parva sunt praenuntiatae indicia veritatis, quam conpleri videmus in Christo?*

¹ Genesis 17.17.

² Acts 7.4.

³ Genesis 24.2 f.

seventh year of her age, which was the hundred and thirty-seventh year of her husband's life. He indeed was ten years older than she, as he himself said when a son by her was promised him: "Shall a son be born to me, who am a hundred years old, and shall Sarah conceive at the age of ninety?"¹ Then Abraham bought a field in which he buried his wife. Thus, according to Stephen's account,² he was now definitely settled in that land, since he had now first become a landowner there, that is, after the death of his father, who is reckoned to have died two years earlier.

XXXIII

On Rebecca the granddaughter of Nachor, whom Isaac took as his wife.

AFTER this, when Isaac was forty years old, he married Rebecca the granddaughter of his uncle Nahor. Now this was in the hundred and fortieth year of his father's life, and three years after his mother's death. When a servant was sent into Mesopotamia by his father to bring her, Abraham said to this servant: "Put your hand under my thigh and I will make you to swear by the Lord, the God of heaven and Lord of the earth, that you will not take a wife for my son Isaac from among the daughters of the Canaanites."³ What else was indicated by this but that the Lord God of heaven and Lord of earth was to come in the flesh that was derived from that thigh? Surely these are no trifling proofs of the foretelling of the truth that we now see fulfilled in Christ.

XXXIV

Quid intellegendum sit in eo, quod Abraham post mortem Sarrae Cetturam accepit uxorem.

QUI autem sibi vult quod Abraham post mortem Sarrae Cetturam duxit uxorem? Ubi absit ut incontinentiam suspicemur, praesertim in illa iam aetate et in illa fidei sanctitate. An adhuc procreandi filii quaerebantur, cum iam Deo promittente tanta multiplicatio filiorum ex Isaac per stellas caeli et harenam terrae fide probatissima teneretur? Sed profecto si Agar at Ismael, doctore apostolo, significaverunt carnales veteris testamenti, cur non etiam Cettura et filii eius significant carnales qui se ad testamentum novum existimant pertinere? Ambae quippe et uxores Abrahae et concubinae sunt appellatae; Sarra vero numquam dicta est concubina. Nam et quando data est Agar Abrahae, ita scriptum est: *Et adprehendit Sara uxor Abram Agar Aegyptiam ancillam suam post decem annos, quam habitaverat Abram in terra Chanaan, et dedit eam Abram viro suo ipsi uxorem.* De Cettura autem, quam post obitum Sarrae accepit, sic legitur: *Adiciens autem Abraham sumpsit uxorem, cui nomen Cettura.* Ecce ambae dicuntur uxores; ambae porro concubinae fuisse reperiuntur, postea dicente scriptura: *Dedit autem Abraham omnem censum suum*

¹ Galatians 4.24.

XXXIV

On the meaning of Abraham's marriage to Keturah after Sarah's death.

BUT what is the meaning of Abraham's taking Keturah as his wife after Sarah's death? Far be it from us to suspect incontinence in this case, especially considering the age that he had now reached and the purity of his faith. Are we to think that his purpose was the procreation of children, although God's earlier promise afforded the most perfect pledge that Isaac's offspring should become as numerous as the stars of heaven and the sands of the earth? But clearly if Hagar and Ishmael, as the Apostle teaches,¹ symbolized the carnal people under the old covenant, why should not Keturah and her sons similarly typify the carnal individuals who think that they belong to the new Covenant? Both Hagar and Keturah, indeed, were called wives and concubines of Abraham, whereas Sarah was never called his concubine. For when Hagar was given to Abraham, the Scripture says: "And Sarai, Abram's wife, took Hagar her Egyptian maid, after Abram had lived ten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to Abram her husband as a wife."² Furthermore, about Keturah, whom he received after Sarah's death, we read: "Moreover, Abraham again took a wife, whose name was Keturah." So both are called wives, but both are also found to have been concubines, for the Scripture continues: "Now Abraham gave all his

² Genesis 16.3.

Isaac filio suo, et filiis concubinarum suarum dedit Abraham donationes et dimisit eos ab Isaac filio suo adhuc se vivo ad orientem, in terram orientis.

Habent ergo nonnulla munera filii concubinarum, sed non perveniunt ad regnum promissum, nec haeretici, nec Iudaei carnales, quia praeter Isaac nullus est heres, et non qui filii carnis, hi filii Dei, sed filii promissionis deputantur in semine, de quo dictum est: *In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen.* Neque enim video cur etiam Cettura post uxoris mortem ducta nisi propter hoc mysterium dicta sit concubina. Sed quisquis haec non vult in istis significationibus accipere, non calumniatur Abrahae. Quid si enim et hoc provisum est contra haereticos futuros secundarum adversarios nuptiarum, ut in ipso patre multarum gentium post obitum coniugis iterum coniugari demonstraretur non esse peccatum?

Et mortuus est Abraham, cum esset annorum centum septuaginta quinque.¹ Annorum ergo septuaginta quinque¹ Isaac filium dereliquit, quem centenarius genuit.

¹ The error in the manuscripts which gives their ages as 170 and 70, respectively, has been corrected in the printed editions, on the basis of the LXX reading.

¹ Genesis 25.1-6.

² Romans 9.8.

³ Romans 9.7.

property to his son Isaac, and to the sons of his concubines Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from his son Isaac while he himself was still living, eastward, to the eastern lands."¹

Thus the sons of the concubines receive some gifts, but they do not succeed to the promised kingdom, neither the heretics nor the carnal Jews, because there is no heir save Isaac, and "not those who are sons of the flesh are the sons of God, but the sons of the promise are reckoned as his seed,"² concerning which this is said: "In Isaac shall your seed be called."³ For I see no reason why Keturah, who was married after his wife's death, was called a concubine, unless it was for the sake of this mystery. But if anyone does not wish to accept these interpretations of these matters, let him not cast reproach on Abraham. For what if this was planned as an answer to later heretics, who attack second marriages,⁴ to demonstrate in the very case of the father of many nations that a second marriage after the first wife's death is no sin?

And Abraham died when he was a hundred and seventy-five years old. Thus he left his son Isaac aged seventy-five, whom he begot when he was a hundred years old.

⁴ The Montanists, or Cataphrygae, are elsewhere mentioned by Augustine (*Against Faustus* 32.17; *On the Good of Widowhood* 4.6; *On Heresies* 26) as heretics who called second marriage a sin, thus professing a 'more perfect' morality than that of the Scriptures. Augustine, however (see the end of Chapter XXXVI, p. 169, below), assumes that all his readers will agree that unmarried continence is better than marriage.

XXXV

*De geminis adhuc in utero Rebeccae matris inclusis
quid indicaverit divina responsio.*

IAM ex hoc, quem ad modum per posteros Abrahae civitatis Dei procurrant tempora, videamus. A primo igitur anno vitae Isaac usque ad sexagesimum, quo ei nati sunt filii, illud memorabile est quod, cum illi Deum roganti ut pareret uxor eius, quae sterilis erat, concessisset Dominus quod petebat, atque haberet illa conceptum, gestiebant gemini adhuc in utero eius inclusi. Qua molestia cum angeretur, Dominum interrogavit acceptique responsum: *Duae gentes in utero tuo sunt et duo populi de ventre tuo separabuntur et populus populum superabit et maior serviet minori.* Quod Paulus apostolus magnum vult intellegi gratiae documentum, quia nondum illis natis nec aliquid agentibus boni seu mali sine ullis bonis meritis eligitur minor maiore reprobato; quando procul dubio, quantum adtinet ad

¹ Genesis 25.23.

² Romans 9.11–13. From the year 394, when Augustine wrote his *Commentary on Romans* (see Chapter 60), he made use of the Esau story to support three points of his teaching: (1) God in his grace elects certain individuals in advance of any merit on their part. The topic is more fully developed in his answers to the *Questions of Simplicianus* 1.2, written about 396, and became the principal topic of the Pelagian controversy, which occupied the last years of Augustine's life. (2) The statement that the elder son should serve the younger had a double meaning. Not only were the descendants of

XXXV

*On the meaning of the divine answer about the twins
while they were still in the womb of their mother
Rebecca.*

LET US NOW examine the course of the city of God through the period of Abraham's descendants. Between the first year of Isaac's life and his sixtieth year, when his sons were born, it is worth noting that when he asked God that his wife, who had been barren, might bear a child, God had already granted his request, and she had already conceived, for the twins were even then struggling in her womb. And when, tormented by this discomfort, she inquired of the Lord, she received this answer: "Two nations are in your womb, and two distinct peoples shall issue from your belly. One people shall overcome the other, and the elder shall serve the younger."¹ The apostle Paul wishes this to be taken as a conspicuous instance of God's grace, since when they were not yet born and were doing nothing, whether good or bad, the younger son was chosen, without any good deeds to his credit, and the elder was rejected.² At this time, beyond any possible doubt, both were equal in

Esau to serve the Israelites, as in David's time (see *Questions on the Heptateuch* 1.72), but their lot also prefigured that of the Jews, who were to serve the Christians (see *Confessions* 7.9.15; *Against the Jews* 7.9, and other references in B. Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins*, 170). (3) The Biblical statement that the unborn children had done nothing good or bad also served to refute the Platonists and others who spoke of pre-natal sins (see, e.g., *On the Grace of Christ and Original Sin* 2.31.36).

originale peccatum, ambo pares erant; quantum autem ad proprium, ullius eorum nullum erat.

Sed nunc de hac re dicere aliquid latius instituti operis ratio non sinit, unde in aliis multa iam diximus. Quod autem dictum est: *Maior serviet minori*, nemo fere nostrorum aliter intellexit, quam maiorem populum Iudaeorum minori Christiano populo servitutum. Et re vera quamvis in gente Idumaeorum, quae nata est de maiore, cui duo nomina erant—nam et Esau vocabatur et Edom, unde Idumaei—hoc videri possit impletum, quia postea superanda fuerat a populo qui ortus est ex minore, id est Israelitico, eique fuerat futura subiecta, tamen in aliquid maius intentam fuisse istam prophetiam, qua dictum est: *Populus populum superabit et maior serviet minori*, convenientius creditur. Et quid est hoc nisi quod in Iudaeis et Christianis evidenter impletur?

XXXVI

De oraculo et benedictione, quam Isaac non aliter quam pater ipsius, merito eiusdem dilectus, accepit.

ACCEPTIT etiam Isaac tale oraculum, quale aliquotiens pater eius acceperat. De quo oraculo sic scriptum est: *Facta est autem fames super terram praeter famem, quae prius facta est in tempore Abrahae.*

respect of original sin, and furthermore, as regards individual sin, neither had committed any.

But the plan of my work as I have organized it does not permit further discussion of the matter at this point, for I have already treated it fully in other books. As to the statement, “the elder shall serve the younger,” however, scarcely anyone among us has understood it to mean anything else than that the older people of the Jews should serve the younger Christian people. And in truth, although this saying might seem to have been fulfilled in the race of the Idumaeans, descended from the elder son, who had two names—for he was called both Esau and Edom, and ‘Idumaeans’ is derived from the latter name—on the ground that they were later to be overcome by a people descended from the younger son, namely, the Israelites, and be subject to them, yet it is more fitting to believe that the prophetic statement: “One people shall overcome the other, and the elder shall serve the younger,” portended something greater than this. And what is this greater significance save that which is most plainly fulfilled in the case of the Jews and the Christians?

XXXVI

On the oracle and benediction that Isaac, favoured for his father's merits, received exactly as his father had.

ISAAC also received an oracle such as his father had received on several occasions. Of this oracle it is written: “Now there was famine in the land, besides the famine that had occurred earlier, in the days of

Abiit autem Isaac ad Abimelech regem Philistinorum in Gerara. Apparuit autem illi Dominus et dixit: Noli descendere in Aegyptum; habita autem in terra, quam tibi dixero, et incole in terra hac; et ero tecum et benedicam te. Tibi enim et semini tuo dabo omnem terram hanc, et statuam iuramentum meum quod iuravi Abrahae patri tuo; et multiplicabo semen tuum tamquam stellas caeli, et dabo semini tuo omnem terram hanc, et benedicentur in semine tuo omnes gentes terrae pro eo quod obaudivit Abraham pater tuus vocem meam et custodivit praecepta mea et mandata mea et iustificationes meas et legitima mea.

Iste patriarcha nec uxorem habuit aliam nec aliquam concubinam, sed posteritate duorum geminorum ex uno concubitu procreatorum contentus fuit. Timuit sane etiam ipse periculum de pulchritudine coniugis, cum habitaret inter alienos, fecitque quod pater, ut eam sororem diceret, taceret uxorem; erat enim ei propinqua et paterno et materno sanguine; sed etiam ipsa ab alienis, cognito quod uxor esset, mansit intacta. Nec ideo tamen istum patri eius praeferre debemus, quia iste nullam feminam praeter unam coniugem noverat. Erant enim procul dubio paternae fidei et oboedientiae merita potiora in tantum ut propter illum dicat Deus huic se facere bona quae facit. *Benedicentur, inquit, in semine tuo omnes gentes terrae, pro eo quod obaudivit Abraham pater tuus vocem meam et custodivit praecepta mea et mandata mea et iustificationes meas et*

Abraham. And Isaac went to Abimelech the king of the Philistines in Gerar. Now the Lord appeared to him and said: 'Do not go down into Egypt, but live in the land that I shall tell you of, and dwell in this land, and I will be with you and will bless you. For I will give you and your seed all this land, and I will renew my vow that I swore to your father Abraham, and I will make your seed multiply like the stars of heaven, and I will give your seed all this land, and in your seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because Abraham your father obeyed my voice and kept my precepts and my commandments and my statutes and my laws.'¹

This patriarch had neither any other wife nor any concubine, but was content for his posterity with the twins who were conceived in a single act of intercourse. He also, indeed, feared trouble because of his wife's beauty, since he was living among strangers, and he did as his father had done, calling her his sister and not saying that she was his wife. For she was closely related to him both by her father's and her mother's blood. But she, too, remained unharmed at the hands of strangers when it became known that she was his wife. Yet we should not rate Isaac higher than his father simply because he did not mate with any woman except this one wife. For doubtless the merits of his father's faith and obedience were greater than his, so much so that God says that the boons he grants him are granted for his father's sake. "In your seed," he says, "shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because Abraham your father obeyed my voice and kept my precepts and my commandments and my statutes and my laws."

¹ Genesis 26.1-5.

legitima mea; et alio rursus oraculo: Ego sum, inquit, Deus Abraham patris tui, noli timere; tecum enim sum et benedixi te et multiplicabo semen tuum propter Abraham patrem tuum.

Ut intellegamus quam caste Abraham fecerit, quod hominibus inprudicis et nequitiae suae de scripturis sanctis patrocina requiritibus videtur fecisse libidine; deinde ut etiam hoc noverimus, non ex bonis singulis inter se homines comparare, sed in uno quoque consideremus universa. Fieri enim potest, ut habeat aliquid in vita et moribus quispiam quo superat alium, idque sit longe praestabilius quam est illud unde ab alio superatur. Ac per hoc sano veroque iudicio, cum continentia coniugio praefertur, melior est tamen homo fidelis coniugatus quam continens infidelis. Sed infidelis homo non solum minus laudandus, verum etiam maxime detestandus est. Constituamus ambos bonos; etiam sic profecto melior est coniugatus fidelissimus et oboedientissimus Deo quam continens minoris fidei minorisque oboedientiae. Si vero paria sint cetera, continentem coniugato praeferre quis ambigat?

XXXVII

De his, quae in Esau et Iacob mystice praefigurabantur.

Duo igitur Isaac filii Esau et Iacob pariter crescunt. Primatus maioris transfunditur in minorem

¹ Genesis 26.24.

And again in another oracle he says: "I am the God of Abraham your father. Be not afraid, for I am with you, and I have blessed you, and I will multiply your seed for your father Abraham's sake."¹

This teaches us how chastely Abraham acted, though by shameless men who seek support for their own vileness in the holy Scriptures, he is supposed to have been governed by lust. This in turn teaches us not to make comparisons between men on the basis of their individual good points, but to consider the whole picture in each separate case. For it may happen that a given man has some quality in his life in which he surpasses another, and that this excellence is far more notable than any quality in which he is surpassed by other men. And according to this sound and true standard, even though continence is preferable to wedlock, yet a married believer is better than a celibate infidel. The infidel, indeed, is not merely less praiseworthy, but is actually most detestable. Let us assume that both are good men. Even so, the married man who is completely faithful and completely obedient to God is certainly better than a celibate who has less faith and less obedience. But if other things are equal, who would hesitate to prefer the celibate to the married man?

XXXVII

On the hidden prophetic meanings found in Esau and Jacob.

THE two sons of Isaac, Esau and Jacob, therefore, grow up together. The primacy of the elder is

ex pacto et placito inter illos, eo quod lenticulam, quem cibum minor paraverat, maior inmoderatus concupivit, eoque pretio primogenita sua fratri iuratione interposita vendidit. Ubi discimus in vescendo non cibi genere, sed aviditate inmodesta quemque culpandum. Senescit Isaac eiusque oculis per senectam visus auferitur. Vult benedicere filium maiorem et pro illo nesciens benedicit minorem, pro fratre maiore, qui erat pilosus, sed paternis manibus supponentem, haedinis sibi pelliculis coaptatis velut aliena peccata portantem. Iste dolus Iacob ne putaretur fraudulentus dolus et non in eo magnae rei mysterium quaereretur, superius praedixit scriptura: *Et erat Esau homo sciens venari, agrestis; Iacob autem homo simplex, habitans domum.*

Hoc nostri quidam interpretati sunt "sine dolo." Sive autem "sine dolo" sive "simplex" sive potius "sine fictione" dicatur, quod est Graece ἀπλαστος, quis est in ista percipienda benedictione dolus hominis sine dolo? Quis est dolus simplicis, quae fictio non mentientis, nisi profundum mysterium veritatis? Ipsa autem benedictio qualis est? *Ecce, inquit, odor filii mei tamquam odor agri pleni, quem benedixit Dominus. Et det tibi Deus de rore caeli et de ubertate terrae et multitudinem frumenti et vini, et ser-*

¹ Genesis 25.29-34.

² Genesis 25.27.

³ The alternative translation 'sine dolo' offers Augustine the paradox of 'guile without guile.' The point is further developed in *Questions on the Heptateuch* 1.74, with a reference there to a sermon (*Sermo* 4.16-24) on the subject.

transferred to the younger by a compact and agreement between them, because the elder passionately craved the lentils which the younger had prepared for his meal, and sold his birthright to his brother for this price, after an oath was exacted from him.¹ From this we learn that in the matter of eating a man is not to be censured for the kind of food that he craves, but for inordinate greed. Isaac is growing old, his eyesight is dimmed with age. He wishes to bless his older son, and unwittingly blesses the younger instead, in place of the older brother, who was a hairy man, for he submitted himself to his father's hands with kidskins wrapped about his hands, as if he were bearing another man's sins. Lest it should be thought that this trickery of Jacob's was fraudulent guile, and lest we thus fail to seek out a mystery of great moment, the Scripture explained previously: "Now Esau was a man skilled in hunting, a man of the fields, but Jacob was a simple man, abiding at home."²

Certain of our number have translated this 'without guile.' But whether the words 'without guile' or 'simple' or, preferably 'without pretence' are used for the Greek *aplastos*, what sort of guile is there when a man 'without guile' obtains a blessing? How can you have guile on the part of a simple man, or pretence on the part of a man who does not lie, except to serve as a profound mystery of truth?³ Furthermore, what is the nature of the blessing? "See," he says, "my son's smell is like the smell of a field of grain that the Lord has blessed. So may the Lord grant you the dews of heaven and the abundance of the earth and increase of grain and wine, and may

viant tibi gentes et adorent te principes et fiere dominus fratris tui et adorabunt te filii patris tui. Qui maledixerit te, maledictus; et qui benedixerit te, benedictus. Benedictio igitur Iacob praedicatio est Christi in omnibus gentibus. Hoc fit, hoc agitur.

Lex et prophetia est Isaac; etiam per os Iudaeorum Christus ab illa benedicitur, velut a nesciente, quia ipsa nescitur. Odore nominis Christi, sicut ager, mundus impletur; eius est benedictio de rore caeli, hoc est de verborum pluvia divinatorum, et de ubertate terrae, hoc est congregatione populorum; eius est multitudo frumenti et vini, hoc est multitudo quam colligit frumentum et vinum in sacramento corporis eius et sanguinis. Ei serviunt gentes, ipsum adorant principes. Ipse est dominus fratris sui quia populus eius dominatur Iudaeis. Ipsum adorant filii patris eius, hoc est filii Abrahae secundum fidem; quia et ipse filius est Abrahae secundum carnem. Ipsum qui maledixerit, maledictus, et qui benedixerit, benedictus est. Christus, inquam, noster etiam ex ore Iudaeorum quamvis errantium, sed tamen legem prophetasque cantantium benedicitur, id est veraciter dicitur; et alius benedici putatur, qui ab eis errantibus expectatur.

Ecce benedictionem promissam repetente maiore expavescit Isaac et alium se pro alio benedixisse

¹ Genesis 27.27-29.

the nations serve you and the princes reverence you. Become the master of your brother and your father's sons shall revere you. He who shall curse you, let him be accursed, and he who blesses you, let him be blessed."¹ So the blessing of Jacob is the proclamation of Christ among all nations. This is coming to pass, this is getting done.

Isaac is the law and the prophecy; by these Christ is blessed, even on the lips of the Jews, as by one who does not know what he is doing, for the law and the prophecy are themselves unknown to them. The world is filled like a field with the sweet smell of the name of Christ. His is the blessing by the dews of heaven, that is, by the showers of the divine words, and by the fertility of the earth, that is, by the assembling of the peoples. His is the increase of grain and wine, that is, the multitude that the grain and wine gather together in the sacrament of his body and blood. Him do the nations serve, him do the princes reverence. He himself is lord over his brother, since his people rule the Jews. Him do the sons of his father adore, that is, the sons of Abraham after the faith, for he himself is also the son of Abraham after the flesh. Accursed is he who has cursed him, and blessed is he who has blessed him. Our Christ, I say, is blessed, that is, he is truly proclaimed even by the lips of the Jews who, although they have gone astray, none the less chant the law and the prophets, thinking that they are blessing another Messiah, who is still awaited by his erring people.

See, Isaac is aghast with fear when his elder son comes to seek the promised blessing, and he learns that he has blessed one son in place of the other. He

cognoscit; miratur et quisnam ille sit percontatur; nec tamen se deceptum esse conqueritur; immo confestim revelato sibi intus in corde magno sacramento devitat indignationem, confirmat benedictionem. *Quis ergo, inquit, venatus est mihi venationem et intulit mihi, et manducavi ab omnibus, antequam tu venires? et benedixi eum, et benedictus sit.* Quis non hic maledictionem potius expectaret irati, si haec non superna inspiratione, sed terreno more gererentur? O res gestas, sed propheticæ gestas; in terra, sed caelitus; per homines, sed divinitus!

Si excutiantur singula tantis fecunda mysteriis, multa sunt implenda volumina; sed huic operi modus moderate inponendus nos in alia festinare compellit.

XXXVIII

De misso Iacob in Mesopotamiam ad accipiendam uxorem et de visione, quam in itinere somniavit, et de quatuor ipsius feminis, cum unam petisset uxorem.

MITTITUR Iacob a parentibus in Mesopotamiam, ut ibi ducat uxorem. Patris mittentis verba haec sunt: *Non accipies uxorem ex filiabus Chanaanæorum; surgens fuge in Mesopotamiam in domum Bathuel, patris matris tuae, et sume tibi inde uxorem de filiabus Laban, fratris*

¹ Genesis 27.33.

marvels and asks who this may be, yet he does not complain that he has been deceived. On the contrary, as the great mystery is at once revealed to him inwardly in his heart, he refrains from indignation and confirms his blessing. "Who then," he says, "hunted game for me and brought it to me, and I ate of it all, before you came? And I blessed him—so let him then be blessed."¹ Who would not rather expect here the curse of an angry man, if these things were accomplished, not by heavenly inspiration, but in earthly fashion? Actual events indeed, yet performed with prophetic meaning; transacted on earth, but by the will of heaven; by the agency of men, but by the action of God!

If all the particulars that are fertile in hidden meanings of such great import were to be scrutinized they would fill many volumes, whereas the modest limits that must be set to this work force us to hasten on to other topics.

XXXVIII

On the sending of Jacob into Mesopotamia to take a wife, and on the vision that he saw in a dream on his journey, and on the four women he had, though he had sought only one wife.

JACOB is sent into Mesopotamia to marry a wife there. These are his father's words as he dispatched him: "You shall not take a wife from the daughters of the Canaanites. Arise and hasten into Mesopotamia to the home of Bethuel, your mother's father, and take yourself a wife thence, one of the daughters

matris tuae. Deus autem meus benedicat te et augeat te et multiplicet te; et eris congregationes gentium; et det tibi benedictionem Abraham patris tui, tibi et semini tuo post te, ut heres fias terrae incolatus tui, quam dedit Deus Abraham. Hic iam intellegimus segregatum semen Iacob ab alio semine Isaac, quod factum est per Esau. Quando enim dictum est: *In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen*, pertinens utique semen ad civitatem Dei, separatum est inde aliud semen Abrahae, quod erat in ancillae filio, et quod futurum erat in filiis Cetturae. Sed adhuc erat ambiguum de duobus geminis filiis Isaac, ad utrumque an ad unum eorum illa benedictio pertineret; et si ad unum, quisnam esset illorum. Quod nunc declaratum est, cum prophetice a patre benedicatur Iacob et dicitur ei: *Et eris in congregationes gentium, et det tibi benedictionem Abraham patris tui.*

Pergens itaque in Mesopotamiam Iacob in somnis accepit oraculum, de quo sic scriptum est: *Et exiit Iacob a puteo iurationis et profectus est in Charran et devenit in locum et dormivit ibi; occiderat enim sol; et sumpsit ex lapidibus loci et posuit ad caput suum et dormivit in loco illo et somniavit. Et ecce scala stabilita super terram, cuius caput pertingebat ad caelum; et angeli Dei ascendebant et descendebant per illam, et Dominus incumbbat super illam et dixit: Ego sum Deus*

of Laban, your mother's brother. So may my God bless you and increase and multiply you, and you shall become assemblies of peoples. And may he give you the blessing of your father Abraham, for you and your seed after you, that you may inherit the land wherein you live, which God gave to Abraham."¹ Here we already learn that Jacob's seed was distinguished from Isaac's remaining seed, which was born of Esau. For when it was said: "In Isaac shall your seed be called,"² meaning the seed that belongs to the city of God, surely the other seed of Abraham, which was in the son of the handmaid and which was to be in the sons of Keturah, was distinguished from it. But at that time there was still a question about the two sons of Isaac, whether that blessing applied to both or only to one of them, and if to one alone, which of them it was to be. This has now been clearly stated, when Jacob is prophetically blessed by his father, and these words are addressed to him: "And you shall become assemblies of peoples. And may he give you the blessing of your father Abraham."

Jacob, then, as he journeyed into Mesopotamia, received an oracle in his sleep, of which this is written: "And Jacob went forth from the well of the oath, and set out for Haran, and he came to a place and slept there, for the sun had set. And he took one of the stones of the place and put it under his head and fell asleep in that place, and had a dream. And behold, a ladder was set upon the earth, whose top reached to heaven, and the angels of God were ascending and descending on it. And the Lord, leaning over it, said: 'I am the God of Abraham

¹ Genesis 28.1-4.² Genesis 21.12.

Abraham patris tui et Deus Isaac, noli timere; terram, in qua tu dormis super eam, tibi dabo illam et semini tuo; et erit semen tuum sicut harena terrae, et dilatabitur supra mare et in Africum et in aquilonem et ad orientem; et benedicentur in te omnes tribus terrae et in semine tuo. Et ecce ego sum tecum, custodiens te in omni via quamcumque ibis, et reducam te in terram hanc, quia non te derelinquam, donec faciam omnia, quae tecum locutus sum. Et surrexit Iacob de somno suo et dixit: Quia est Dominus in loco hoc, ego autem nesciebam. Et timuit et dixit: Quam terribilis locus hic! non est hoc nisi domus Dei et haec porta est caeli. Et surrexit Iacob et sumpsit lapidem, quem supposuit ibi sub caput suum, et statuit illum titulum et superfudit oleum in cacumen eius; et vocavit Iacob nomen loci illius: domus Dei.

Hoc ad prophetiam pertinent; nec more idolotriam lapidem perfudit oleo Iacob, velut faciens illum deum; neque enim adoravit eundem lapidem vel ei sacrificavit; sed quoniam Christi nomen a chrismate est, id est ab unctione, profecto figuratum est hic aliquid quod ad magnum pertineat sacramentum. Scalam vero istam intellegitur ipse Salvator nobis in memoriam revocare in evangelio, ubi, cum dixisset de Nathanael: *Ecce vere Israelita, in quo dolus non est, quia Israel viderat istam visionem—ipse est enim Iacob—eodem loco ait: Amen, amen, dico vobis, videbitis caelum apertum et angelos Dei ascendentes et descendentes super filium hominis.*

¹ Genesis 28.10–19. The ‘well of the oath’ is Beersheba, the ‘house of God’ is Bethel, in Hebrew, Vulgate and modern translations.

² John 1.47, 51.

your father and God of Isaac. Be not afraid. I will give to you and your seed the land on which you are sleeping. And your seed shall be like the sands of the earth. It shall be spread out over the sea and into Africa and to the north and to the east. In you and in your seed shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed. For behold, I am with you, guarding you in all your ways wherever you shall go, and I will bring you back into this land, for I will not leave you until I accomplish all that I have told you.’ And Jacob rose up from his sleep and said: ‘Surely the Lord is in this place and I did not know it.’ And he was afraid and said: ‘How awesome is this place! This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.’ Then Jacob rose and took the stone that he had put there under his head, and set it up as a memorial and poured oil on the top of it. And Jacob named that place ‘The house of God.’¹

This has prophetic meaning, nor did Jacob pour oil over the stone in idolatrous fashion, as if he were making it a god, for he did not worship that stone or sacrifice to it. But since Christ’s name is derived from *chrism*, that is, from anointing, surely there is a symbolism in this that points to a mighty mystery. And truly our Saviour himself is known to have recalled that ladder to our minds in the Gospel, where, when he had said of Nathaniel: “Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile,” then because Israel had seen that vision—for Israel is Jacob himself—he continued in the same speech: “Verily, verily, I say to you, you shall see the heaven open and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man.”²

Perrexit ergo Iacob in Mesopotamiam, ut inde acciperet uxorem. Unde autem illi acciderit quattuor habere feminas, de quibus duodecim filios et unam filiam procreavit, cum earum nullam concupisset illicitè, indicat scriptura divina. Ad unam quippe accipiendam venerat; sed cum illi altera pro altera¹ supposita fuisset, nec ipsam dimisit, qua nesciens usus fuerat in nocte, ne ludibrio eam videretur habuisse, et eo tempore quando multiplicandae posteritatis causa plures uxores lex nulla prohibebat, accepit etiam illam, cui uni iam futuri coniugii fidem fecerat. Quae cum esset sterilis, ancillam suam de qua filios ipsa susciperet marito dedit; quod etiam maior soror eius, quamvis peperisset, imitata, quoniam multiplicare prolem cupiebat, effecit. Nullam Iacob legitur petisse praeter unam, nec usus plurimis nisi gignendae prolis officio, coniugali iure servato ut neque hoc faceret nisi uxores eius id fieri flagitassent, quae corporis viri sui habebant legitimam potestatem. Genuit ergo duodecim filios et unam filiam ex quattuor mulieribus. Deinde ingressus est in Aegyptum per filium suum Ioseph, qui venditus ab invidentibus fratribus eo perductus fuit atque ibidem sublimatus.

¹ The phrase *pro altera*, omitted in the chief manuscripts, is inserted by Dombart.

After this Jacob went on his way into Mesopotamia, to take a wife there. The holy Scripture explains how it came about that he had four women, by whom he begot twelve sons and one daughter, although he had not desired any of them unlawfully. Note that he had come to take one wife, but when another was given him in her place, he did not dismiss her, having had intercourse with her in the night without knowing her identity, lest he should seem to hold her in derision; and at a time when in order to increase the birth-rate there was no law against a plurality of wives, he also took that woman to whom alone he had given his promise to marry. And since she was barren she gave her husband her handmaiden, in order that he might have sons by her. This action her elder sister also imitated, although she had already borne children, since she wished to increase her progeny. We do not read that Jacob sought any woman save one alone, nor did he have intercourse with others except to get offspring. He did not violate his marriage vow, whereby he could not have gone as far as he did if his wives, who legally controlled their husband's person,¹ had not instigated his actions. So he begot twelve sons and one daughter by four women. Then he went into Egypt through the agency of his son Joseph, who, being sold by his jealous brothers, was carried thither and was there elevated to great power.

¹ Cf. 1 Corinthians 7.4.

XXXIX

Quae ratio fecerit ut Iacob etiam Israel cognominaretur.

IACOB autem etiam Israel, sicut paulo ante dixi, vocabatur, quod nomen magis populus ex illo procreatus obtinuit. Hoc autem nomen illi ab angelo inpositum est, qui cum illo fuerat in itinere de Mesopotamia redeunte luctatus, typum Christi evidentissime gerens. Nam quod ei praevaluit Iacob, utique volenti ut mysterium figuraret, significat passionem Christi, ubi visi sunt ei praevalere Iudaei. Et tamen benedictionem ab eodem angelo quem superaverat impetravit; ac sic huius nominis inpositio benedictio fuit. Interpretatur autem Israel "videns Deum," quod erit in fine praemium sanctorum omnium. Texit porro illi idem angelus veluti praevalenti latitudinem femoris eumque isto modo claudum reddidit. Erat itaque unus atque idem Iacob et benedictus et claudus; benedictus in eis qui in Christum ex eodem populo crediderunt, atque in infidelibus claudus. Nam femoris latitudo generis multitudo est. Plures

¹ Genesis 32.24–32. As for the meaning of the name Israel, in Genesis 32.28 f. it is connected with *sarah*, a Hebrew word which occurs as a verb only there and in Hosea 12.4, but apparently means 'to be strong, to prevail.' Another popular etymology connected the name with *ish* ('man'), *raah* ('to see'), and *el* ('God'). This explanation was followed by Philo (*On the Change of Names* 81; *Embassy to Gaius* 4; and frequently elsewhere), by Eusebius (*Preparation for the Gospel* 7.8.28; 11.6.30), and by Jerome in his book *On Hebrew Names* (PL 23,832 Israel est videre Deum, sive vir aut mens videns

XXXIX

What consideration caused Jacob to be given also the surname of Israel.

MOREOVER, Jacob was also named Israel, as I said a short time ago, and this was the name chiefly used by the people descended from him. Now this name was given him by the angel who wrestled with him on his homeward journey from Mesopotamia, who, as is most evident, acted as the type of Christ. For Jacob's victory over the angel, naturally in accordance with his will, for the sake of the symbolic portrayal of the mystery, points to the passion of Christ, where the Jews seemed to prevail over him. And yet he obtained a blessing from the very angel whom he had overcome, and thus the conferring of this name was a benediction. Now Israel means 'Seeing God', which is to be the reward of all the saints at the end of the world. Furthermore, that same angel touched the broad part of the thigh of the ostensible victor, and thus made him lame.¹ Thus one and the same man, Jacob, was both blessed and crippled—blessed in those among this same people who have embraced belief in Christ, and crippled in those who do not believe. For the broad part of the thigh represents the majority of the race. There

Deum), which was an adaptation from a similar work in Greek ascribed to Philo. Later, however, Jerome abandons this popular etymology in favour of the one implied in Genesis (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, PL 23,1038 f.) See Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* III (1938), 357. 378, s.v. Ἰσραήλ. R. de Vaux in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Sup. 4 (1949), 730, with bibliography.

quippe sunt in ea stirpe, de quibus prophetic
 praedictum est: *Et claudicaverunt a semitis suis.*

XL

*Quo modo Iacob cum septuaginta quinque animabus
 Aegyptum narretur ingressus, cum plerique ex his,
 qui commemorantur, tempore posteriore sint geniti.*

INGRESSI itaque referuntur in Aegyptum simul cum
 ipso Iacob septuaginta quinque homines, adnumerato
 ipso filiis suis. In quo numero duae tantum feminae
 commemorantur, una filia, neptis altera. Sed res
 diligenter considerata non indicat quod tantus
 numerus fuerit in progenie Iacob die vel anno quo
 ingressus est Aegyptum. Commemorati sunt quippe
 in eis etiam pronepotes Ioseph, qui nullo modo iam
 tunc esse potuerunt, quoniam tunc centum triginta
 annorum erat Iacob, filius vero eius Ioseph triginta
 novem; quem cum accepisse tricensimo anno suo
 vel amplius constet uxorem, quo modo potuit per
 novem annos habere pronepotes de filiis quos ex
 eadem uxore suscepit? Cum igitur nec filios habe-
 rent Ephraem et Manasses, filii Ioseph, sed eos pueros
 infra quam novennes Iacob Aegyptum ingressus in-
 venerit, quo pacto eorum non solum filii, sed etiam
 nepotes in illis septuaginta quinque numerantur, qui

¹ Psalms 18.45.

² In Genesis 46.26 it is said that 66 persons came into

are indeed a majority in that stock to whom these
 prophetic words referred: "They went limping away
 from their paths."¹

XL

*How Jacob is said to have entered Egypt with seventy-
 five souls, though the majority of those mentioned
 were born at a later time.*

Now seventy-five persons are said to have entered
 Egypt together with Jacob himself, counting Jacob
 along with his children. In this number only two
 women are listed, one a daughter and the other a
 granddaughter.² But a careful scrutiny of the data
 does not indicate that Jacob's progeny had reached
 this large number by the day or the year when he
 entered Egypt. For indeed even the great-grandsons
 of Joseph are listed with the rest, and these ab-
 solutely could not have been living at this time, for
 Jacob was then a hundred and thirty years old, and
 his son Joseph thirty-nine. Since it is known that
 Joseph took his wife in his thirtieth year or later, how
 could he have had great-grandsons within nine years
 through the sons that he begot of this wife? Since
 Joseph's sons Ephraim and Manasseh did not have
 sons at this time, but Jacob found them as boys less
 than nine years old when he came to Egypt, how does
 it happen that not only their sons, but even their
 grandsons are counted among those seventy-five

Egypt with Jacob; verse 27 of the LXX adds that there were
 9 descendants of Joseph who were born in Egypt, to make a
 total of 75; cf. Acts 7.14.

tunc Aegyptum ingressi sunt cum Iacob? Nam commemoratur ibi Machir, filius Manasse, nepos Ioseph, et eiusdem Machir filius, id est Galaad, nepos Manasse, pronepos Ioseph; ibi est et quem genuit Ephraem, alter filius Ioseph, id est Utalaam, nepos Ioseph, et filius ipsius Utalae Edem, nepos Ephraem, pronepos Ioseph; qui nullo modo esse potuerunt, quando Iacob in Aegyptum venit et filios Ioseph, nepotes suos, avos istorum, minores quam novem annorum pueros invenit.

Sed nimirum introitus Iacob in Aegyptum, quando eum in septuaginta quinque hominibus scriptura commemorat, non unus dies vel unus annus, sed totum illud est tempus, quamdiu vixit Ioseph, per quem factum est ut intrarent. Nam de ipso Ioseph eadem scriptura sic loquitur: *Et habitavit Ioseph in Aegypto, ipse et fratres eius et omnis cohabitatio patris eius, et vixit annos centum decem, et vidit Ioseph Ephraem filios usque in tertiam generationem.* Ipse est ille pronepos eius ab Ephraem tertius. Generationem quippe tertiam dicit filium, nepotem, pronepotem. Deinde sequitur: *Et filii Machir, filii Manasse, nati sunt supra femora Ioseph.* Et hic ille ipse est nepos Manasse, pronepos Ioseph. Sed pluraliter appellati sunt, sicut scriptura consuevit, quae unam quoque filiam Iacob filias nuncupavit; sicut in Latinae lin-

persons who at that time entered Egypt with Jacob? For Machir is listed, Manasseh's son and Joseph's grandson, and this same Machir's son, Galaad, Manasseh's grandson and Joseph's great-grandson. We also find here the son of Ephraim, Joseph's second son, that is Utalaam, Joseph's grandson, and this same Utalaam's son Edom, Ephraim's grandson and Joseph's great-grandson.¹ These could not possibly have been born when Jacob came into Egypt and found Joseph's sons, who were his own grandsons, the grandfathers of those named above, as boys less than nine years old.

But surely the entry of Jacob into Egypt, as the Scripture describes it, with a company of seventy-five persons, is not to be taken as one day or one year, but as that whole period during which Joseph lived, through whom their entry was accomplished. For concerning Joseph himself the same Scripture says: "And Joseph lived in Egypt, himself and his brothers and all his father's household, and he lived a hundred and ten years, and Joseph saw the sons of Ephraim even to the third generation." His great-grandson is the third generation from Ephraim. For surely the mention of the third generation implies son, grandson and great-grandson. And then these words follow: "And the sons of Machir the son of Manasseh were born on Joseph's knees."² Now this son is himself the grandson of Manasseh and the great-grandson of Joseph. But the plural is used according to the scriptural custom, which also called Jacob's single daughter 'daughters.' So also in

¹ The problem here discussed arises from the LXX and Old Latin translation, not from the Hebrew, Vulgate or modern versions of the Hebrew.

² Genesis 50.22 f.

guae consuetudine liberi dicuntur pluraliter filii, etiamsi non sint uno amplius.

Cum ergo ipsius Ioseph praedicetur felicitas, quia potuit videre pronepotes, nullo modo putandi sunt iam fuisse tricensimo nono anno proavi sui Ioseph, quando ad eum in Aegyptum Iacob pater eius advenit. Illud autem est quod fallit minus ista diligenter intuentes, quoniam scriptum est: *Haec autem nomina filiorum Israel, qui intraverunt in Aegyptum simul cum Iacob patre suo.* Hoc enim dictum est quia simul cum illo computantur septuaginta quinque, non quia simul iam erant omnes quando Aegyptum ingressus est ipse; sed, ut dixi, totum tempus habetur eius ingressus, quo vixit Ioseph, per quem videtur ingressus.

XLI

De benedictione, quam Iacob in Iudam filium suum promisit.

IGRUR propter populum Christianum, in quo Dei civitas peregrinatur in terris, si carnem Christi in Abrahae semine requiramus, remotis concubinarum filiis occurrit Isaac; si in semine Isaac, remoto Esau, qui est etiam Edom, occurrit Iacob, qui est et Israel;

¹ Genesis 46.7. Jacob had twelve sons, but only one daughter, Dinah. The practice of using the plural "children" when there is only one child is discussed in Aulus Gellius, 2.13. This happens most commonly when referring to an indeter-

idiomatic Latin offspring are commonly called 'sons' even if there be only one.¹

When, therefore, the good fortune of Joseph himself is noted, in that he was able to see his great-grandsons, we must by no means conclude that these were already born in the thirty-ninth year of their great-grandfather Joseph, when his father Jacob came to him in Egypt. But this is a point that eludes all who do not examine the text carefully, since the Scripture reads: "Now these are the names of the children of Israel, who entered into Egypt together with their father Jacob."² The reason for this statement is that seventy-five are counted, including Jacob, not because they were all together at the time when he entered Egypt, but because, as I have said, his entry is taken as equivalent to the entire lifetime of Joseph, by whom his entry is seen to be brought about.

XLI

On the blessing that Jacob promised to his son Judah.

IF, then, out of our interest in the Christian people, embodied in whom the city of God passes its pilgrimage on earth, we seek the physical stock of Christ among the seed of Abraham, after we discard the concubines' sons, we find Isaac remaining; if among the seed of Isaac, after we discard Esau, who is also Edom, we find Jacob, who is also Israel; if

nate number of "children" (that is, one or more), as in Deuteronomy 6.7, 1 Timothy 3.4, 5.4, etc.

² Genesis 46.8.

si in semine ipsius Israel, remotis ceteris occurrit Iudas, quia de tribu Iuda exortus est Christus. Ac per hoc cum in Aegypto moriturus Israel suos filios benediceret, quem ad modum Iudam prophetice benedixerit, audiamus: *Iuda, inquit, te laudabunt fratres tui. Manus tuae super dorsum inimicorum tuorum; adorabunt te filii patris tui. Catulus leonis Iuda; ex germinatione, fili mi, ascendisti; recumbens dormisti ut leo et ut catulus leonis; quis suscitabit eum? Non deficiet princeps ex Iuda et dux de femoribus eius, donec veniant quae reposita sunt ei; et ipse expectatio gentium; alligans ad vitem pullum suum et cilicio pullum asinae suae lavabit in vino stolam suam et in sanguine uvae amictum suum. Fulvi oculi eius a vino et dentes candidiores lacte.*

Exposui haec adversus Manichaeum Faustum disputans et satis esse arbitror, quantum veritas prophetiae huius elucet; ubi et mors Christi praedicta est verbo dormitionis et non necessitas, sed potestas in morte nomine leonis. Quam potestatem in evangelio ipse praedicat dicens: *Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. Nemo eam tollit a me; sed ego eam pono a me, et iterum sumo eam.* Sic leo fremuit, sic quod dixit implevit. Ad eam namque pertinet potestatem, quod de resurrectione eius adiunctum est: *Quis suscitabit eum?* hoc est, quia nullus hominum,

among the seed of Israel himself, after we discard the rest, we find Judah, for Christ sprang from the tribe of Judah. So let us hear how Israel, when he blessed his sons shortly before his death in Egypt, blessed Judah in prophetic words, saying: "Judah, your brothers shall praise you. Your hands shall be upon the back of your enemies; your father's sons shall bow down before you. Judah is a lion's whelp. From a sprout, my son, hast thou risen. Lying down you slept like a lion and a lion cub. Who shall rouse him? A ruler shall not fail from Judah nor a leader from his loins, until those things come to pass that are in store for him, for it is he that the nations await. Binding his colt to the vine and his ass's foal to the vine-shoot, he shall wash his robe in wine, and his garment in the blood of the grape. His eyes are red with wine and his teeth are whiter than milk."¹

I have explained these points in my arguments against Faustus the Manichaean,² and the light of truth, I think, shines out clearly enough in the prophecy, in which Christ's death is foretold in the guise of sleep, and not necessity, but power, is foreseen in his death, in the metaphor of the lion. This power he himself proclaims in the Gospel, saying: "I have power to lay down my life and I have power to take it again. No one takes it from me, but I lay it down of my own accord, and again I take it up."³ Thus did the lion roar, thus did he fulfil his words. For the next words, concerning his resurrection, also refer to this power: "Who shall rouse him?" No man, surely, save he himself, who also

¹ Genesis 49.8-12.

² 12.42 in *CSEL* 25, 368.

³ John 10.18.

nisi se ipse, qui etiam de corpore suo dixit: *Solvite templum hoc, et in triduo resuscitabo illud*. Ipsum autem genus mortis, hoc est sublimitas crucis, in uno verbo intellegitur, quod ait: *Ascendisti*. Quod vero addidit: *Recumbens dormisti*, evangelista exponit, ubi dicit: *Et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum*; aut certe sepultura eius agnoscitur, in qua recubuit dormiens, et unde illum nullus hominum, sicut prophetae aliquos vel sicut ipse alios, suscitavit, sed sicut a somno ipse surrexit.

Stola porro eius, quam lavat in vino, id est mundat a peccatis in sanguine suo, cuius sanguinis sacramentum baptizati sciunt, unde et adiungit: *Et in sanguine uvae amictum suum*, quid est nisi ecclesia? *Et fulvi oculi eius a vino* spiritaes eius inebriati poculo eius, de quo canit psalmus: *Et calix tuus inebrians quam praeclarus est! Et dentes eius candidiores lacte*, quod potant apud apostolum parvuli, verba scilicet nutrientia, nondum idonei solido cibo. Ipse igitur est in quo reposita erant promissa Iudae, quae donec venirent numquam principes, hoc est reges Israel, ab illa stirpe defuerunt. *Et ipse expectatio gentium*; quod clarius est videndo quam fit exponendo.

said of his body: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again."¹ Moreover, the manner of his death, that is, the elevation of the cross, is conveyed in a single word, when he says, "You have risen high." The evangelist expounds the next words, "You lay down and slept," when he says, "And he bowed his head, and yielded up his spirit."² If not, it certainly refers to his sepulchre, for in this he lay down and slept, and no man roused him, as the prophets roused certain men, and as he himself roused others, but he arose himself as if from sleep.

Again, the robe that he washes in wine implies that he washes away sins by his blood, for those who are baptized know the sacrament of his blood. For this reason also Israel adds: "And his garment in the blood of the grape"—what is this but the Church? "And his eyes red with wine" are the spiritual men who have drunk of his cup, of which the Psalm sings: "And thy cup that inebriates me, how glorious it is!"³ "And his teeth whiter than milk"—the milk that the little ones drink, as the Apostle says, means nourishing words, for they are not yet able to take solid food.⁴ It is he himself, then, in whom the promises made to Judah were stored up, and until these were fulfilled, princes, that is, kings of Israel, were never lacking in that line. "And it is he himself that the nations are awaiting"—this saying is clearer at first glance than it can be made by any exposition.

¹ John 2.19.

² John 19.30.

³ Psalms 23.5.

⁴ Corinthians 3.2; 1 Peter 2.2.

XLII

De filiis Ioseph, quos Iacob prophetica manuum suarum transmutatione benedicit.

SICUT autem duo Isaac filii, Esau et Iacob figuram praeberunt duorum populorum in Iudaeis et Christianis—quamvis, quod ad carnis propaginem pertinet, nec Iudaei venerint de semine Esau, sed Idumaei; nec Christianae gentes de Iacob, sed potius Iudaei; ad hoc enim tantum figura valuit, quod dictum est: *Maior serviet minori*—, ita factum est etiam in duobus filiis Ioseph; nam maior gessit typum Iudaeorum, Christianorum autem minor. Quos cum benediceret Iacob, manum dextram ponens super minorem quem habebat ad sinistram, sinistram super maiorem quem habebat ad dextram, grave visum est patri eorum, et admonuit patrem velut corrigens eius errorem et quisnam eorum esset maior ostendens. At ille mutare manus noluit, sed dixit: *Scio, fili, scio. Et hic erit in populum, et hic exaltabitur; sed frater eius iunior maior illo erit, et semen eius erit in multitudinem gentium.* Etiam hic duo illa promissa demonstrat. Nam ille in *populum*, iste in *multitudinem gentium*. Quid evidentius quam his duabus promissionibus contineri populum Israelitarum orbemque terrarum in semine Abrahae, illum secundum carnem, istum secundum fidem?

¹ Genesis 25.23.

² Genesis 48.19.

XLII

On the sons of Joseph whom Jacob blessed by a prophetic crossing of the hands.

Now even as the two sons of Isaac, Esau and Jacob, prefigured the two peoples of the Jews and the Christians—although, as regards physical descent, it is not the Jews who are descended from the seed of Esau, but the Idumaeans, nor did the Gentile Christians descend from Jacob, but rather the Jews, for the symbol went no farther than the words “the elder shall serve the younger”¹—so it was also in the case of Joseph’s two sons, for the elder typifies the Jews and the younger the Christians. When Jacob blessed them, laying his right hand on the younger, whom he had at his left, and his left hand on the older, whom he had at his right, it seemed a serious error to their father, and he warned his father, so as to correct his mistake and show which of them was the older. But Jacob would not shift his hands, but said: “I know, son, I know. This one also shall be a people, and he shall be exalted, but his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become a great number of nations.”² Here again he cogently shows the significance of those two promises. For the one becomes “a people” but the other “a great number of nations.” What could be clearer than that the reference in these two promises is to the people of the Israelites, and to the whole world as included in Abraham’s seed, the former according to the flesh and the latter according to the faith?

XLIII

De temporibus Moysi et Iesu Nave ac iudicum atque inde regum, quorum quidem Saul primus est, sed David praeicipuus et sacramento habetur et merito.

DEFUNCTO Iacob, defuncto etiam Ioseph per reliquos centum quadraginta quattuor annos, donec exiretur de terra Aegypti, in modum incredibilem illa gens crevit, etiam tantis adtrita persecutionibus ut quodam tempore nati masculi necarentur, cum mirantes Aegyptios nimia populi illius incrementa terrent. Tunc Moyses subtractus furto trucidatoribus parvulorum ad domum regiam, ingentia per eum Deo praeeparante, pervenit nutritusque et adoptatus a filia Pharaonis—quod nomen in Aegypto omnium regum fuit—in tantum provenit virum, ut ipse illam gentem mirabiliter multiplicatam ex durissimo et gravissimo, quod ibi ferebat, iugo servitutis extraheret, immo per eum Deus, qui hoc promiserat Abrahae. Prius quippe exinde fugiens, quod, cum Israelitam defenderet, Aegyptium occiderat et territus fuerat, postea divinitus missus in potestate spiritus Dei superavit Pharaonis resistentes magos. Tunc per eum Aegyptiis inlatae sunt decem memorabiles plagae, cum dimittere populum Dei nollent, aqua in sanguinem versa, rana et scini-

XLIII

On the era of Moses and Joshua and the judges and thereafter of the kings, of whom Saul is the first, but David is preëminent, both as a symbolic type and for his own deeds.

AFTER Jacob died, and Joseph also, for the remaining hundred and forty-four years before their exodus from the land of Egypt, this race multiplied incredibly, even though they were worn down by such great persecutions that at one time the male infants born to them were slain, for the excessive increase of the people amazed and alarmed the Egyptians.¹ At this time Moses was spirited away from those who were slaughtering infants and came to the king's palace, since God had great deeds in store for his accomplishment. There he was reared, and was adopted by the daughter of Pharaoh—for "Pharaoh" was the name of all the kings in Egypt—and he grew to be such a mighty man that he himself rescued that race, so miraculously increased, from the very harsh and burdensome yoke of servitude which they endured there, or rather God rescued them by his hand, keeping his pledge to Abraham. For though indeed Moses had at first fled in terror from that land, because in defence of an Israelite he had killed an Egyptian,² yet in the end, as God's emissary, by the power of God's spirit he overcame Pharaoh's magicians who pitted their strength against his. After this ten memorable plagues were inflicted by him on the Egyptians when they refused to let God's people go. These were the turning of water into

¹ Exodus 1.

² Exodus 2.1-15.

phes, cynomyia, mors pecorum, ulcera, grando, lucusta, tenebrae, mors primogenitorum. Ad extremum Israelitas, quos plagis tot tantisque perfracti tandem aliquando dimiserant, Aegyptii in mari Rubro dum persequuntur extincti sunt. Illis quippe abeuntibus divisum mare viam fecit; hos autem insequentes in se rediens unda submersit.

Deinde per annos quadraginta duce Moyse Dei populus in deserto actus est, quando tabernaculum testimonii nuncupatum est, ubi Deus sacrificiis futura praenuntiantibus colebatur, cum scilicet iam data lex fuisset in monte multum terribiliter; adestabatur enim evidentissima mirabilibus signis voci-busque divinitas. Quod factum est mox ut exitum est de Aegypto et in deserto populus esse coepit, quinquagesimo die post celebratum Pascha per ovis immolationem; qui usque adeo typus Christi est praenuntians eum per victimam passionis de hoc mundo transiturum ad Patrem—Pascha quippe Hebraea lingua transitus interpretatur—ut iam cum revelaretur testamentum novum, postea quam Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus, quinquagesimo die veniret de caelo Spiritus sanctus, qui dictus est in evangelio digitus Dei, ut recordationem nostram in

¹ Exodus 7-12; 14.

² Exodus 25.8-27.21. The name *tabernaculum testimonii* is first given to the tabernacle in 27.21 (in the Vulgate, as well as in Augustine's text). The King James version has "the tabernacle of the congregation," the R.S.V. "the tent of meeting."

blood, frogs, lice, dog-flies, a murrain among the cattle, boils, hail, locusts, darkness and the death of the firstborn. Finally, when at last, broken by so many and such great plagues, the Egyptians had let the Israelites go, and were pursuing them across the Red Sea, they were themselves wiped out. For the sea had divided and opened a path for the fleeing Israelites, but as the Egyptians pursued, the waves turned back and overwhelmed them.¹

After this the people of God wandered for forty years in the wilderness under Moses' leadership. During this period the tabernacle of testimony was given this name,² as the tent in which God was worshipped with sacrifices by which future events were foretold. This was, of course, after the law had been given on the mountain in most awe-inspiring fashion, for the divine presence was most clearly attested by marvellous signs and spoken words. Now this took place soon after the departure from Egypt and the beginning of the people's sojourn in the wilderness, on the fiftieth day after the Paschal feast was celebrated by the sacrifice of a lamb,³ which is so clearly a type of Christ, foretelling that he should pass over from this world to the Father through the sacrifice offered in his passion—for Pascha in the Hebrew language means Passover—that, when the new covenant was revealed after Christ our Passover was sacrificed, it was on the fiftieth day that the Holy Spirit, which is called in the Gospel the finger of God,⁴ came down from heaven. This was intended to recall to our

³ Exodus 12.1-11.

⁴ Luke 11.20.

primi praefigurati facti memoriam revocaret, quia et legis illae tabulae digito Dei scriptae referuntur.

Defuncto Moyse populum rexit Iesus Nave et in terram promissionis introduxit eamque populo divisit. Ab his duobus mirabilibus ducibus bella etiam prosperissime ac mirabiliter gesta sunt, Deo contestante non tam propter merita Hebraei populi quam propter peccata earum, quae debellabantur, gentium illas eis provenisse victorias. Post istos duces iudices fuerunt, iam in terra promissionis populo conlocato, ut inciperet interim reddi Abrahae prima promissio de gente una, id est Hebraea, et terra Chanaan, nondum de omnibus gentibus et toto orbe terrarum; quod Christi adventus in carne et non veteris legis observationes, sed evangelii fides fuerat impletura. Cuius rei praefiguratio facta est quod non Moyses, qui legem populo acceperat in monte Sina, sed Iesus, cui etiam nomen Deo praecipiente mutatum fuerat ut Iesus vocaretur, populum in terram promissionis induxit. Temporibus autem iudicum, sicut se habebant et peccata populi et misericordia Dei, alternaverunt prospera et adversa bellorum.

Inde ventum est ad regum tempora, quorum primus regnavit Saul; cui reprobato et bellica clade prostrato eiusque stirpe reiecta, ne inde reges orerentur,

¹ Exodus 31.18.

² Joshua 1.

³ See 16.29, p. 145, above.

⁴ Numbers 13.16. Augustine's Latin Bible has *Iesus*, to

minds the memory of that early symbolic event, since the tables of that law too are described as written by the finger of God.¹

After Moses' death Joshua governed the people and led them into the land of promise and divided it among them.² By these two wonderful leaders wars were waged with great success, and miraculously. But God bears them witness that these victories were granted them not so much because of the merits of the Hebrew people as because of the sins of those nations that were defeated. Judges succeeded to these leaders when the people were now settled in the land of promise, so that the first pledge made to Abraham now began to take effect, as it related to one nation, that is, the Hebrews, and the land of Canaan, but not yet as it related to all nations and the whole world.³ For this was to be fulfilled by the advent of Christ in the flesh, and not by the observance of the old law, but by the faith of the Gospel. This was symbolized by the fact that not Moses, who had received the law for the people on Mount Sinai, but Joshua, whose name had even been changed at God's command so that he should be called Jesus,⁴ led the people into the land of promise. Moreover, during the period of the judges, good and evil fortune in war alternated according to the sins of the people and the mercy of God.

Thus we arrive at the period of the kings, of whom Saul was the first to reign. When he lost favour and was slain in a military disaster and his family was

agree with LXX *Iesous*, for the name of Joshua; a distinction from the Jesus of the New Testament was made by calling him *Iesus Nave*, "Joshua the son of Nun."

David successit in regnum, cuius maxime Christus dictus est filius. In quo articulus quidam factus est et exordium quodam modo iuventutis populi Dei; cuius generis quaedam velut adulescentia ducebatur ab ipso Abraham usque ad hunc David. Neque enim frustra Matthaëus evangelista sic generationes commemoravit ut hoc primum intervallum quattuordecim generationibus commendaret, ab Abraham scilicet usque ad David. Ab adulescentia quippe incipit homo posse generare; propterea generationum ex Abraham sumpsit exordium; qui etiam pater gentium constitutus est, quando mutatum nomen accepit. Ante hunc ergo velut pueritia fuit huius generis populi Dei a Noe usque ad ipsum Abraham; et ideo in lingua inventa est, id est Hebraea. A pueritia namque homo incipit loqui post infantiam, quae hinc appellata est quod fari non potest. Quam profecto aetatem primam demergit oblivio, sicut aetas prima generis humani est deleta diluvio. Quotus enim quisque est, qui suam recedetur infantiam?

Quam ob rem in isto procursu civitatis Dei, sicut superior unam eandemque primam, ita duas aetates secundam et tertiam liber iste contineat, in qua tertia propter vaccam trimam, capram trimam,

¹ See 1 Samuel 15.26 for Saul's rejection; 1 Samuel 31.1-6 for the death of Saul and three sons; 2 Samuel 5.1-3 for David's succession to the throne.

rejected as a source of kings,¹ David, as whose son Christ is especially hailed, succeeded to the royal power. With David a new era began, and one may say that the young manhood of the people of God commenced, since from the time of Abraham to this time of David they had passed through a period resembling adolescence. For it was not without reason that the evangelist Matthew listed the generations in such a way as to assign fourteen generations to this first period, namely that from Abraham down to David.² It is true that a man can exercise his reproductive function from adolescence, and therefore the series of generations began with Abraham, who was also made the father of nations when his name was changed.³ Up to his time, then, there was a period resembling childhood for this race of God's people, from Noah to Abraham himself, and for this reason they are found to have had a language, namely Hebrew.⁴ For man begins to talk in his childhood, after the period of infancy, which is so called because it lacks the power of speech. And surely oblivion swallows up this first age, as the first age of mankind was swallowed up by the Flood. For how many men are there in a hundred who recall their own infancy?

Thus, in the progress of the city of God, as the previous book includes a single age, the first, so this book covers two ages, the second and the third. And in this third age, as indicated by the heifer of three years, the she-goat of three years and the ram

² Matthew 1.17. For Augustine's plan of the six ages, see Introduction, pp. ix f.

³ Genesis 17.5, discussed in 16.28, p. 137 above.

⁴ On Hebrew as the first language, see 16.11, pp. 61 f. above.

arietem trimum et inpositum est legis iugum et apparuit abundantia peccatorum et regni terreni surrexit exordium, ubi non defuerunt spiritalis quorum in turture et columba figuratum est sacramentum.

of three years, not only was the yoke of the law imposed, but a multitude of sins emerged, and the first stages of the earthly kingdom arose, yet there was no lack of spiritual men who are symbolized by the turtle-dove and the pigeon.¹

¹ Genesis 15.9, discussed in 16.24, p. 115 above.

BOOK XVII

LIBER XVII

I

De temporibus prophetarum.

PROMISSIONES Dei quae factae sunt ad Abraham, cuius semini et gentem Israeliticam secundum carnem et omnes gentes deberi secundum fidem Deo pollicente didicimus, quem ad modum compleantur, per ordinem temporum procurrens Dei civitas indicabit. Quoniam ergo superioris libri usque ad regnum David factus est finis, nunc ab eodem regno, quantum suscepto operi sufficere videtur, cetera quae sequuntur adtingimus.

Hoc itaque tempus, ex quo sanctus Samuel prophetare coepit, et deinceps donec populus Israel captivus in Babyloniam duceretur atque inde secundum sancti Hieremiae prophetiam post septuaginta annos reversis Israelitis Dei domus instauraretur, totum tempus est prophetarum. Quamvis enim et ipsum Noe patriarcham, in cuius diebus universa diluvio terra deleta est, et alios supra et infra usque ad hoc tempus, quo reges in Dei populo esse coeperunt, propter quaedam per eos futura sive quoquo modo significata sive praedicta, quae pertinerent ad civitatem Dei regnumque caelorum, non

¹ Jeremiah 25.11.

BOOK XVII

I

On the Age of the Prophets.

As to the promises of God that were made to Abraham, from whose seed, as we have learned, both the Israelite race after the flesh and all races after the faith have sprung, according to God's promise, the city of God in its course through successive ages will show how these are being fulfilled. Since, then, the previous book carried the account down to the reign of David, we are now to deal with the sequence of events after his reign, to such an extent as seems sufficient for the task that we have undertaken.

Now the whole period from the time when the holy Samuel began to prophesy down to the time when the people of Israel were led away captive to Babylon, and from that point to the restoration of the house of God, according to the prophecy of the holy Jeremiah,¹ on the return of the Israelites seventy years later—this whole period is the age of the prophets. We may, to be sure, with good reason give the name of prophet to Noah himself, in whose time the whole earth was destroyed by the flood, and to other men before and after him, down to the time when kings appeared among God's people, for through them certain later events affecting the city of God and the kingdom of heaven were in one way

inmerito possumus appellare prophetas, praesertim quia nonnullos eorum id expressius legimus nuncupatos, sicut Abraham, sicut Moysen, tamen dies prophetarum praecipue maximeque hi dicti sunt ex quo coepit prophetare Samuel, qui et Saulem prius et eo reprobo ipsum David Deo praecipiente unxit in regem, de cuius ceteri stirpe succederent quousque illos succedere sic oporteret.

Quae igitur a prophetis sunt praedicta de Christo, cum moriendo decedentibus et nascendo succedentibus suis membris civitas Dei per ista curreret tempora, si omnia velim commemorare, in inensum pergitur, primum quia ipsa scriptura, quae per ordinem reges eorumque facta et eventa digerens videtur tamquam historica diligentia rebus gestis occupata esse narrandis, si adiuvante Dei spiritu considerata tractetur, vel magis vel certe non minus praenuntiandis futuris quam praeteritis enuntiandis invenietur intenta;—et hoc perscrutando indagare ac disserendo monstrare quam sit operosum atque prolixum et quam multis indiguum voluminibus, quis ignorat qui haec vel mediocriter cogitet?—deinde quia ea ipsa quae ad prophetiam non ambiguntur pertinere, ita sunt multa de Christo regnoque caelorum, quae civitas Dei est, ut ad hoc aperiendum maior sit disputatio necessaria quam huius operis modus

or other symbolized or foretold. This is especially clear in the case of some of these men, notably Abraham and Moses, of whom we read that they were expressly given this title.¹ Nevertheless 'the days of the prophets' is a designation primarily and chiefly applied to the period from the earliest prophecies of Samuel, who, at God's command, anointed as king first Saul, and then, after he was rejected, David himself, from whose stock all the others sprang, as long as their succession was authorized to continue.

Now it would be an interminable task if I should attempt to record all the predictions made by the prophets about Christ while the city of God was running its course through those ages, as one generation died out and another was born to take its place. For, to begin with, as, by the help of God's spirit, one studies and discusses the Scripture itself, which in its orderly account of kings and their deeds and fortunes seems to have been moved by a scholarly diligence in its detailed narrative, one will find it to be even more intent on foretelling the future than on describing the past, or at least no less interested in this. And who, I ask, if he gives even slight consideration to this point, can fail to realize what a laborious and time-consuming task it would be, filling many volumes, to study out and retrace the whole record and to write it down in detail? Another consideration is that the very events which have an indubitably prophetic character refer so often to Christ and the kingdom of heaven, which is the city of God, that even to suggest them would require a longer narrative than the scope of this work permits. Therefore, as

¹ Genesis 20.7; Deuteronomy 34.10.

flagitat. Proinde ita, si potuero, stilo moderabor meo ut huic operi in Dei voluntate peragendo nec ea quae supersunt dicam nec ea quae satis sunt praetermittam.

II

Quo tempore sit impleta promissio Dei de terra Chanaan, quam in possessionem etiam Israel carnalis accepit.

In praecedente libro diximus ab initio ad Abraham promissionum Dei duas res fuisse promissas, unam scilicet, quod terram Chanaan possessurum fuerat semen eius—quod significatur ubi dictum est: *Vade in terram, quam tibi demonstravero, et faciam te in gentem magnam*—aliam vero longe praestantiorum non de carnali, sed de spiritali semine, per quod pater est non unius gentis Israeliticae, sed omnium gentium quae fidei eius vestigia consequuntur; quod promitti coepit his verbis: *Et benedicentur in te omnes tribus terrae*; et deinceps aliis multis admodum testimoniis haec duo promissa esse monstravimus. Erat igitur iam in terra promissionis semen Abrahae, id est populus Israel, secundum carnem atque ibi non solum tenendo ac possidendo civitates adversariorum, verum etiam reges habendo regnare iam coeperat, impletis de ipso populo promissionibus Dei magna iam ex parte, non solum quae tribus illis patribus, Abraham Isaac et Iacob, et quaecumque

far as in me lies, I shall so regulate my pen as neither to say anything superfluous nor to omit anything essential for the completion of my task, according to God's will.

II

At what time God's promise was fulfilled concerning the land of Canaan, which even carnal Israel received as its possession.

In the preceding book we said that from the beginning of God's promises to Abraham two things were promised. One, be it noted, was that his seed should possess the land of Canaan, and this is indicated by the words: "Go into the land that I shall point out to you, and I will make you a great people."¹ But the other, which is far more significant, concerns not his physical but his spiritual seed, through which he is father not of the Israelite race alone, but of all nations that follow in the footsteps of his faith. This promise begins with these words: "And all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in you."² We have shown that these two promises were also confirmed on numerous occasions thereafter. Thus Abraham's seed according to the flesh, that is, the people of Israel, were already in the land of promise, and had already begun to reign not only by holding and occupying the cities of their enemies, but also by having kings. So God's promises regarding this people had already been fulfilled to a great extent, not only those given to the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and others of

¹ Genesis 12.1 f.

² Genesis 12.3.

aliae temporibus eorum, verum etiam quae per ipsum Moysen, per quem populus idem de servitute Aegyptia liberatus et per quem cuncta praeterita revelata sunt, temporibus eius, cum populum per heremum duceret, factae fuerant.

Neque autem per insignem ducem Iesum Nave, per quem populus ille in promissionis inductus est terram expugnatisque gentibus eam duodecim tribubus, quibus Deus iusserat, dividit et mortuus est, neque post illum toto tempore iudicum impleta fuerat promissio Dei de terra Chanaan a quodam flumine Aegypti usque ad flumen magnum Euphraten; nec tamen adhuc prophetabatur futurum, sed expectabatur implendum. Impletum est autem per David et eius filium Salomonem, cuius regnum tanto quantum promissum fuerat spatio dilatatum est; universos quippe illos subdiderunt tributariosque fecerunt. Sic igitur in terra promissionis secundum carnem, hoc est in terra Chanaan, sub his regibus semen Abrahae fuerat constitutum ut nihil deinde superesset quo terrena illa Dei promissio compleretur, nisi ut in eadem terra, quantum ad prosperitatem adtinet temporalem, per posteritatis successionem inconcusso statu usque ad mortalis huius saeculi terminum gens permaneret Hebraea, si Domini Dei suit legibus oboediret. Sed quoniam Deus noverat hoc eam non esse facturam, usus est eius etiam temporalibus poenis ad exercendos in ea paucos fideles suos et admonendos qui postea futuri erant in

their period, but also those given through the mouth of Moses, by whom this same people was liberated from servitude in Egypt, and through whom all those made in the past were revealed in his days, when he led the people through the wilderness.

The promise of God, however, was not fulfilled by the eminent leader Joshua, by whom that people was led into the land of promise, and who, after conquering the inhabitants, divided the land among the twelve tribes, according to God's orders, and then died. Nor was it fulfilled during the whole period of the judges after his death, the promise, that is, about the land of Canaan in its full extent from a certain river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates.¹ Yet this was no longer a prophecy of the remote future, but one whose fulfilment was momentarily awaited. This promise was, however, fulfilled by David and his son Solomon, whose rule extended over the whole territory that had been promised, for they indeed subdued all the inhabitants and made them tributary.² Under these kings, therefore, the seed of Abraham after the flesh had been so well established in the land of Canaan that nothing was lacking thereafter for the fulfilment of that worldly promise of God, except that the Hebrew people should remain in their land, as far as the fortunes of this world are concerned, throughout the whole of their posterity, with unimpaired status even to the end of this mortal age, if they obeyed the laws of the Lord their God. But inasmuch as God knew that they would not do this, he even inflicted on them temporal penalties, to discipline the few faithful men among them and to warn those who were to come

¹ Genesis 15.18.

² 1 Kings 4.21.

omnibus gentibus, quod eos admoneri oportebat in quibus alteram promissionem revelato novo testamento per incarnationem Christi fuerat impleturus.

III

De tripertitis significationibus prophetarum, quae nunc ad terrenam, nunc ad caelestem Hierusalem, nunc autem ad utramque referuntur.

QUOCIRCA sicut oracula illa divina ad Abraham Isaac et Iacob et quaecumque alia signa vel dicta prophetica in sacris litteris praecedentibus facta sunt, ita etiam ceterae ab isto regum tempore prophetiae partim pertinent ad gentem carnis Abrahae, partim vero ad illud semen eius, in quo benedicuntur omnes gentes coheredes Christi per testamentum novum ad possidendam vitam aeternam regnumque caelorum; partim ergo ad ancillam quae in servitutum generat, id est terrenam Hierusalem quae servit cum filiis suis, partim vero ad liberam civitatem Dei, cuius filii homines secundum Deum viventes peregrinantur in terris; sed sunt in eis quaedam quae ad utramque pertinere intelleguntur, ad ancillam proprie, ad liberam figurate.

Tripertita itaque reperiuntur eloquia prophetarum, si quidem aliqua sunt ad terrenam Hierusalem spectantia, aliqua ad caelestem, nonnulla ad utram-

thereafter among all nations, according as those men needed to be warned among whom he was to fulfil his second promise by the revelation of the new covenant through the incarnation of Christ.

III

On the threefold meanings of the prophets, which refer now to the earthly, now to the heavenly Jerusalem, and again to both together.

HENCE, as in the case of the divine oracles granted to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and whatsoever other prophetic signs or words were vouchsafed in the earlier sacred writings, so also the other prophecies from the time of the kings refer partly to the race which was physically descended from Abraham and partly to that seed of his in which all peoples are blessed as co-heirs of Christ through the new covenant, that they may be possessors of eternal life and of the kingdom of heaven. In part, then, the prophecies refer to the bondmaid whose offspring are born into servitude, that is, the earthly Jerusalem, who is in slavery together with her sons, but in part to the free city of God, that is, the true Jerusalem, eternal in heaven, whose sons are those who live according to God's precepts in their earthly pilgrimage. But there are also certain prophecies which are interpreted as referring to both, literally to the bondmaid and figuratively to the free woman.

Therefore the words of the prophets are found to have a threefold significance, inasmuch as some refer to the earthly Jerusalem, some to the heavenly and

que. Exemplis video probandum esse quod dico. Missus est Nathan propheta, qui regem David argueret de peccato gravi et ei quae consecuta sunt mala futura praediceret. Haec atque huius modi sive publice, id est pro salute vel utilitate populi, sive privatim, cum pro suis quisque rebus divina promereretur eloquia, quibus pro usu temporalis vitae futuri aliquid nosceretur, ad terrenam civitatem pertinuisse quis ambigat? Ubi autem legitur: *Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et consummabo domui Israel et domui Iuda testamentum novum, non secundum testamentum quod disposui patribus eorum in die qua adprehendi manum eorum ut educerem eos de terra Aegypti, quoniam ipsi non permanserunt in testamento meo, et ego neglexi eos, dicit Dominus. Quia hoc est testamentum quod constituam domui Israel post dies illos, dicit Dominus, dando leges meas in mentem eorum et super corda eorum scribam eas, et videbo eos, et ero illis in Deum, et ipsi erunt mihi in plebem*, Hierusalem sine dubio superna prophetatur, cuius Deus ipse praemium est, eumque habere atque ipsius esse summum ibi est atque totum bonum.

Ad utramque vero pertinet hoc ipsum, quod Hierusalem dicitur Dei civitas, et in ea prophetatur futura domus Dei, eaque prophetia videtur impleri cum Salomon rex aedificat illud nobilissimum templum. Haec enim et in terrena Hierusalem secundum

others to both together. I see that I must prove my statement by examples. Nathan the prophet was sent to convict king David of a grievous sin and to prophesy the coming misfortunes which actually befell him.¹ Can anyone doubt that these words and others like them referred to the earthly city, whether they were uttered publicly, that is, for the welfare and benefit of the people, or privately, when an individual was granted for his own advantage the boon of the divine words by which something useful in his secular life might be revealed to him? When, however, we read: "Lo, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah, not according to the covenant that I framed for their fathers on the day when I took their hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; for they did not abide by my covenant, and I have no more care for them, says the Lord. For this is the covenant that I will ordain for the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord. I will put my laws into their minds and will write them in their hearts, and I will look upon them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people,"² this undoubtedly is a prophecy of the heavenly Jerusalem, whose reward is God himself; and to possess him and belong to him is the greatest good there and the perfect good.

But the next instance refers to both, namely, that in which Jerusalem is called the city of God, and in which is prophesied the future house of God, a prophecy which is seen to be fulfilled when king Solomon builds his most magnificent temple. For this was both an historical event in the earthly

¹ 2 Samuel 12.1-15.

² Jeremiah 31.31-33; Hebrews 8.8-10.

historiam contigerunt, et caelestis Hierusalem figurae fuerunt. Quod genus prophetiae ex utroque veluti compactum atque commixtum in libris veteribus canonicis, quibus rerum gestarum narrationes continentur, valet plurimum multumque exercuit et exercet ingenia scrutantium litteras sacras ut quod historice praedictum completumque legitur in semine Abrahae secundum carnem, etiam in semine Abrahae secundum fidem quid implendum allegorice significet inquiratur; in tantum ut quibusdam visum sit nihil esse in eisdem libris vel praenuntiatum et effectum, vel effectum, quamvis non praenuntiatum, quod non insinuet aliquid ad supernam civitatem Dei eiusque filios in hac vita peregrinos figurata significatione referendum. Sed si hoc ita est, iam bipertita, non tripartita erunt eloquia prophetarum, vel potius illarum scripturarum omnium, quae veteris instrumenti appellatione censentur. Nihil enim erit illic, quod ad Hierusalem terrenam tantum pertineat, si quidquid ibi de illa vel propter illam dicitur atque completur significat aliquid quod etiam ad Hierusalem caelestem allegorica praefiguratione referatur; sed erunt sola duo genera, unum quod ad Hierusalem liberam, alterum quod ad utramque pertineat.

Mihi autem sicut multum videntur errare qui nullas res gestas in eo genere litterarum aliquid aliud praeter id quod eo modo gestae sunt, significare

Jerusalem and a symbol of the heavenly Jerusalem. Now this type of prophecy, compounded and commingled, as it were, of both the other types, is very important in the old canonical books that are made up of historical narratives, and it has exercised and continues to exercise the talents of those who study the sacred Scriptures, who, reading what was actually prophesied and fulfilled in Abraham's seed according to the flesh, seek to fathom the allegorical meaning of the prophecies that were also to be fulfilled in Abraham's seed according to the faith. This type of prophecy is so prevalent that certain scholars have concluded that nothing was either both prophesied and accomplished in these books, or accomplished though without actual prophecy, that does not have some figurative application to the heavenly city of God and its sons who are pilgrims in this life. If this theory is sound, then the discourses of the prophets will fall into two categories only, not three, as indeed will the discourses of all those Scriptures that are classified under the name of the Old Testament. For there will be nothing there that applies only to the earthly Jerusalem, if whatever is said and fulfilled in these pages either concerning that city or on account of it has some significant application to the heavenly Jerusalem by way of allegorical prophecy, but there will be only two types of prophecy, one referring to the free Jerusalem and the other to both cities.

But in my opinion, just as those men seem to be completely mistaken who think that no account of events in this type of literature has any other significance than as a narrative of how things actually

arbitrantur, ita multum audere qui prorsus ibi omnia significationibus allegoricis involuta esse contendunt. Ideo tripartita, non bipertita esse dixi. Hoc enim existimo, non tamen culpans eos qui potuerint illic de quacumque re gesta sensum intellegentiae spiritualis exsculpere, servata dumtaxat primitus historiae veritate. Ceterum quae ita dicuntur ut rebus humanitus seu divinitus gestis sive gerendis convenire non possint, quis fidelis dubitet non esse inaniter dicta? Quis ea non ad intellegentiam spiritalem revocet, si possit, aut ab eo qui potest revocanda esse fateatur?

IV

De praefigurata commutatione Israelitici regni et sacerdoti et de his quae Anna, mater Samuelis, personam gerens ecclesiae prophetavit.

PROCURSUS igitur civitatis Dei ubi pervenit ad regum tempora, quando David Saule reprobato ita regnum primus obtinuit, ut eius deinde posterius in terrena Hierusalem diuturna successione regnarent, dedit figuram, re gesta significans atque praenuntians, quod non est praetereundum silentio, de rerum mutatione futurarum, quod adinet ad duo testamenta, vetus et novum, ubi sacerdotium regnumque mutatum est per sacerdotem eundemque regem

happened, so also those who maintain that each separate statement in these books is wrapped in allegorical meaning appear to be very rash. That is why I have designated the prophecies as divided into three classes rather than two, for such is my firm conviction. Yet I do not censure those who have been able to carve out a spiritual application for every event recorded there, provided that they first take care to maintain historical veracity. But as to sayings of such a nature that they do not yield any clue to past or future events, whether effected by human or by divine agency, what believer can doubt that these were not uttered vainly? Who would not interpret them according to their spiritual meaning, if he can, or else admit that they should be so interpreted by the man who has this capacity?

IV

On the prophetic change in the Israelite dynasty and priesthood and on the prophecies uttered by Hannah, Samuel's mother, representing the church.

WHEN therefore the city of God had progressed to the period of the kings, at the time when David first gained the royal power after Saul was rejected, so that his descendants thenceforth reigned over the earthly Jerusalem in a long line of succession, revealing and heralding the future through this event, it presented a symbol not to be passed over in silence, of the change to occur long after in regard to the two covenants, the old and the new, when the priesthood and the monarchy were transformed by the new and

novum ac sempiternum, qui est Christus Iesus. Nam et Heli sacerdote reprobato substitutus in Dei servitium Samuel simul officium functus sacerdotis et iudicis, et Saule abiecto rex David fundatus in regno hoc quod dico figuraverunt.

Mater quoque ipsa Samuelis Anna, quae prius fuit sterilis et posteriore fecunditate laetata est, prophetae aliud non videtur, cum gratulationem suam Domino fundit exultans, quando eundem puerum natum et ablactatum Deo reddit eadem pietate qua voverat. Dicit enim: *Confirmatum est cor meum in Domino, exaltatum est cornu meum in Deo meo. Dilatum est super inimicos meos os meum, laetata sum in salutari tuo. Quoniam non est sanctus sicut Dominus, et non est iustus sicut Deus noster; non est sanctus praeter te. Nolite gloriari et nolite loqui excelsa, neque procedat magniloquium de ore vestro. Quoniam Deus scientiarum Dominus, et Deus praeparans adinventiones suas. Arcum potentium fecit infirmum, et infirmes praecincti sunt virtutem; pleni panibus minorati sunt, et esurientes transierunt terram. Quia sterilis peperit septem, et multa in filiis infirmata est. Dominus mortificat et vivificat, deducit ad inferos et reducit. Dominus pauperes facit et ditat, humiliat et exaltat. Suscitavit a terra pauperem et de stercore erigit inopem, ut conlocet*

eternal priest and king in the single person of Christ Iesus. For when Eli the priest had been rejected and Samuel took his place in God's service, performing the dual role of priest and judge, and when Saul was deposed and king David was given the royal office, these deeds prefigured the event which I have just mentioned.

Moreover, Samuel's mother Hannah, who had first been barren and was afterwards enriched with fertility, is clearly seen to prophesy exactly this, when she pours forth her thanksgiving to the Lord in exultation, at the time when she gives back to God the same child, after he was born and weaned, with the same pious devotion with which she had made her vow. For she says: " My heart is established in the Lord, my horn is exalted in my God. My mouth is enlarged over my enemies; I have rejoiced in thy salvation. For none is holy as the Lord is, and none is just as our God is. There is none holy save thee. Do not boast, and do not utter lofty words; let no grandiloquent speech issue from your mouth. For the Lord is the God of all knowledge, and God prepares his own designs. He has weakened the bow of the mighty and the weak have girded themselves with strength. Those that were full of bread are diminished, and the hungry have passed over the earth. For the barren woman has borne seven, and she who has many children has grown feeble. The Lord gives death and birth; he brings men down to the grave, and restores them to life. The Lord makes men poor and enriches them, he humbles and exalts them. He raises up the poor man from the earth, and lifts up the needy from the dung, to set him

eum cum potentibus populi, et sedem gloriae hereditatem dans eis; dans votum voventi, et benedixit annos iusti, quoniam non in virtute potens est vir. Dominus infirmum faciet adversarium suum, Dominus sanctus. Non gloriatur prudens in prudentia sua, et non gloriatur potens in potentia sua, et non gloriatur dives in divitiis suis; sed in hoc gloriatur, qui gloriatur, intellegere et scire Dominum et facere iudicium et iustitiam in medio terrae. Dominus ascendit in caelos et tonuit; ipse iudicabit extrema terrae, quia iustus est; et dat virtutem regibus nostris, et exaltabit cornum christi sui.

Itane vero verba haec unius putabuntur esse mulierculae de nato sibi filio gratulantis? Tantumne mens hominum a luce veritatis aversa est ut non sentiat supergredi modum feminae huius dicta quae fudit? Porro qui rebus ipsis quae iam coeperunt etiam in hac terrena peregrinatione compleri convenienter movetur, nonne intendit et aspicit et agnoscit per hanc mulierem, cuius etiam nomen, id est Anna, gratia eius interpretatur, ipsam religionem Christianam, ipsam civitatem Dei, cuius rex est et conditor Christus, ipsam postremo Dei gratiam prophetico spiritu sic locutam, a qua superbi alienantur ut cadant, qua humiles implentur ut surgant, quod maxime hymnus iste personuit? Nisi quisquam forte dicturus est nihil istam prophetasse mulierem, sed Deum tantummodo propter filium, quem precata

among the princes of the people, giving men the seat of glory as their inheritance, granting fulfilment to him that makes a vow; and he has blessed the years of the righteous, for man is not powerful by his own strength. The Lord will weaken his adversary; the Lord is holy. Let not the prudent man glory in his prudence, nor the powerful in his own power, and let not the rich man glory in his wealth; but he that would glory, let him glory in this, to understand and know the Lord, and to execute judgment and righteousness in the midst of the earth. The Lord has gone up to the heavens and has thundered; he himself will judge the uttermost parts of the earth, for he is righteous, and he gives strength to our kings, and will exalt the horn of his anointed."¹

Shall these, then, be considered merely the words of one weak woman, rejoicing in the birth of her son? Are men's minds so blind to the light of truth as not to realize that the words that this woman poured forth transcend her powers? Moreover, he who is suitably moved by the events whose fulfilment has already begun, even in this earthly pilgrimage, does he not give heed and recognize that even through this woman—whose very name, Hannah, signifies God's grace—the Christian religion itself, the city of God itself, whose king and founder is Christ, and finally the grace of God itself spoke these words by the spirit of prophecy—that grace from which the proud are so estranged that they fall, but with which the humble are so filled that they are lifted up, which, indeed, was the burden of her song of praise? But perhaps someone may say that the woman uttered no prophecy, but only praised God in exultant terms for

¹ I Samuel 2.1–10 (LXX); compare Jeremiah 9.23–24.

inpetravit, exultanti praedicatione laudasse. Quid ergo sibi vult quod ait: *Arcum potentium fecit infirmum, et infirmi praecincti sunt virtute; pleni panibus minorati sunt, et esurientes transierunt terram; quia sterilis peperit septem, et multa in filiis infirmata est?* Numquid septem ipsa pepererat, quamvis sterilis fuerit? Unicum habebat quando ista dicebat; sed nec postea septem peperit, sive sex, quibus septimus esset ipse Samuel, sed tres mares et duas faminas. Deinde in illo populo cum adhuc nemo regnaret, quod in extremo posuit: *Dat virtutem regibus nostris, et exaltabit cornum christi sui, unde dicebat si non prophetabat?*

Dicat ergo ecclesia Christi, civitas regis magni, gratia plena, prole fecunda, dicat quod tanto ante de se prophetatum per os huius piae matris agnoscit: *Confirmatum est cor meum in Domino, exaltatum est cornum meum in Deo meo.* Vere confirmatum cor et cornu vere exaltatum, quia non in se, sed in Domino Deo suo. *Dilatatum est super inimicos meos os meum;* quia et in angustiis pressurarum sermo Dei non est adligatus nec in praeconibus adligatis. *Laetata sum,* inquit, *in salutari tuo.* Christus est iste Iesus quem Simeon, sicut in evangelio legitur, senex amplectens parvum, agnoscens magnum, *Nunc,* inquit, *dimittis, Domine, servum tuum in pace, quoniam viderunt oculi*

the son she had gained in answer to her prayers. In that case, what is the meaning of these words? "He has weakened the bow of the mighty, and the weak have girded themselves with strength. Those that were full of bread are diminished, and the hungry have passed over the earth. For the barren woman has borne seven, and she that has many children has grown feeble." Surely Hannah had not borne seven sons, although she had been barren before? She had only one child when she spoke these words, nor did she bear seven afterwards, nor six, with whom Samuel would have made the seventh, but only three male and two female children. Again, consider her final words about that people, at a time when they still had no king: "He gives strength to our kings, and will exalt the horn of his anointed"—what led her to say this, if she was not speaking prophetically?

Then let the church of Christ, the city of the great king, she who is full of grace, and fruitful in her children, utter the words that, she knows full well, were prophesied of her so long ago, through the lips of this pious mother: "My heart is established in the Lord, my horn is exalted in my God." Her heart is truly established and her horn is truly exalted, because it is not of herself, but by the Lord her God. "My mouth is enlarged over my enemies"—for even in the straits of persecution the word of God is not bound down, even though its heralds be bound.¹ "I have rejoiced," she said, "in thy salvation." That is Christ Jesus, of whom Simeon, as we read in the gospel, an old man embracing a little child and inwardly acknowledging his greatness, said: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for my

¹ Cf. 2 Timothy 2.9.

mei salutare tuum. Dicat itaque ecclesia: Laetata sum in salutari tuo; quoniam non est sanctus, sicut Dominus, et non est iustus, sicut Deus noster; tamquam sanctus et sanctificans, iustus et iustificans. Non est sanctus praeter te, quia nemo fit nisi abs te. Denique sequitur: Nolite gloriari et nolite loqui excelsa, neque exeat magniloquium de ore vestro; quoniam Deus scientiarum Dominus. Ipse vos scit, et ubi nemo scit; quoniam qui putat se aliquid esse, cum nihil sit, se ipsum seducit.

Haec dicuntur adversariis civitatis Dei ad Babyloniam pertinentibus, de sua virtute praesumentibus, in se, non in Domino gloriantibus; ex quibus sunt etiam carnales Israelitae, terrenae Hierusalem cives terrigenae, qui, ut dicit apostolus, *ignorantes Dei iustitiam* (id est, quam dat homini Deus, qui solus est iustus atque iustificans) *et suam volentes constituere* (id est velut a se sibi partam, non ab illo in partem) *iustitiae Dei non sunt subiecti*, utique quia superbi, de suo putantes, non de Dei, posse placere se Deo, qui est Deus scientiarum atque ideo et arbiter conscientiarum, ibi videns cogitationes hominum, quoniam vanae sunt si hominum sunt et ab illo non sunt.

Et praeparans, inquit, ad inventiones suas. Quas ad inventiones putamus nisi ut superbi cadant et humiles surgant? Has quippe ad inventiones exe-

eyes have seen thy salvation.”¹ Therefore let the church say: “I have rejoiced in thy salvation; for none is holy as the Lord is, and none is just as our God is,” for as he is holy he makes men holy; as he is just, he makes men just. “None is holy save thee,” for none is made save by thee. Then this follows: “Do not boast, and do not utter lofty words, and let no grandiloquent speech issue from your mouth. For the Lord is the God of all sciences.”² He himself knows you, even where no man knows, for “he who thinks himself to be something, when he is nothing, deceives himself.”³

These words are addressed to the enemies of the city of God, who belong to Babylonia, who presume upon their own strength, glorying in themselves, not in the Lord. To their number also belong the carnal Israelites, earth-born citizens of the earthly Jerusalem, who, as the Apostle says, “being ignorant of God’s righteousness”—that is, the righteousness that God, who alone is righteous, and makes men righteous, grants to men—“and wishing to establish their own”—that is, as if it were of their own getting and not of his giving—“have not submitted themselves to God’s righteousness”⁴—being, as they are, arrogant, thinking that by their own righteousness, not God’s, they can please God, who is the God of sciences and is therefore also the judge of consciences, seeing in them men’s imaginations and knowing that they are vain⁵ if they are only men’s and do not proceed from him.

“And preparing his own designs,” she says. What designs do we suppose these are, except that the proud shall fall and the humble rise? Surely she is

¹ Luke 2.29 f.² 1 Samuel 2.3.³ Galatians 6.3.⁴ Romans 10.3.⁵ Psalms 94.11.

quitur dicens: *Arcus potentium infirmatus est, et infirmi praecinctorum sunt virtute.* Infirmatus est arcus, id est intentio eorum qui tam potentes sibi videntur ut sine Dei dono atque adiutorio humana sufficientia divina possint implere mandata, et praeciunguntur virtute, quorum interna vox est: *Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum.*

Pleni panibus, inquit, *minorati sunt, et esurientes transierunt terram.* Qui sunt intellegendi pleni panibus, nisi idem ipsi quasi potentes, id est Israelitae, quibus credita sunt eloquia Dei? Sed in eo populo ancillae filii minorati sunt—quo verbo minus quidem Latine, bene tamen expressum est, quod ex maioribus minores facti sunt—quia et in ipsis panibus, id est divinis eloquiis, quae Israelitae soli tunc ex omnibus gentibus acceperunt, terrena sapiunt. Gentes autem quibus lex illa non erat data, postea quam per novum testamentum ad eloquia illa venerunt, multum esuriendo terram transierunt, quia in eis non terrena sed caelestia sapuerunt. Et hoc velut quaereretur causa cur factum sit: *Quia sterilis,* inquit, *peperit septem, et multa in filiis infirmata est.* Hic totum quod prophetabatur eluxit agnoscentibus numerum septenarium, quo est universa ecclesiae

¹ Psalms 6.2.

² Romans 3.2.

³ *Minor* is a post-classical word used occasionally in ecclesiastical Latin from Tertullian's time, and more commonly after ca. A.D. 800. It is found both in the Old Latin and Vulgate Bible (see Augustine's citation of Habakkuk 3.12 in 18.32, p. 486 below).

executing these designs when she says: "The bow of the mighty has been weakened, and the weak have girded themselves with strength." The bow has been weakened—that is, the purposes of those who seem to themselves so powerful that without God's gift and aid they can fulfil the divine commands by their human powers alone; and those men gird themselves with strength whose inner cry is, "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak."¹

"Those who were full of bread," says Hannah, "are diminished, and the hungry have passed over the earth." Whom shall we understand by those full of bread except the very men who appeared to be powerful, that is, the Israelites, to whom the words of God were entrusted?² But among that race the sons of the bondmaiden were diminished—and though this verb *minor* is not really good Latin, still it expresses the idea well, since they were reduced from major to minor status³—because even in their very bread, that is, in the divine words which the Israelites alone among all peoples had received at that time, they thought only of earthly things. On the other hand, peoples to whom that law had not been given, after they gained knowledge of those words through the new covenant, passed over the earth with great hunger, inasmuch as they thought, not of its earthly, but of its heavenly elements. Hence, as though seeking an explanation for this, she says: 'For the barren woman has borne seven, and she that has many children has grown feeble.' With these words the whole prophecy has become suffused with light for those who are familiar with the significance of the number seven, by which the

significata perfectio. Propter quod et Iohannes apostolus ad septem scribit ecclesias, eo modo se ostendens ad unius plenitudinem scribere; et in proverbii Salomonis hoc antea praefigurans Sapia aedificavit sibi domum et suffulsit columnas septem. Sterilis enim erat in omnibus gentibus Dei civitas, antequam iste fetus quem cernimus oreretur. Cernimus etiam, quae multa in filiis erat, nunc infirmam Hierusalem terrenam; quoniam quicumque filii liberae in ea erant, virtus eius erant; nunc vero ibi quoniam littera est et spiritus non est, amissa virtute infirmata est.

Dominus mortificat et vivificat; mortificavit illam quae multa erat in filiis, et vivificavit hanc sterilem, quae peperit septem. Quamvis commodius possit intellegi eosdem vivificare quos mortificaverit. Id enim velut repetivit addendo: *Deducit ad inferos et reducit.* Quibus enim dicit apostolus: *Si mortui estis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt quaerite, ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens,* salubriter utique mortificantur a Domino; quibus adiungit: *Quae sursum sunt sapite, non quae super terram;* ut ipsi sint illi qui *esurientes transierunt terram.*

Mortui enim estis, inquit; ecce quo modo salubriter mortificat Deus; deinde sequitur: *Et vita vestra*

perfection of the universal church is symbolized. This explains why John the apostle writes to seven churches,¹ as an indication that he is writing for the whole body of the one church. Likewise, in the proverbs of Solomon, Wisdom, prefiguring this long before, "buildd her house and supported it with seven columns."² For the city of God was barren among all nations before the offspring that we see with our own eyes was born. We see also that the earthly Jerusalem, who had many sons, has grown feeble, for whatever sons of the free woman were in the city were her strength, but now since the letter alone is there, and not the spirit,³ her strength has departed and she has become weak.

"The Lord gives death and birth"—he brought death to her who had many sons, and life to the barren woman who bore seven children. Yet this might more suitably be taken to mean that he gives life to the same persons to whom he has brought death. For she repeated this statement, as it were, when she added: "He brings men down to the grave and restores them to life." For those to whom the Apostle says: "If you are dead with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sits on the right hand of God,"⁴ are certainly benefited when God brings death upon them. To this he adds: "Set your minds on things that are above, not on those that are on earth," thus showing that these are the same men who "have passed over the earth with hunger."

"For you are dead," he says—behold what health there is in God-given death! Then this follows:

¹ Revelation 1.4.

² Proverbs 9.1.

³ Cf. 2 Corinthians 3.6-16.

⁴ A conflation of Colossians 3.1 and 3; cf. Romans 6.8.

abscondita est cum Christo in Deo; ecce quo modo eosdem ipsos vivificat Deus. Sed numquid eosdem deduxit ad inferos et reduxit? Hoc utrumque sine controversia fidelium in illo potius videmus impletum, capite scilicet nostro, cum quo vitam nostram in Deo apostolus dixit absconditam. Nam qui proprio filio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum, isto modo utique mortificavit eum; et quia resuscitavit a mortuis, eundem rursus vivificavit. Et quia in prophetia vox eius agnoscitur: Non derelinques animam meam in inferno, eundem deduxit ad inferos et reduxit. Hac eius paupertate ditati sumus. Dominus enim pauperes facit et ditat. Nam quid hoc sit ut sciamus, quod sequitur audiamus: Humiliat et exaltat; utique superbos humiliat et humiles exaltat. Quod enim alibi legitur: Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam, hoc totus habet sermo huius cuius nomen interpretatur gratia eius.

Iam vero quod adiungitur: *Suscitat a terra pauperem*, de nullo melius quam de illo intellego qui *propter nos pauper factus est, cum dives esset, ut eius paupertate, sicut paulo ante dictum est, ditaremur*. Ipsum enim de terra suscitavit tam cito, ut caro eius non videret corruptionem. Nec illud ab illo alienabo quod additum est: *Et de stercore erigit inopem*.

¹ Colossians 3.3.

³ Psalms 16.10.

⁵ 2 Corinthians 8.9.

² Romans 8.32.

⁴ James 4.6.

⁶ Cf. Psalms 113.7.

“And your life is hidden with Christ in God”¹—see then how God gives life to these same persons! But were those whom he brought down to the grave and those whom he restored to life the same persons? Certainly, for there is no question among believers but that we see both these acts fulfilled in his case—and note that he is our head—with whom the Apostle says our life is hidden in God. For he who “did not spare his own son, but delivered him up for us all,”² in this act surely put him to death, and in that he raised him from the dead, restored him to life again. Furthermore, inasmuch as his voice is recognized in the prophecy: “Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell,”³ it was one and the same person whom he brought down to the grave and whom he restored to life. By his poverty we are enriched. For “the Lord makes men poor and enriches them.” To understand what this means, let us hear the words that follow: “He humbles and exalts them,” which surely means that he humbles the proud and exalts the humble. For what we read in another passage: “God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble,”⁴ is the burden of the whole speech of the woman whose name signifies his grace.

But the words added at this point: “He raises up the poor man from the earth,” I think apply to no one better than to him who “for our sake became poor, when he was rich, that by his poverty,” as was said shortly before, “we might be enriched.”⁵ For he raised that same body from the earth so quickly that his flesh did not see corruption. Nor will I deny the application to him of the words that follow: “And he lifts up the needy from the dung.”⁶ “The needy”

Inops quippe idem qui pauper; stercus vero unde erectus est rectissime intelleguntur persecutores Iudaei, in quorum numero cum se dixisset apostolus ecclesiam persecutum: *Quae mihi fuerunt, inquit, lucra, haec propter Christum damna esse duxi; nec solum detrimenta, verum etiam stercora existimavi esse, ut Christum lucri facerem.* De terra ergo suscitatus est ille supra omnes divites pauper, et de illo stercore erectus est supra omnes opulentos ille inops, ut sedeat *cum potentibus populi*, quibus ait: *Sedebitis super duodecim sedes.—Et sedem gloriae hereditatem dans eis;* dixerant enim potentes illi: *Ecce nos dimisimus omnia et secuti sumus te.* Hoc votum potentissime voverant. Sed unde hoc eis, nisi ab illo de quo hic continuo dictum est: *Dans votum voveriti?* Alioquin ex illis essent potentibus, quorum infirmatus est arcus. *Dans, inquit, votum voveriti.* Non enim Domino quicquam quicquam rectum voveret nisi qui ab illo acciperet quod voveret.

Sequitur: *Et benedixit annos iusti*, ut cum illo scilicet sine fine vivat cui dictum est: *Et anni tui non deficient.* Ibi enim stant anni, hic autem transeunt, immo pereunt; antequam veniant enim, non sunt; cum autem venerint, non erunt, quia cum suo fine veniunt. Horum autem duorum, id est *dans votum*

surely means the poor man, and the dung from which he is raised is most correctly interpreted as the Jewish persecutors among whom the Apostle listed himself, as one who had persecuted the church, when he said: "But those things that were a gain to me I have counted as loss for the sake of Christ, and not only have I counted them as loss, but even as dung, that I might make Christ my gain."¹ Thus that poor man was raised from the earth above all the rich, and that needy man was lifted up from the dung above all the wealthy, to sit "with the princes of the people" to whom he says: "You shall sit upon twelve thrones."² "And giving men the seat of glory as their inheritance"—for those princes had said: "Behold, we have given up everything and have followed thee."³ This vow they had made most stringently. But whence came this possibility to them, save from him of whom the next words in this passage say: "granting fulfilment to him who makes a vow"? For otherwise they would be among those powerful men whose bow was weakened. "Granting fulfilment," she says, "to him who makes a vow." For no one could make a righteous vow to the Lord without receiving from him that for which he prayed.

Then follows: "And he has blessed the years of the righteous," meaning of course that he should live endlessly with him to whom it was said: "And thy years shall have no end."⁴ For there the years stand still, but here they pass on, or rather perish, for before they come, they are not, and when once they have come, they will be no more, for their end comes with them. Now of these two statements,

¹ Philippians 3.7 f.

² Matthew 19.28.

³ Matthew 19.27.

⁴ Psalms 102.27.

voventi, et benedixit annos iusti, unum est quod facimus, alterum quod sumimus. Sed hoc alterum Deo largitore non sumitur, nisi cum ipso adiutore primum illud efficitur: Quia non in virtute potens est vir. Dominus infirmum faciet adversarium eius; illum scilicet, qui homini voventi invidet et resistit, ne valeat implere quod vovit. Potest ex ambiguo Graeco intellegi et adversarium suum. Cum enim Dominus possidere nos coeperit, profecto adversarius qui noster fuerat ipsius fit et vincetur a nobis, sed non viribus nostris, quia non in virtute potens est vir. Dominus ergo infirmum faciet adversarium suum, Dominus sanctus; ut vincatur a sanctis, quos Dominus sanctus sanctorum efficit sanctos.

Ac per hoc non gloriatur prudens in sua prudentia, et non gloriatur potens in sua potentia, et non gloriatur dives in divitiis suis; sed in hoc gloriatur, qui gloriatur, intellegere et scire Dominum et facere iudicium et iustitiam in medio terrae. Non parva ex parte intellegit et scit Dominum, qui intellegit et scit etiam hoc a Domino sibi dari, ut intellegat et sciat Dominum. Quid enim habes, ait apostolus, quod non accepisti? Si autem et accepisti, quid gloriaris, quasi non acceperis? id est, quasi a te ipso tibi sit, unde gloriaris. Facit autem iudicium et iustitiam, qui recte vivit. Recte autem vivit, qui obtemperat praecipienti Deo; et

that is, "granting fulfilment to him that makes a vow," and "he has blessed the years of the righteous," the one tells what we do and the other what we gain. But the second is not gained by God's bounty unless the former has first been accomplished with his assistance: "For man is not powerful by his own strength. The Lord will weaken his adversary," which means, naturally, anyone who hates and opposes the man who makes a vow, in order that he may not be able to fulfil his vow. As the Greek is ambiguous, this may also be rendered "his own adversary." For once God had begun to take possession of us, forthwith he who was our adversary becomes God's, and will be overcome by us, but not by our own power, "because a man is not powerful by his own strength." Thus "the Lord will make his own adversary weak, the holy Lord," so that he is overcome by the holy men whom the holy Lord of the holy sanctifies.

Now therefore "let not the prudent man glory in his own prudence, and let not the rich glory in his riches; but he that would glory, let him glory in this, to understand and know the Lord and to execute judgement and righteousness in the midst of the earth." That man understands and knows God to no slight degree, who understands and knows that the power to understand and know the Lord is also the Lord's gift. "For what have you," says the Apostle, "that you have not received? But if you have received it, why do you glory, as if you had not received it?"¹ Which means, as if the occasion for boasting arose from your own efforts. Moreover, he who lives rightly executes judgment and righteousness. And he lives rightly who obeys God's com-

¹ 1 Corinthians 4.7.

finis praecepti, id est, ad quod refertur praeceptum, *caritas est de corde puro et conscientia bona et fide non ficta*. Porro ista *caritas*, sicut Iohannes apostolus testatur, *ex Deo est*. Facere igitur iudicium et iustitiam ex Deo est.

Sed quid est: *In medio terrae*? Neque enim non debent facere iudicium et iustitiam qui habitant in extremis terrae. Quis hoc dixerit? Cur ergo additum est: *In medio terrae*? Quod si non adderetur et tantummodo diceretur: *Facere iudicium et iustitiam*, magis hoc praeceptum ad utrosque homines pertineret, et mediterraneos et maritimos. Sed ne quisquam putaret post finem vitae quae in hoc agitur corpore, superesse tempus iudicium iustitiamque faciendi, quam dum esset in carne non fecit, et sic divinum evadi posse iudicium: *in medio terrae* mihi videtur dictum "cum quisque vivit in corpore." In hac quippe vita suam terram quisque circumfert, quam moriente homine recipit terra communis, resurgenti utique redditura. Proinde *in medio terrae*, id est, cum anima nostra isto terreno clauditur corpore, faciendum est iudicium atque iustitia, quod nobis prosit in posterum, quando *recipit quisque secundum ea, quae per corpus gessit, sive bonum sive malum*.

mandments. And "the end of the commandment," that is, the goal of the commandment, "is love proceeding from a pure heart and a good conscience and an unfeigned faith."¹ Furthermore, as John the Apostle testifies, "this love is from God."² Consequently, the power to execute judgment and righteousness comes from God.

But what does "in the midst of the earth" mean? Not that those who live at the ends of the earth are free from the obligation to execute judgment and righteousness, for who would make such an assertion? Why, then, were the words "in the midst of the earth" added? Suppose they had not been added, and only this much were said, "to execute judgment and righteousness," then the commandment would apply to both groups of men, those who live in the midst of the earth, and those on the shores of the ocean. But for fear that someone might think that after the end of the life that is lived in this body a period might remain for executing judgment and righteousness as he failed to do while he was in the flesh, and that the divine judgment would thus be evaded, it was to prevent this, I think, that the words "in the midst of the earth" were included, meaning "while each man lives in the body." Surely in this life each man bears his earth about him, which the common earth receives when a man dies, to restore it, of course, at his resurrection. Consequently, "in the midst of the earth," that is, while our soul is imprisoned in this earthly body, judgment and righteousness must be executed for our benefit in the future when "everyone receives either good or ill according to the deeds he has done in his body."³

¹ 1 Timothy 1.5.

² 1 John 4.7.

³ 2 Corinthians 5.10.

Per corpus quippe ibi dixit apostolus per tempus, quo vixit in corpore. Neque enim si quis maligna mente atque impia cogitatione blasphemet neque id ullis membris corporis operetur, ideo non erit reus quia id non motu corporis gessit, cum hoc per illud tempus gesserit quo gessit et corpus. Isto modo congruenter intelligi potest etiam illud quod in psalmo legitur: *Deus autem rex noster ante saecula operatus est salutem in medio terrae*; ut Dominus Iesus accipiatur Deus noster, qui est ante saecula, quia per ipsum facta sunt saecula, operatus salutem nostram in medio terrae, cum Verbum caro factum est et terreno habitavit in corpore.

Deinde postea quam prophetatum est in his verbis Annae, quo modo gloriari debeat, qui gloriatur, non in se utique, sed in Domino, propter retributionem, quae in die iudicii futura est: *Dominus ascendit, inquit, in caelos et tonuit; ipse iudicabit extrema terrae, quia iustus est.* Prorsus ordinem tenuit confessionis fidelium. Ascendit enim in caelum Dominus Christus, et inde venturus est ad vivos et mortuos iudicandos. Nam *quis ascendit*, sicut dicit apostolus, *nisi qui et descendit in inferiores partes terrae? Qui descendit, ipse est et qui ascendit super omnes caelos, ut adimplet omnia.* Per nubes ergo suas tonuit, quas sancto Spiritu cum ascendisset implevit. De quibus ancillae Hierusalem, hoc est ingratae vineae, com-

By "in his body" the Apostle meant "throughout the time when he lived in his body." Nor indeed shall anyone who blasphemes with malign intent and impious thoughts be adjudged innocent on the ground that he did not do this by any bodily action, for he did it during the period in which he occupied his body. In the same way we may fittingly interpret the words we read in a psalm: "For God our king before the ages has wrought salvation in the midst of the earth."¹ In this statement "our God" means the Lord Jesus, who is before the ages, since the ages were created by him, and he wrought our salvation in the midst of the earth when the Word was made flesh² and dwelt in an earthly body.

Next, after the prophecy in these words of Hannah, showing how a man who glories should glory, not on any account in himself, but only in the Lord, she says with reference to the retribution that will come on the day of judgment: "The Lord has gone up into the heavens and has thundered; he himself will judge the uttermost parts of the earth, for he is righteous." Here she followed exactly the terms of the confession made by the faithful.³ For the Lord Christ ascended into heaven and he will come thence to judge the living and the dead.⁴ For "who ascended" as the Apostle says, "save he who also descended into the lower parts of the earth? He who descended is the same also who ascended above all the heavens that he might fulfil all things."⁵ So it was by his own clouds that he thundered, which he filled with the Holy Spirit when he had ascended. Concerning these he threatened the bondwoman Jerusalem, under the figure of the barren vineyard, as we read

¹ Psalms 74.12.

² John 1.14.

³ I.e., the Apostles' Creed.

⁴ Acts 10.42.

⁵ Ephesians 4.9 f.

minatus est apud Esaiam prophetam ne pluant super eam imbrem. Sic autem dictum est: *Ipse iudicabit extrema terrae*, ac si diceretur: "Etiam extrema terrae." Non enim alias partes non iudicabit qui omnes homines procul dubio iudicabit. Sed melius intelleguntur extrema terrae extrema hominis; quoniam non iudicabuntur quae in melius vel in deterius medio tempore commutantur, sed in quibus extremis inventus fuerit qui iudicabitur. Propter quod dictum est: *Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit*. Qui ergo perseveranter facit iudicium et iustitiam in medio terrae non damnabitur cum iudicabuntur extrema terrae.

Et dat, inquit, *virtutem regibus nostris*; ut non eos iudicando condemnet. Dat eis virtutem qua carnem sicut reges regant et in illo mundum qui propter eos fudit sanguinem vincant. *Et exaltabit cornum christi sui*. Quo modo Christus exaltabit cornum christi sui? De quo enim supra dictum est: *Dominus ascendit in caelos*, et intellectus est Dominus Christus, ipse, sicut hic dicitur, *exaltabit cornum christi sui*. Quis ergo est christus Christi? An cornum exaltabit uniuscuiusque fidelis sui, sicut ista ipsa in principio huius hymni ait: *Exaltatum est cornum meum in Deo meo*? Omnes quippe unctos eius chrismate recte

in the prophet Isaiah, that these clouds should not send their rain upon it.¹ Moreover, the words "he himself will judge the uttermost parts of the earth" are tantamount to saying "even the uttermost parts of the earth." For he will not fail to judge the other parts, since he will indubitably judge all men. But a better interpretation of "the uttermost parts of the earth" is "the latter end of mankind," for there will not be judgment of anything that changes for better or worse in the intervening period, but there will be judgment of the final state in which the man who is to be judged is found. For this reason it was said: "He who perseveres to the end, he shall be saved."² He, therefore, who persistently executes judgment and righteousness in the midst of the earth will not be condemned when the uttermost parts of the earth are judged.

Then she says: "And he gives strength to our kings," that is, to save them from condemnation by his judgment. He gives them strength by which as kings they may rule the flesh and conquer the world by him who shed his blood for their sake. "And he shall exalt the horn of his anointed." How shall Christ exalt the horn of his anointed? For it is he of whom it was said previously: "The Lord has gone up into the heavens," and by this was understood the Lord Christ—he himself, as is said here, "will exalt the horn of his anointed." Who, then, is the anointed of Christ? Will he exalt the horn of every individual who believes in him, as the woman herself says in the beginning of this chant: "My horn is exalted in my God?" Truly we can call all who have been anointed with his chrism the anointed, for

¹ Isaiah 5.6.² Matthew 10.22.

christos possumus dicere; quod tamen totum cum suo capite corpus unus est Christus.

Haec Anna prophetavit, Samuelis mater, sancti viri multumque laudati; in quo quidem tunc figurata est mutatio veteris sacerdotii et nunc impleta, quando infirmata est quae multa erat in filiis, ut novum haberet in Christo sacerdotium sterilis quae peperit septem.

V

De his quae ad Heli sacerdotem homo Dei prophético locutus est spiritu, significans sacerdotium quod secundum Aaron institutum fuerat auferendum.

SED hoc evidentius ad ipsum Heli sacerdotem mis-
sus loquitur homo Dei, cuius quidem nomen tacetur,
sed intellegitur officio ministerioque suo sine dubita-
tione propheta. Sic enim scriptum est: *Et venit
homo Dei ad Heli et dixit: Haec dicit Dominus: Revela-
tus revelatus sum ad domum patris tui, cum essent in
terra Aegypti servi in domo Pharao; et elegi domum
patris tui ex omnibus sceptris Israel mihi sacerdotio
fungi, ut ascenderent ad altare meum et incenderent in-
censum et portarent ephod; et dedi domui patris tui
omnia, quae sunt ignis filiorum Israel, in escam. Et
ut quid respexisti in incensum meum et in sacrificium
meum in pudenti oculo et glorificasti filios tuos super
me, benedicere primitias omnis sacrificii in Israel in*

this whole number, with its head, forms the single body which is Christ.

Such was the prophecy of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, a holy man and one greatly praised, in whom indeed the transformation of the old priesthood was prefigured at that time, which is now fulfilled, when she has become feeble who then had many sons, so that the barren woman who has borne seven children might have a new priesthood in Christ.

V

On the words that the man of God addressed to Eli the priest by a prophetic spirit, indicating that the priesthood which had been established according to Aaron was to be dissolved.

BUT the man of God who was sent to the priest Eli himself states this more explicitly. His name, to be sure, is not mentioned, but by his office and ministry he is shown, beyond any doubt, to be a prophet. Now the account is as follows: "And a man of God came to Eli and said: 'Thus says the Lord: "Revealing myself, I revealed myself to your father's house when they were in the land of Egypt as slaves in the house of Pharaoh; and I chose your father's house out of all the sceptres of Israel to act as priests in my service, to go up to my altar and burn incense and to wear the ephod. I gave your father's house all the burnt-offerings of the children of Israel to eat. Why, then, have you looked insolently upon my incense and my sacrifice and honoured your sons above me, permitting them to bless the first-fruits of every

conspectu meo? Propter hoc haec dicit Dominus Deus Israel: Dixi: Domus tua et domus patris tui transibunt coram me usque in aeternum. Et nunc dicit Dominus: Nequaquam, sed glorificantes me glorificabo, et qui spernit me spernetur. Ecce dies veniunt, et exterminabo semen tuum et semen domus patris tui, et non erit tibi senior in domo mea omnibus diebus, et virum exterminabo tibi ab altari meo, ut deficiant oculi eius et defluat anima eius; et omnis qui superaverit domus tuae, decident in gladio virorum. Et hoc tibi signum, quod veniet super duos filios tuos hos, Ophni et Phinees: una die morientur ambo. Et suscitabo mihi sacerdotem fidelem, qui omnia quae in corde meo et quae in anima mea faciat; et aedificabo ei domum fidelem, et transibit coram christo meo omnibus diebus. Et erit, qui superaverit in domo tua veniet adorare ei obolo argenti dicens: Iacta me in unam partem sacerdotii tui manducare panem.

Non est ut dicatur ista prophetia, ubi sacerdotii veteris tanta manifestatione praenuntiata mutatio est, in Samuele fuisse completa. Quamquam enim non esset de alia tribu Samuel quam quae constituta fuerat a Domino ut serviret altari, tamen non erat de filiis Aaron, cuius progenies fuerat deputata unde fierent sacerdotes; ac per hoc in ea quoque re gesta

sacrifice in Israel before my eyes? ” Therefore thus says the Lord God of Israel: “ I have said, your house and your father’s house shall walk before me forever.” But now the Lord says: “ By no means shall this be, but I will honour those that honour me, and he that scorns me shall be scorned. For behold, the days are at hand when I will destroy your seed and the seed of your father’s house, and you shall not have an elder in my house all your days, but I will banish the male of your family from my altars, so that his eyes shall fail and his soul melt away. Every one of your house that survives, they all shall perish by the sword of men. And this shall be a sign for you that will befall these two sons of yours, Ophni and Phineas; they shall both die on one and the same day. And I will raise up a faithful priest for my service, who will do all that is in my heart and in my soul. I will build him a trustworthy house, and he shall walk before my anointed all his days. And it shall come to pass that any of your house who survives will come to do reverence to him for a bit of silver, saying: ‘ Cast me into some portion of your priesthood that I may have bread to eat.’ ” ”¹

There is no ground for holding that this prophecy, in which the change from the old priesthood is foretold in such clear and explicit terms, was fulfilled in Samuel. For although Samuel was not of a different tribe from that appointed by the Lord to serve the altar, yet he was not one of the sons of Aaron, whose family had been given the hereditary right to the priesthood.² Consequently, in this event also the

sons, but in the same way in which all that people are called sons of Israel.”

¹ 1 Samuel 2.27–36.

² Cf. Aug. *Retractions* 11.69, quoted in Vol. 1, pp. 4 f.: “What was said of Samuel in the 17th book: ‘He was not one of the sons of Aaron,’ should rather have been stated thus: ‘He was not the son of a priest.’ It was indeed more in accordance with the regular custom for the sons of priests to succeed those who died. Now Samuel’s father is listed among Aaron’s

eadem mutatio quae per Christum Iesum futura fuerat adumbrata est, et ad vetus testamentum proprie, figurate vero pertinebat ad novum prophetia facti etiam ipsa, non verbi, id scilicet facto significans, quod verbo ad Heli sacerdotem dictum est per prophetam. Nam fuerunt postea sacerdotes ex genere Aaron, sicut Sadoc et Abiathar, regnante David, et alii deinceps, antequam tempus veniret quo ista quae de sacerdotio mutando tanto ante praedicta sunt effici per Christum oportebat. Quis autem nunc fideli oculo haec intuens non videat esse completa? Quando quidem nullum tabernaculum, nullum templum, nullum altare, nullum sacrificium et ideo nec ullus sacerdos remansit Iudaeis, quibus ut de semine Aaron ordinaretur in Dei fuerat lege mandatum.

Quod et hic commemoratum est illo dicente propheta: *Haec dicit Dominus Deus Israel: Dixi: Domus tua et domus patris tui transibunt coram me usque in aeternum. Et nunc dicit Dominus: Nequaquam, sed glorificantes me glorificabo, et qui me spernit, spernetur.* Quod enim nominat domum patris eius, non eum de proximo patre dicere, sed de illo Aaron, qui primus sacerdos est institutus, de cuius progenie ceteri sequerentur, superiora demonstrant ubi ait: *Revelatus sum ad domum patris tui, cum essent in terra Aegypti servi in domo Pharaeo, et elegi domum patris tui ex omnibus sceptris Israel mihi sacerdotio fungi.* Quis patrum fuit

same change that was to come about through Christ Jesus, was foreshadowed, and the prophecy of the act itself, not the word, applied literally to the old covenant, but figuratively to the new, symbolizing as it did in the act what was said to Eli the priest in the words spoken by the prophet. For there were priests of the tribe of Aaron in later times, such as Zadoc and Abiathar in David's reign,¹ and others after them until the time came when the prophecies of the change in the priesthood, that had been made so long before, were duly realized in Christ. Moreover, what man who regards these matters with the eye of faith can fail to see that they have been fulfilled? For now in very truth no tabernacle, no temple, no altar, no sacrifice, and by the same token, no priest remains to the Jews, who had once been enjoined by God's law to have a priest of Aaron's stock ordained.

And this was mentioned at this point in the prophet's speech: "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel: 'I have said: Your house and your father's house shall walk before me for ever.' But now the Lord says: 'By no means shall this be, but I will honour those that honour me, and he that scorns me shall be scorned.'" As to the mention of his father's house, an earlier statement shows that he does not mean his immediate father, but that Aaron who was first made priest, from whose line the others were to come in succession, when he says: "I revealed myself to your father's house when they were in the land of Egypt as slaves in the house of Pharaoh, and I chose your father's house, out of all the sceptres of Israel, to act as priests in my service." Which of his fathers

¹ 2 Samuel 15.24.

huius in illa Aegyptia servitute, unde cum liberati essent, electus est ad sacerdotium, nisi Aaron? De huius ergo stirpe isto loco dixit futurum fuisse, ut non essent ulterius sacerdotes; quod iam videmus impletum. Vigilet fides, praesto sunt res, cernuntur, tenentur et videre nolentium oculis ingeruntur. *Ecce, inquit, dies veniunt, et exterminabo semen tuum et semen domus patris tui, et non erit tibi senior in domo mea omnibus diebus, et virum exterminabo tibi ab altari meo, ut deficiant oculi eius et defluat anima eius.* Ecce dies, qui praenuntiati sunt, iam venerunt. Nullus sacerdos est secundum ordinem Aaron; et quicumque ex eius genere est homo, cum videt sacrificium Christianorum toto orbe pollere, sibi autem honorem illum magnum esse subtractum, deficiunt oculi eius et defluit anima eius tabe maeroris.

Proprie autem ad huius domum Heli, cui haec dicebantur, quod sequitur pertinet: *Et omnis qui superaverit domus tuae, decident in gladio virorum. Et hoc tibi signum, quod veniet super duos filios tuos hos, Ophni et Phinees: uno die morientur ambo.* Hoc ergo signum factum est mutandi sacerdotii de domo huius, quo signo significatum est mutandum sacerdotium domus Aaron. Mors quippe filiorum huius significavit

was in that bondage in Egypt, and when they were liberated, was elected to the priesthood, except Aaron? It was of this man's descendants, then, that he spoke in the passage under discussion, when he said that the time should come when they would no longer be priests; and this we now see fulfilled. Let faith be alert; the facts are directly before us, they are observed, they are grasped, and are forced upon the notice of those who do not wish to see. "Behold," he says, "the days are at hand when I will destroy your seed and the seed of your father's house, and you shall not have an elder in my house all your days, and I will banish the male of your family from my altar, so that his eyes shall fail and his soul melt away." Behold, the days that were foretold have now come. There is no priest after the order of Aaron, and whatever man survives of his race, when he sees that the sacrifice of the Christians prevails throughout all the world, whereas his own former great honour has been taken from him, then his eyes fail and his soul melts away, consumed with grief.

Moreover, the next sentence applies literally to the house of this Eli, to whom these words were addressed: "And every one of your house who survives, they all shall perish by the sword of men. And this shall be a sign for you that will befall these two sons of yours, Ophni and Phineas; they shall both die on one and the same day." This, then, was done as a sign of the transfer of the priesthood from this man's house, and this sign also signified that the priesthood of the house of Aaron was to suffer a change. Note that the death of this man's sons did

mortem non hominum, sed ipsius sacerdotii de filiis Aaron. Quod autem sequitur ad illum iam pertinet sacerdotem cuius figuram gessit huic succedendo Samuel. Proinde quae sequuntur, de Christo Iesu novi testamenti vero sacerdote dicuntur: *Et suscitabo mihi sacerdotem fidelem, qui omnia quae in corde meo et quae in anima mea faciat; et aedificabo ei domum fidelem. Ipsa est aeterna et superna Hierusalem. Et transibit, inquit, coram christo meo omnibus diebus. Transibit dixit " conversabitur "; sicut superius dixerat de domo Aaron: Dixi: Domus tua et domus patris tui transibunt coram me in aeternum. Quod autem ait: Coram christo meo transibit, de ipsa domo utique intellegendum est, non de illo sacerdote qui est Christus ipse mediator atque salvator. Domus ego eius coram illo transibit. Potest et transibit intellegi de morte ad vitam, omnibus diebus, quibus peragitur usque in finem saeculi huius ista mortalitas. Quod autem ait Deus: Qui omnia quae in corde meo et quae in anima mea faciat: non arbitremur habere animam Deum, cum sit conditor animae; sed ita hoc de Deo tropice, non proprie dicitur, sicut manus et pes et alia corporis membra. Et ne secundum hoc credatur homo in carnis huius effigie factus ad imaginem Dei, adduntur et alae, quas utique non habet homo, et dicitur Deo: *Sub umbra alarum tuarum proteges me;**

¹ Psalms 17.8.

not signify the death of persons, but the death of the priesthood held by Aaron's line. Moreover, what follows refers to that priest whom Samuel prefigured when he succeeded Eli. Hence the words that follow are spoken of the true priest of the new covenant, Christ Jesus: "And I will raise up a faithful priest for my service who will do all that is in my heart and in my soul, and I will build him a trustworthy house." This house is the eternal heavenly Jerusalem. "And he shall walk before my anointed all his days." He used the verb *transibit*, meaning "he shall live with me," just as he had said earlier of the house of Aaron: "I have said: Your house and your father's house shall walk before me for ever." Moreover, the words, "he shall walk before my anointed," must surely be taken as referring to the house itself, and not to that priest who is himself the anointed Christ, the mediator and saviour. His house, then, shall walk before Christ. But *transibit* may also be understood of the passage from death to life during "all his days" in which the mortal journey is accomplished, to the end of this world. Moreover the words of God, "who shall do all that is in my heart and in my soul," should not lead us to assume that God has a soul, for he is the creator of the soul. On the contrary, this is said of God in a figurative, not in a literal sense, just as we speak of his hand and foot and other parts of his body. And to prevent us from believing, on account of this clause, that man is formed in his bodily shape after the likeness of God, wings are added also, which man certainly lacks, and such words as these are addressed to God: "Under the shadow of thy wings thou wilt shelter me,"¹ in

ut intellegant homines de illa ineffabili natura, non propriis sed translatis rerum vocabulis ista dici.

Quod vero adiungitur: *Et erit, qui superaverit in domo tua, veniet adorare ei*, non proprie de domo dicitur huius Heli, sed illius Aaron, de qua usque ad adventum Iesu Christi homines remanserunt, de quo genere etiam nunc usque non desunt. Nam de illa domo huius Heli iam supra dictum erat: *Et omnis qui superaverit domus tuae, decident in gladio virorum*. Quo modo ergo hic vere dici potuit: *Et erit, qui superaverit in domo tua, veniet adorare ei*, si illud est verum quod ultore gladio nemo inde superavit? nisi quia illos intellegi voluit, qui pertinent ad stirpem, sed illius totius sacerdotii secundum ordinem Aaron. Ergo si de illis est praedestinatis reliquiis de quibus alius propheta dixit: *Reliquiae salvae fient*—unde et apostolus: *Sic ergo, inquit, et in hoc tempore reliquiae per electionem gratiae factae sunt*—quia de talibus reliquiis bene intellegitur esse, de quo dictum est: *Qui superaverit in domo tua*, profecto credit in Christum; sicut temporibus apostolorum ex ipsa gente plurimi crediderunt, neque nunc desunt qui, licet rarissime, tamen credant; et impletur in eo quod hic iste homo Dei continuo secutus adiunxit: *Veniet adorare ei obolo argenti*. Cui adorare, nisi summo illi sacerdoti qui et Deus est? Neque enim in illo sacer-

order that men may understand that such terms are not used as literal but only as figurative descriptions of his ineffable nature.

But the next words: "And it shall come to pass that any of your house who survives shall come to do reverence to him," are not said literally of this house of Eli, but of the earlier house of Aaron, of which there were still survivors even at the coming of Jesus Christ; indeed, even now the family is not extinct. For this had already been said concerning that other house of Eli: "And every one of your house who survives shall perish by the sword of men." How, then, could it be truly said: "And it shall come to pass that any of your house who survives shall come to do reverence to him," if it is true that none of them was to survive the avenging sword, unless we assume that he wished this understood of those who do not belong to his stock, but to that of the whole priesthood after the order of Aaron? If, then, this refers to that predestined remnant of whom another prophet said: "A remnant shall be saved,"¹ whence also the Apostle says: "Even so at this present time a remnant has been saved by the election of grace,"² then since it is clearly understood that the man of whom it was said, "he who has survived in your house," belongs to such a remnant, certainly that man believes in Christ, just as a great many of that race believed in the time of the apostles. Nor are those lacking now who, though a very small minority, yet embrace the faith. Thus is fulfilled what that man of God next added: "He shall come to do reverence to him for a bit of silver." To do reverence to whom, save that high priest who is also God? For not even in that

¹ Isaiah 10.22.

² Romans 11.5.

dotio secundum ordinem Aaron ad hoc veniebant homines ad templum vel altare Dei ut sacerdotem adorarent. Quid est autem quod ait: *Obolo argenti*, nisi brevitate verbi fidei, de quo commemorat apostolus dictum: *Verbum consummans et brevians faciet Dominus super terram?* Argentum autem pro eloquio poni psalmus testis est, ubi canitur: *Eloquia Domini eloquia casta, argentum igne examinatum.*

Quid ergo dicit iste qui venit adorare sacerdoti Dei et sacerdoti Deo? *Iacta me in partem sacerdotii tui, manducare panem.* Nolo in patrum meorum conlocari honore, qui nullus est; iacta me in partem sacerdotii tui. *Elegi enim abiectus esse in domo Dei;* qualemque et quantulumcumque membrum esse cupio sacerdotii tui. Sacerdotium quippe hic ipsam plebem dicit, cuius plebis ille sacerdos est mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus. Cui plebi dicit apostolus Petrus: *Plebs sancta, regale sacerdotium.* Quamvis nonnulli "sacrificii tui" sint interpretati, non "sacerdotii tui"; quod nihilo minus eundem significat populum Christianum. Unde dicit apostolus Paulus: *Unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus.* Quod ergo addidit: *Manducare panem,* etiam ipsum sacrificii genus eleganter expressit, de quo dicit sacerdos ipse: *Panis, quem ego dederò, caro mea est pro saeculi vita.* Ipsum est sacrificium; non secundum

priesthood after the order of Aaron did men approach the temple of the altar of God for the sake of worshipping the priest. Again, what does he mean by "for a bit of silver," except the brevity of the statement of faith, concerning which the Apostle recalls this saying: "The Lord will complete his word and cut it short, and establish it on earth" ?¹ A psalm also illustrates the figurative use of silver for speech, in the verse: "The words of the Lord are pure words, silver tried in a fire."²

What, then, does that man say who comes to reverence the priest of God, and the priest who is God? "'Cast me into some portion of your priesthood, that I may have bread to eat.' I do not wish to be set in the honourable position of my ancestors, which is now lost; cast me into some portion of your priesthood. For 'I have chosen to be a humble servitor in the house of God.'³ I wish to be a member of your priesthood, with any part in it whatever, however small." Surely by priesthood he means the people itself, the people whose priest is the mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.⁴ This people the apostle Peter addresses as "a holy people, a royal priesthood."⁵ There are some, however, who have translated here: "some part of your sacrifice," not "of your priesthood," but it means none the less the Christian people. This explains the words of the apostle Paul: "We, being many, are one bread and one body."⁶ For the phrase that he added, "bread to eat," was well chosen to define the true nature of the sacrifice, of which the priest himself says: "The bread that I shall give you is my flesh, given for the life of the world."⁷ This is the

¹ Romans 9.28, quoting Isaiah 10.23.

² Psalms 12.6.

³ Psalms 84.10.

⁴ 1 Timothy 2.5.

⁵ 1 Peter 2.9.

⁶ 1 Corinthians 10.17.

⁷ John 6.51.

ordinem Aaron sed secundum ordinem Melchisedech, qui legit intellegat. Brevis itaque ista confessio et salubriter humilis, qua dicitur: *Iacta me in partem sacerdotii tui manducare panem*; ipse est obolus argenti, quia et breve est et eloquium Domini est habitantis in corde credentis. Quia enim dixerat superius, dedisse se cibos domui Aaron de victimis veteris testamenti, ubi ait: *Dedi domui patris tui omnia, quae sunt ignis filiorum Israel, in escam* (haec quippe fuerant sacrificia Iudaeorum), ideo hic dixit: *Manducare panem*, quod est in novo testamento sacrificium Christianorum.

VI

De Iudaico sacerdotio et regno, quae cum in aeternum dicantur statuta, non permanent, ut alia intellegantur, quorum spondetur aeternitas.

CUM igitur haec tanta tunc altitudine praenuntiata sint, tanta nunc manifestatione clarescant, non frustra tamen moveri quispiam potest ac dicere: Quo modo confidimus venire omnia quae in libris illis ventura praedicta sunt, si hoc ipsum, quod ibi divinitus dictum est: *Domus tua et domus patris tui transibunt coram me in aeternum*, effectum habere non potuit? quoniam videmus illud sacerdotium fuisse

very sacrifice, not after the order of Aaron but after the order of Melchisedech, as he who reads should understand. Here, then, is a brief confession of faith, marked by wholesome humility, in the words: "Cast me into some portion of your priesthood, that I may have bread to eat." This itself is the bit of silver, which is small in size, and is the word of the Lord, who dwells in the believer's heart. For since God had said before that he had given the house of Aaron food from the victims of the old covenant, when he said: "I gave your father's house all the burnt-offerings of the children of Israel to eat," and this food was obviously the sacrifices of the Jews, even so at this point he said "to eat bread," which is, in the new covenant, the sacrifice of the Christians.

VI

On the Jewish priesthood and kingdom which, although they are said to have been established forever, no longer exist, so that the promise of eternity should be understood of others.

Now although these prophecies were made at that time in such lofty terms, and are now so gloriously revealed, still someone may be puzzled, and not without reason, saying: How can we believe that all things come to pass of which it was prophesied in those books that they should come to pass, if this very statement that is there divinely made: "Your house and your father's house shall walk before me for ever," was not capable of fulfilment? For we see that that priesthood has been altered, and what

mutatum, et quod illi domui promissum est, nec sperari aliquando complendum, quia illud quod ei reprobato mutatoque succedit hoc potius praedicatur aeternum. Hoc qui dicit nondum intellegit aut non recolit etiam ipsum secundum ordinem Aaron sacerdotium tamquam umbram futuri aeterni sacerdotii constitutum; ac per hoc, quando aeternitas ei promissa est, non ipsi umbrae ac figurae, sed ei quod per ipsam adumbrabatur figurabaturque promissum est. Sed ne putaretur ipsa umbra esse mansura, ideo etiam mutatio eius debuit prophetari.

Regnum quoque isto modo etiam Saulis ipsius, qui certe reprobatus atque reiectus est, futuri regni erat umbra in aeternitate mansuri. Oleum quippe illud quo unctus est et ab eo chrismate christus est dictus, mystice accipiendum et magnum sacramentum intellegendum est; quod in eo tantum veneratus est ipse David ut percusso corde pavitaverit quando in tenebroso occultatus antro, quo etiam Saul urgente intraverat necessitate naturae, exiguam particulam vestis eius retrorsum latenter abscidit ut haberet unde monstraret quo modo ei pepercerit, cum posset occidere, atque ita suspicionem de animo eius, qua sanctum David putans inimicum suum vehementer persequebatur, auferret. Ne itaque reus esset tanti sacramenti in Saule violati, quia vel indumentum eius sic adtrectavit, extimuit. Ita enim scriptum est: *Et percussit cor David super eum, quia abstulit pinnulam*

was promised to that house has no hope of fulfilment at any time, since that which succeeded to it after its rejection and alteration is in its place proclaimed as eternal. He who says this does not yet understand or does not recall that even the priesthood of Aaron's order was itself established as a sort of shadow-image of the eternal priesthood of later times. Consequently, when eternity was promised for it, it was not promised for the mere shadow and image, but for that which was foreshadowed and prefigured by it. But in order that we might not think the shadow itself was to endure, for this reason its alteration also had to be prophesied.

In the same way too the kingdom of Saul himself, who was clearly rejected and cast off, was a shadow of the later kingdom that was to continue to eternity. Surely the oil with which he was anointed, the chrism because of which he was called the anointed, must be taken mystically and understood as a great sacrament. For David himself was so much in awe of it that his heart was sorely smitten and he trembled for fear when, hiding in the darkness of a cave that Saul also entered to answer a call of nature, he secretly cut off a tiny portion from the back of Saul's robe as a proof to show how he spared him when he could have killed him, and thus to remove the suspicion from Saul's mind that made him give chase to the holy David, because he held him to be his enemy. As a result, he was in great terror, thinking that he might be guilty of violating so great a sacrament in the person of Saul, merely because he so treated even his garment. Here is the quotation: "And David's heart smote him because he cut off the skirt of his cloak." Moreover,

chlamydis eius. Viris autem qui cum illo erant et ut Saulem in manus suas traditum interimeret suadebant: *Non mihi, inquit, contingat a Domino, si fecero hoc verbum domino meo christo Domini, inferre manum meam super eum; quia christus Domini est hic.* Huic ergo umbrae futuri non propter ipsam, sed propter illud, quod praefigurabat, tanta veneratio exhibebatur.

Unde et illud, quod ait Sauli Samuel: *Quoniam non servasti mandatum meum, quod mandavit tibi Dominus, quem ad modum nunc paraverat Dominus regnum tuum usque in aeternum super Israel, et nunc regnum tuum non stabit tibi, et quaeret Dominus sibi hominem secundum cor suum, et mandabit ei Dominus esse in principem super populum suum; quia non custodisti quae mandavit tibi Dominus,* non sic accipiendum est ac si ipsum Saulem Deus in aeternum praeparaverit regnaturum, et hoc postea noluerit servare peccanti neque enim eum peccaturum esse nesciebat, sed praeparaverat regnum eius in quo figura regni esset aeterni. Ideo addidit: *Et nunc regnum tuum non stabit tibi.* Stetit ergo et stabit, quod in illo significatum est; sed non huic stabit, quia non in aeternum ipse fuerat regnaturus, nec progenies eius, ut saltem per posterum alterum alteri succedentes videretur impleri quod dictum est: *In aeternum.* *Et quaeret, inquit, Dominus sibi hominem;* sive David sive ipsum Mediatorem significans testamenti novi, qui figurabatur in

he said to the men who were with him and were urging him to kill Saul, since he had been delivered into their hands: "The Lord forbid that I do this thing to my lord, the Lord's anointed, that I should lay hands on him, for he is the anointed of the Lord."¹ So great, then, was the reverence shown to this shadow of the future, not on its own account, but for what it symbolized.

For this reason also in the words of Samuel to Saul: "Since you have not kept my commandment as the Lord commanded you, just as the Lord once prepared your kingdom to last for ever over Israel, so now your kingdom will not remain for you, and the Lord will seek a man after his own heart, and the Lord will command him to rule over his people, because you have not kept what the Lord commanded you,"² we must not accept the interpretation that God had laid plans for Saul himself to rule for ever, and afterwards refused to uphold them when Saul sinned, for God was by no means ignorant that he would sin. Rather the meaning is that God had planned a kingdom for him that should prefigure the eternal kingdom. This is why he added: "And now your kingdom will not remain for you." Thus what was symbolized by it remained and shall remain, but it will not remain for Saul, since neither he himself was destined to reign for ever nor were his descendants, though the rule of his posterity succeeding one after the other would have gone at least some way to make it appear that the promise was kept which said "for ever." Then he said, "and the Lord will seek out for himself a man," meaning either David or the mediator of the new covenant himself, who was also symbolized in

¹ 1 Samuel 24.1-6.² 1 Samuel 13.13 f.

chrismate etiam, quo unctus est ipse David et progenies eius. Non autem quasi nesciat ubi sit, ita sibi hominem Deus quaerit; sed per hominem more hominum loquitur, quia et sic loquendo nos quaerit. Non solum enim Deo Patri, verum ipsi quoque Unigenito eius, qui venit quaerere quod perierat, usque adeo iam eramus noti ut in ipso essemus electi ante constitutionem mundi. *Quaeret sibi* ergo dixit "suum habebit." Unde in Latina lingua hoc verbum accipit praepositionem et "adquirit" dicitur; quod satis apertum est quid significet. Quamquam et sine additamento praepositionis quaerere intellegatur acquirere; ex quo lucra vocantur et quaestus.

VII

De disruptione regni Israelitici, qua praefiguratur perpetua divisio Israelis spiritalis ab Israele carnali.

RURSUS peccavit Saul per inoboedientiam, et rursus Samuel in verbo Domini ait illi: *Quia sprevisi verbum Domini, sprevit te Dominus, ut non sis rex super Israel.* Et rursus pro eodem peccato, cum id confiteretur Saul et veniam precaretur rogaretque Samuelem ut reverteretur cum illo ad placandum Deum: *Non revertar, inquit, tecum; quia sprevisi verbum Domini, et*

the chrism with which David himself and his descendants were anointed. God, however, does not seek out a man for himself as if he did not know where the man is; rather when he speaks through a man he uses the idiom of men, for he uses the same idiom when he speaks of seeking us out. For we were already so well known not only to God the Father, but also to his only-begotten Son, who came to seek what was lost,¹ that we were chosen in him even before the foundation of the world.² Thus he said, "he will seek," meaning "he will have as his own." Hence in Latin this word can add a prefix, become 'acquire' from *quaerere*, 'to seek'; and the meaning of that is plain enough. And yet even without adding the prefix, *quaerere*, 'seek,' may mean the same as *acquirere*, 'acquire,' and from this meaning is derived the use of *quaestus* in the sense of profit.

VII

On the disruption of the Israelite kingdom, by which is prefigured the lasting separation of the spiritual from the carnal Israel.

ONCE more Saul sinned through disobedience, and once more Samuel said to him by the word of the Lord: "Because you have rejected the word of the Lord, the Lord has rejected you, so that you may not be king over Israel. And again for the same sin, when Saul confessed and prayed for pardon and begged Samuel to return with him to appease God. he said: 'I will not return with you, because you have rejected the word of the Lord and the Lord

¹ Cf. Luke 19.10.

² Ephesians 1.4.

spernet te Dominus, ne sis rex super Israel. Et convertit Samuel faciem suam, ut abiret; et tenuit Saul pinnulam diploidis eius et dirupit eam. Et dixit ad eum Samuel: Dirupit Dominus regnum ab Israel de manu tua hodie et dabit proximo tuo bono super te, et dividetur Israel in duo; et non convertetur neque paenitebit eum; quoniam non est sicut homo, ut paeniteat eum; ipse minatur, et non permanet. Iste cui dicitur: Spernet te Dominus, ne sis rex super Israel, et: Dirupit Dominus regnum ab Israel de manu tua hodie, quadraginta regnavit annos super Israel, tanto scilicet spatio temporis quanto et ipse David, et audivit hoc primo tempore regni sui; ut intellegamus ideo dictum, quia nullus de stirpe eius fuerat regnaturus, et respiciamus ad stirpem David, unde exortus est secundum carnem mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus.

Non autem habet scriptura quod in plerisque Latinis codicibus legitur: *Dirupit Dominus regnum Israel de manu tua*; sed sicut a nobis positum est inventum in Graecis: *Dirupit Dominus regnum ab Israel de manu tua*; ut hoc intellegatur *de manu tua*, quod est *ab Israel*. Populi ergo Israel personam figurate gerebat homo iste qui populus regnum fuerat amissurus, Christo Iesu Domino nostro per novum testamentum non carnaliter, sed spiritaliter regnatura. De quo cum dicitur: *Et dabit illud*

will reject you, that you may not be king over Israel. And Samuel turned away, to leave him, and Saul seized the skirt of his robe and tore it. And Samuel said to him: 'The Lord has torn the kingdom from Israel from your hand today, and he will give it to your neighbour, who is better than you, and Israel shall be divided into two parts. And he will not turn again nor repent, for he is not like a man, to repent; a man threatens and does not stand fast.'¹ Saul, to whom the words are spoken: "The Lord will reject you, so that you may not be king over Israel," and: "The Lord has torn the kingdom from Israel from your hand today," reigned over Israel forty years,² actually the same length of time that David himself reigned, and this prophecy was addressed to him in the first part of his reign. Consequently, it was so stated in order to let us know that none of his family was destined to reign, and to make us turn our attention to David's line, from which sprang according to the flesh the mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.³

The Scripture, moreover, does not have the reading found in most of the Latin manuscripts: "The Lord has torn the kingdom of Israel from your hand," but the phrasing we have used is found in the Greek text: "The Lord has torn the kingdom from Israel, from your hand," in order to make it clear that "from your hand" means the same as "from Israel." Thus that man represented Israel symbolically, the people who were destined to lose their power when Christ Jesus our Lord should reign by the new covenant, not after the flesh, but spiritually. When it is said of him: "And he shall give it to your neighbour,"

¹ 1 Samuel 15.23-29. The last clause appears neither in the Hebrew nor in the Septuagint.

² Acts 13.21.

³ 1 Timothy 2.5.

proximo tuo, ad carnis cognationem id refertur; ex Israel enim Christus secundum carnem, unde et Saul. Quod vero additum est: *bono super te*, potest quidem intellegi "meliori te"; nam et quidam sic sunt interpretati; sed melius sic accipitur *bono super te*, ut, quia ille bonus est, ideo sit super te, iuxta illud aliud propheticum: *Donec ponam omnes inimicos tuos sub pedibus tuis*; in quibus est et Israel, cui suo persecutori regnum abstulit Christus; quamvis fuerit illic et Israel, in quo dolus non erat, quoddam quasi frumentum illarum palearum; nam utique inde erant apostoli, inde tot martyres, quorum prior Stephanus; inde tot ecclesiae, quas apostolus Paulus commemorat, in conversione eius magnificantes Deum.

De qua re non dubito intellegendum esse quod sequitur: *Et dividetur Israel in duo*; in Israel scilicet inimicum Christo et Israel adhaerentem Christo; in Israel ad ancillam et Israel ad liberam pertinentem. Nam ista duo genera primum simul erant, velut Abraham adhuc adhaereret ancillae, donec sterilis per Christi gratiam fecundata clamaret: *Eice ancillam et filium eius*. Propter peccatum quidem Salomonis regnante filio eius Roboam scimus Israel in duo fuisse divisum atque ita perseverasse, habentibus singulis partibus reges suos, donec illa gens tota a Chaldaeis esset ingenti vastatione subversa atque translata. Sed hoc quid ad Saulem, cum, si tale aliquid com-

this refers to natural kinship, for after the flesh Christ was descended from Israel, even as Saul was. Now the next phrase, *bono super te*, can indeed be understood as 'better than you,' as some men have actually rendered it, but it is better taken as 'good, above you,' meaning 'because he is good, therefore above you,' which accords with that prophetic saying: "Until I put all your enemies under your feet."¹ Among these is Israel also, from whom, as his persecutor, Christ took away the kingdom. And yet there was even there the Israel also "in whom there was no guile,"² like a bit of grain in the midst of so much chaff. For of course the apostles came from Israel, and so did those many martyrs, of whom Stephen was first; so also did those many churches, which the apostle Paul mentions as glorifying God because of his conversion.³

I do not doubt that this is the right way to interpret the next words: "And Israel shall be divided into two parts," that is, into Israel the enemy of Christ, and Israel giving allegiance to Christ, the Israel that belongs to the bondmaid and the Israel that belongs to the free woman. For these two kinds of Israel were at the first intermingled, just as Abraham was still joined to the bondwoman until the barren woman, made fruitful by Christ's grace, cried out: "Cast out the bondwoman and her son."⁴ We know, to be sure, that because of Solomon's sin Israel was divided into two parts in the reign of his son Rehoboam and that it continued so, each part with its own king, until the whole nation was overthrown with great devastation and deported by the Chaldaeans. But what has this to do with Saul, inasmuch as any warning of

¹ Psalms 110.1.² John 1.47.³ Galatians 1.24.⁴ Genesis 21.10.

minandum esset, ipsi David fuerit potius comminandum, cuius erat filius Salomon? Postremo nunc inter se gens Hebraea divisa non est, sed indifferenter in eiusdem erroris societate dispersa per terras. Divisio vero illa quam Deus sub persona Saulis, illius regni et populi figuram gerentis, eidem regno populoque minatus est, aeterna atque inmutabilis significata est per hoc quod adiunctum est: *Et non convertetur neque paenitebit eum; quoniam non est sicut homo, ut paeniteat eum; ipse minatur, et non permanet; id est, homo minatur, et non permanet; non autem Deus, quem non paenitet, sicut hominem. Ubi enim legitur, quod paeniteat eum, mutatio rerum significatur, inmutabili praescientia manente divina. Ubi ergo non paenitere dicitur, non mutare intellegitur.*

Prorsus insolubilem videmus per haec verba prolata divinitus fuisse sententiam de ista divisione populi Israel et omnino perpetuam. Quicumque enim ad Christum transierunt vel transeunt vel transibunt inde, non erant inde secundum Dei praescientiam, non secundum generis humani unam eandemque naturam. Prorsus quicumque ex Israelitis adhaerentes Christo perseverant in illo, numquam erunt cum eis Israelitis qui eius inimici usque in finem vitae huius esse persistunt; sed in divisione, quae hic praenuntiata est, perpetuo permanebunt. Nihil enim prodest testamentum vetus de monte Sina in servitutem generans, nisi quia testimonium

that event that was to be given should have been addressed to David himself, since Solomon was his son? Finally, at the present time the Hebrew nation is not divided but is indiscriminately scattered over the world in one fellowship of error. Yet that division with which God threatened this same kingdom and people in the person of Saul, who represented that kingdom and people, was shown to be eternal and immutable by the words that follow: "And he will not turn again nor repent, for he is not like a man, to repent; a man threatens and does not stand fast," that is, man threatens and does not stand fast, but not God, who does not repent as man does. For when we read that he repents,¹ this merely indicates a change in the course of history, while the divine prescience remains inalterable. When therefore it is said that he does not repent, this means that he does not change.

From these words we see that an absolutely unbreakable and utterly permanent sentence was divinely published in regard to this division of the people of Israel. For any who have gone over to Christ from that people, or are now going over, or shall do so in the future, were not really of that stock either by God's foreknowledge or by the single common origin of the human race. Furthermore, any Israelites who are loyal to Christ and continue united with him will never be one with those Israelites who maintain their stand as his foes to the end of this life; rather shall they remain forever separated by the schism that is here prophesied. For the old covenant on Mount Sinai "engendering to bondage" ² is of no avail except in so far as it bears

¹ Genesis 6.6; Jeremiah 18.7-10, etc.

² Galatians 4.24.

perhibet testamento novo. Alioquin, quamdiu legitur Moyses, velamen super corda eorum positum est; cum autem inde quisque transierit ad Christum, auferetur velamen. Transeuntium quippe intentio ipsa mutatur de vetere ad novum, ut iam non quisque intendat accipere carnalem, sed spiritalem felicitatem. Propter quod ipse magnus propheta Samuel, antequam unxisset regem Saul, quando exclamavit ad Dominum pro Israel, et exaudivit eum, et cum offerret holocaustosim, accedentibus alienigenis ad pugnam contra populum Dei tonuit Dominus super eos, et confusi sunt et offenderunt coram Israel atque superati sunt, adsumpsit lapidem unum et statuit illum inter Massephat novam et veterem, et vocavit nomen eius Abenezzer, quod est Latine lapis adiutoris, et dixit: *Usque hoc adiuvit nos Dominus.* Massephat interpretatur intentio. Lapis ille adiutoris medietas est Salvatoris, per quem transeundum est a Massephat vetere ad novam, id est ab intentione qua expectabatur in carnali regno beatitudo falsa carnalis, ad intentionem qua per novum testamentum expectatur in regno caelorum beatitudo verissima spiritalis; qua quoniam nihil est melius, huc usque adiuvat Deus.

witness to the new covenant. Otherwise, as long as Moses is read, a veil is placed over their hearts, but when anyone passes over from their side to Christ the veil will be removed.¹ Indeed, the very purpose of those who are converted is changed from what is old to what is new, so that each one's purpose is no longer to gain carnal, but rather spiritual happiness. For this reason, when the great prophet Samuel himself, before he had anointed king Saul, cried out to the Lord on behalf of Israel, and God heard him, and when he offered a whole burnt offering and the gentiles drew near to battle against God's people, the Lord sent his thunder upon them, and they were confounded and stumbled before Israel and were overcome. Then Samuel took a stone and set it up between the old and the new Mizpah, and called its name Ebenezer, which means in our tongue "the stone of the helper," and he said: "To this point the Lord has helped us."² Mizpah means 'purpose.'³ That stone of the helper is the intervention of the Saviour, by which one must pass over from the old Mizpah to the new, that is, from the purpose that sought false carnal beatitude in a carnal kingdom to that which by the new covenant seeks the truest spiritual beatitude in the kingdom of heaven. And since there is nothing better, God helps us to reach this point.

¹ 2 Corinthians 3.15 f.

² 1 Samuel 7.12.

³ Usually translated 'watch-tower' or 'lookout point.'

VIII

De promissionibus ad David in filio eius, quae nullatenus in Salomone, sed plenissime inveniuntur in Christo.

IAM nunc video esse monstrandum quid ipsi David, qui Sauli successit in regnum, cuius mutatione finalis illa mutatio figurata est propter quam divinitus cuncta dicta, cuncta conscripta sunt, Deus promiserit, quod ad rem qua de agimus pertinet. Cum regi David multa prospera provenissent, cogitavit facere Deo domum, templum illud scilicet excellentissime diffamatum quod a rege Salomone filio eius postea fabricatum est. Hoc eo cogitante factum est verbum Domini ad Nathan prophetam quod perferret ad regem. Ubi cum dixisset Deus quod non ab ipso David sibi aedificaretur domus, neque per tantum tempus se mandasse cuiquam in populo suo, ut sibi fieret domus cedrina: *Et nunc, inquit, haec dices servo meo David: Haec dicit Dominus omnipotens: Accepi te de ovili ovium, ut esses in ducem super populum meum super Israel, et eram tecum in omnibus quibus ingrediebaris, et exterminavi omnes inimicos tuos a facie tua, et feci te nominatum secundum nomen magnorum, qui sunt super terram; et ponam locum populo meo Israel, et plantabo illum, et inhabitabit seorsum, et non sollicitus erit ultra; et non apponet filius*

¹ 2 Samuel 7.4.

VIII

On the promises to David about his son, which are not found fulfilled in the least in Solomon, but in Christ abundantly.

AT this point I see that the time has come to explain what God promised to David himself, who succeeded Saul in the royal power, a transfer that symbolized that final transfer on account of which all these things were said and recorded by divine agency, since this is important for the subject under discussion. When much good fortune had befallen King David, he bethought himself to build a house for God, namely that highly renowned temple that was later constructed by his son King Solomon. While he was planning this, the word of the Lord was given to Nathan the prophet¹ for him to bear to the king. God first said in this message that his house should not be built by David, and that during all that time he had never instructed any among his people that a house of cedar should be built for him. Then he said: "And now you shall say this to my servant David: 'Thus saith the omnipotent Lord: I have taken you from the sheepfold in order that you might be the leader over my people, over Israel, and I have been with you in all your undertakings, and I have cut off all your enemies from before your face, and have caused you to be called by the title given to the great men who rule over the earth. And I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will establish them, and they shall dwell apart, and shall have no further care. And the son of iniquity shall not continue to humiliate them

iniquitatis humiliare eum, sicut ab initio a diebus, quibus constitui iudices super populum meum Israel; et requiem tibi dabo ab omnibus inimicis tuis, et nuntiabit tibi Dominus, quoniam domum aedificabis ipsi. Et erit, cum repleti fuerint dies tui, et dormies cum patribus tuis, et suscitabo semen tuum post te, qui erit de ventre tuo, et praeprabo regnum eius. Hic aedificabit mihi domum nomini meo, et dirigam thronum illius usque in aeternum. Ego ero illi in patrem, et ille erit mihi in filium. Et si venerit iniquitas eius, redarguam illum in virga virorum et in tactibus filiorum hominum; misericordiam autem meam non amoveam ab eo, sicut amovi a quibus amovi a facie mea; et fidelis erit domus eius et regnum eius usque in aeternum coram me, et thronus eius erit erectus usque in aeternum.

Hanc tam grandem promissionem qui putat in Salomone fuisse completam, multum errat. Adtendit enim quod dictum est: *Hic aedificabit mihi domum, quoniam Salomon templum illud nobilissimum struxit, et non adtendit: Fidelis erit domus eius et regnum eius usque in aeternum coram me.* Adtendat ergo et aspiciat Salomonis domum plenam mulieribus alienigenis colentibus deos falsos et ipsum ab eis regem aliquando sapientem in eandem idolatriam seductum atque deiectum; et non audeat existimare Deum vel hoc promississe mendaciter vel talem Salomonem domumque eius futuram non potuisse praescire. Non hinc autem deberemus ambigere.

2 Samuel 7.8-16.

as he has done from the beginning, from the days when I set up judges over my people Israel, and I will give you rest from all your enemies. And the Lord will announce to you that you shall build him a house. And it shall come to pass, when your days have been accomplished, that you shall sleep with your fathers, and I will raise up your seed after you, the fruit of your loins, and I will prepare his kingdom. He shall build me a house for my name, and I will guide his throne even to eternity. I will be his father, and he shall be my son. And if he fall into wickedness I will chastise him with the rod of men and with the blows of the sons of men, but I will not take away my mercy from him as I have taken it from those whom I have banished from before my face, and his house shall be faithful to me, and his reign shall endure for ever in my sight, and his throne shall be established even to eternity.' ”¹

Anyone who supposes that this magnificent promise was fulfilled in Solomon is greatly mistaken. For he notes only the words: “He shall build me a house,” inasmuch as Solomon erected that most noble temple, and ignores these words: “His house shall be faithful to me and his reign shall endure for ever in my sight.” Let him then take note and consider Solomon’s house, full of alien women who worshipped false gods, and the king himself, who, though a wise man once, was seduced and degraded to the same idolatry. And let him not dare think that God made this promise deceitfully, nor that he was unable to foresee that Solomon and his house would be like this. We ought not, moreover, to have any doubts about this even if we did not already

nec si non in Christo Domino nostro, qui factus est ex semine David secundum carnem, iam videremus ista compleri, ne vane atque inaniter hic alium aliquem requiramus, sicut carnales Iudaei. Nam et ipsi usque adeo filium, quem loco isto regi David promissum legunt, intellegunt non fuisse Salomonem, ut eo qui promissus est tanta iam manifestatione declarato adhuc mirabili caecitate alium sperare se dicant.

Facta est quidem nonnulla imago rei futurae etiam in Salomone, in eo quod templum aedificavit et pacem habuit secundum nomen suum—Salomon quippe pacificus est Latine—et in exordio regni sui mirabiliter laudabilis fuit; sed eadem sua persona per umbram futuri praenuntiabat etiam ipse Christum Dominum, non exhibebat. Unde quaedam de illo ita scripta sunt quasi de ipso ista praedicta sint, dum scriptura sancta etiam rebus gestis prophetans quodam modo in eo figuram deliniat futurorum. Nam praeter libros divinae historiae ubi regnasse narratur, psalmus etiam septuagensimus primus titulo nominis eius inscriptus est; in quo tam multa dicuntur quae omnino ei convenire non possunt, Domino autem Christo apertissima perspicuitate conveniunt, ut evidenter appareat quod in illo figura qualiscumque adumbrata sit, in isto autem ipsa veritas praesentata. Notum est enim quibus terminis regnum conclusum fuerat Salomonis; et

see these things fulfilled in Christ our Lord, who was born of David's seed after the flesh. Thus we may avoid vainly and futilely seeking for some other person, as the carnal Jews do. For they themselves so fully understand that the son who, as they read in this passage, was promised to king David, was not Solomon, that they say, even when he who was promised has now been so notably manifested—so amazing is their blindness—that they still hope for another.

To be sure, the image of the future event was to some extent reflected even in Solomon, in that he built the temple and that he enjoyed peace to match his name, for Solomon means 'peacemaker' in our tongue. And at the outset of his reign he was marvellously worthy of praise. Still, even he in his own person merely foreshadowed the future coming of Christ the Lord, but did not show us Christ himself. Hence certain things were written about him as if they were predictions of Solomon himself, while holy Scripture, by virtue of the prophetic meaning that its historical record bears, conveys in its account of him an outline of future events. For in addition to the books of sacred history, in which the narrative of his reign is given, the seventy-first psalm also bears his name in its title. In it there are so many things said that cannot possibly be applied to him, but are applicable, with the most transparent clearness, to Christ the Lord, as to make it completely obvious that in Solomon we have the shadowy outline of a copy, however good, whereas in Christ the true original is presented. For example, the limits by which Solomon's kingdom are bounded are well

tamen in eo psalmo legitur, ut alia taceam: *Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrae, quod in Christo videmus impleri. A flumine quippe dominandi sumpsit exordium, ubi baptizatus a Iohanne eodem monstrante coepit agnosci a discipulis, qui eum non solum magistrum, verum etiam Dominum appellaverunt.*

Nec ob aliud vivente adhuc patre suo David regnare coepit Salomon, quod nulli regum illorum contigit nisi ut hinc quoque satis eluceat non esse ipsum quem prophetia ista praesignat quae ad eius patrem loquitur dicens: *Et erit, cum repleti fuerint dies tui, et dormies cum patribus tuis, et suscitabo semen tuum post te, qui erit de ventre tuo, et praeparabo regnum illius.* Quo modo ergo propter id quod sequitur: *Hic aedificabit mihi domum*, iste Salomon putabitur prophetatus, et non potius propter id quod praecedit: *Cum repleti fuerint dies tui et dormies cum patribus tuis, suscitabo semen tuum post te*, alius pacificus intellegitur esse promissus, qui non ante, sicut iste, sed post mortem David praenuntiatus est suscitandus? Quamlibet enim longo interposito tempore Iesus Christus veniret, procul dubio post mortem regis David, cui sic est promissus, eum venire oportebat qui aedificaret domum Deo, non de lignis et lapidibus, sed de hominibus, qualem illum aedificare gaudemus.

¹ Psalms 72.8 (Psalms 71.8 in LXX and Latin versions).

known, and yet we read in this psalm, not to mention anything else: "He shall reign from sea to sea and from the river even to the ends of the earth,"¹ which we see fulfilled in Christ. It was indeed from the river that he set out on his course of being Lord, the river where, after his baptism by John, who also pointed him out, he first obtained recognition from his disciples, who called him not only "Teacher," but also "Lord."

Now the only reason why Solomon began to reign while his father David was still living, which did not occur in the case of any other of their kings, was to make it completely clear by this means also that he himself was not the person indicated by that prophecy which is addressed to his father in these words: "And it shall come to pass, when your days have been accomplished and you sleep with your fathers, that I will raise up your seed after you, the fruit of your loins, and will prepare his kingdom." In view of this, how will it be possible to assume that we have a prophecy of Solomon because of the following words: "He shall build me a house," instead of understanding rather from what precedes: "When your days have been accomplished and you sleep with your fathers, I will raise up your seed after you," that another peacemaker is promised, whose elevation was to take place, according to the prophecy, not before David's death, but after? For no matter how long it was to be before Jesus Christ came, there is no doubt that it was after the death of king David, to whom this promise was given, that he should come who would build a house for God, not of wood and stone, but of men, the sort of house that we rejoice

Huic enim domui dicit apostolus, hoc est fidelibus Christi: *Templum enim Dei sanctum est, quod estis vos.*

IX

Quam similis in psalmo octogesimo octavo sit propheta de Christo his, quae in regnorum libris Nathan prophetante promittuntur.

PROPTER quod et in psalmo octogesimo octavo, cuius est titulus: *Intellectus ipsi Aethan Israelitae*, commemorantur promissiones Dei factae regi David, et istis quae in libro regnorum sunt posita quaedam ibi similia dicuntur, sicut est: *Iuravi David servo meo: Usque in aeternum praeprabo semen tuum; et iterum: Tunc locutus es in aspectu filiis tuis et dixisti: Posui adiutorium super potentem, exaltavi electum de populo meo. Inveni David servum meum, in oleo sancto meo unxi eum. Manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei et brachium meum confortabit eum. Non proficiet inimicus in eo et filius iniquitatis non nocebit eum. Et concidam inimicos eius a facie eius, et eos, qui oderunt eum, fugabo. Et veritas mea et misericordia mea cum illo, et in nomine meo exaltabitur cornu eius. Et ponam in mari manum eius et in fluminibus dexteram eius. Ipse invocabit me: Pater meus es tu, Deus meus et susceptor salutis meae. Et ego primogenitum ponam eum, excelsum apud reges terrae. In aeternum servabo ei misericordiam meam et*

¹ 1 Corinthians 3.17.

² This title for the books of Samuel and Kings is a literal translation of that in the LXX.

³ Psalms 89 (LXX, 88) 3 f.

that he builds. For to this house, that is, to all who believe in Christ, the Apostle says: "For the temple of God is holy, which temple you are."¹

IX

How similar the prophecy of Christ in the eighty-eighth psalm is to those that are set forth in Nathan's prophecy in the books of Kingdoms.²

For this reason in the eighty-eighth psalm also, whose title is "An instruction for Ethan the Israelite," God's promises to king David are recorded, and certain things said in it are like those listed in the book of Kingdoms, for example: "I have sworn to David my servant, I will establish your seed for ever,"³ and again: "Then you spoke in a vision to your sons, saying: 'I have laid my help upon a mighty man and have exalted one chosen from among my people; I have found David my servant; by my holy oil I have anointed him. For my hand shall aid him and my arm shall strengthen him. The enemy shall not prevail over him and the son of iniquity shall not injure him. And I will cut off his enemies from before his face and will put to flight those that hate him. And my truth and my mercy shall be with him, and in my name shall his horn be exalted. I will set his hand upon the sea and his right hand upon the rivers. He himself shall call upon me, saying: 'Thou art my father, my God and the sponsor of my salvation.' And I will make him my first-born, highest among the kings of the earth. I will maintain my mercy for him for ever, and my

testamentum meum fidele ipsi. Et ponam in saeculum saeculi semen eius, et thronum eius sicut dies caeli. Quae omnia de Domino Iesu intelleguntur, quando recte intelleguntur, sub nomine David propter formam servi, quam de semine David idem Mediator adsumpsit ex virgine.

Continuo etiam dicitur de peccatis filiorum eius tale aliquid quale in regnorum libro positum est et quasi de Salomone proclivius accipitur. Ibi namque, hoc est in regnorum libro: *Et si venerit, inquit, iniquitas eius, redarguam illum in virga virorum et in tactibus filiorum hominum; misericordiam autem meam non amoveam ab eo; tactibus significans plagas correptionis. Unde illud est: Ne tetigeritis christos meos. Quod quid est aliud, quam "ne laeseritis"?* In psalmo vero cum ageret tamquam de David, ut quiddam eius modi etiam ibi diceret: *Si dereliquerint, inquit, filii eius legem meam et in iudiciis meis non ambulaverint; si iustificationes meas profanaverint et mandata mea non custodierint, visitabo in virga iniquitates eorum et in verberibus peccata eorum; misericordiam autem meam non dispergam ab eo.* Non dixit "ab eis," cum loqueretur de filiis eius, non de ipso; sed dixit *ab eo*, quod bene intellectum tantundem valet. Non enim Christi ipsius, quod est caput ecclesiae, possent inveniri ulla peccata, quae opus esset humanis correptionibus servata misericordia divinitus co-

covenant shall be assured to him. And I will establish his seed for ever and ever, and his throne as the days of heaven.'"¹ All these things when rightly interpreted are understood as referring to the Lord Jesus, but under the name of David, because of the form, that of a slave, that the same mediator took upon him from the virgin of the seed of David.

Next follows much the same account of the sins of his sons as is given in the book of Kingdoms, which is only too rashly understood as referring to Solomon. For here, that is in the book of Kingdoms, the Lord says: "And if he fall into wickedness, I will chastise him with the rod of men and with the blows of the sons of men, but I will not take away my mercy from him."² Here 'blows' signifies the strokes of correction. Hence comes the saying: "Touch not my anointed ones."³ What is this but 'injure not'? Moreover, in the psalm, when he was apparently dealing with David, in order to bring in something of the sort there also, he said: "If his sons forsake my law and cease to walk in my judgments, if they profane my statutes and do not keep my commandments, I will visit their iniquities with the rod and their sins with stripes, but I will not utterly remove my mercy from him."⁴ He did not say 'from them', although he was speaking of the sons and not of David himself, but he said 'from him', which if properly understood, has exactly the same meaning. For no sins could possibly be found in the case of Christ himself, the head of the church, which would need human correction under God's constant mercy, by human chastisement, but only

¹ Psalms 89.19-29.² 2 Samuel 7.14 f.³ Psalms 105.15.⁴ Psalms 89.30-33.

herceri; sed in eius corpore ac membris, quod populus eius est. Ideo in libro regnorum: *Iniquitas eius dicitur*; in psalmo autem: *Filiorum eius*; ut intellegamus de ipso dici quodam modo quod de eius corpore dicitur. Propter quod etiam ipse de caelo, cum corpus eius, quod sunt fideles eius, Saulus persequeretur: *Saule, inquit, Saule, quid me persequeris?* Deinde in consequentibus psalmi: *Neque nocebo, inquit, in veritate mea, neque profanabo testamentum meum, et quae procedunt de labiis meis non reprobabo. Semel iuravi in sancto meo, si David mentiar*; id est, nequaquam David mentiar. Solet enim sic loqui scriptura. Quid autem non mentiatur, adiungit et dicit: *Semen eius in aeternum manet; et sedes eius sicut sol in conspectu meo, et sicut luna perfecta in aeternum, et testis in caelo fidelis.*

X

Quam diversa acta sint in regno terrenae Hierusalem ab his quae promiserat Deus, ut intellegeretur promissionis veritas ad alterius regis et regni gloriam pertinere.

Post haec tantae promissionis validissima firmamenta, ne putarentur in Salomone completa, tamquam id speraretur nec inveniretur: *Tu vero, inquit,*

¹ Acts 9.4.

² Psalms 89.33-35.

³ Psalms 89.36 f.

in his body and limbs, which are his people. So in the book of Kingdoms 'his iniquity' is mentioned, but in the psalm it is the iniquity 'of his sons', to make us understand that what is said of his body is in a manner of speaking said of himself. In the same way he himself also spoke from heaven when Saul was persecuting his body, which is those who believe in him, and said: "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?"¹ Then in the next lines of the psalm he says: "I will not violate my truth, nor will I profane my covenant, and I will not revoke the words that issue from my lips. I have sworn once by my holiness, if I should lie to David,"² that is, on no account will I lie to David. For this is a familiar idiom in the Scripture. Moreover, he adds the matter about which he will not lie to him, saying: "His seed endures for ever, and his throne shall be in my sight even as the sun, and as the moon that is established for ever, and a faithful witness in heaven."³

X

How different were actual events in the kingdom of the earthly Jerusalem from those which God had promised, that the truth of the promise might be known to refer to the glory of the other king and kingdom.

AFTER these most binding guarantees of so great a promise, that it might not be thought of as fulfilled in Solomon, he said, as if this were hoped for, but not found to be the case: "But you have cast

reppulisti et ad nihilum deduxisti, Domine. Hoc quippe factum est de regno Salomonis in posteris eius usque ad eversionem ipsius terrenae Hierusalem, quae regni eiusdem sedes fuit, et maxime ipsius templi labem quod fuerat a Salomone constructum. Sed ne ob hoc putaretur Deus contra sua promissa fecisse, continuo subiecit: *Distulisti christum tuum.* Non ergo est ille Salomon, sed nec ipse David, si dilatus est christus Domini. Cum enim christi eius dicerentur omnes reges mystico illo chrismate consecrati, non solum a rege David et deinceps, sed ab illo etiam Saule, qui populo eidem rex primus est unctus (ipse quippe David eum christum Domini appellat), erat tamen unus verus christus cuius illi figuram prophetica unctione gestabant; qui secundum opinionem hominum, qui eum putabant in David vel in Salomone intellegendum, differebatur in longum; secundum dispositionem autem Dei venturus suo tempore parabatur.

Interea dum ille differtur, quid factum sit de regno terrenae Hierusalem, ubi sperabatur utique regnatura, secutus iste psalmus adiunxit atque ait: *Evertisti testamentum servi tui, profanasti in terram sanctitatem eius; destruxisti omnes macerias eius, posuisti munitiones eius in formidinem; diripuerunt eum omnes transeuntes viam, factus est opprobrium vicinis suis; exaltasti dexteram inimicorum eius, tucun-*

him off and reduced him to nothingness, O Lord." And surely this happened to the kingdom of Solomon, in the time of his successors, down to the overthrow of the earthly Jerusalem itself, which was the seat of his kingdom, and especially the ruin of the very temple that had been built by Solomon. But that God might not be thought to have acted contrary to his promises, he at once added: "You have deferred your anointed."¹ If the anointed of the Lord is deferred, then, it is not Solomon nor is it David himself. For although all kings consecrated by that mystic chrism were called his "anointed," not only in king David's time and after, but even in that of Saul, who was first anointed as king over this same people—and indeed David himself called Saul the Lord's anointed²—yet there was one true anointed, one whom they represented symbolically in being anointed prophetically. According to the reckoning of men who thought that the anointed should be identified as David or Solomon, his coming was long deferred, but according to God's design his future coming in his own time was already in preparation.

The psalm next added an account of what happened during the postponement of his coming to the kingdom of the earthly Jerusalem, where it was hoped that he would surely reign, describing it in these words: "You have overthrown the covenant of your servant; you have profaned his sanctity, casting it to the ground; you have destroyed all his walls, and brought terror upon his strongholds. All they that pass by have despoiled him; he has become a reproach to his neighbours. You have exalted the right hand of his enemies, and have rejoiced the

¹ Psalms 89.38.

² 1 Samuel 24.7.

dasti omnes inimicos eius; avertisti adiutorium gladii eius et non es ei auxiliatus in bello; dissolvisti eum ab emundatione, sedem eius in terram conlisisisti; minuisti dies sedis eius, perfudisti eum confusione. Haec omnia venerunt super ancillam Hierusalem, in qua regnaverunt nonnulli etiam filii liberae, regnum illud tenentes in dispensatione temporaria, regnum autem caelestis Hierusalem, cuius erant filii, in vera fide habentes et in vero Christo sperantes. Quo modo autem ista venerint super illud regnum, index est rerum gestarum, si legatur, historia.

XI

De substantia populi Dei, quae per susceptionem carnis in Christo est, qui solus eruendi ab inferis animam suam habuit potestatem.

Post haec autem prophetata ad precandum Deum propheta convertitur; sed et ipsa precatio prophetatio est. *Usque quo, Domine, avertis in finem?* subauditur “faciem tuam,” sicut alibi dicitur: *Quo usque avertis faciem tuam a me?* Nam ideo quidam codices hic non habent *avertis*, sed “avertis”; quamquam possit intellegi: “Avertis misericordiam tuam, quam promisisti David.” Quod autem dixit: *In finem*, quid est nisi usque in finem? Qui finis intellegendus est ultimum tempus, quando in Christum

hearts of all that hate him. You have turned aside the help of his sword and have not aided him in war. You have stripped him of his unsullied state, and have dashed his throne to the ground. You have shortened the duration of his throne, and have covered him with confusion.”¹ All this befell Jerusalem the bondwoman, in which there reigned also some sons of the free woman, who held that kingdom under a temporary dispensation, while embracing with true faith the heavenly Jerusalem, whose sons they were, and putting their hope in the true Christ. How it came that these things befell that kingdom, history can tell, needing only to be read.

XI

On the substance of the people of God, which is in Christ by his assumption of flesh, who alone had the power of wresting his soul from hell.

Now after uttering these prophecies the prophet turns to supplication of God, but this very prayer is also an act of prophecy. “How long, Lord, will you turn away, to the end?”² Here “your face” is to be supplied, on the model of another passage: “How long do you turn your face from me?”³ This is the reason why certain manuscripts at this point do not read “turn away” but “be turned away.” However, the verse could be interpreted thus: “You turn away your mercy, which you promised to David.” Next, what does the phrase “to the end” mean, save “even to the end”? Now the end must be understood as the final time, when even that nation

¹ Psalms 89.39-45.² Psalms 89.46.³ Psalms 13.1.

Iesum etiam gens illa est creditura, ante quem finem illa fieri oportebant quae superius aerumnosa deflevit. Propter quae et hic sequitur: *Exardescit sicut ignis ira tua; memento quae est mea substantia.* Nihil hic melius quam ipse Iesus intellegitur substantia populi eius, ex quo natura est carnis eius.

Non enim vane, inquit, *constituisti omnes filios hominum.* Nisi enim esset unus filius hominis substantia Israel, per quem filium hominis liberarentur multi filii hominum, vane utique constituti essent omnes filii hominum. Nunc vero omnis quidem humana natura per peccatum primi hominis in vanitatem de veritate conlapsa est, propter quod dicit alius psalmus: *Homo vanitati similis factus est, dies eius velut umbra praetereunt;* sed non vane Deus constituit omnes filios hominum, quia et multos a vanitate liberat per mediatorem Iesum, et quos liberandos non esse praescivit, ad utilitatem liberandorum et comparationem duarum inter se a contrario civitatum non utique vane in totius rationalis creaturae pulcherrima atque iustissima ordinatione constituit.

Deinde sequitur: *Quis est homo qui vivet et non videbit mortem, eruet animam suam de manu inferni?*

¹ Later on (20.29, Vol. 6, 433) Augustine states that the conversion of the Jews in the last days before the judgment was a frequent topic on the lips of believers; Malachi 4.5 f. is there taken as support for the hope. Elsewhere (*Questions on the Gospels* 2.33.7) Romans 11.26 is quoted as a prophecy of the event.

² Psalms 89.46 f. The word *substantia*, a literal translation

will come to believe in Christ Jesus.¹ And before that end those tragic events were destined to occur which the psalmist lamented earlier. This also explains what follows: "Your wrath blazes forth like fire; remember what my substance is."² The best interpretation of this is that Jesus himself is the substance of that people from whom came his birth in the flesh.

Then he says: "For you have not created all the sons of men in vain."³ For indeed, except for one son of man who was the substance of Israel, a son of man by whom many sons of men were to be liberated, then truly all the sons of men would have been created in vain. Truly at this time all mankind has fallen away from the truth into vanity through the sin of the first man, and therefore another psalm says: "Man has become like unto vanity, his days pass away as a shadow."⁴ But God did not create all the sons of men in vain, forasmuch as he both liberates many from their vanity through the mediator Jesus, and, in the case of those who he knew beforehand were not such as to be freed, he created them for the advantage of those who were to be freed, and to show the contrast between the two opposed cities, certainly not in vain, but by a most beautiful and most righteous design embracing all rational creatures.

Next follows: "What man is there who shall live and shall not see death, who shall wrest his soul from

of the LXX *hypostasis*, is interpreted by Augustine as a philosophical term denoting Being, or real essence.

³ Psalms 89.47.

⁴ Psalms 144.4.

Quis est iste, nisi substantia illa Israel ex semine David, Christus Iesus? De quo dicit apostolus quod *surgens a mortuis iam non moritur, et mors ei ultra non dominabitur*. Sic enim vivet et non videbit mortem, ut tamen mortuus fuerit, sed animam suam eruerit de manu inferni, quo propter quorundam solvenda inferna vincla descenderat; eruerit autem potestate illa de qua in evangelio dicit: *Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam*.

XII

Ad quorum personam pertinere intellegenda sit flagitatio promissorum de quibus in psalmo dicitur: Ubi sunt misericordiae tuae, Domine, antiquae et cetera.

SED cetera psalmi huius, quae ita se habent: *Ubi sunt miserationes tuae antiquae, Domine, quas iurasti David in veritate tua? Memento, Domine, opprobrii servorum tuorum, quod continui in sinu meo multarum gentium; quod exprobraverunt inimici tui, Domine; quod exprobraverunt commutationem christi tui, utrum ex persona dicta sint illorum Israelitarum, qui desiderabant reddi sibi promissionem quae facta est ad David, an potius Christianorum, qui non secundum carnem, sed secundum spiritum sunt Israelitae,*

the hand of hell? ”¹ Who indeed but that substance of Israel, one of the seed of David, Christ Jesus? Of whom the Apostle says: “Rising from the dead he dies no more, and death shall have no more dominion over him.”² For he shall live and shall not see death, though with this proviso, that he will first have died, but will have wrested his soul from the hand of hell, having descended thither in order to loosen the chains of hell that bound certain of the dead; moreover, he will have wrested it by that power of which he speaks in the Gospel: “I have the power of laying down my life and I have the power of taking it up again.”³

XII

Who they are to whose person we must understand that the demand for the promises belongs of which the psalm says: Where are your ancient mercies, Lord, and so forth.

BUT as to the remainder of this psalm, which reads as follows: “Where are your ancient acts of mercy, Lord, which you did swear to David in your truth? Remember, Lord, the reproach of your servants, that I have borne in my bosom from many peoples; wherewith your enemies have reproached you, Lord; wherein they have reproached the transformation of your anointed ”⁴—the question can fairly be raised whether this was said in the person of those Israelites who longed to be granted the promises made to David, or rather in that of the Christians, who are Israelites not after the flesh but after the

¹ Psalms 89.48.² Romans 6.9.³ John 10.18.⁴ Psalms 89.49–51.

merito quaeri potest. Dicta sunt quippe ista vel scripta tempore, quo fuit Aethan, de cuius nomine titulum iste psalmus accepit; et idem tempus regni David fuit; ac per hoc non diceretur: *Ubi sunt miserationes tuae antiquae, Domine, quas iurasti David in veritate tua?* nisi eorum personam in se prophetia transfigureret qui longe postea futuri erant, quibus hoc tempus esset antiquum, quando regi David ista promissa sunt. Potest autem intellegi multas gentes, quando Christianos persequerentur, exprobrasse illis passionem Christi, quam scriptura commutationem vocat, quoniam moriendo immortalis est factus. Potest et commutatio Christi secundum hoc accipi exprobrata Israelitis, quia, cum eorum speraretur futurus, factus est gentium, et hoc eis nunc exprobrant multae gentes, quae crediderunt in eum per testamentum novum, illis in vetustate remanentibus, ut ideo dicatur: *Memento, Domine, opprobrii servorum tuorum*, quia non eos obliviscente, sed potius miserante Domino et ipsi post hoc opprobrium credituri sunt.

Sed ille quem prius posui convenientior mihi sensus videtur. Inimicis enim Christi quibus exprobratur quod eos ad gentes transiens reliquerit Christus incongrue vox ista coaptatur: *Memento, Domine, opprobrii servorum tuorum*; non enim servi Dei nuncupandi sunt tales Iudaei; sed eis verba ista competunt qui, cum graves humilitates persecu-

spirit. It is true that those words were said or written in the lifetime of Ethan, from whose name this psalm received its title; and this was the time of David's reign. Consequently, this phrasing would not be used: "Where are your ancient acts of mercy, Lord, which you swore to David in your truth?" unless the prophecy took upon itself the person of those who were to live long after, for whom this period at which these promises were made to David would seem ancient. On the other hand, it can be taken as meaning that many races when they persecuted the Christians taunted them with the passion of Christ, which the Scripture calls his transformation, since by death he became immortal. On this assumption the transformation of Christ can be taken as a reproach to the Israelites because although he was expected to come as belonging to them, he became the saviour of the gentiles, and many nations that have come to believe in him through the new covenant, while the Israelites abide by the old, reproach them for this. This would account for the words: "Remember, Lord, the reproach of your servants," since if God does not forget, but rather takes pity on them, they themselves will also gain the faith after this reproach.

But the interpretation that I gave first seems to me the more satisfactory one. For this speech: "Remember, Lord, the reproach of your servants," does not fit if it is given to the enemies of Christ, who are reproached because Christ abandoned them and went over to the gentiles, since such Jews must not be called the servants of God. These words do, however, fit those who, while they suffered the

tionum pro Christi nomine paterentur, recordari potuerunt excelsum regnum semini David fuisse promissum, et eius desiderio dicere, non desperando, sed petendo quaerendo pulsando: *Ubi sunt miserationes tuae antiquae, Domine, quas iurasti David in veritate tua? Memento, Domine, opprobrii servorum tuorum, quod continui in sinu meo multarum gentium*—hoc est, in interioribus meis patienter pertuli—*quod exprobraverunt inimici tui, Domine; quod exprobraverunt commutationem Christi tui;* non eam putantes commutationem, sed consumptionem. Quid est autem: *Memento Domine,* nisi ut miserearis et pro tolerata patienter humilitate mea reddas celsitudinem quam iurasti David in veritate tua?

Si autem Iudaeis adsignemus haec verba, illi servi Dei talia dicere potuerunt qui expugnata terrena Hierusalem, antequam Iesus Christus humanitas nasceretur, in captivitatem ducti sunt, intellegentes commutationem christi, quia scilicet non per eum terrena carnalisque felicitas, qualis paucis annis regis Salomonis apparuit, sed caelestis ac spiritalis esset fideliter expectanda; quam tunc ignorans infidelitas gentium, cum Dei populum exultabat atque insultabat esse captivum, quid aliud quam christi commutationem, sed scientibus nesciens, exprobrabat? Et ideo quod sequitur, ubi psalmus iste concluditur:

humiliating oppression of persecutions in the name of Christ, were able to recall that a heavenly kingdom had been promised to David's seed, and to cry out in their great longing for it, not despairing, but seeking, searching and knocking at the gate: "Where are your ancient acts of mercy, Lord, which you swore to David in your truth? Remember, Lord, the reproach of your servants, that I have borne in my bosom from many peoples," that is, I have patiently endured them in my inmost being; "where-with your enemies reproached you, Lord; wherein they have reproached the transformation of your anointed," thinking it not transformation but destruction. Futhermore, what does "Remember, Lord" imply but this: remember to have mercy and in return for the humility that patiently endured repay me with the exaltation that you swore to David in your truth?

If, on the other hand, we attribute these words to the Jews, those servants of God could have spoken thus, who after the earthly Jerusalem was stormed, before Jesus Christ was born as a man, were led into captivity. In this case "the transformation of the anointed" would mean that it was not earthly and carnal happiness such as was known during a few years of Solomon's reign, that was to be awaited with faith, but celestial and spiritual felicity of which at that time the heathen nations were utterly ignorant. When they gloated over God's people and taunted them with their captivity, what else were they reviling but the transformation of the anointed, railing in their ignorance at men of understanding? Hence what follows in the conclusion of this psalm: "Blessed

Benedictio Domini in aeternum: fiat, fiat, universo populo Dei ad caelestem Hierusalem pertinenti sive in illis qui latebant in testamento vetere, antequam revelaretur novum, sive in his qui iam testamento novo revelato manifeste pertinere cernuntur ad Christum, satis congruit. Benedictio quippe Domini in semine David non ad aliquod tempus, qualis diebus Salomonis apparuit, sed in aeternum speranda est, in qua certissima spe dicitur: *Fiat, fiat*.

Illius enim spei est confirmatio verbi huius iteratio. Hoc ergo intellegens David ait in secundo regnorum libro, unde ad istum psalmum digressi sumus: *Et locutus es pro domo servi tui in longinquum*. Ideo autem post paululum ait: *Nunc incipe et benedic domum servi tui usque in aeternum* et cetera, quia tunc geniturus erat filium, ex quo progenies eius duceretur ad Christum, per quem futura erat domus eius aeterna eademque domus Dei. Domus enim David propter genus David; domus autem Dei eadem ipsa propter templum Dei de hominibus factum, non de lapidibus, ubi habitet in aeternum populus cum Deo et in Deo suo, et Deus cum populo atque in populo suo; ita ut Deus sit implens populum suum, et populus plenus Deo suo, cum Deus erit omnia in omnibus, ipse in pace praemium, qui virtus in bello. Ideo cum in verbis Nathan dictum sit: *Et nuntiabit tibi Dominus*,

be the Lord for ever; so be it, so be it,"¹ is quite suitable to the entire people of God who belong to the heavenly Jerusalem, whether among those who were hidden in the old covenant, before the new was revealed, or among those who now that the new covenant has been revealed are openly identified as belonging to Christ. And surely the benediction of the Lord upon the seed of David is not an object of hope for a fixed period only, as it appeared to be in the days of Solomon, but for eternity, and in that fully assured hope are spoken the words "So be it, so be it."

And the repetition of this phrase is a confirmation of that hope. Comprehending this, therefore, David says in the second book of Kingdoms, from which we digressed to discuss the psalm: "And thou hast spoken on behalf of thy servant's house for a long time to come." So also a little later he says: "Begin now and bless the house of thy servant, even for ever,"² and so forth, because he was at that time to beget a son through whom his line of descent would continue till it reached Christ, through whom his house would become eternal and would also be the house of God. For the house of David is a term applied to David's line, but it is also called the house of God because it is God's temple, built of men, not of stone, where the people will live eternally with God and in their God, and God will live with his people and in his people, so that God will fill his people, and the people will be full of their God, when God shall be all in all,³ being himself our reward in peace, as he is our strength in war. Thus when it was said in Nathan's words: "And the Lord will

¹ Psalms 89.52. ² 2 Samuel 7.19, 29.

³ 1 Corinthians 15.28.

quoniam domum aedificabis ipsi, postea dictum est in verbis David: Quoniam tu Dominus omnipotens Deus Israel, revelasti aurem servi tui dicens: Domum aedificabo tibi. Hanc enim domum et nos aedificamus bene vivendo, et Deus ut bene vivamus opitulando; quia nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum, in vanum laborarunt aedificantes eam. Cuius domus cum venerit ultima dedicatio, tunc fiet illud, quod hic per Nathan locutus est Deus dicens: Et ponam locum populo meo Israel, et plantabo illum, et inhabitabit seorsum, et non sollicitus erit ultra, et non apponet filius iniquitatis humiliare eum, sicut ab initio a diebus quibus constitui iudices super populum meum Israel.

XIII

An promissae pacis veritas illis temporibus possit ascribi, quae sub Salomone fluxerunt.

Hoc tam magnum bonum quisquis in hoc saeculo et in hac terra sperat, insipienter sapit. An quispiam putabit in pace regni Salomonis id esse completum? Pacem quippe illam scriptura in umbra futuri excellenti praedicatione commendat. Sed huic suspicioni vigilanter occursum est cum, postea quam dictum est: *Et non apponet filius iniquitatis humiliare eum*, continuo subiunctum est: *Sicut ab initio a diebus quibus constitui iudices super populum meum Israel.* Iudices

¹ 2 Samuel 7.11, 27.

² Psalms 127.1.

³ 2 Samuel 7.10 f.

announce to you that you shall build him a house," this was also said afterwards in David's own words: "For thou, omnipotent Lord, God of Israel, hast opened the ear of thy servant, saying, I will build you a house."¹ Now we build this house by living good lives, and God also builds it by helping us lead good lives, for "unless the Lord has built the house, those who built it have laboured in vain."² When this house is finally dedicated, then will come to pass what God declared to Nathan, saying: "And I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will establish them, and they shall dwell apart, and shall have no further care. And the son of iniquity shall not continue to humiliate them as he has done from the beginning, from the days when I set up judges over my people Israel."³

XIII

Whether the true meaning of the promised peace can be ascribed to the age that ran its course under Solomon.

WHOEVER hopes for so great a boon as this in this world and on this earth has only the wisdom of the foolish. Or can anyone think that it was granted during the peace of Solomon's reign? To be sure, the Scripture commends that peace by a noble prophecy as the shadow of what was to be in the future. But this supposition was carefully blocked when, after the words: "And the son of iniquity shall not continue to humiliate them," the words were immediately added: "as he has done from the beginning, from the time when I appointed judges over my

namque, priusquam reges ibi esse coepissent, super illum populum fuerant constituti, ex quo terram promissionis accepit. Et utique humiliabat eum filius iniquitatis, hoc est hostis alienigena, per intervalla temporum, quibus leguntur paces alternasse cum bellis; et inveniuntur illic pacis tempora prolixiora quam Salomon habuit, qui quadraginta regnavit annos; nam sub eo iudice qui est appellatus Aod, octoginta anni pacis fuerunt. Absit ergo ut Salomonis tempora in hac promissione praedicta esse credantur; multo minus itaque cuiuslibet regis alterius. Non enim quisquam eorum in tanta quanta ille pace regnavit; nec umquam omnino gens illa ita regnum tenuit ut sollicita non fuerit ne hostibus subderetur; quia in tanta mutabilitate rerum humanarum nulli aliquando populo concessa est tanta securitas ut huic vitae hostiles non formidaret incursus. Locus ergo iste qui promittitur tam pacatae ac securae habitationis aeternus est aeternisque debetur in matre Hierusalem libera, ubi erit veraciter populus Israel; hoc enim nomen interpretatur "videns Deum"; cuius praemii desiderio pia per fidem vita in hac aerumnosa peregrinatione ducenda est.

¹ 2 Samuel 7.10 f.

people Israel."¹ For before kings began to rule there, judges had been appointed to rule that people from the time when they gained the land of promise. And the son of iniquity did indeed humiliate them, namely the alien enemy, throughout the successive periods in which we read that peace alternated with wars, and during this time we find that there were longer periods of peace than under Solomon, who reigned forty years. For instance, under the judge named Ehud there were eighty years of peace.² Far be it from us, then, to believe that Solomon's times were predicted in this promise, much less than those of any other king. For none of the others ruled with as much peace as he, and yet that nation never at any time held the kingdom so firmly as not to fear being subdued by their enemies, since in the great vicissitudes of human affairs such security has never been granted to any people that they need not fear hostile attacks on this life. That place, therefore, which is promised as so peaceful and safe a habitation, is eternal and is destined for eternal souls in the free mother Jerusalem, where they will be truly the people of Israel, for the name Israel is in our language 'Seeing God.'³ In the earnest desire for this reward men must lead godly lives, by faith, during this woeful pilgrimage.

² Judges 3.30.

³ On this etymology, see 16.39, p. 182 above, with note.

De studio David in dispositione mysterioque psalorum.

PROCURRENTE igitur per tempora civitate Dei, primo in umbra futuri, in terrena scilicet Hierusalem, renavit David. Erat autem David vir in canticis eruditus, qui harmoniam musicam non vulgari voluptate, sed fidei voluntate dilexerit, eaque Deo suo, qui verus est Deus, mystica rei magnae figura-tione servierit. Diversorum enim sonorum rationabilis moderatusque concentus concordi varietate compactam bene ordinatae civitatis insinuat unitatem. Denique omnis fere prophetia eius in psalmis est, quos centum quinquaginta liber continet, quem psalorum vocamus. In quibus nonnulli volunt eos solos factos esse a David qui eius nomine inscripti sunt. Sunt item qui putant non ab eo factos, nisi qui praenotantur: *Ipsius David*; qui vero habent in titulis: *Ipsi David*, ab aliis factos personae ipsius fuisse coaptatos. Quae opinio voce evangelica Salvatoris ipsius refutatur, ubi ait quod ipse David in spiritu Christum dixerit esse Dominum suum; quoniam psalmus centesimus nonus sic incipit: *Dixit Dominus Domino meo: Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.* Et certe idem psalmus non habet in titulo: *Ipsius David*, sed: *Ipsi David*, sicut plurimi.

¹ Matthew 22.43 f.; Psalms 110.1.

On David's mystical purpose in his arrangement of the psalms.

WHILE the city of God was running its course through time, at first David reigned in the earthly Jerusalem, that shadow of the kingdom to come. Now David was a man skilled in songs, who loved musical harmony not for vulgar pleasure, but as a man of faith, for a purpose whereby he served his God, who is the true God, by the mystic prefiguration of a great matter. For the rational and proportionate symphony of diverse sounds conveys the unity of a well-ordered city, knit together by harmonious variety. Almost all his prophecy, then, is in his psalms, and what we call the book of Psalms contains one hundred and fifty of these. Some men maintain that only those psalms were composed by David that are inscribed with his name. Others think that none were composed by him except those introduced by the words 'Of David himself,' whereas those that have in their titles the words 'For David himself' were composed by others in a style suited to his person. This opinion is refuted by the words of the Saviour himself in the Gospel, when he says that David himself said in the spirit that Christ was his Lord, since the hundred and ninth psalm begins thus: "The Lord said to my Lord: 'Sit at my right hand till I make your enemies your footstool.'" ¹ Now certainly this psalm does not have 'Of David himself' in its title, but 'For David himself,' as the great majority do.

Mihi autem credibilibus videntur existimare qui omnes illos centum et quinquaginta psalmos eius operi tribuunt eumque aliquos praenotasse etiam nominibus aliorum, aliquid quod ad rem pertineat figurantibus, ceteros autem nullius hominis nomen in titulis habere voluisse, sicut ei varietatis huius dispositionem quamvis latebrosam, non tamen inanem, Dominus inspiravit. Nec movere debet ad hoc non credendum, quod nonnullorum nomina prophetarum qui longe post David regis tempora fuerunt quibusdam psalmis in eo libro leguntur inscripta et quae ibi dicuntur velut ab eis dici videntur. Neque enim non potuit propheticus spiritus prophetanti regi David haec etiam futurorum prophetarum nomina revelare, ut aliquid quod eorum personae conveniret propheticè cantaretur; sicut rex Iosias exorturus et regnaturus post annos amplius quam trecentos cuidam prophetae, qui etiam facta eius futura praedixit, cum suo nomine revelatus est.

XV

An omnia, quae in psalmis de Christo et ecclesia prophetantur, ad contextum huius operis adhibenda sint.

NUNC iam expectari a me video ut hoc loco libri huius aperiā quid in psalmis David de Domino Iesu Christo vel eius ecclesia prophetaverit. Ego autem

¹ In the LXX, Psalms 137 (138) and 145 (146) to 150 are ascribed to Haggai and Zechariah.

² 1 Kings 13.2.

Moreover, those men seem to me to have the more credible opinion who attribute all these hundred and fifty psalms to his authorship, and hold that he actually headed some of them with the names of other men who typified something pertinent to the theme, whereas he decided that the rest should not bear any man's name in their titles. And it was the Lord who inspired him in arranging this diversity, which is certainly not meaningless, however enigmatic it may seem. Nor should anyone be deterred from accepting this theory by the fact that the names of various prophets who lived long after David's time are inscribed in this book over certain psalms, and that the words of the psalms in question give the impression of having been spoken by them.¹ For the prophetic spirit was not incapable of revealing to king David, as he wrote his prophecies, these names also of prophets to come, so that something characteristic of them might be sung in prophecy. In the same way the rise and reign of king Josiah, who was to come more than three hundred years later, was revealed along with his name, to a certain prophet who also foretold his future deeds.²

XV

Whether everything that is prophesied in the psalms about Christ and the church must be included in the content of this work.

I SEE that I am now expected to set forth in this part of my book what David prophesied in the psalms about Jesus Christ and about his church. But I am

ut hoc non ita faciam, sicut videtur ipsa expectatio postulare—quamvis iam in uno fecerim—copia quam inopia magis impediatur. Omnia enim ponere vitandae prolixitatis causa prohibeor; vereor autem ne cum aliqua elegero, multis qui ea noverunt videar magis necessaria praeterisse; deinde—quia testimonium, quod profertur, de contextione totius psalmi debet habere suffragium, ut certe nihil sit quod ei refragetur, si non omnia suffragantur—ne more centonum ad rem quam volumus tamquam versiculos decerpere videamur, velut de grandi carmine quod non de re illa, sed de alia longeque diversa reperiatur esse conscriptum. Hoc autem ut in quocumque psalmo possit ostendi, exponendus est totus; quod quanti operis sit et aliorum et nostra volumina, in quibus hoc fecimus satis indicant. Legat ergo illa qui voluerit et potuerit; inveniet quot et quanta rex David idemque propheta de Christo et eius ecclesia prophetaverit, de rege scilicet et civitate quam condidit.

¹ The most notable example of the *cento*, or 'patchwork' to which this passage refers, is that compiled by Proba in the

prevented from satisfying this expectation, although I have already done so in the case of one psalm, by the riches rather than by poverty of material. For I am prevented from including everything, by my desire to avoid prolixity, but I fear that, if I select some portions only, I may appear to many who know the material to have omitted parts that are more essential. Then, too, the evidence that is presented must be supported by the context of the entire psalm, at least so far as to show that there is nothing to contradict it in case the whole is not pertinent to its support. Otherwise I fear that I might seem to be gathering individual verses on the topic in hand, in the technique used in centos, when one makes selections from a long poem not written on the same subject, but on another and very different one.¹ Moreover, to be able to show this in every psalm, the whole must be explained, and how great a task this would be is clearly shown, both by the works of other authors and by our own, in which we have carried out this plan. Let him, then, who has both the desire and the opportunity, read those books; he will discover the number and importance of the prophecies that king David, who was also a prophet, prophesied about Christ and his church, that is, about the king and the state that he founded.

fourth century, who pieced together lines and phrases from the *Aeneid* of Virgil to compose an epic on the life of Christ.

XVI

De his, quae in quadragensimo quarto psalmo ad Christum et ecclesiam pertinentia aut aperte dicuntur aut tropice.

QUAMLIBET enim de quacumque re propriae sint atque manifestae prophetae locutiones, necesse est ut eis etiam tropicae misceantur; quae maxime propter tardiores ingerunt doctoribus laboriosum disputandi exponendique negotium. Quaedam tamen Christum et ecclesiam ipsa prima facie, mox ut dicuntur, ostendunt; etsi ex otio restant exponenda, quae in eis minus intelleguntur; quale illud est in eodem psalmodum libro: *Eructuavit cor meum verbum bonum, dico ego opera mea regi. Lingua mea calamus scriptionis velociter scribentis. Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum; diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis, propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum. Accingere gladio tuo circa femur, potentissime, specie tua et pulchritudine tua, et intende, prospere procede et regna propter veritatem et mansuetudinem et iustitiam, et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua. Sagittae tuae acutae, potentissime—populi sub te cadent—in corda inimicorum regis. Sedes tua, Deus, in saecula saeculorum, virga directionis virga regni tui. Dilexisti iustitiam et odio habuisti iniquitatem; propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus oleo exultationis prae participibus tuis. Myrrha et gutta et casia a vestimentis tuis, a domibus eburneis; ex quibus te delecta-*

XVI

On the matters relating to Christ and the church that are mentioned in the forty-fourth psalm, either in plain words or allegorically.

EVEN though there may be specific and clear statements in prophecy on any subject, allegorical statements are necessarily intermingled with them, and it is chiefly these that impose on scholars the laborious task of analysis and exposition on behalf of those who are slower of wit. Yet certain of these display Christ and the church at the very first glance, even if some points remain that require leisurely exposition, being less readily comprehensible. One such example is found in the same book of psalms: "My heart has uttered a good matter; I declare my works to the king. My tongue is the pen of a speedy writer. You are fairer than the sons of men, grace is poured on your lips, therefore God has blessed you for ever. Gird your sword upon your thigh, O mighty one, in your splendour and your beauty, arise and advance with success, and reign in behalf of truth and mercy and justice, and your right hand shall guide you marvellously. Your arrows are sharpened against the hearts of the king's enemies, O mighty one, the peoples shall fall under your sway. Your throne, O God, is for ever and ever, the sceptre of your kingdom is a righteous sceptre. You have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God, even your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your fellows. Myrrh and aloes and cassia perfume your garments, out of the ivory palaces, whence the king's

verunt filiae regum in honore tuo. Quis non hic Christum, quem praedicamus et in quem credimus, quamlibet sit tardus, agnoscat, cum audiat Deum, cuius sedes est in saecula saeculorum, et unctum a Deo, utique sicut unguis Deus, non visibili sed spiritali atque intellegibili chrismate? Quis enim tam rudis est in hac religione vel tam surdus adversus eius famam longe lateque diffusam, ut Christum a chrismate, hoc est ab unctione appellatum esse non noverit? Agnito autem rege Christo, iam cetera quae hic tropice dicta sunt, quo modo sit speciosus forma prae filiis hominum, quadam tanto magis amanda atque miranda quanto minus corporea pulchritudine, quis gladius eius, quae sagittae, et cetera isto modo non proprie, sed tropice posita iam subditus ei qui regnat propter veritatem et mansuetudinem et iustitiam inquirat ex otio.

Deinde aspiciat eius ecclesiam tanto viro suo spiritali conubio et divino amore coniunctam, de qua dicitur in his quae sequuntur. *Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumamicta varietate. Audi, filia, et vide et inclina aurem tuam, et obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tui; quoniam concupivit eum filiae Tyri in muneribus; vultum tuum deprecabuntur divites plebis. Omnis gloria eius filiae regis intrinsecus, in fimbriis aureis circumamicta varietate. Adferentur regi virgines post eam, proximae eius adferentur tibi.*

¹ Psalms 45.1-9.

daughters have made you rejoice in your honour.”¹ Who, however slow of comprehension, could fail to recognize in these words the Christ whom we proclaim and in whom we believe, when he hears the name of God whose throne is for ever and ever, and the anointed of God, anointed as God anoints, not with visible but with spiritual and intelligible chrism? For who is so unskilled in our religion, or so deaf to its wide-spread fame, as not to know that Christ was so named from chrism, that is, from his anointing? Moreover, once he has recognized Christ in the king, and has now become subject to him who reigns in behalf of truth and mercy and justice, let him examine at leisure all the other figurative phrases in this passage. See how his fairness surpasses the sons of men, with a kind of beauty the more worthy of love and admiration for not being bodily grace; learn what is his sword, his arrows and the other details of this sort which are not stated literally but figuratively.

Let him next consider Christ’s church, united to so great a husband by a spiritual marriage and a divine love, of which we are told in the following verses: “The queen has taken her place at your right hand, in a robe adorned with gold and a vestment of varied colours. Hearken, daughter, and see, and incline your ear, and forget your people and your father’s house, for the king has desired your beauty, and he is your God. And the daughters of Tyre shall do worship with gifts; the rich among the people shall entreat your favour. The king’s daughter is all glorious within, wearing gay robes fringed with gold. Her maidens shall be brought to the king after her, her companions shall be brought to you. They shall

Adferentur in laetitia et exultatione; adducentur in templum regis. Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii; constitues eos principes super omnem terram. Memores erunt nominis tui in omni generatione et generatione. Propterea populi confitebuntur tibi in aeternum et in saeculum saeculi. Non opinor quemquam ita desipere, ut hic aliquam mulierculam praedicari credat atque describi; coniugem videlicet illius, cui dictum est: *Sedes tua, Deus, in saecula saeculorum; virga directionis virga regni tui. Dilexisti iustitiam et odio habuisti iniquitatem; propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus oleo exultationis prae participibus tuis; Christum utique prae Christianis.* Hi sunt enim participes eius, ex quorum in omnibus gentibus unitate atque concordia fit ista regina, sicut in alio psalmo de illa dicitur: *Civitas regis magni.*

Ipsa est Sion spiritaliter; quod nomen Latine interpretatum speculatio est; speculatur enim futuri saeculi magnum bonum, quoniam illuc dirigitur eius intentio. Ipsa est et Hierusalem eodem modo spiritaliter, unde multa iam diximus. Eius inimica est civitas diaboli Babylon, quae confusio interpretatur; ex qua tamen Babylone regina ista in omnibus gentibus regeneratione liberatur et a pessimo rege ad optimum regem, id est a diabolo transit ad Christum. Propter quod ei dicitur: *Obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tui.* Cuius civitatis impiae portio sunt et Israelitae sola carne, non fide; inimici etiam ipsi

be brought in gladness and exultation; they shall be escorted into the king's temple. Instead of your fathers sons are born to you; you will make them princes over all the earth. They will remember your name throughout all generations. Therefore shall the nations confess your name to eternity, for ever and ever."¹ I do not suppose anyone is so foolish as to think that some mere woman is here lauded and described as the bride of him who is addressed in these words: "Your throne, O God, is for ever and ever, the sceptre of your kingdom is a righteous sceptre. You have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God, even your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your fellows." Surely this is Christ, anointed above his Christians. For those are his fellows from whose unity and concord among all nations arises the queen, who in another psalm is called 'the city of the great king.'²

She herself is the spiritual Sion, for the Latin meaning of this name is 'contemplation', for she contemplates the noble excellence of the age to come, inasmuch as that is the goal of her struggle. She herself is also Jerusalem in the same spiritual sense, a topic on which I have already said a great deal. Her enemy is Babylon, the city of the devil, whose name means 'confusion'; from that Babylon, however, this queen among all nations is set free by rebirth and passes over from the worst of kings to the best of kings, that is, from the devil to Christ. That is why she is told: "Forget your people and your father's house." Those who are Israelites by the flesh alone and not by faith are a portion of that impious city, and are also enemies of this great king

¹ Psalms 45.10-17.² Psalms 48.2.

magni huius regis eiusque reginae. Ad ipsos enim veniens et ab eis Christus occisus magis aliorum factus est, quos non vidit in carne. Unde per cuiusdam psalmi prophetiam dicit ipse rex noster: *Erues me de contradictionibus populi, constitues me in caput gentium. Populus quem non cognovi servivit mihi; in obauditu auris obaudivit mihi.* Populus ergo iste gentium, quem non cognovit Christus praesentia corporali, in quem tamen Christum sibi adnuntiatum credidit, ut merito de illo diceretur: *In obauditu auris obaudivit mihi*, quia fides ex auditu est—iste, inquam, populus additus veris et carne et fide Israelitis civitas est Dei, quae ipsum quoque secundum carnem peperit Christum, quando in solis illis Israelitis fuit. Inde quippe erat virgo Maria, in qua carnem Christus, ut homo esset, adsumpsit.

De qua civitate psalmus alius ait: *Mater Sion, dicit homo, et homo natus est in ea, et ipse fundavit eam Altissimus.* Quis est iste Altissimus nisi Deus? Ac per hoc Christus Deus, antequam in illa civitate per Mariam fieret homo, ipse in patriarchis et prophetis fundavit eam. Cum igitur huic reginae civitati Dei tanto ante dictum sit per prophetiam, quod iam videmus impletum: *Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii, constitues eos principes super omnem terram*—ex filiis quippe eius per omnem terram sunt praepositi et patres eius, cum confiteantur ei populi concurrentes ad eam confessionem laudis aeternae in saeculum saeculi—procul dubio quidquid hic tropicis

himself, and of the queen. For Christ coming to them, and being killed by them, became instead the Christ of other men, whom he did not see in this life. Wherefore he, our very king, says in a prophecy in a certain psalm: “You will rescue me from strife with the people, you will set me at the head of the nations. A people whom I never knew have served me; at first hearing they obeyed me.”¹ Hence that people of the Gentiles, whom Christ did not know when he was present in body, nevertheless believed in him as Christ when he was proclaimed to them. So it was rightly said of them: “At first hearing they obeyed me,” since faith comes by hearing.² This people, I say, added to the number of Israelites who are such both by blood and by faith, are the city of God, a city that also engendered Christ himself in the flesh when it consisted of those Israelites alone. For that was the stock of the virgin Mary, in whom Christ took our flesh upon him, to become man.

Of this city another psalm says: “Mother Sion, a man shall say, and a man is born in her, and the all-highest himself founded her.”³ Who but God is that all-highest? Thus Christ, being God, before by Mary he became man in that city, himself founded it in the patriarchs and prophets. So then, what we now see fulfilled was said to this queen, the city of God, long ago in prophecy: “Instead of your fathers sons are born to you; you will make them princes over all the earth,” for in truth from among her sons through all the earth her governors and fathers are taken. For the peoples, flocking together to her, confess her name, making confession of eternal praise for ever and ever. So undoubtedly whatever was

¹ Psalms 18.43 f.² Romans 10.17.³ Psalms 87.5.

locutionibus subobscurè dictum est, quoquo modo intellegatur, debet his rebus manifestissimis convenire.

XVII

De his quae ad sacerdotium Christi in psalmo centesimo nono, et de his quae in psalmo vicensimo primo ad passionem ipsius spectant.

SICUT etiam in illo psalmo ubi sacerdos Christus, quem ad modum hic rex, apertissime praedicatur: *Dixit Dominus Domino meo: Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum*, sedere Christus ad dexteram Patris creditur, non videtur; eius etiam inimicos poni sub pedibus eius nondum apparet; id agitur, apparebit in fine; etiam hoc nunc creditur, post videbitur. Verum quod sequitur: *Virgam virtutis tuae emittet Dominus ex Sion, et dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum*, ita clarum est, ut non solum infideliter et infelicer, sed etiam inpunder negetur. Et ipsi quippe fatentur inimici ex Sion missam fuisse legem Christi, quod evangelium nos vocamus, et eam virgam virtutis eius agnoscimus. Dominari vero eum in medio inimicorum suorum idem ipsi inter quos dominatur dentibus frendendo et tabescendo et nihil adversus eum valendo testantur.

Deinde quod paulo post dicit: *Iuravit Dominus, et*

¹ Psalms 110 and 22 in the Hebrew Bible and its translations.

² Psalms 110.1 f.

said here with some obscurity in allegorical terms, however it is interpreted, must be consistent with the very obvious points I have noted here.

XVII

On the references in the hundred and ninth psalm to Christ's priesthood, and in the twenty-first psalm to his passion.¹

It is the same in the case of that psalm in which Christ is proclaimed priest as in the last one, where he was proclaimed king. We have a quite unveiled announcement: "The Lord said to my Lord: 'Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool.'" Christ is believed, though he is not seen, to be sitting at the right hand of the Father. There is as yet nothing to show that his enemies are also put under his feet. But it is in process, and will be plain to see in the end. So we have another thing that is believed now, but will be seen later. But as to what follows: "The Lord will send forth from Sion the rod of your strength. Rule in the midst of your foes!"² this is too clear to be denied unless a man is lost, not only to the faith and to the hope of happiness but also to all sense of shame. For even our enemies admit that the law of Christ, which we call the gospel, was sent forth from Sion, and we recognize in it the rod of his strength. As for his rule in the midst of his foes, those very men among whom he rules bear witness to the fact by gnashing their teeth and wasting away and having no power against him.

A little later he says: "The Lord has sworn and he

non paenitebit eum, quibus verbis inmutabile futurum esse significat quod adiungit: *Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech*, ex eo quod iam nusquam est sacerdotium et sacrificium secundum ordinem Aaron et ubique offertur sub sacerdote Christo, quod protulit Melchisedech, quando benedixit Abraham, quis ambigere permittitur de quo ista dicantur? Ad haec itaque manifesta referuntur, quae paulo obscurius in eodem psalmo posita sunt, quando recte intelleguntur; quod in nostris iam iam popularibus sermonibus fecimus.

Sic et in illo ubi humilitatem passionis suae per prophetiam Christus eloquitur dicens: *Foderunt manus meas et pedes, dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea; ipsi vero consideraverunt et conspexerunt me*—quibus utique verbis in cruce corpus significavit extentum manibus pedibusque confixis et clavorum transverberatione confossis, eoque modo se spectaculum considerantibus et conspicientibus praebuisse—adens etiam: *Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea et super vestimentum meum miserunt sortem*, quae prophetia quem ad modum impleta sit evangelica narratur historia, tunc profecto et alia recte intelleguntur quae ibi minus aperte dicta sunt, cum congruunt his quae tanta manifestatione claruerunt; praesertim

¹ Psalms 110.4; see also Genesis 14.18, with mention of bread and wine which he offered to Abraham. This was taken by Cyprian and others as prefiguring the eucharistic sacrifice.

² Psalm 110 is the subject of a more detailed exposition in a

will not repent," signifying by these words the immutable character of what he adds: "You are a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech." Seeing that there is now nowhere a priesthood or sacrifice according to the order of Aaron, and that under the priesthood of Christ offering is everywhere made of that which Melchisedech presented when he blessed Abraham, who could doubt of whom those things are spoken?¹ Thus the matters that are somewhat obscurely put in this same psalm are, when rightly understood, linked with these obvious interpretations, and this I have already done in my sermons to the people.²

There is another example in the psalm in which Christ describes by means of prophecy the humiliation of his passion, saying: "They have pierced my hands and my feet, they have counted all my bones; indeed, they stared and gazed at me."³ By this he surely meant his body stretched on the cross with his hands and feet fastened in place and pierced by the driving home of the nails, and the spectacle that he thus afforded to those who stared and gazed at him. Moreover, he added: "They divided my garments among them and cast lots for my clothing," a prophecy that was fulfilled in the way that the account in the Gospel reports.⁴ Then assuredly other sayings which are less clear are rightly understood when our interpretation agrees with the statements which are so plainly expressed. We may be parti-

sermon to the people at Easter, translated in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (First Series), VIII, 541-544.

³ Psalms 22.16 f.

⁴ Psalms 22.18, quoted in Matthew 27.35 and John 19.24.

quia et illa quae non transacta credimus, sed praesentia contuemur sicut in eodem psalmo leguntur tanto ante praedicta, ita nunc exhibita iam toto orbe cernuntur. Ibi enim paulo post dicitur: *Commemorabuntur et convertentur ad Dominum universi fines terrae et adorabunt in conspectu eius universae patriae gentium; quoniam Domini est regnum, et ipse dominabitur gentium.*

XVIII

De psalmo tertio et de quadragesimo et de quinto decimo et de sexagesimo septimo, in quibus mors et resurrectio Domini prophetatur.

DE resurrectione quoque eius nequaquam psalmorum oracula tacuerunt. Nam quid est aliud quod in psalmo tertio ex persona eius canitur: *Ego dormivi et somnum cepi; exsurrexi, quoniam Dominus suscepit me?* An forte quisquam its desipit ut credat velut aliquid magnum nobis indicare voluisse prophetam, quod dormierit et exsurrexerit, nisi somnus iste mors esset et evigilatio resurrectio, quam de Christo sic oportuit prophetari?

Nam et in quadragesimo multo manifestius id ostenditur, ubi ex persona eiusdem Mediatoris more

cularly certain because of other facts, not facts of the past which we believe, but of the present which we behold, where events now displayed visibly all over the world correspond exactly to the predictions that we find written so long ago. For a little later we find in the same psalm: "All the ends of the world shall remember and turn to the Lord, and all the families of the nations shall worship before him, for the sovereignty is the Lord's, and he shall rule over the nations."¹

XVIII

On the third, fortieth, fifteenth and sixty-seventh psalms, in which the death and resurrection of the Lord are prophesied.²

NOR are the oracles of the psalms by any means silent concerning his resurrection. For what other interpretation is there for the song that is put in his mouth in the third psalm: "I fell asleep and slumbered; I awoke from sleep, for the Lord sustained me" ?³ Unless there happens to be someone so witless as to believe that the prophet meant to inform us, as if it were a great thing, that he fell asleep and rose from his sleep! The sleep he mentions must mean death, and the awaking a rising from the dead; and that is just the way for him to speak prophetically of Christ.

For this is shown also in the fortieth psalm, and much more plainly. There in the usual fashion prophecies of future events are put in the mouth of the Mediator himself, who speaks as if they had already

¹ Psalms 22.27 f.

² Psalms 3, 41, 16 and 68 in the Hebrew Bible and translations.

³ Psalms 3.5.

solito tamquam praeterita narrantur, quae futura prophetabantur; quoniam, quae ventura erant, iam in praedestinatione et praesentia Dei velut facta erant.¹ *Inimici, inquit, mei dixerunt mala mihi: Quando morietur et peribit nomen eius? Et si ingrediebatur ut videret, vana locutum est cor eius, congregavit iniquitatem ipsi. Egrediebantur foras et loquebantur simul in unum. Adversus me susurrabant omnes inimici mei, adversus me cogitabant mala mihi. Verbum iniquum disposuerunt adversus me: Numquid qui dormit non adiciet ut resurgat?* Hic certe ita posita sunt verba haec ut nihil aliud dixisse intellegatur quam si diceret: "Numquid qui moritur, non adiciet ut revivescat?" Superiora quippe demonstrant mortem ipsius cogitasse et disposuisse inimicos eius, et hoc actum esse per eum qui ingrediebatur ut videret, et egrediebatur ut proderet. Cui autem hic non occurrat ex discipulo eius factus traditor Iudas?

Quia ergo facturi erant quod moliebantur, id est occiduri erant eum, ostendens illos vana malitia frustra occisuros resurrecturum sic adiecit hunc versum, velut diceret: "Quid agitis vani? quod vestrum scelus est, meus somnus erit": *Numquid qui dormit non adiciet ut resurgat?* Et tamen eos tam magnum nefas non impune facturos consequentibus indicat versibus dicens: *Etenim homo pacis meae, in quem speravi, qui edebat panes meos, ampliavit super me calcaneum, hoc est conculcavit me. Tu autem, inquit, Domine, miserere mei et resuscita me, et reddam illis.*

¹ Some manuscripts add quia certa erant, which is probably an intrusive gloss.

taken place. This is because coming events were already as good as accomplished, being so decreed and known by the predestination and foreknowledge of God. Here he says: "My enemies have spoken evil against me: 'When will he die, and his name perish?' And if one came in to see me, his heart spoke vanity and he heaped up his own iniquity. They went out of doors and spoke together as one man. All my enemies whispered against me, they plotted evil against me. They contrived an evil saying against me: 'Shall not he who sleeps rise again?'"¹ Surely these words are put here in such a way as to make us take them as if he were to say: 'Shall not he who dies come to life again?' The former words certainly show that his enemies plotted and contrived his death, and that the agent was that one who came in to see him and went out to betray him. Who, then, can fail to recall at this point that Judas was his disciple and became his betrayer?

Thus it is because they were going to achieve their aims, that is, they were going to kill him, that he, to point out that they would get no good of killing him in their futile malice, since he would rise again, added this verse, as if to say: 'What are you doing, futile men? What is crime for you will be merely sleep for me. Shall not he who sleeps rise again?' And yet he shows that they will not commit so great a crime with impunity when he says in the next verses: "For the man of my peace, in whom I trusted, who ate my bread, has enlarged his heel against me," that is, has trodden upon me. "But do thou, O Lord," he says, "have mercy upon me and restore me to

¹ Psalms 41.5-8.

Quis hoc iam neget, qui Iudaeos post passionem resurrectionemque Christi de sedibus suis bellica strage et excidio funditus eradicatos videt? Occisus enim ab eis resurrexit et reddidit eis interim temporariam disciplinam, excepto quod non correctis servat, quando vivos et mortuos iudicabit.

Nam Dominus ipse Iesus istum ipsum traditorem suum per panem porrectum ostendens apostolis hunc etiam versum psalmi huius commemoravit et in se dixit impletum: *Qui edebat panes meos, ampliavit super me calcaneum*. Quod autem ait: *In quem speravi*, non congruit capiti, sed corpori. Neque enim nesciebat eum ipse Salvator, de quo ante iam dixerat: *Unus ex vobis me tradet* et: *unus ex vobis diaboli est*. Sed solet in se membrorum suorum transferre personam et sibi tribuere quod esset illorum, quia caput et corpus unus est Christus; unde illud est in evangelio: *Esurivi, et dedistis mihi manducare*, quod exponens ait: *Quando uni ex minimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis*. Se itaque dixit sperasse quod tunc speraverant de Iuda discipuli eius quando est connumeratus apostolis.

Iudaei autem christum, quem sperant, moriturum esse non sperant. Ideo quem lex et prophetae adnuntiaverunt, nostrum esse non putant, sed nescio

life, and I shall requite them.”¹ Who could deny this, now that he sees that the Jews since the passion and resurrection of Christ have been completely uprooted from their homes by the slaughter and destruction of war? For being slain by them he rose again and has requited them for the time being with temporal discipline—temporal, that is, if we disregard the requital that he has in store for those who have not amended their lives when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

For the Lord Jesus himself, indicating to the apostles that this same man was his betrayer by the bread that he held out to him, recalled this verse of the psalm, and said that it was fulfilled in him: “He who ate my bread has enlarged his heel against me.”² Moreover, his words ‘in whom I trusted’ apply not to his head, but to his body. For the Saviour himself did not lack knowledge of him of whom he had already said earlier: “One of you shall betray me,” and “One of you is a devil.”³ But he is wont to transfer to himself the characteristics of his members and to attribute their qualities to himself, since Christ alone is both head and body, whence comes that saying in the Gospel: “I was hungry and you gave me food,” which he explains in these words: “When you did it for one of the least of my people, you did it for me.”⁴ Consequently, he described himself as sharing the hopes that his disciples had put in Judas when he was numbered among the apostles.

The Jews, however, do not expect that the Christ or messiah that they are waiting for will die. That is why they do not think that the one whom the law and the prophets proclaimed is our Christ, but some other

¹ Psalms 41.9 f.

² John 13.18, 26.

³ John 6.70 f.

⁴ Matthew 25.35, 40.

quem suum, quem sibi alienum a mortis passione confingunt. Ideo mirabili vanitate atque caecitate verba quae posuimus, non mortem et resurrectionem, sed somnum et evigilationem significasse contendunt.

Sed clamat eis etiam psalmus quintus decimus: *Propter hoc iucundatum est cor meum et exultavit lingua mea, insuper et caro mea requiescet in spe; quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno, nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.* Quis in ea spe diceret requiescisse carnem suam, ut non derelicta anima sua in inferno, sed cito ad eam redeunte revivesceret, ne corrumpetur, sicut cadavera corrumpi solent, nisi qui die tertio resurrexit? Quod utique dicere non possunt de propheta et rege David.

Clamat et sexagensimus septimus: *Deus noster Deus salvos faciendi, et Domini exitus mortis.* Quid apertius diceretur? Deus enim salvos faciendi Dominus est Iesus, quod interpretatur salvator sive salutaris. Nam ratio nominis huius haec reddita est, quando priusquam ex virgine nasceretur dictum est: *Pariet filium, et vocabis nomen eius Iesum. Ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum.* In quorum peccatorum remissionem quoniam sanguis eius effusus est, non utique oportuit eum de hac vita exitus alios habere quam mortis. Ideo cum dictum esset: *Deus noster Deus salvos faciendi, con-*

messiah of their own, a product of their imagination who is exempt from suffering death. That is why, with astounding inanity and blindness, they insist that the words we have quoted do not betoken death and resurrection, but sleep and awakening.

But the fifteenth psalm also cries out against them: "For this did my heart rejoice and my tongue exult, and my flesh also shall rest in hope, for thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, nor wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption."¹ Who would assert that his flesh had rested in the hope that his soul would not be abandoned in hell, but would be restored to life by the speedy return of soul to flesh so that it would not suffer corruption as corpses usually do, save his who rose again on the third day? Surely they cannot make this claim on behalf of the prophet and king David.

The sixty-seventh psalm also cries: "Our God is a God of salvation, and to the Lord belongs escape from death."² What could be clearer than this? For the God of salvation is the Lord Jesus, and his name means 'saviour,' or 'capable of saving.' Now the reason for his name is stated in these words, spoken before he was born of the virgin: "She shall bring forth a son and you shall call his name Jesus. For he shall save his people from their sins."³ Inasmuch as his blood was shed for the remission of these sins, he surely could have no other way of departing from this life than that of death. Hence when it was said: "Our God is a God of salvation," these words were

Augustine plays on the ambiguity, in a way that can hardly be translated.

³ Matthew 1.21.

¹ Psalms 16.9 f.

² Psalms 68.20. The last words *exitus mortis* mean literally 'death's exits,' that is, either 'escape from death' or 'exits to death'. The first seems to fit the original context best, but

tinuo subiunctum est: *Et Domini exitus mortis*, ut ostenderetur moriendo salvos esse facturum. Sed mirando dictum est: *Et Domini*; tamquam diceretur: "Talis est ista vita mortalium ut nec ipse Dominus aliter ab illa exiret nisi per mortem."

XIX

De psalmo sexagesimo octavo, in quo Iudaeorum infidelitas et pertinacia declaratur.

SED ut Iudaei tam manifestis huius prophetiae testimoniis etiam rebus ad effectum tam clarum certumque perductis omnino non cedant, profecto in eis illud impletur quod in eo psalmo qui hunc sequitur, scriptum est. Cum enim et illic ex persona Christi quae ad eius passionem pertinent propheticè dicerentur commemoratum est, quod in evangelio patuit: *Dederunt in escam meam fel et in siti mea potum mihi dederunt acetum*. Et velut post tale convivium epulasque sibi huiusce modi exhibitas mox intulit: *Fiat mensa eorum coram ipsis in muscipulam et in retributionem et in scandalum; obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant, et dorsum eorum semper incurva*, et cetera, quae non optando sunt dicta, sed optandi specie prophetando praedicta. Quid ergo mirum si haec manifesta non vident quorum oculi sunt obscurati ne videant? Quid mirum si caelestia non suspiciunt qui ut in terrena sint proni, dorsum eorum semper

¹ Psalm 69 in the Hebrew Bible.

² Psalms 69.21; Matthew 27.34, 48.

³ Psalms 69.22 f.

added at once: "and to the Lord belongs the escape of death," to show that he would bring salvation by his death. But the words "and to the Lord belongs" were said in wonder, as though to say: 'This mortal life is such that the Lord himself could not depart from it save through death.'

XIX

*On the sixty-eighth psalm, in which the Jews' disbelief and stubbornness are set forth.*¹

BUT since the Jews will not yield a particle in the face of such clear evidence as is afforded by this prophecy, even though subsequent events have made their fulfilment clear and certain, the words of the psalm that follows this one are surely fulfilled in their case. For in that psalm also, when the details of Christ's passion were being prophetically put in his mouth, a matter is recorded that is clearly put in the Gospel: "They gave me gall to eat, and in my thirst gave me vinegar to drink."² Next, as it were, after such a feast and banquet as this was set before him, he added: "Let their table become a trap before them, and a retribution and a stumbling block; let their eyes be darkened that they may not see, and keep their backs always bowed,"³ and so forth. All this was not expressed as a wish, but was foretold in prophecy in the form of a wish. What wonder, then, if those whose eyes are darkened to prevent their seeing fail to discern these manifest truths? What wonder if those whose backs are always bent in order to look downward towards earthly things do not

incurvum est? His enim verbis translatis a corpore vitia intelleguntur animorum.

Ista de psalmis, hoc est de prophetia regis David, satis dicta sint, ut aliquis modus sit. Ignoscant autem qui haec legunt et cuncta illa noverunt, et de his quae fortasse firmiora me praetermisisse vel intellegunt vel existimant non querantur.

XX

*De regno ac merito David et de filio ipsius Salomone
eaeque prophetia, quae ad Christum pertinens
invenitur vel in eis libris qui scriptis ipsius
copulantur, vel in eis quos ipsius
esse non dubium est.*

REGNAVIT ergo David in terrena Hierusalem, filius caelestis Hierusalem, divino multum testimonio praedicatus, quia et delicta eius tanta pietate superata sunt per saluberrimam paenitendi humilitatem ut prorsus inter eos sit de quibus ipse ait: *Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates et quorum tecta sunt peccata.* Post hunc regnavit eidem populo universo Salomon filius eius qui, ut supra dictum est, patre suo vivo coepit regnare. Hic bonis initiis malos exitus habuit. Quippe secundae res quae sapientium animos fatigant magis huic offerunt quam profuit ipsa sapientia, etiam nunc et deinceps memorabilis

¹ Psalms 32.1.

² 1 Kings 2; cf. Chapter VIII above.

³ Sallust, *Catiline* 11.8.

look up towards those in the heavens? For these metaphors borrowed from the body designate spiritual vices.

Let this discussion of the psalms, that is, of the prophecy of king David, be sufficient, that my discourse may have a due limit. And may those who read this and are familiar with the whole list pardon me, and not complain if they know or suppose that I have omitted what are perhaps stronger instances.

XX

*On the reign and merits of David and his son Solomon,
and on the prophecies of Christ that are found in the
books associated with his writings, and in those that
are undoubtedly his.*

Now David reigned in the earthly Jerusalem, being a son of the heavenly Jerusalem, greatly extolled by the divine testimony because his sins were overcome by such great piety, through a most salutary humility of repentance, so that he assuredly belongs among those of whom he himself says: "Blessed are they whose iniquities are pardoned, and whose sins are covered."¹ After him there reigned over all of the same people his son Solomon, who, as was said above, began to rule during his father's lifetime.² The commencement of his reign was good, its outcome bad. Prosperity indeed, which weakens the spirit of the wise,³ did more harm to him than even his wisdom profited him, memorable though it is now, and shall be hereafter, as even in his own time it won wide-

et tunc longe lateque laudata. Prophetasse etiam ipse reperitur in suis libris, qui tres recepti sunt in auctoritatem canonicam: Proverbia, ecclesiastes et canticum canticorum. Alii vero duo, quorum unus sapientia, alter ecclesiasticus dicitur, propter eloquii nonnullam similitudinem, ut Salomonis dicantur obtinuit consuetudo; non autem esse ipsius non dubitant doctiores; eos tamen in auctoritatem maxime occidentalis antiquitus recepit ecclesia.

Quorum in uno, qui appellatur sapientia Salomonis, passio Christi apertissime prophetatur. Impii quippe interfectores eius commemorantur dicentes: *Circumveniamus iustum, quia insuavis est nobis et contrarius est operibus nostris et inpropèrat nobis peccata legis et infamat in nos peccata disciplinae nostrae. Promittit scientiam Dei se habere et filium Dei se nominat. Factus est nobis in traductionem cogitationum nostrarum. Gravis est nobis etiam ad videndum, quoniam dissimilis est aliis vita illius et inmutatae viae eius. Tamquam nugaces aestimati sumus ab illo, et abstinet se a viis nostris quasi ab immunditiis; praeferit novissima iustorum et gloriatur patrem Deum se habere. Videamus ergo si sermones illius veri sunt, et temptemus quae eventura sunt illi, et sciemus quae erunt novissima illius. Si enim est iustus filius Dei, suscipiet illum et liberabit eum de manibus contrariorum. Contumelia et tormento interrogemus illum, ut sciamus reverentiam illius et probemus patientiam eius. Morte turpissima condemnemus illum; erit enim ei respectus ex sermonibus*

spread praise. He, too, is found to have included prophecies in his books, three of which have been accorded canonical authority, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. But two others, of which one is called Wisdom and the other Ecclesiasticus, are usually attributed to Solomon on the ground of a certain resemblance to his style. Leading scholars, however, unhesitatingly reject his authorship. Yet the church, especially the western church, has from early times accepted them as authoritative.

In the one of these that is called the Wisdom of Solomon Christ's passion is most clearly prophesied. For surely it is his wicked slayers who are recorded as saying: " ' Let us set an ambush for the righteous man, since he is displeasing to us and opposes our actions and charges us with transgressing the law and accuses us of sins against our training. He professes to have knowledge of God and calls himself the son of God. He has become the reproof of our thoughts. The very sight of him is a burden to us, because his way of life is unlike that of others, and his ways suffer no change. We are considered by him to be men of no importance, and he shuns our ways as unclean. He extols the last days of the righteous and boasts that God is his father. Let us see then if his words are true, and let us test what will happen to him, and we shall know what his latter end is to be. For if the righteous man is God's son, God will uphold him and will deliver him from the hands of his adversaries. Let us question him with insult and torture, in order that we may know the extent of his piety and put his endurance to the test. Let us condemn him to the most shameful death, for according to what he says he

illius. Haec cogitaverunt et erraverunt; excaecavit enim illos malitia ipsorum.

In ecclesiastico autem fides gentium futura praedicatur isto modo: *Miserere nostri, dominator Deus omnium, et inmitte timorem tuum super omnes gentes; extolle manum tuam super gentes alienas et videant potentiam tuam. Sicut coram illis sanctificatus es in nobis, ita coram nobis magnificeris in illis, et agnoscant te secundum quod et nos agnovimus te, quia non est Deus praeter te, Domine.* Hanc optandi et precandi specie prophetiam per Iesum Christum videmus impletam. Sed adversus contradictores non tanta firmitate proferuntur quae scripta non sunt in canone Iudaeorum.

In tribus vero illis, quos Salomonis esse constat et Iudaei canonicos habent, ut ostendatur ad Christum et ecclesiam pertinere quod in eis eius modi reperitur, operosa disputatio necessaria est, quae nos ultra quam oportet, si nunc adhibetur, extendit. Tamen quod in proverbii legitur, viros impios dicere: *Abscondamus in terra virum iustum iniuste, absorbeamus vero eum tamquam infernus viventem et auferamus eius memoriam de terra, possessionem eius pretiosam adprehendamus,* non ita obscurum est ut de Christo et possessione eius ecclesia sine laboriosa expositione non possit intellegi. Tale quippe aliquid etiam Dominus ipse Iesus per evangelicam parabolam ostendit dixisse malos colonos: *Hic est heres, venite, occidamus eum, et nostra erit hereditas.*

will be protected.' Thus they reasoned, but they were led astray, for their wickedness blinded them."¹

Again, in Ecclesiasticus the future faith of the nations is predicted in these words: "Have mercy upon us, God who rulest all, and send thy fear upon all nations; lift up thy hand against alien peoples, and let them see thy might. As thou wast sanctified in us before them, so mayst thou be magnified in them before us; let them recognize thee even as we also have recognized thee, that there is no God but thee, O Lord."² This prophecy, uttered in the form of a wish and a prayer, we see fulfilled through Jesus Christ. However, the writings not included in the Jewish canon do not have as much weight when used against our opponents.

But in the case of those three books that are definitely accepted as Solomon's, and that the Jews consider as canonical, painstaking discussion is necessary to make clear that anything of this nature found in them refers to Christ and his church. If this is undertaken now it will extend our task unduly. Yet the speech of wicked men, as read in the book of Proverbs: "Let us conceal the righteous man in the earth unrighteously, and let us swallow him up alive like the grave and wipe out his memory from the earth; let us lay hold on his precious property,"³ is not so obscure that it cannot be understood as referring to Christ and his property, the church, without laborious exposition. For it is something like this that the Lord Jesus himself shows by a parable in the Gospel that the wicked husbandmen said: "Here is the heir, come, let us kill him, and his inheritance shall be ours."⁴

¹ Wisdom 2.12-21.

² Ecclesiasticus 36.1-5.

³ Proverbs 1.11-13.

⁴ Matthew 21.38.

Itemque illud in eodem libro, quod iam ante perstrinximus, cum ageremus de sterili quae peperit septem non nisi de Christo et ecclesia, mox ut fuerit pronuntiatum, consuevit intellegi ab eis qui Christum sapientiam Dei esse noverunt: *Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum et suffulsit columnas septem; immolavit suas victimas, miscuit in cratere vinum suum et paravit mensam suam. Misit servos suos convocans cum excellenti praedicatione ad craterem dicens: Quis est insipiens? Divertat ad me. Et inopibus sensu dixit: Venite, manducate de meis panibus et bibite vinum quod miscui vobis. Hic certe agnoscimus Dei sapientiam, hoc est Verbum Patri coaeternum, in utero virginali domum sibi aedificasse corpus humanum et huic tamquam capiti membra ecclesiam subiunxisse, martyrum victimas immolasse, mensam in vino et panibus praeparasse, ubi apparet etiam sacerdotium secundum ordinem Melchisedech, insipientes et inopes sensu vocasse, quia, sicut dicit apostolus, *infirmi huius mundi elegit ut confunderet fortia*. Quibus tamen infirmis quod sequitur dicit: *Derelinquite insipientiam ut vivatis, et quaerite prudentiam ut habeatis vitam*. Participem autem fieri mensae illius, ipsum est incipere habere vitam.*

Nam et in alio libro, qui vocatur ecclesiastes, ubi ait: *Non est bonum homini, nisi quod manducabit et bibet, quid credibilius dicere intellegitur quam quod*

Another case in the same book we examined earlier, when we were dealing with the sterile woman who bore seven children.¹ By those who know that Christ is the wisdom of God this is usually interpreted at first hearing as referring to nothing else than Christ and the church: "Wisdom has built her house and erected seven columns to support it; she has sacrificed her victims, mixed her wine in the mixing bowl and made ready her table. She has sent her slaves, summoning guests to the mixing bowl with a lofty proclamation, saying: 'Who is foolish? Let him turn aside to me.' And to those wanting in intelligence she said: 'Come, eat of my bread and drink the wine that I have mixed for you.'"² In this we surely recognize that the wisdom of God, that is, the Word, coeternal with the Father, built in the virgin's womb her house, a human body, and united the church with it as the limbs to the head; that she immolated her victims in the person of the martyrs; that she set forth her table with wine and bread, in which also appears the priesthood after the order of Melchisedech; and that she invited foolish men and those devoid of intelligence because, as the Apostle says: "He has chosen the weak things of this world to confound the strong."³ It is to these weak ones that she says what follows: "Abandon folly that you may live, and seek prudence that you may have life."⁴ Furthermore, to be a guest at the table of wisdom is to begin to have life.

For in another book also, which is called Ecclesiastes, where it says: "A man has nothing good, except that he shall eat and drink,"⁵ what more reasonable interpretation is there of this than that it refers to

¹ 1 Samuel 2.5, cited in Chapter IV, p. 226, above.

² Proverbs 9.1-5.

³ 1 Corinthians 1.27.

⁴ Proverbs 9.6, Septuagint.

⁵ Ecclesiastes 8.15.

ad participationem mensae huius pertinet, quam sacerdos ipse Mediator testamenti novi exhibet secundum ordinem Melchisedech de corpore et sanguine suo? Id enim sacrificium successit omnibus illis sacrificiis veteris testamenti quae immolabantur in umbra futuri; propter quod etiam vocem illam in psalmo tricensimo et nono eiusdem Mediatoris per prophetiam loquentis agnoscimus: *Sacrificium et oblationem noluisti, corpus autem perfecisti mihi*; quia pro illis omnibus sacrificiis et oblationibus corpus eius offertur et participantibus ministratur. Nam istum ecclesiasten in hac sententia manducandi et bibendi, quam saepe repetit plurimumque commendat, non sapere carnalis epulas voluptatis, satis illud ostendit ubi ait: *Melius est ire in domum luctus quam ire in domum potus*; et paulo post: *Cor, inquit, sapientium in domo luctus et cor insipientium in domo epularum*.

Sed illud magis commemorandum existimo de hoc libro quod pertinet ad civitates duas, unam diaboli, alteram Christi, et earum reges diabolum et Christum: *Vae tibi, terra, inquit, cuius rex adulescens, et principes tui mane comedunt. Beata tu, terra, cuius rex tuus filius ingenuorum, et principes tui in tempore comedunt, in fortitudine, et non in confusione*. Adulescentem dixit diabolum propter stultitiam et superbiam et temeritatem et petulantiam ceteraque vitia quae huic aetati adsolent abundare; Christum autem filium ingenuorum, sanctorum scilicet patriarcharum, per-

partaking of this table which the priest and Mediator of the new covenant himself sets forth with his body and blood, after the order of Melchisedech? For this sacrifice succeeded to all the sacrifices of the old covenant, which were offered as a shadow of that to come. For this reason we also recognize in the thirtieth psalm the voice of the same Mediator speaking in prophecy: "Sacrifice and oblation you did not wish, but you have perfected a body for me,"¹ because instead of all those sacrifices and oblations his body is offered, and served to those who partake. For this book of Ecclesiastes, in the saying about eating and drinking which it often repeats and to which it gives great emphasis, is not thinking of the feasts of carnal indulgence. This is sufficiently shown where he says: "It is better to go into the house of mourning than to go into the house of drinking," and a little later: "The heart of wise men is in the house of mourning and the heart of foolish men is in the house of feasting."²

But I think the following words of this book are more worthy of mention, which are concerned with the two cities, the one of the devil, the other of Christ, and their kings, the devil and Christ: "Woe to you, land, whose king is a young man, and your princes feast in the morning. Blessed are you, land, whose king is the son of free-born men, and your princes feast in due season, in strength and not in confusion."³ He called the devil a young man on account of his stupidity and pride and rashness and unruliness and the other vices that are wont to overflow at that time of life. But he called Christ the son of free-born men, that is, of holy patriarchs who are members of the

¹ Psalms 40.6, Septuagint. ² Ecclesiastes 7.2, 4.

³ Ecclesiastes 10.16 f.

inentium ad liberam civitatem, ex quibus est in carne progenitus. Principes illius civitatis mane manducantes, id est ante horam congruam, quia non expectant oportunam quae vera est in futuro saeculo felicitatem, festinanter beari huius saeculi celebritate cupientes; principes autem civitatis Christi tempus non fallacis beatitudinis patienter expectant. Hoc ait: *In fortitudine, et non in confusione*, quia non eos fallit spes de qua dicit apostolus: *Spes autem non confundit*; dicit et psalmus: *Etenim qui te expectant, non confundentur*.

Iam vero canticum canticorum spiritalis quaedam sanctorum est voluptas mentium in coniugio illius regis et reginae civitatis, quod est Christus et ecclesia. Sed haec voluptas allegoricis tegminibus involuta est, ut desideretur ardentius nudeturque iucundius, et appareat sponsus, cui dicitur in eodem cantico: *Aequitas dilexit te*, et sponsa, quae ibi audit: *Caritas in deliciis tuis*. Tacita multa transimus cura huius operis terminandi.

XXI

De regibus post Salomonem sive in Iuda sive in Israel.

CETERI post Salomonem reges Hebraeorum vix inveniuntur per aliqua aenigmata dictorum suorum rerumve gestarum, quod ad Christum et ecclesiam

¹ Romans 5.5.

² Psalms 25.3.

³ Song of Solomon 1.4, Septuagint.

⁴ Song of Solomon 7.7.

free city, of whom he was begotten in the flesh. The princes of that city feast in the morning, that is, before the proper hour, because they are not waiting for the due felicity, which is true happiness, in the age to come, but impatiently long to be blessed with the renown of the present age, whereas the princes of the city of Christ wait patiently for the era of blessedness that does not disappoint us. He says these words, "in strength and not in confusion," because their hope is not disappointed, as the Apostle says: "Now hope does not confound,"¹ and a psalm also says: "For they who wait upon thee shall not be confounded."²

Again, the Song of Songs is in truth a sort of spiritual rejoicing of holy minds in the marriage of the king and queen of that state, that is, Christ and the church. But this delight is wrapped up in allegorical veils, so that it may be more eagerly desired and may be uncovered with more pleasure, and that the bridegroom may be revealed, to whom it is said in the same canticle: "Righteousness has loved you,"³ and the bride also, to whom it is said: "Love is in your delights."⁴ We pass over many things in our concern to complete this work.

XXI

On the kings after Solomon, whether in Judah or in Israel.

THE other kings of the Hebrews, after Solomon, are scarcely found to have prophesied at all through any hidden meanings of their words or deeds, in

pertineat, prophetasse, sive in Iuda sive in Israel. Sic enim appellatae sunt illius populi partes, ex quo propter Salomonis offensam tempore filii eius Roboam, qui patri successit in regnum, Deo vindicante divisus est. Proinde tribus decem, quas accepit Hieroboam, servus Salomonis, rex eis in Samaria constitutus, proprie vocabantur Israel, quamvis hoc universi illius populi nomen esset. Duabus vero tribubus, Iudae scilicet et Benjamin, quae propter David, ne penitus regnum stirpis eius fuisset eradicatum, remanserant subiacentes civitati Hierusalem, Iudae nomen fuit, quia ipsa erat tribus unde David. Benjamin vero tribus altera ad idem regnum, sicut dixi, pertinens erat, unde fuit Saul rex ante David. Sed simul istae duae tribus, ut dictum est, Iuda vocabantur, et hoc nomine discernebantur ab Israel, quod appellabantur proprie decem tribus habentes suum regem. Nam tribus Levi, quoniam sacerdotalis fuit, Dei, non regum servitio mancipata, tertia decima numerabatur. Ioseph quippe unus ex duodecim filiis Israel, non unam, sicut ceteri singulas, sed duas tribus fecit, Ephraem et Manassen. Verum tamen etiam tribus Levi ad regnum Hierosolymitanum pertinebat magis, ubi erat Dei templum, cui serviebat.

Diviso igitur populo primus regnavit in Hierusalem Roboam, rex Iuda, filius Salomonis, et in Samaria

reference to Christ and the church, whether in Judah or Israel. Now these were the names given to the divisions of that people from the time when they were divided, by God's vengeance for Solomon's misdeeds, in the reign of Solomon's son Rehoboam, who succeeded to his father's kingdom. Thenceforth the ten tribes that Jeroboam, Solomon's servant, received, who was set up as their king in Samaria, were in a special sense called Israel, though this was formerly the name of that whole nation.¹ But the name Judah was given to the two tribes, namely Judah and Benjamin, which for David's sake, that the rule of his family might not be utterly uprooted, had remained subject to the city of Jerusalem, and took the name of Judah, since this was the tribe from which David had sprung. Now Benjamin, to which Saul, the king before David, belonged, was the second tribe that participated in this same kingdom, as I have said. But these two tribes, as has been said, were together called Judah, and were distinguished by this name from Israel, which was the distinctive name of the ten tribes that had their own king. For Levi, as a priestly tribe bound to the service of God, not to that of kings, was counted as the thirteenth tribe. Joseph, we note, one of the twelve sons of Israel, did not found a single tribe, as each of the others did, but two tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh. Still the tribe of Levi also was more closely associated with the kingdom of Jerusalem, where the temple of God which they served was situated.

So after the people were divided, Rehoboam the king of Judah and son of Solomon was the first to reign over Jerusalem, and in Samaria Jeroboam, the

¹ 1 Kings 12.

Hieroboam, rex Israel, servus Salomonis. Et cum voluisset Roboam tamquam tyrannidem divisae illius partis bello persequi, prohibitus est populus pugnare cum fratribus suis dicente Deo per prophetam se hoc fecisse. Unde apparuit nullum in ea re vel regis Israel vel populi fuisse peccatum, sed voluntatem Dei vindicantis impletam. Qua cognita pars utraque inter se pacata conquievit; non enim religionis, sed regni fuerat facta divisio.

XXII

De Hieroboam, qui impietate idolatriae subditum sibi populum profanavit, in quo tamen non destitit Deus et prophetas inspirare et multos ab idolatriae crimine custodire.

VERUM rex Israel Hieroboam mente perversa non credens Deo, quem veracem promisso sibi regno datoque probaverat, timuit ne veniendo ad templum Dei, quod erat in Hierusalem, quo secundum divinam legem sacrificandi causa universae illi genti veniendum fuit, seduceretur ab eo populus et stirpi David tamquam regio semini redderetur, et instituit idolatriam in regno suo et populum Dei secum simulacrorum cultu obstrictum nefanda impietate dæcepit. Nec tamen omni modo cessavit Deus non solum illum regem, verum etiam successores eius et impietatis imitatores populumque ipsum arguere per

¹ 1 Kings 12.24.

king of Israel, Solomon's servant. And although Rehoboam had decided to wage war against him, as tyrant over that portion of the divided kingdom, the people were prevented from fighting against their kinsmen by God's announcement through a prophet that it was his action.¹ Thus it was made known that in this deed there was no sin on the part of the king of Israel or of the people, but that God's decision to punish had been carried out. On learning this both factions made peace and abode by it, for their religion had not been divided, but only their kingdom.

XXII

On Jeroboam, who profaned by impious idolatry the people subject to him, though God did not cease to inspire prophets and keep many men from the sin of idolatry.

BUT Jeroboam, king of Israel, perversely refusing to believe in God, though he had found him true to his word in the promise and grant of his kingdom, feared that if his people visited the temple of God that was in Jerusalem, to which the whole nation was required to go according to the divine law, to offer sacrifice, they would be seduced from him and restored to David's line, because it was the royal seed, not only established idolatry in his kingdom, but with abominable impiety beguiled God's people to follow him into bondage to the cult of images. Yet God did not cease to reprove through the prophets, by every possible means, not only that king, but his successors who repeated his impiety,

prophetas. Nam ibi extiterunt et magni illi insignesque prophetae, qui etiam mirabilia multa fecerunt, Helias et Helisaeus discipulus eius; ibi etiam dicenti Heliae: *Domine, prophetas tuos occiderunt, altaria tua suffoderunt, et ego relictus sum solus, et quaerunt animam meam*, responsum est esse illic septem milia virorum, qui non curvaverunt genua contra Bahal.

XXIII

De vario utriusque regni Hebraeorum statu, donec ambo populi in captivitate diverso tempore ducerentur, revocato postea Iuda in regnum suum, quod novissime in Romanorum transiit potestatem.

ITEMQUE in regno Iuda pertinente ad Hierusalem etiam regum succedentium temporibus non defuerunt prophetae; sicut Deo placebat eos mittere vel ad praenuntiandum quod opus erat, vel ad corripienda peccata praecipendamque iustitiam. Nam et illic, etsi longe minus quam in Israel, tamen extiterunt reges qui suis impietatibus Deum graviter offenderent et moderatis flagellis cum populo simili plecterentur. Piorum sane regum merita ibi non parva laudantur; in Israel autem reges alios magis, alios minus, omnes tamen reprobos legimus. Utraque igitur pars, sicut iubebat divina providentia vel sinebat, variis et erigebatur prosperitatibus et adversi-

¹ 1 Kings 19; Romans 11.3 f.

and the people themselves. For at that time there arose those great and notable prophets, who also wrought many marvellous deeds, Elijah and his disciple Elisha. At that time also when Elijah said: "Lord, they have slain thy prophets, they have overturned thy altars, and I am left alone, and they seek my life," he was told that there were in that country seven thousand men who had not bent their knees before Baal.¹

XXIII

On the vicissitudes of each Hebrew kingdom until both peoples were led into captivity at different times, and Judah was afterwards restored to its kingdom, which finally passed under the authority of the Romans.

LIKEWISE in the kingdom of Judah, which belonged to Jerusalem, there was no lack of prophets even under the kings that succeeded, according as it pleased God to send them either to announce beforehand any needful thing or to chide their sins and enjoin righteousness. For there also, although far less than in Israel, yet still kings did arise who gravely offended God by their impious deeds, and together with the people who resembled them were afflicted with a due measure of punishment. To be sure, there were pious kings among them who are praised for no small deeds of merit; on the other hand, we read that all the kings of Israel were evil in varying degrees. Hence both divisions, according as the divine providence either ordered or permitted, were alternately uplifted by moments of success and

tatibus premebatur, et sic adfligebatur non solum externis, verum et inter se civilibus bellis, ut certis existentibus causis misericordia Dei vel ira patesceret, donec eius indignatione crescente universa gens illa a Chaldaeis debellantibus non solum subverteretur in sedibus suis, sed etiam ex maxima sui parte transferretur in terras Assyriorum; prius illa pars, quae vocabatur Israel in tribubus decem; postea vero etiam Iudas, eversa Hierusalem et templo illo nobilissimo; in quibus terris per annos septuaginta captivum egit otium. Post quos inde dimissa templum quod eversum fuerat instauravit; et quamvis plurimi eius in alienigenarum degerent terris, non habuit tamen deinceps duas regni partes et duos diversos in singulis partibus reges; sed in Hierusalem princeps eorum erat unus, atque ad Dei templum quod ibi erat omnes undique, ubicumque essent et undecumque possent, per certa tempora veniebant. Sed nec tunc eis hostes ex aliis gentibus expugnatoresque defuerunt; nam etiam Romanorum iam tributarios eos Christus invenit.

XXIV

De prophetis, qui vel apud Iudaeos postremi fuerunt, vel quos circa tempus nativitatis Christi evangelica prodit historia.

Toto autem illo tempore, ex quo redierunt de Babylonia, post Malachiam, Aggaeum et Zachariam,

oppressed by adversity, and were so afflicted not only by foreign wars but also by civil wars among themselves that it became obvious that God showed mercy or wrath for particular reasons. In the end, as his indignation increased, that whole nation was not only crushed in its own territory by the Chaldaean army but was also for the most part deported into the lands of the Assyrians, first that part which was called Israel, consisting of ten tribes, and later Judah also, when Jerusalem and its temple of such renown had been overthrown. In those lands they lived the quiet life of captives for seventy years. Given leave to return after this time had elapsed, they restored the temple which had been overthrown, and although a great many of them still lived in alien lands, yet thereafter they did not have a divided kingdom and two separate kings, one for each division. Rather, there was one prince over them in Jerusalem. And all of them from all the world, wherever they were and from whatever place they could, came back at fixed intervals to the temple of God which was there. But even then they did not lack enemies and conquerors of other races, for Christ found them already tributary to the Romans also.

XXIV

On the prophets, both those who were the latest among the Jews and those living near the time of the birth of Christ, named in the gospel story.

Now during that whole period after the return from Babylonia, after Malachi, Haggai and Zechariah,

qui tunc prophetaverunt, et Esdras, non habuerunt prophetas usque ad Salvatoris adventum, nisi alium Zachariam patrem Iohannis et Elisabeth eius uxorem, Christi nativitate iam proxima, et eo iam nato Simeonem senem et Annam viduam iamque grandaevam et ipsum Iohannem novissimum; qui iuvenis iam iuvenem Christum non quidem futurum praedixit, sed tamen incognitum prophetica cognitione monstravit; propter quod ipse Dominus ait: *Lex et prophetiae usque ad Iohannem*. Sed istorum quinque prophetatio ex evangelio nobis nota est, ubi et ipsa virgo mater Domini ante Iohannem prophetasse invenitur. Sed hanc istorum prophetiam Iudaei reprobi non accipiunt; acceperunt autem qui ex eis innumerabiles evangelio crediderunt. Tunc enim vere Israel divisus est in duo divisione illa quae per Samuelem prophetam Sauli regi est inmutabilis praenuntiata. Malachiam vero, Aggaeum, Zachariam et Esdras etiam Iudaei reprobi in auctoritatem divinam receptos novissimos habent. Sunt enim et scripta eorum, sicut aliorum qui in magna multitudine prophetarum perpauca ea scripserunt quae auctoritatem canonis obtinerent. De quorum praedictis quae ad Christum ecclesiamque eius pertinent nonnulla mihi in hoc opere video esse ponenda; quod commodius fiet adiuvante Domino sequenti libro, ne hunc tam prolixum ulterius oneremus.

¹ Matthew 11.13.

who were prophets at that time, and Ezra, they had no prophets until the Saviour's coming, except the other Zechariah, the father of John, and his wife Elizabeth, when Christ's nativity was now at hand, and after his birth the old Simeon and Anna, a widow and already advanced in age, and John himself, the last among them. To be sure, since he and Christ were both young men at the time, John did not foretell Christ's coming, but he did recognize the unrecognized Christ and with prophetic insight point him out. This explains why the Lord himself says: "The law and the prophets even down to John."¹ But the prophecies of these five are known to us from the Gospel, in which the virgin herself, the mother of the Lord, is found to have prophesied before John did. But the rejected Jews do not accept the prophecy of these last, though the countless men among them who have come to believe the gospel have accepted them. For then Israel was truly divided into two parts by that division which was foretold to Saul the king by Samuel the prophet, a division that can never be changed. But Malachi, Haggai, Zechariah and Ezra even the rejected Jews have accepted, and regard as the last admitted to the list of those with divine authority. For there exist also writings by these men, like those by the others who, few in number among the great number of prophets, wrote those books which were to win canonical authority. I see that some of their predictions which relate to Christ and his church must be included in this work. This, by God's help, will be more conveniently done in a following book. Thus I avoid adding more to the burden of this one, which is already so long.

BOOK XVIII

LIBER XVIII

I

De his quae usque ad tempora Salvatoris decem et septem voluminibus disputata sunt.

DE civitatum duarum—quarum Dei una, saeculi huius est altera, in qua est, quantum ad hominum genus pertinet, etiam ista peregrina—exortu et pro-cursu et debitis finibus me scripturum esse promisi, cum prius inimicos civitatis Dei, qui conditori eius Christo deos suos praeferunt et livore sibi pernicio-sissimo atrociter invident Christianis, quantum me adiuveret eius gratia, refellissem, quod voluminibus decem prioribus feci. De hac vero mea, quam modo commemoravi, tripartita promissione decimum se-quentibus quattuor libris ambarum est digestus exortus, deinde procursus ab homine primo usque ad diluvium libro uno, qui est huius operis quintus decimus, atque inde usque ad Abraham rursus ambae, sicut in temporibus, ita et in nostris litteris cucur-rerunt. Sed a patre Abraham usque ad regum tempus Israelitarum, ubi sextum decimum volumen absolvimus, et inde usque ad ipsius in carne Salvatoris adventum, quo usque septimus decimus liber tendi-tur, sola videtur in meo stilo cucurrisse Dei civitas; cum in hoc saeculo non sola cucurrerit, sed ambae

BOOK XVIII

I

On the events preceding the era of the Saviour, that have been discussed in seventeen books.

I PROMISED that when once I had refuted the enemies of the City of God, who value their own gods above its founder Christ, and in a hatred that is most ruinous to themselves are cruelly hostile to the Christians, a task I accomplished in the first ten books, I would write about the origin, progress and appointed ends of the two cities, the one of God and the other of this world, in which the former resides as an alien, so far as mankind is concerned. In fulfilment of this threefold promise that I have just mentioned, the origins of both cities were sum-marized in the four books after the tenth, and then their progress from the first man to the flood in one book, which is the fifteenth of this work. From that point both cities ran their course to the age of Abra-ham in our narrative, just as they did in time. But from father Abraham down to the time of the Israelite kings, the point at which we completed the sixteenth book, and thence to the advent of the Saviour in the flesh, the terminus of the seventeenth book, it is evident that only the progress of the city of God has engaged my pen. Yet this city did not run its course alone in this world, but rather, as both

utique in genere humano, sicut ab initio, simul suo procursu tempora variaverint. Verum hoc ideo feci, ut prius, ex quo apertiores Dei promissiones esse coeperunt, usque ad eius ex virgine nativitatem, in quo fuerant quae primo promittebantur implenda, sine interpellatione a contrario alterius civitatis ista, quae Dei est, procurrens distinctius apparet; quamvis usque ad revelationem testamenti novi non in lumine, sed in umbra cucurrerit. Nunc ergo, quod intermiseram, video esse faciendum, ut ex Abrahae temporibus quo modo etiam illa cucurrerit, quantum satis videtur, adtingam, ut ambae inter se possint consideratione legentium comparari.

II

De terrenae civitatis regibus atque temporibus, quibus ab exortu Abrahae sanctorum tempora supputata conveniunt.

SOCIETAS igitur usquequaque mortalium diffusa per terras et in locorum quantislibet diversitatibus unius tamen eiusdemque naturae quadam communione devincta utilitates et cupiditates suas quibusque sectantibus, dum id quod appetitur aut nemini aut non omnibus sufficit, quia non est id ipsum, adversus se ipsam plerumque dividitur, et pars partem, quae

cities began together, so together in their progress among men they have known the shifts of time and change. I followed this plan on purpose, however, in order to throw a clearer light on the career of the city of God by presenting it without interruption from its opponent, the other city, from the time when God's promises began to be more openly revealed down to his birth from the virgin, which was the due fulfilment of the original promises, in spite of the fact that until the revelation of the new covenant the city of God ran its course, not in full light, but in shadow. So now I see that it behoves me to repair this omission by sketching the history of the other city from the time of Abraham as fully as seems to be required, in order to call to my readers' attention the contrast between the two.

II

On the kings and dates of the earthly city, corresponding to the dates of the saints reckoned from the birth of Abraham.

THE society of mortal men, therefore, spread everywhere throughout all countries and, no matter how great the variation of environment, yet retained in a way some bond of fellowship, as being of one and the same origin, though each group pursued advantages and satisfactions peculiar to itself. Meanwhile, not everyone, and it may be no one, is content with what he gets, since it is not one end that is sought by all. And so human society is divided against itself, and any portion of mankind that proves

praevallet, opprimit. Victrici enim victa succumbit, dominationi scilicet vel etiam libertati qualemcumque pacem praeferens ac salutem, ita ut magnae fuerint admirationi qui perire quam servire maluerunt. Nam in omnibus fere gentibus quodam modo vox naturae ista personuit, ut subiugari victoribus malent, quibus contigit vinci, quam bellica omnifariam vastatione deleri. Hinc factum est, ut non sine Dei providentia, in cuius potestate est ut quisque bello aut subiugetur aut subiuget, quidam essent regnis praediti, quidam regnantibus subditi. Sed inter plurima regna terrarum, in quae terrenae utilitatis vel cupiditatis est divisa societas—quam civitatem mundi huius universali vocabulo nuncupamus—duo regna cernimus longe ceteris provenisse clariora, Assyriorum primum, deinde Romanorum, ut temporibus, ita locis inter se ordinata atque distincta. Nam quo modo illud prius, hoc posterius, eo modo illud in Oriente, hoc in Occidente surrexit; denique in illius fine huius initium confestim fuit. Regna cetera ceterosque reges velut adpendices istorum dixerim.

Ninus ergo iam secundus rex erat Assyriorum, qui patri suo Belo successerat, regni illius primo regi, quando in terra Chaldaeorum natus est Abraham.

itself superior in strength exercises oppression. For the conquered portion yields to the will of the victor, preferring, of course, peace and survival on any terms to power or even to liberty, so that men are greatly amazed at those who have chosen to perish rather than to be enslaved. For in almost all nations somehow the voice of nature has made itself heard, insisting that those whose lot is defeat should prefer to be subject to the victors rather than be wiped out in a universal military disaster. Hence it has come about—though the hand of God is also concerned, in whose power it rests to decide in each case who shall by war impose his yoke or receive another's—that some nations have received empires in fee, while some have been put under the empire of others. But among the numerous kingdoms of the world, into which the society motivated by worldly advantage or satisfaction, which we call by the general name the 'city of this world,' has been divided, we note that two powers have gained far greater fame than the rest, first that of the Assyrians, and later that of the Romans, as neatly arranged and well spaced from each other in time as in place. For just as the one arose earlier and the other later, so also the one arose in the east and the other in the west, and, to conclude, the beginning of the one followed immediately upon the end of the other. All other kingdoms and kings I should describe as appendages of these empires.

Ninus, then, was already reigning as the second king of the Assyrians, having succeeded his father Bel, the first ruler of the kingdom, when Abraham was born in the land of the Chaldaeans. At that

Erat etiam tempore illo regnum Sicyoniorum admodum parvum, a quo ille undecumque doctissimus Marcus Varro scribens de gente populi Romani, velut antiquo tempore, exorsus est. Ab his enim Sicyoniorum regibus ad Athenienses pervenit, a quibus ad Latinos, inde Romanos. Sed ante conditam Romam in comparatione regni Assyriorum perexigua ista memorantur; quamvis Athenienses in Graecia plurimum claruisse fateatur etiam Sallustius Romanus historicus, plus tamen fama quam re ipsa. Nam loquens de illis: "Atheniensium, inquit, res gestae, sicuti ego existimo, satis amplae magnificentaeque fuere; verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere extollere praeclara ingenia." Accedit huic civitati non parva etiam ex litteris et philosophis gloria, quod ibi potissimum talia studia vigerunt. Nam quantum adinet ad imperium, nullum maius primis temporibus quam Assyriorum fuit, nec tam longe lateque diffusum, quippe ubi Ninus rex, Beli filius, universam Asiam, quae totius orbis ad numerum partium tertia dicitur, ad magnitudinem vero dimidia reperitur, usque ad Libyae fines subegisse traditur. Solis quippe Indis in partibus Orientis non dominabatur, quos tamen eo defuncto

time there also existed the kingdom of the Sicyonians, an extremely small power, with which, on account of its ancient date, Marcus Varro, a man most learned in all fields, began his work when writing *On the Race of the Roman People*.¹ For from these Sicyonian kings he proceeds to the Athenians, from them to the Latins and then to the Romans. But such states as he mentions before the founding of Rome are petty indeed in comparison with the Assyrian empire. Yet the Roman historian Sallust also says that the Athenians attained the greatest renown in Greece—more, however, by their reputation than by their actual achievements. For in his account of them he says: "The exploits of the Athenians, in my opinion, were sufficiently great and glorious, but yet they were of somewhat less importance than they are reputed to be. But because writers of genius arose in that city, the deeds of the Athenians are hailed throughout the world as being the greatest. Thus the valor of those who accomplished those deeds is supposed to match the ability of renowned geniuses to adorn them with praise."² This city also acquired no small fame from literature and from the philosophers, since such studies as these flourished there to an exceptional degree. Now, as far as imperial power is concerned, there was none greater in early times than that of the Assyrians, nor did any other empire extend so far and wide, inasmuch as king Ninus, son of Bel, is said to have conquered all Asia as far as the borders of Lydia,³ and this is reckoned as one of the three parts of the world, but actually in area as half the world. The only people, indeed, in the eastern regions that he did not conquer were

¹ For this tribute to Varro, compare 6.2, Vol. 2, 294 f. with note. On the work *De gente populi Romani* see Introduction, p. xiv above.

² Sallust, *Catiline* 8.7 ff.

³ On Ninus, compare 4.6, Vol. 2.22–25; 16.17, p. 93 above.

Samiramis uxor eius est adgressa bellando. Ita factum est ut, quicumque in illis terris populi sive reges erant, Assyriorum regno ditionique parerent et quidquid imperaretur efficerent.

Abraham igitur in eo regno apud Chaldaeos Nini temporibus natus est. Sed quoniam res Graecae multo sunt nobis quam Assyriae notiores, et per Graecos ad Latinos ac deinde ad Romanos, qui etiam ipsi Latini sunt, temporum seriem deduxerunt qui gentem populi Romani in originis eius antiquitate rimati sunt; ob hoc debemus, ubi opus est, Assyrios nominare reges, ut appareat quem ad modum Babylonia, quasi prima Roma, cum peregrina in hoc mundo Dei civitate procurrat. Res autem quas propter comparationem civitatis utriusque, terrenae scilicet et caelestis, huic operi oportet inserere, magis ex Graecis et Latinis, ubi et ipsa Roma quasi secunda Babylonia est, debemus adsumere.

Quando ergo natus est Abraham, secundi reges erant apud Assyrios Ninus, apud Sicyonios Europs; primi autem illic Belus, hic Aegialeus fuerunt. Cum vero egresso Abraham de Babylonia promisit ei Deus ex illo magnam gentem futuram et in eius semine omnium gentium benedictionem, Assyrii quartum regem habebant, Sicyonii quintum. Apud illos enim regnabat filius Nini post matrem Samiramidem, quae ab illo interfecta perhibetur, ausa filium mater

the Indians; still his wife Semiramis made war on them after his death. Thus it is a fact that whatever peoples or kings there were in those lands obeyed the throne and sceptre of the Assyrians and did whatever they commanded.

Abraham, then, was born in that kingdom among the Chaldaeans, in the time of Ninus. But since Greek history is much better known among us than Assyrian, and since those who have traced the descent of the Roman people back to its ancient origins have followed a chronological scheme that comes down through the Greeks to the Latins and thence to the Romans, who are themselves Latins also, for this reason we must name the Assyrian kings when occasion arises, to show clearly how Babylonia, as the first Rome, runs its course beside the city of God in its pilgrimage in this world. But as for the threads that we must weave into our narrative to compare the two cities, that is, the earthly and the heavenly, these we must select primarily from Greek and Latin history, in which Rome itself is like a second Babylon.

To resume, when Abraham was born, the second kings in line were reigning, Ninus over the Assyrians, and Europs over the Sicyonians; now the first kings of those lines were Bel and Aegialeus, respectively. But when, after Abraham departed from Babylonia, God promised him that a greater race should spring from him, and promised a blessing on all nations in his seed, the Assyrians had their fourth king and the Sicyonians their fifth. For the son of Ninus reigned over the former after his mother Semiramis. She is said to have been killed by him because she,

incestare concubitu. Hanc putant nonnulli condidisse Babylonem, quam quidem potuit instaurare. Quando autem vel quo modo condita fuerit, in sexto decimo libro diximus. Filium porro Nini et Samiramidis, qui matri successit in regnum, quidam etiam ipsum Ninum, quidam vero derivato a patre vocabulo Ninyan vocant. Sicyoniorum autem regnum tunc tenebat Telxion. Quo regnante usque adeo ibi mitia et laeta tempora fuerunt ut eum defunctum velut deum colerent sacrificando et ludos celebrando, quos ei primitus institutos ferunt.

III

*Quibus regnantibus apud Assyrios atque Sicyonios
Abrahae centenario Isaac de promissione sit natus,
vel ipsi Isaac sexagenario Esau et Iacob gemini
de Rebecca sint editi.*

Huius temporibus etiam Isaac ex promissione Dei natus est centenario patri filius Abrahae de Sarra coniuge, quae sterilis et anus iam spem prolis amiserat. Tunc et Assyriis quintus erat rex Arrius. Ipsi vero Isaac sexagenario nati sunt gemini, Esau et Iacob, quos ei Rebecca uxor peperit, avo eorum Abraham adhuc vivente et centum sexaginta aetatis annos agente, qui expletis centum septuaginta

¹ 16.4 p. 27 above.

his mother, had dared to pollute him, her son, by incestuous embrace. Some think that she actually founded Babylon, which she may indeed have rebuilt. But when and in what fashion it was founded, we have told in the sixteenth book.¹ Furthermore, the son of Ninus and Semiramis, who succeeded his mother in the royal power, is himself called Ninus by some authorities, whereas some call him Ninyas, a name derived from that of his father. At that time Telxion held the kingdom of the Sicyonians. In his reign the times were so peaceful and happy that at his death men worshipped him as a god, offering sacrifices and celebrating games which they say were originally instituted in his honour.

III

*What kings reigned over the Assyrians and Sicyonians
when Isaac was born, according to the promise, to
the centenarian Abraham, and the twins Esau and
Jacob were born of Rebecca to Isaac himself, when
he was sixty years old.*

DURING this man's time Isaac also was born according to God's promise, to his hundred-year-old father; he was the son of Abraham by his wife Sarah, who, being barren and old, was now without hope of offspring. At that time also the Assyrians had their fifth king, Arrius. Now to Isaac himself in his sixtieth year twins were born, Esau and Jacob, whom his wife Rebecca bore to him, while their grandfather Abraham was still alive, in the hundred and sixtieth year of his age. He died after completing a hundred

quinque defunctus est, regnantibus apud Assyrios Xerse illo antiquiore, qui etiam Baleus vocabatur, et apud Sicyonios Thuriaco, quem quidam Thuri-machum scribunt, septimis regibus. Regnum autem Argivorum simul cum Abrahae nepotibus ortum est, ubi primus regnavit Inachus. Sane quod praeter-eundum non fuit, etiam apud sepulcrum septimi sui regis Thuriaci sacrificare Sicyonios solere Varro refert. Regnantibus porro octavis regibus, Armamitre Assyriorum, Sicyoniorum Leucippo et primo Argivorum Inacho, Deus locutus est ad Isaac atque ipsi quoque eadem, quae patri eius, duo illa promisit, semini scilicet eius terram Chanaan et in eius semine benedictionem cunctarum gentium. Haec ipsa promissa sunt etiam filio eius, nepoti Abrahæ, qui est appellatus primo Iacob, post Israel, cum iam Belocus rex nonus Assyriae et Phoroneus Inachi filius secundus regnaret Argivis, Leucippo adhuc apud Sicyonios permanente.

His temporibus Graecia sub Phoroneo Argolico rege legum et iudiciorum quibusdam clarior facta est institutis. Phegous tamen frater huius Phoronei iunior cum esset mortuus, ad eius sepulcrum templum est constitutum, in quo coleretur ut deus et ei boves immolarentur. Credo honore tanto ideo dignum putarunt, quia in regni sui parte—pater quippe loca ambobus distribuerat, in quibus eo vivente regnarent—iste sacella constituerat ad colendos deos et

and seventy-five years, when Xerxes the Elder, who is also called Baleus, was reigning over the Assyrians, and Thuriacus, whose name some write as Thurimachus, over the Sicyonians, these being their seventh kings. Moreover, the kingdom of the Argives, where Inachus was first to reign, arose at the time of Abraham's grandsons. Varro states that the Sicyonians were also in the habit of sacrificing at the tomb of their seventh king, Thuriacus, a point that certainly should not be omitted. Next, during the reigns of the eighth kings of the Assyrians and Sicyonians, Armamitres and Leucippus, respectively, and Inachus, the first king of the Argives, God spoke to Isaac and made to him also the same two promises that he had made to his father, namely, the land of Canaan for his seed, and in his seed the blessing of all nations. Those same promises were also made to his son, Abraham's grandson, who was first called Jacob, and later Israel, at the time when Belocus the ninth king reigned over Assyria and Phoroneus son of Inachus was the second ruler of the Argives, while Leucippus still continued to reign over the Sicyonians.

During these times Greece gained some repute by the institution of certain laws and law-courts under Phoroneus the king of Argolis. Yet when Phegous the younger brother of this Phoroneus died, a temple was erected at his tomb, in which he was to be worshipped as a god, and cattle immolated in his honour. I believe that they considered him worthy of such great honour because in his part of the kingdom—since his father had assigned both his sons districts in which to reign during his lifetime—he had set up shrines for worshipping the gods, and had

docuerat observari tempora per menses atque annos, quid eorum quatenus metirentur atque numerarent. Haec in eo nova mirantes rudes adhuc homines morte obita deum esse factum sive opinati sunt sive voluerunt. Nam et Io filia Inachi fuisse perhibetur, quae postea Isis appellata ut magna dea culta est in Aegypto; quamvis alii scribant eam ex Aethiopia in Aegyptum venisse reginam, et quod late iusteque imperaverit eisque multa commoda et litteras instituerit, hunc honorem illi habitum esse divinum, postea quam ibi mortua est, et tantum honorem ut capitali crimine reus fieret, si quis eam fuisse hominem diceret.

IV

De temporibus Iacob et filii eius Ioseph.

REGNANTIBUS Assyriorum decimo rege Baleo et Sicyoniorum nono Messapo, qui etiam Cephisus a quibusdam traditur—si tamen duorum nominum homo unus fuit ac non potius alterum pro altero putaverunt fuisse hominem, qui in suis posuerunt scriptis alterum nomen—cum rex Argivorum tertius Apis esset, mortuus est Isaac annorum centum octoginta et reliquit geminos suos annorum centum et viginti; quorum minor Iacob pertinens ad civitatem Dei, de qua scribimus, maiore utique reprobato, habebat duodecim filios, quorum illum qui vocabatur

taught them to keep a record of time by noting months and years, telling them what units to measure and how far to go in their enumeration of them. Marvelling at these new inventions of his, men who were still uneducated either believed or decreed that at his death he had become a god. For Io also is said to have been a daughter of Inachus, and she, being later named Isis, was worshipped in Egypt as a great goddess. But other writers say that she came to Egypt from Ethiopia as queen, and that because she ruled widely and with justice and instituted many useful customs for them, including the art of writing, divine honours were granted her after she died in that country, and so great was her honour that a man was held guilty of a capital crime if he said that she was mortal.

IV

On the times of Jacob and his son Joseph.

WHEN Baleus the tenth king of the Assyrians was reigning, and Messapus, the ninth king of the Sicyonians, who is also called Cephisus by certain writers—if indeed both names belong to one man, and those who used the second name did not rather confuse one man with another—and when Apis was the third king of the Argives, Isaac died at the age of a hundred and eighty, and left his twin sons a hundred and twenty years old. Jacob, the younger of these, who belonged to the city of God about which we are writing, since the older son had been rejected, had twelve sons, one of whom, called Joseph, his

Ioseph mercatoribus in Aegyptum transeuntibus fratres adhuc Isaac avo eorum vivente vendiderant. Stetit autem ante Pharaonem Ioseph, quando ex humilitate quam pertulit sublimatus est, cum triginta esset annorum; quoniam somnia regis divine interpretatus praenuntiavit septem ubertatis annos futuros, quorum abundantiam praepollentem consequentes alii septem steriles fuerant consumpturi. Et ob hoc eum rex praefecerat Aegypto de carcere liberatum, quo eum coniecerat integritas castitatis, quam fortiter servans male amanti dominae et male credulo domino mentiturae veste etiam derelicta de manibus adtrahentis aufugiens non consensit ad stuprum. Secundo autem anno septem annorum sterilium Iacob in Aegyptum cum suis omnibus venit ad filium, agens annos centum et triginta, sicut interroganti regi ipse respondit, cum Ioseph ageret triginta et novem, ad triginta scilicet, quos agebat quando a rege honoratus est, additis septem ubertatis et duobus famis.

V

De Api rege Argivorum, quem Aegyptii Serapim nominatum divino honore coluerunt.

His temporibus rex Argivorum Apis navibus transvectus in Aegyptum, cum ibi mortuus fuisset, factus

brothers had sold to merchants on their way to Egypt when their grandfather Isaac was still alive. Now Joseph stood before Pharaoh when at the age of thirty he was lifted up from the humiliation that he had endured.¹ For by divine aid he interpreted the king's dreams, and foretold that there would be seven years of plenty, whose overwhelming abundance seven other barren years thereafter were destined to consume. For this reason the king had put him in charge of Egypt, freeing him from the prison into which his unblemished chastity had thrust him. For in resolutely guarding it he refused his consent to adultery, fleeing from the mistress who basely loved him and was basely to lie to her credulous lord, even leaving his garment behind in her hands as she tried to hold him. Moreover, in the second of the seven barren years Jacob came to his son in Egypt, with all his household, being then a hundred and thirty years old, as he himself stated in answer to the king's question.² At this time Joseph was thirty-nine years old, since to the thirty years of his age when he was honoured by the king seven years of plenty and two of famine had been added.

V

On Apis king of the Argives, whom the Egyptians named Serapis and worshipped with divine honours.

In those days Apis king of the Argives sailed to Egypt with a fleet, and when he died there he

¹ Genesis 41.46.

² Genesis 47.9 f.

est Serapis omnium maximus Aegyptiorum deus. Nominis autem huius, cur non Apis etiam post mortem, sed Serapis appellatus sit, facillimam rationem Varro reddidit. Quia enim arca, in qua mortuus ponitur, quod omnes iam sarcophagum vocant, *σopός* dicitur Graece, et ibi eum venerari sepultum coeperant, priusquam templum eius esset extractum, velut soros et Apis Sorapis primo, deinde una littera, ut fieri adsolet, commutata Serapis dictus est. Et constitutum est etiam de illo ut quisquis eum hominem fuisse dixisset capitalem penderet poenam. Et quoniam fere in omnibus templis ubi colebantur Isis et Serapis, erat etiam simulacrum quod digito labiis inpresso admonere videretur ut silentium fieret, hoc significare idem Varro existimat ut homines eos fuisse taceretur. Ille autem bos, quem mirabili vanitate decepta Aegyptus in eius honorem deliciis adfluentibus alebat, quoniam eum sine sarcophago vivum venerabantur, Apis, non Serapis vocabatur. Quo bove mortuo quoniam quaerebatur et reperiebatur vitulus coloris eiusdem, hoc est albis quibusdam maculis similiter insignitus, mirum quiddam et divinitus sibi procuratum esse credebant. Non enim magnum erat daemonibus ad eos decipiendos phantasiam talis tauri, quam sola cerneret, ostentare vaccae concipienti atque praeg-

¹ Serapis (Sarapis) was a Greco-Egyptian god, the chief deity of Alexandria, of whose name and origin there were conflicting stories. The etymology here taken from Varro is properly rejected by Plutarch (*Isis and Osiris* 29, 362 C), who

became Serapis, the chief god of all the Egyptians.¹ Moreover, Varro gave a very simple explanation of his name, that is, why he was not still called Apis after his death, but rather Serapis. For because the coffin in which a dead man is laid, which all men now call a sarcophagus, is called *soros* in Greek, and they began to worship him when he was buried in this, before his temple was completed, he was first called Sorapis, that is, Soros and Apis, and then by the change of one letter, such as often occurs, he was called Serapis. And it was decreed in his case also that whoever should say that he had been a man should suffer capital punishment. And since in practically all the temples where Isis and Serapis were worshipped there was also an image that seemed to enjoin silence by a finger pressed against its lips, Varro thinks this had the same meaning, that no mention should be made of their having been human beings. Moreover, that bull which Egypt, deceived by a strange delusion, fed with rich delicacies in his honour, was called Apis, not Serapis, because they worshipped it in life, without a sarcophagus. Since, when this bull died, a calf of the same colouring was sought and discovered, that is, one marked in the same way with certain white spots, they thought it a miracle, divinely provided for them. For it was no great feat for demons, in order to deceive them, to show a cow that had conceived and was pregnant an imaginary vision of such a bull, which she alone

adds that most of the priests explained the name as a combination of Osiris and Apis. Two ancient Egyptian cults were thus united in a new cult, Greek in its form, for the new city of Alexandria.

nanti, unde libido matris adtraheret quod in eius fetu iam corporaliter appareret; sicut Iacob de virgis variatis, ut oves et caprae variae nascerentur, effecit. Quod enim homines coloribus et corporibus veris, hoc daemones figuris fictis facillime possunt animalibus concipientibus exhibere.

VI

*Quo regnante apud Argivos quoque apud Assyrios
Iacob in Aegypto sit mortuus.*

APIS ergo rex, non Aegyptiorum, sed Argivorum, mortuus est in Aegypto. Huic filius Argus successit in regnum, ex cuius nomine et Argi et ex hoc Argivi appellati sunt; superioribus autem regibus nondum vel locus vel gens habebat hoc nomen. Hoc regnante apud Argivos et apud Sicyonios Erato, apud Assyrios vero adhuc manente Baleo mortuus est Iacob in Aegypto annorum centum quadraginta septem, cum moriturus filios suos et nepotes ex Ioseph benedixisset Christumque apertissime prophetasset, dicens in benedictione Iudae: *Non deficiet princeps ex Iuda et dux de femoribus eius, donec veniant quae reposita sunt ei; et ipse expectatio gentium.* Regnante Argo suis coepit uti frugibus Graecia et habere segetes in agricultura, delatis aliunde seminibus. Argo quoque post obitum deus haberi coepit, templo et sacrificiis

could see, and from which the mother's desire would attract the physical features that would thereupon be visible in her young, just as Jacob by the use of spotted rods caused the birth of varicoloured sheep and goats.¹ For what men do with actual colours and bodies, demons can very easily accomplish by showing feigned images to animals at the time of conception.

VI

*Who were reigning over the Argives and the Assyrians
when Jacob died in Egypt.*

APIS, then, being king not of the Egyptians but of the Argives, died in Egypt. His son Argus succeeded him on the throne, after whom the people were called both Argi and from this name Argives, whereas under the earlier kings neither the country nor the people bore this name. While he reigned over the Argives and Eratus over the Sicyonians, and Baleus still ruled over the Assyrians, Jacob died in Egypt at the age of a hundred and forty-seven years. At the point of death he had blessed his sons and his grandsons by Joseph, and had most plainly prophesied Christ, saying in his benediction of Judah: "A ruler shall not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, until those things come to pass that are in store for him, and he himself is the expectation of the nations."² During the reign of Argo Greece began to live on grain crops and to keep sown fields under cultivation, after importing seeds from other lands. Argo also began to be considered a god after his death, and was

¹ Genesis 30. 37-39.

² Genesis 49.10.

honoratus. Qui honor eo regnante ante illum delatus est homini privato et fulminato cuidam Homogyro, eo quod primus ad aratrum boves iunxerit.

VII

Quorum regum tempore Ioseph in Aegypto defunctus sit.

REGNANTIBUS Assyriorum duodecimo Mamytho et undecimo Sicyoniorum Plemmeo et Argis adhuc manente Argo mortuus est Ioseph in Aegypto annorum centum decem. Post cuius mortem populus Dei mirabiliter crescens mansit in Aegypto centum quadraginta quinque annos, tranquille prius, donec morerentur quibus Ioseph notus fuit. Deinde quia invidabatur incrementis eius erantque suspecta, quo usque inde liberaretur, persecutionibus—inter quas tamen divinitus fecundata multiplicatione crescebat—et laboribus premebatur intolerabilis servitutis. In Assyria vero et Graecia per idem tempus regna eadem permanebant.

VIII

Quorum regum aetate Moyses natus sit, et quorum deorum eisdem temporibus sit orta religio.

CUM ergo regnaret Assyrii quartus decimus Saphrus et Sicyoniis duodecimus Orthopolis et

¹ Varro, *De re rust.* 11.5.3 f; the manuscripts of Varro, and older editions, agree with Augustine in spelling the name Homogyrus.

honoured with a temple and sacrifices. This honour had been given previously, during his reign, to a private citizen who was struck by lightning, one Homogyrus, because he first yoked oxen to the plough.¹

VII

In what king's times Joseph died in Egypt.

WHILE Mamythos reigned as twelfth king of the Assyrians and Plemmeus as eleventh king of the Sicyonians, and Argus still reigned at Argos, Joseph died in Egypt, aged a hundred and ten years. After his death God's people, multiplying amazingly, remained in Egypt a hundred and forty-five years, at first peacefully, until the men died to whom Joseph was known. Thereafter because their increase aroused enmity, and they were objects of suspicion, they were oppressed until their liberation from that land by persecutions and the hardships of intolerable servitude—in the midst of which, however, made fruitful by God's grace, their numbers still increased. Now throughout this period the same kingdoms continued in Assyria and Greece.

VIII

The kings in whose reigns Moses was born, and the gods whose cult originated in those times.

Now when the fourteenth king, Saphrus, reigned over the Assyrians, and the twelfth, Orthopolis, over the Sicyonians, and the fifth, Criasus, over the

Crius quintus **Argivis**, natus est in Aegypto Moyses, per quem populus Dei de servitute Aegyptia liberatus est, in qua eum ad desiderandum sui Creatoris auxilium sic exerceri oportebat. Regnantibus memoratis regibus fuisse a quibusdam creditur Prometheus, quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines quia optimus sapientiae doctor fuisse perhibetur—nec tamen ostenditur, qui eius temporibus fuerint sapientes. Frater eius Atlans magnus fuisse astrologus dicitur; unde occasionem fabula invenit ut eum caelum portare confingeret; quamvis mons eius nomine nuncupetur, cuius altitudine potius caeli portatio in opinionem vulgi venisse videatur. Multa quoque alia ex illis in Graecia temporibus confingi fabulosa coeperunt; sed usque ad Cecropem regem Atheniensium, quo regnante eadem civitas etiam tale nomen accepit, et quo regnante Deus per Moysen eduxit ex Aegypto populum suum, relati sunt in deorum numerum aliquot mortui caeca et vana consuetudine ac superstitione Graecorum.

In quibus Criasi regis coniux Melantomice et Phorbas filius eorum, qui post patrem rex Argivorum sextus fuit, et septimi regis Triopae filius Iasus et rex nonus Sthenelas sive Stheneleus sive Sthenelus; varie quippe in diversis auctoribus invenitur. His temporibus etiam Mercurius fuisse perhibetur, nepos Atlantis ex Maia filia, quod vulgatiores etiam litterae personant. Multarum autem artium peritus claruit

Argives, Moses was born in Egypt. He was the man through whom the people of God were freed from the servitude in Egypt by which it was necessary for them to be thus tried in order to create in them a longing for the aid of their creator. Prometheus is believed by some to have lived during the reigns of the afore-said kings. The reason why they say that he moulded men out of mud is that he is supposed to have been the best teacher of wisdom—and yet they do not say what wise men lived in his times. His brother Atlas is said to have been a great astrologer, which gave rise to the myth which represents him as carrying the sky. However, there is a mountain called by his name whose lofty height seems a more probable source for the popular belief about his support of the heavens. Many other mythical tales also began to be invented in Greece in those times; in fact, down to the time of Cecrops king of the Athenians, in whose reign the city received its name and God led his people out of Egypt through Moses' agency, a number of dead men were enrolled in the number of the gods by the blind and foolish custom and superstition of the Greeks.

Among these was Melantomice the wife of king Crius, and Phorbas their son, who succeeded his father as sixth king of the Argives, and Iasus the son of Triopas the seventh king, and the ninth king Sthenelas or Stheneleus or Sthenelus, as the name is variously given in different authors. Mercury also is said to have lived in these times, the grandson of Atlas by his daughter Maia, a subject familiar even in popular literature. He was noted for his skill in many arts, which he also transmitted to men, and

quas et hominibus tradidit; quo merito eum post mortem deum esse voluerunt sive etiam crediderunt. Posterior fuisse Hercules dicitur, ad ea tamen tempora pertinens Argivorum; quamvis nonnulli eum Mercurio praeferant tempore, quos falli existimo. Sed quolibet tempore nati sint, constat inter historicos graves, qui haec antiqua litteris mandaverunt, ambos homines fuisse, et quod mortalibus ad istam vitam commodius ducendam beneficia multa contulerint, honores ab eis meruisse divinos.

Minerva vero longe his antiquior; nam temporibus Ogygi ad lacum, qui Tritonis dicitur, virginali apparuisse fertur aetate, unde et Tritonia nuncupata est; multorum sane operum inventrix et tanto proclivius dea credita quanto minus origo eius innotuit. Quod enim de capite Iovis nata canitur, poetis et fabulis, non historiae rebusque gestis est adplicandum. Quamquam Ogygi ipse quando fuerit, cuius temporibus etiam diluvium magnum factum est, non illud maximum, in quo nulli homines evaserunt, nisi qui in arca esse potuerunt, quod gentium nec Graeca nec Latina novit historia, sed tamen maius quam postea tempore Deucalionis fuit, inter scriptores historiae non convenit. Nam Varro inde exorsus est librum, cuius mentionem superius feci, et nihil sibi, ex quo perveniat ad res Romanas, proponit antiquius quam Ogygi diluvium, hoc est Ogygi factum temporibus. Nostri autem qui chronica scripserunt, prius Eusebius, post Hiero-

in return for this service they decreed that he should be a god after his death, or even believed that he was one. Hercules, it is said, came after him, while still belonging to the Argive period. Some, however, put him before Mercury in time, but I think they are wrong. But at whatever time they were born, sober historians who have recorded these ancient tales are agreed that both were men and that because they conferred on mortals many benefits to enable them to live more commodiously in this life, they obtained divine honours from them.

Minerva, however, was far more ancient than they, for she is said to have appeared as a young maiden in the time of Ogygi near the lake called Tritonis, whence she is also called Tritonia. She was, no doubt, the inventor of many crafts and was the more readily believed to be a goddess because so little was known of her origin. For the tale that she was born from the head of Jove must be relegated to poets and fables, and not be included among the facts of history. And yet there is no agreement among the writers of history about the date at which Ogygius himself lived, in whose time there also occurred a great flood. It was not that greatest flood from which no men escaped except those who were able to be in the ark, of which pagan history, whether Greek or Latin, had no knowledge, but still it was greater than the later flood in the time of Deucalion. For Varro began his book, which I mentioned above,¹ at this point, and he presents no earlier starting-point from which to proceed to Roman history than the flood of Ogygius, that is, the one that occurred in the times of Ogygius. But our own writers who have composed chronicles, first

¹ *De gente populi Romani*, mentioned in Chapter II, p. 369 above.

nymus, qui utique praecedentes aliquos historicos in hac opinione secuti sunt, post annos amplius quam trecentos iam secundo Argivorum Phoroneo rege regnante Ogygi diluvium fuisse commemorant. Sed quolibet tempore fuerit, iam tamen Minerva tamquam dea colebatur regnante Atheniensibus Cecrope, sub quo rege etiam ipsam vel instauratam ferunt vel conditam civitatem.

IX

Quando Atheniensium sit civitas condita, et quam causam nominis eius Varro perhibeat.

NAM ut Athenae vocarentur, quod certe nomen a Minerva est, quae Graece 'Αθηνᾶ dicitur, hanc causam Varro indicat. Cum apparuisset illic repente olivae arbor et alio loco aqua erupisset, regem prodigia ista moverunt, et misit ad Apollinem Delphicum sciscitatum quid intellegendum esset quidve faciendum. Ille respondit quod olea Minervam significaret, unda Neptunum, et quod esset in civium potestate, ex cuius potius nomine duorum deorum, quorum illa signa essent, civitas vocaretur. Isto Cecrops oraculo accepto cives omnes utriusque sexus—mos enim tunc in eisdem locis erat, ut etiam feminae publicis consultationibus interessent—ad ferendum suffragium convocavit. Consulta igitur multitudine mares pro Neptuno, feminae pro Minerva tulere sententias,

Eusebius and then Jerome, who of course based their opinion on some earlier historians, say that Ogygus' flood took place more than three hundred years later, when Phoroneus the second king of the Argives was already on the throne. Nevertheless, no matter what his date was, Minerva was already worshipped as a goddess when Cecrops was king of the Athenians, during whose reign they say that the city was either re-established or founded.

IX

When the city of the Athenians was founded, and what reason Varro gives for its name.

Now this is the reason Varro gives for the city's being called Athens, a name that is certainly derived from Minerva, who is called Athena in Greek. When an olive tree had suddenly appeared there, and on another spot water had gushed forth, these portents alarmed the king, and he sent to Delphic Apollo to ask what the meaning of this was and what was to be done. Apollo answered that the olive signified Minerva and the spring Neptune, and that it rested with the citizens to decide from which of the two gods, whose symbols these were, they preferred that the city should take its name. When Cecrops received this oracle he called together all the citizens of both sexes—for at that time it was customary in that area that the women also should have a part in public deliberations—to take a vote. When therefore the multitude was consulted, the men voted for Neptune and the women for Minerva, and because the

et quia una plus inventa est feminarum, Minerva vicit.

Tum Neptunus iratus marinis fluctibus exaestuantibus terras Atheniensium populatus est; quoniam spargere latius quaslibet aquas difficile daemonibus non est. Cuius ut iracundia placaretur, triplici supplicio dicit idem auctor ab Atheniensibus affectas esse mulieres, ut nulla ulterius ferrent suffragia, ut nullus nascentium maternum nomen acciperet, ut ne quis eas Athenaeas vocaret. Ita illa civitas, mater aut nutrix liberalium doctrinarum et tot tantorumque philosophorum, qua nihil habuit Graecia clarius atque nobilius, ludificantibus daemonibus et lite deorum suorum, maris et feminae, et de victoria per feminas feminae Athenas nomen accepit, et a victo laesa ipsam victricis victoriam punire compulsata est, plus aquas Neptuni quam Minervae arma formidans. Nam in mulieribus, quae sic punitae sunt, et Minerva quae vicerat victa est; nec adfuit suffragatricibus suis ut suffragiorum deinceps perdita potestate et alienatis filiis a nominibus matrum Athenaeas saltem vocari liceret et eius deae mereri vocabulum quam viri dei victricem fecerant ferendo suffragium. Quae et quanta hinc dici possent, nisi sermo ad alia properaret!

women were found to be one more, Minerva was victorious.

Then Neptune in his wrath devastated the lands of the Athenians by great floods of sea-water, for it is not difficult for demons to spread abroad any body of water that they choose. To appease his wrath, the same author tells us, the women were subjected by the Athenians to a triple punishment, namely, that they should never vote thereafter, that none of their children should bear their mother's name and that no one should call them Athenian women. Thus that city, mother or nurse of liberal studies and of so many and such great philosophers, the greatest glory and wonder that Greece could show, by the trickery of demons received its name of Athens from the contest between two of its deities, a male and a female, and from the victory of the female through the women's vote. And when it was struck by the conquered male it was compelled to avenge the victory of the victorious female, being more in awe of the waters of Neptune than of the weapons of Minerva. For in the person of the women who were thus punished Minerva, though victorious, was also defeated. Nor did she defend the women who had voted for her; when they lost the right of suffrage for the future, and their sons were cut off from their mothers' names, she might at least have seen to it that they had the privilege of being called Athenians and of bearing the name of the goddess, since they had given her the victory over the male god by their votes. What comments, and how lengthy, might be offered on this subject, if only my discourse were not hurrying on to other themes!

X

Quid Varro tradat de nuncupatione Areopagi et de diluvio Deucalionis.

Et tamen Marcus Varro non vult fabulosis adversus deos fidem adhibere figmentis, ne de maiestatis eorum dignitate indignum aliquid sentiat. Et ideo nec Areon pagon, ubi cum Atheniensibus Paulus apostolus disputavit, ex quo loco Areopagitae appellati sunt curiales urbis eiusdem, vult inde accepisse nomen, quod Mars, qui Graece Ἄρης dicitur, cum homicidii crimine reus fieret, iudicantibus duodecim diis in eo pago sex sententiis absolutus est—quia ubi paris numeri sententiae fuissent, praeponi absolutio damnationi solebat. Sed contra istam, quae multo amplius est celebrata, opinionem aliam quandam de obscurarum notitia litterarum causam nominis huius conatur astruere, ne Areon pagon Athenienses de nomine Martis et pagi quasi Martis pagum nominasse credantur, in iniuriam videlicet numinum, a quibus litigia vel iudicia existimat aliena; non minus hoc quod de Marte dicitur falsum esse adseverans quam illud quod de tribus deabus, Iunone scilicet et Minerva et Venere, quae pro malo aureo adipiscendo apud iudicem Paridem de pulchritudinis excellentia certasse narrantur et ad placandos ludis

X

Varro's account of the naming of the Areopagus and of Deucalion's flood.

AND yet Marcus Varro does not wish to give credence to fictitious myths to the discredit of the gods for fear of accepting something that would dishonour their majesty. And for this reason he rejects the theory that the Areopagus, where the apostle Paul disputed with the Athenians, and whence the council of that city were called 'Areopagites', received its name because Mars, who is called *Ares* in Greek, when he was on trial for homicide and twelve gods were judging his case on that hill, was acquitted by six votes to six. For when the votes were evenly divided, the verdict for acquittal was given the preference over that for condemnation. Against this interpretation, which is much more widely circulated, Varro attempts instead to establish another explanation of this name derived from his acquaintance with unfamiliar works. One must not suppose, Varros argues, that the Athenians named the Areopagus from *Ares* and *pagus*, as if it were 'the hill of Mars'; that would obviously be unfair to the gods, to whom he considers lawsuits and trials quite foreign. He asserts that this tale about Mars is no less false than the one told about three goddesses, namely, Juno and Minerva and Venus, who are reported to have competed in a match of beauty against beauty, in order to win the golden apple by the judgement of Paris. And when games are held to avert the wrath of the gods, who find such stories of their own

deos, qui delectantur seu veris seu falsis istis criminibus suis, inter theatricos plausus cantantur atque saltantur.

Haec Varro non credit, ne deorum naturae seu moribus credat incongrua; et tamen non fabulosam, sed historicam rationem de Athenarum vocabulo reddens tantam Neptuni et Minervae litem suis litteris inserit, de cuius nomine potius illa civitas vocaretur, ut, cum prodigiorum ostentatione contenderent, inter eos iudicare nec Apollo consultus auderet, sed deorum iurgium finiendum, sicut memoratarum trium dearum ad Paridem Iuppiter, ita et iste ad homines mitteret, ubi vinceret Minerva suffragiis et in poena suarum suffragatricium vinceretur, quae in adversariis suis viris obtinere Athenas potuit, et amicas suas feminas Athenaeas habere non potuit. His temporibus, ut Varro scribit, regnante Atheniensibus Cranao, successore Cecropis, ut autem nostri Eusebius et Hieronymus, adhuc eodem Cecrope permanente, diluvium fuit, quod appellatum est Deucalionis, eo quod ipse regnabat in earum terrarum partibus ubi maxime factum est. Hoc autem diluvium nequaquam ad Aegyptum atque ad eius vicina pervenit.

crimes entertaining, be they fact or be they fiction, the theatre rings with applause when the themes are treated in song and dance.

But Varro does not believe these tales, not wishing to believe anything inconsistent with the nature and character of the gods. Nevertheless, in giving an explanation of the name of Athens which is historical and not mythical, he includes in his book the famous lawsuit between Neptune and Minerva, by whose name that city was called, rather than by Neptune's. When the two competed with a display of prodigies, not even Apollo, when consulted, dared to judge between them. Rather, to end this quarrel of gods, just as Jupiter had sent the three goddesses just mentioned to Paris, so Apollo sent the rivals to men for a verdict. In that court Minerva won in the voting, but was defeated in the punishment of the women who voted for her. She was able to hold sway in Athens as far as her adversaries, the men, were concerned, but could not have her own friends, the women, named for her 'Athenians.' In these times, as Varro writes, when Cranaüs, Cecrops' successor, ruled over the Athenians, or while, according to our own Eusebius and Jerome, Cecrops was still ruling there, the flood occurred which was called Deucalion's because he reigned in the parts of those lands where its incidence was most severe. This flood, however, definitely did not extend to Egypt and its vicinity.

XI

Quo tempore Moyses populum Dei ex Aegypto eduxerit, et Iesus Nave, qui eidem successit, quorum regum aetate sit mortuus.

EDUXIT ergo Moyses ex Aegypto populum Dei novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensium regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret Ascatades, apud Sicyonios Marathus, apud Argivos Triopas. Educto autem populo in monte Sina divinitus acceptam tradidit legem, quod vetus dicitur testamentum, quia promissiones terrenas habet, et per Iesum Christum futurum fuerat testamentum novum, quo regnum caelorum promitteretur. Hunc enim ordinem servari oportebat, sicut in uno quoque homine qui in Deum proficit id agitur quod ait apostolus ut *non sit prius quod spiritale est; sed quod animale, postea spiritale;* quoniam sicut dicit et verum est, *primus homo de terra, terrenus; secundus homo de caelo.* Rexit autem populum Moyses per annos quadraginta in deserto et mortuus est annorum centum et viginti, cum Christum etiam ipse prophetasset per figuras observationum carnalium in tabernaculo et sacerdotio et sacrificiis aliisque mysticis plurimisque mandatis. Moysi successit Iesus Nave et in terra promissionis introductum populum conlocavit ex auctoritate divina debellatis gentibus a quibus eadem loca tenebantur. Qui cum populum rexisset post mortem

¹ 1 Corinthians 15.46 f.

XI

At what time Moses led God's people out of Egypt, and what kings were living when Joshua, who succeeded him, died.

MOSES, then, led the people of God out of Egypt at the very end of the reign of Cecrops the king of the Athenians, when Ascatades ruled over the Assyrians, Marathus over the Sicyonians and Triopas over the Argives. Moreover, when the people had been led out he gave them the law, divinely bestowed on Mount Sinai, which is called the old covenant because it contains earthly promises, whereas the new covenant was to come about through Jesus Christ, and in it the kingdom of heaven was to be promised. For this order had to be observed just as it is in the progress of each individual man towards God, according to the words of the Apostle: "Let not that be first which is spiritual, but that which is animal, and afterward that which is spiritual." For it is true, as he says: "The first man is of the earth, earthy, but the second man is of heaven."¹ Now Moses ruled the people in the desert for forty years and died at the age of a hundred and twenty years, after he also had prophesied of Christ by the symbols of carnal rites in the tabernacle and the priesthood, in sacrifices and other ordinances that have hidden meaning in abundance. Joshua succeeded Moses, and after leading the people into the land of promise settled them there as God had authorized him, when he had conquered the nations by whom those places were occupied. When he had ruled the people for twenty-

Moysi viginti et septem annos, etiam ipse defunctus est regnante apud Assyrios octavo decimo Amynta, apud Sicyonios sexto decimo Corace, apud Argivos decimo Danao, apud Athenienses quarto Erichthonio.

XII

De sacris falsorum deorum, quae reges Graeciae illis temporibus instituerunt, quae ab exitu Israel ex Aegypto usque ad Iesu Nave obitum dinumerantur.

PER haec tempora, id est ab exitu Israel ex Aegypto usque ad mortem Iesu Nave, per quem populus idem terram promissionis accepit, sacra sunt instituta diis falsis a regibus Graeciae, quae memoriam diluvii et ab eo liberationis hominum vitaeque tunc aerumnosae modo ad alta, modo ad plana migrantium sollemni celebritate revocarunt. Nam et Lupercorum per sacram viam ascensum atque descensum sic interpretantur ut ab eis significari dicant homines qui propter aquae inundationem summa montium petiverunt et rursus eadem residente ad ima redierunt. His temporibus Dionysum, qui etiam Liber pater dictus est et post mortem deus habitus, vitem ferunt ostendisse in Attica terra hospiti suo. Tunc Apollini Delphico instituti sunt ludi musici, ut placaretur ira eius, qua putabant afflictas esse sterilitate Graeciae regiones, quia non

seven years after the death of Moses, he also died, when Amyntas was ruling as eighteenth Assyrian king, Corax as the sixteenth Sicyonian, Danaüs as the tenth king over the Argives and Erichthonius as the fourth over the Athenians.

XII

On the cults of false gods which the kings of Greece instituted in the period that is reckoned from the exodus of Israel from Egypt to the death of Joshua.

DURING these times, that is, from Israel's departure from Egypt up to the death of Joshua, through whom the same people received the land of promise, cults in honour of false gods were instituted by the kings of Greece, which commemorated by solemn celebration the flood and men's deliverance from it and the hardships of their life at that time when they migrated now to high ground and again to low. For men also interpret the ascent and descent of the Luperci along the sacred way in this fashion, saying that they symbolize men who sought the mountain tops on account of the watery floods, and again returned to the valleys when the flood subsided. They say that in these times Dionysus, who was also called father Liber, and was considered a god after his death, revealed the vine to his host in the land of Attica. At that time musical contests were instituted in honour of Delphic Apollo, that his anger might be appeased, for they thought that the regions of Greece had been afflicted with sterility by him in his anger that they had

defenderint templum eius, quod rex Danaus, cum eadem terras bello invasisset, incendit. Hos autem ludos ut instituerent, oraculo sunt eius admoniti. In Attica vero rex Erichthonius ei ludos primus instituit, nec ei tantum, sed etiam Minervae, ubi praemium victoribus oleum ponebatur, quod eius fructus in-ventricem Minervam, sicut vini Liberum tradunt.

Per eos annos a rege Xantho Cretensium, cuius apud alios aliud nomen invenimus, rapta perhibetur Europa, et inde geniti Rhadamanthus, Sarpedon et Minos, quos magis ex eadem muliere filios Iovis esse vulgatum est. Sed talium deorum cultores illud quod de rege Cretensium diximus historicae veritati, hoc autem, quod de Iove poetae cantant theatra concrepant, populi celebrant, vanitati deputant fabularum, ut esset unde ludi fierent placandis numinibus etiam falsis eorum criminibus. His temporibus Hercules in Syria clarus habebatur; sed nimirum alius, non ille de quo supra locuti sumus. Secretiore quippe historia plures fuisse dicuntur et Liberi patres et Hercules. Hunc sane Herculem, cuius ingentia duodecim facta numerant, inter quae Antaei Afri necem non commemorant, quod ea res ad alterum Herculem pertinet, in Oeta monte a se ipso incensum produnt suis litteris, cum ea virtute qua multa subegerat, morbum tamen, quo languebat, sustinere non posset.

not defended his temple, which king Danaüs burned when he invaded those lands in war. Moreover, they were advised by his oracle to institute these contests. But in Attica it was king Erichthonius who first established games in his honour, and not only for him, but also for Minerva. At these olive oil was offered as a prize for the victors because they consider Minerva the discoverer of its fruits, as Liber was of the vine.

During those years Europa is said to have been carried off by Xanthus, king of the Cretans, whom we find others call by another name, and thence sprang Rhadamanthus, Sarpedon and Minos, though the more widely disseminated story makes them the sons of Jove by this same woman. But the worshippers of such gods reckon the account we have given of the Cretan king¹ as historical truth, but assign to unsubstantial fiction the story of Jupiter—a theme that moves poets to song, the theatre to applause and people to make holiday. For such fiction is needed to provide themes for the shows in which gods are appeased by tales, however untrue, of their own crimes. In those times Hercules enjoyed fame in Syria; this was presumably another man with the same name, and not the one of whom we spoke earlier. Indeed, in the more esoteric history there are said to have been various men called Father Liber and Hercules. It is this Hercules whose twelve mighty deeds they recount, not including the slaying of the African Antaeus, since that deed belongs to the other Hercules, and they report in their writings his suicide by fire on mount Oeta. For the courage whereby he had often prevailed did not suffice him to withstand suffering that laid him low.

¹ i.e. Minos, just named above.

Illo tempore vel rex vel potius tyrannus Busiris suis diis suos hospites immolabat, quem filium perhibent fuisse Neptuni ex matre Libya, filia Epaphi. Verum non credatur hoc stuprum perpetrasse Neptunus, ne dii accusentur; sed poetis et theatris ista tribuantur, ut sit unde placentur. Erichthonii regis Atheniensium, cuius novissimis annis Iesus Nave mortuus reperitur, Vulcanus et Minerva parentes fuisse dicuntur. Sed quoniam Minervam virginem volunt, in amborum contentione Vulcanum commotum effudisse aiunt semen in terram atque inde homini nato ob eam causam tale inditum nomen. Graeca enim lingua *ἔρις* contentio, *χθών* terra est, ex quibus duobus compositum vocabulum est Erichthonius. Verum, quod fatendum est, refellunt et a suis diis repellunt ista doctiores, qui hanc opinionem fabulosam hinc exortam ferunt, quia in templo Vulcani et Minervae, quod ambo unum habebant Athenis, expositus inventus est puer dracone involutus, qui eum significavit magnum futurum et propter commune templum, cum essent parentes eius ignoti, Vulcani et Minervae dictum esse filium. Nominis tamen eius originem fabula illa potius quam ista designat historia. Sed quid ad nos? Hoc in veracibus libris homines instruat religiosos, illud in fallacibus ludis daemones delectet inpueros; quos tamen illi religiosi tamquam deos colunt, et cum de

At that time Busiris, a king, or to put it better, a tyrant, used to sacrifice his guests to his gods. They say that he was the son of Neptune by his mother Libya, the daughter of Epaphus. But let it not be admitted that Neptune perpetrated such an unchaste deed, so as not to indict the gods. Rather let such themes be allotted to poets and theatres for them to use, in order that the gods may be duly propitiated. Vulcan and Minerva are said to have been the parents of Erichthonius, king of the Athenians, in whose last years Joshua is discovered to have died. But because they will have it that Minerva was a virgin, they say that when the two were struggling, Vulcan in his excitement discharged his seed on the ground, and that when a man was born from the seed he was named as he was for that reason. For in the Greek language *eris* means strife, and *chthon* means earth, and the name Erichthonius is a compound of these two words. But we must admit that more scholarly authors reject such tales and refuse to associate them with their gods. They find the origin of the myth in the discovery of a foundling in the temple of Vulcan and Minerva that the two shared at Athens. He was wrapped in the coils of a serpent, which marked him as destined to future greatness, and since his parents were unknown, he was called the son of Vulcan and Minerva, because they held the temple in common. Yet it is the myth rather than this historical account that explains how he got his name. But what has that to do with us? Let the latter account in sober prose instruct religious men, and let the shows that deal in lies delight the vile demons! Nevertheless, it is these demons that your religious men worship, and

illis haec negant, ab omni eos crimine purgare non possunt, quoniam ludos eis poscentibus exhibent, ubi turpiter aguntur quae velut sapienter negantur, et his falsis ac turpibus dii placantur, ubi etsi fabula cantat crimen numinum falsum, delectari tamen falso crimine crimen est verum.

XIII

Qualium fabularum fragmenta exorta sint eo tempore quo Hebraeis iudices praeesse coeperunt.

POST mortem Iesu Nave populus Dei iudices habuit, quibus temporibus alternaverunt apud eos et humilitates laborum pro eorum peccatis et prosperitates consolationum propter miserationem Dei. His temporibus fabulae fictae sunt de Triptolemo, quod iubente Cerere anguibus portatus alitibus indigentibus terris frumenta volando contulerit; de Minotauro, quod bestia fuerit inclusa Labyrintho, quo cum intrassent homines, inextricabili errore inde exire non poterant; de Centauris, quod equorum hominumque fuerit natura coniuncta; de Cerbero, quod sit triceps inferorum canis; de Phryxo et Helle eius sorore, quod vecti ariete volaverint; de Gorgone, quod fuerit crinita serpentibus et aspicientes convertibat in lapides; de Bellerophonte, quod equo

¹ Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.27.

although they deny these tales about them, they cannot purge their gods of all guilt, since it is these gods who require of them the plays in which are indecently performed the myths that are wisely, forsooth, denied. Such lies, such indecencies win the favour of the gods. That being so, though the crime committed by any god that is found in the play is but fiction, still to enjoy a feigned crime is itself a real crime.

XIII

What sort of fabulous inventions sprang up in the period when judges began to rule the Hebrews.

AFTER the death of Joshua the people of God received judges and in those days they had alternate periods of humiliating hardship for their sins and of comforting prosperity granted by God's mercy. In these times fables were invented about Triptolemus, that at the command of Ceres, borne by winged serpents, he bestowed grain on needy lands over which he flew; about the minotaur, that it was a beast shut up in the Labyrinth, and when men had entered there, they could not find a way out, because they wandered in a hopeless maze;¹ about the Centaurs, that they had bodies combining horse and man; about Cerberus, that he is a three-headed dog of the underworld; about Phryxus and his sister Helle, that they flew through the air riding on a ram; about the Gorgon, that she had serpents for hair and turned those who looked on her to stone; about Bellerophon, that he rode on a flying horse with

pinnis volante sit vectus, qui equus Pegasus dictus est; de Amphione, quod citharae suavitate lapides mulserit et adtraxerit; de fabro Daedalo et eius Icaro filio, quod sibi coaptatis pinnis volaverint; de Oedipo, quod monstrum quoddam, quae Sphinga dicebatur, humana facie quadrupedem, soluta quae ab illa proponi soleret velut insolubili quaestione, suo praecipitio perire compulerit; de Antaeo, quem necavit Hercules, quod filius terrae fuerit, propter quod cadens in terram fortior soleret adsurgere; et si qua forte alia praetermisi.

Hae fabulae bellum ad usque Troianum, ubi secundum librum Marcus Varro de populi Romani gente finivit, ex occasione historiarum, quae res veraciter gestas continent, ita sunt ingeniis hominum fictae ut non sint opprobrii numinum adfixae. Porro autem quicumque finxerunt a Iove ad stuprum raptum pulcherrimum puerum Ganymedem, quod nefas rex Tantalus fecit et Iovi fabula tribuit, vel Danaes per imbrem aureum adpetisse concubitum, ubi intellegitur pudicitia mulieris auro fuisse corrupta, quae illis temporibus vel facta vel ficta sunt, aut facta ab aliis et ficta de Iove, dici non potest quantum mali de hominum praesumpserint cordibus, quod possent ista patienter ferre mendacia quae tamen etiam libenter amplexi sunt. Qui utique quanto devotius

wings, which was called Pegasus; about Amphion, that by the sweet tones of his lyre he charmed stones and drew them to him; about the smith Daedalus and his son Icarus, that they attached wings to their bodies and flew; about Oedipus, that he compelled a certain monster, which was called a sphinx, a four-footed beast with a human face, to throw herself headlong to destruction, since he solved a question that she was wont to propound as insoluble; about Antaeus, whom Hercules slew, that he was a son of the earth, and so when he fell to the earth was wont to rise from it with greater strength, and other tales, perchance, that I have omitted.

Down to the time of the Trojan War, the point at which Marcus Varro ended his second book about the race of the Roman people, these fables were invented by human wits in such a way, seizing the chance offered by histories that contain the record of events which actually happened, that they are not coupled with slanders against the divine powers. But then, whoever the men were who invented the legend that the most beautiful boy Ganymede was carried off to be the paramour of Jove, a crime committed by king Tantalus which a fable attributed to Jove, or that Jove sought to share the couch of Danaë in a shower of gold, in which we understand that the woman's chastity was corrupted by gold—tales that arose in those times, whether fact or fiction, or were facts in the lives of others and fiction as ascribed to Jove—words cannot express the poor opinion they imply of human intelligence, to take it for granted that men could patiently put up with such lies. Yet men in fact even embraced them joyfully. Surely the more

Iovem colunt, tanto eos qui haec de illo dicere ausi sunt severius punire debuerunt. Nunc vero non solum eis, qui ista finxerunt, irati non sunt, sed ut talia figmenta etiam in theatris agerent, ipsos deos potius iratos habere timuerunt.

His temporibus Latona Apollinem peperit, non illum cuius oracula solere consuli superius loquebamur, sed illum qui cum Hercule servivit Admeto; qui tamen sic est deus creditus ut plurimi ac paene omnes unum eundemque Apollinem fuisse opinentur. Tunc et Liber pater bellavit in India, qui multas habuit in exercitu feminas quae Bacchae appellatae sunt, non tam virtute nobiles quam furore. Aliqui sane et victum scribunt istum Liberum et vinctum; nonnulli et occisum in pugna a Perseo, nec ubi fuerit sepultus tacent; et tamen eius velut dei nomine per immundos daemones Bacchanalia sacra vel potius sacrilegia sunt instituta, de quorum rabiosa turpitudine post tam multos annos sic senatus erubuit ut in urbe Roma esse prohiberet. Per ea tempora Perseus et uxor eius Andromeda postea quam sunt mortui, sic eos in caelum receptos esse crediderunt ut imagines eorum stellis designare eorumque appellare nominibus non erubescerent, non timerent.

devotedly men worship Jove, the more severely they should have punished those who dared to say such things about him. But as it is, they not only were not angry at those who invented these tales, but rather feared that the very gods would be angry with them, in order to make them act out these fictions in the theatres.

In these times Latona gave birth to Apollo, not the one whose oracles we said above were commonly consulted, but the one who served Admetus, together with Hercules. And yet he is so firmly believed to be a god that the great majority, and indeed almost all, think that he was one and the same Apollo. At that time also father Liber waged wars in India, and had many women in his army who were called Bacchae, less distinguished for valour than for madness. Some indeed write that this Liber was conquered and bound; some that he was killed in battle by Perseus, and they do not fail to mention the place of his burial. And yet in his name, as in that of a god, Bacchanalian religious rites, or rather sacrileges, were instituted by foul demons, and even after many years the senate was so ashamed of their mad indecency that they prohibited their celebration in the city of Rome. In those times, after Perseus and his wife Andromeda died, men were so convinced that both had been received in heaven that they were not kept by shame or fear from using stars to mark out likenesses of them, and to give these constellations their names.

XIV

De theologis poetis.

PER idem temporis intervallum extiterunt poetae, qui etiam theologi dicerentur quoniam de diis carmina faciebant, sed talibus diis, qui licet magni homines, tamen homines fuerunt aut mundi huius quem verus Deus fecit elementa sunt aut in principibus et potestatibus pro voluntate Creatoris et suis meritis ordinati, et si quid de uno vero Deo inter multa vana et falsa cecinerint, colendo cum illo alios, qui dii non sunt, eisque exhibendo famulatum, qui uni tantum debetur Deo, non ei utique rite servierunt nec a fabuloso deorum suorum dedecore etiam ipsi se abstinere potuerunt—Orpheus, Musaeus, Linus. Verum isti theologi deos coluerunt, non pro diis culti sunt; quamvis Orpheum nescio quo modo infernis sacris vel potius sacrilegiis praeficere soleat civitas impiorum. Uxor autem regis Athamantis, quae vocabatur Ino, et eius filius Melicertes praecipitio spontaneo in mari perierunt et opinione hominum in deos relati sunt, sicut alii homines eorum temporum, Castor et Pollux. Illam sane Melicertis matrem Leucothean Graeci, Matutam Latini vocaverunt, utrique tamen putantes deam.

XIV

On the theological poets.

DURING this same period of time poets arose who were also called theologians, because they composed songs about the gods, but about such gods as were but men, although great men; or else they are elements of this world which the true God created, or were established in sovereignties and powers according to the will of the creator and their own merits. And if the poets among their many vain falsehoods sang at all of the one true God, they certainly did not serve him truly when they worshipped along with him others who are not gods, and offered to these the service that is due to the one God alone, nor when, poets though they were, they could not keep clear of shameful fictions about their gods—I mean, Orpheus, Musaeus and Linus. True it is that those theologians did worship the gods, and were not worshipped as gods; and yet somehow or other the city of the wicked is wont to put Orpheus at the head of sacred, or rather, sacrilegious rites of the nether world. Again, the wife of king Athamas, who was called Ino, and her son Melicertes perished by a voluntary leap into the sea, and were raised to the rank of gods in men's opinion, as were other men of those days, Castor and Pollux. The Greeks, to be sure, called the mother of Melicertes Leucothea, and the Latins called her Matuta; both, however, considered her a goddess.

XV

*De occasu regni Argivorum, quo tempore apud
Laurentes Picus Saturni filius regnum patris
primus accepit.*

PER ea tempora regnum finitum est Argivorum, translatum ad Mycenae, unde fuit Agamemnon, et exortum est regnum Laurentum, ubi Saturni filius Picus regnum primus accepit, iudicante apud Hebraeos femina Debbora; sed per illam Dei spiritus id agebat; nam etiam prophetissa erat, cuius prophetia minus aperta est, quam ut possimus eam sine diuturna expositione de Christo demonstrare prolatam. Iam ergo regnabant Laurentes utique in Italia, ex quibus evidentior ducitur origo Romana post Graecos; et tamen adhuc regnum Assyrium permanebat, ubi erat rex vicensimus et tertius Lampares, cum primus Laurentum Picus esse coepisset.

De huius Pici patre Saturno viderint quid sentiant talium deorum cultores qui negant hominem fuisse; de quo et alii scripserunt quod ante Picum filium suum in Italia ipse regnaverit, et Vergilius notioribus litteris dicit:

Is genus indocile et dispersum montibus altis
Composuit legesque dedit Latiumque vocari
Maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.
Aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere
Saecula.

¹ Judges 4 and 5.

² *Aeneid* 8.321-325. Note the play on words in the Latin, 'Latium . . . quoniam latuisset.'

XV

*On the fall of the Argive kingdom, at the time
when Picus, Saturn's son, first obtained his
father's kingdom among the Laurentines.*

IN those times the kingdom of the Argives came to an end, being transferred to Mycenae, the city of Agamemnon, and the kingdom of the Laurentines rose, in which Saturn's son Picus was the first to obtain the kingship. It was a time when the Hebrews had as judge a woman, Deborah. But in this the spirit of God was acting through her, for she was also a prophetess. Her prophecy is too obscure for me to be able to prove that it refers to Christ, without an unduly long exposition.¹ The Laurentians, as I said, now had a kingdom in Italy, and from them the Roman line of descent can be traced more clearly after leaving the Greeks. However, the kingdom of Assyria still survived, in which Lampares was the twenty-third king when Picus became first king of the Laurentians.

As for Saturn, the father of this Picus, let those who deny that he was a man see what is the view held by worshippers of such gods. Not only have others written of him that he reigned in Italy before his son Picus, but Virgil also says in his well-known lines:

A race untaught, dispersed on lofty mountains,
He settled, gave them laws, and chose their name,
Latium, since he had hidden safely on those shores.
The ages passed beneath his rule are those
That men call golden.²

Sed haec poetica opinentur esse figmenta et Pici patrem Stercen potius fuisse adseverent, a quo peritissimo agricola inventum ferunt ut fimo animalium agri fecundarentur, quod ab eius nomine stercus est dictum; hunc quidam Stercutium vocatum ferunt. Qualibet autem ex causa eum Saturnum appellare voluerint, certe tamen hunc Stercen sive Stercutium merito agriculturae fecerunt deum. Picum quoque similiter eius filium in talium deorum numerum receperunt, quem praeclarum augurem et belligerorem fuisse asserunt. Picus Faunum genuit, Laurentum regem secundum; etiam iste deus illis vel est vel fuit. Hos ante Troianum bellum divinos honores mortuis hominibus detulerunt.

XVI

De Diomede post excidium Troiae in deos relato, cuius socii crediti sunt in volucres esse conversi.

TROIA vero eversa excidio illo usquequaque cantato puerisque notissimo, quod et magnitudine sui et scriptorum excellentibus linguis insigniter diffamatum atque vulgatum est gestumque regnante iam Latino Fauni filio, ex quo Latinorum regnum dici coepit Laurentumque cessavit, Graeci victores deletam Troiam relinquentes et ad propria remeantes diversis

But these should be considered poetic fictions, and men should assert instead that the father of Picus was Sterces, a most skilled farmer by whom they say that the method of fertilizing fields with the dung of animals was invented. Because dung is called *stercus* after his name, some men say that he was named Stercutius. Moreover, whatever reason it was that made them call him Saturn, they certainly made Stercus or Stercutius a god for his service to agriculture. In like fashion they also received his son Picus into the number of such gods. They say that he was a famous augur and warrior. Picus had a son Faunus, the second king of the Laurentians, and he, too, either is or was a god in their sight. They gave these divine honours to dead men before the Trojan war.

XVI

On the deification, after the fall of Troy, of Diomede, whose companions were believed to have been turned into birds.

THEN Troy was overthrown. The story of that disaster is everywhere sung in verse, and is best known to schoolboys; it has gained remarkable fame and popularity both because of the greatness of the event and the excellent skill of the writers who tell of it. It took place during the reign of Latinus, son of Faunus, from whose time the kingdom began to be called that of the Latins and ceased to be called that of the Laurentians. When the Greek victors left Troy in ruins and were returning to their homes

et horrendis cladibus dilacerati atque contriti sunt; et tamen etiam ex eis deorum suorum numerum auxerunt. Nam et Diomedem fecerunt deum, quem poena divinitus inrogata perhibent ad suos non revertisse; eiusque socios in volucres fuisse conversos non fabuloso poeticoque mendacio, sed historica adtestatione confirmant; quibus nec deus, ut putant, factus humanam revocare naturam vel ipse potuit vel certe a Iove suo rege tamquam caelicola novicius impetravit. Quin etiam templum eius esse aiunt in insula Diomedea, non longe a monte Gargano, qui est in Apulia, et hoc templum circumvolare atque incolere has alites tam mirabili obsequio ut aquam impleant et aspergant; et eo si Graeci venerint vel Graecorum stirpe prognati, non solum quietas esse, verum et insuper adulare; si autem alienigenas viderint, subvolare ad capita tamque gravibus ictibus, ut etiam perimant, vulnerare. Nam duris et grandibus rostris satis ad haec proelia perhibentur armatae.

XVII

*De incredibilibus commutationibus hominum quid
Varro tradiderit.*

Hoc Varro ut astruat, commemorat alia non minus incredibilia de illa maga famosissima Circe, quae

¹ The text found in the manuscripts (*ut aquam impleant et aspergant*, literally "that they fill water and sprinkle it") seems to be a brachylogy which requires free translation. Earlier editions emend to read *rostrum aqua*, which still lacks the clarity of the words *templo aquam rostris afferunt et aspergant* found below, p. 428.

they were torn and bruised by various fearful disasters; yet in spite of this, some of them, too, increased the number of the gods. For they even made Diomedea a god, who they say was prevented by a punishment divinely imposed from returning to his own people, and the statement that his comrades were turned into birds is attested as history, not a mythical or poetic invention. But although, as they think, he became a god, he was neither himself able to restore their human character nor yet, being a new arrival in celestial society, did he obtain this favour from his king Jupiter. In fact, they say that his temple is situated on the island Diomedea not far from mount Garganus in Apulia, and that these winged creatures fly about the temple and dwell there, showing such marvellous veneration that they fill their beaks with water and sprinkle the temple with it.¹ And if any Greeks or men of Greek descent happen to visit the spot they not merely keep the peace, but even fawn upon them, whereas if they see men of other races, they fly up at their heads and wound them with such heavy blows as even to kill them. For they are said to be well armed for these battles with huge, hard beaks.

XVII

*What Varro has handed down to us about
the incredible transformations of
human beings.*

In support of this tale, Varro cites no less incredible stories about that most notorious witch Circe, who

socios quoque Ulixis mutavit in bestias, et de Arcadibus, qui sorte ducti tranabant quoddam stagnum atque ibi convertebantur in lupos et cum similibus feris per illius regionis deserta vivebant. Si autem carne non vescerentur humana, rursus post novem annos eodem renatato stagno reformabantur in homines. Denique etiam nominatim expressit quandam Demaenetum gustasse de sacrificio quod Arcades immolato puero deo suo Lycaeo facere solerent, et in lupum fuisse mutatum et anno decimo in figuram propriam restitutum pugilatum sese exercuisse et Olympiaco vicisse certamine. Nec idem propter aliud arbitratur historicus in Arcadia tale nomen adfictum Pani Lycaeo et Iovi Lycaeo nisi propter hanc in lupos hominum mutationem, quod eam nisi vi divina fieri non putarent. Lupus enim Graece *λύκος* dicitur, unde Lycaei nomen apparet inflexum. Romanos etiam Luperkos ex illorum mysteriorum veluti semine dicit exortos.

XVIII

Quid credendum sit de transformationibus quae arte daemonum hominibus videntur accidere.

SED de ista tanta ludificatione daemonum nos quid dicamus qui haec legent fortassis expectent. Et quid dicemus, nisi de medio Babylonis esse fugiendum? Quod praeceptum propheticum ita spiritaliter intel-

¹ Pliny, *N.H.* 8.81 f., gives these Arcadian stories on the authority of Greek authors.

² Isaiah 48.20.

changed Ulysses' companions also into animals, and about the Arcadians, who, chosen by lot, swam across a certain lake and were there changed into wolves and lived in the wild parts of that region with other wolves. But if they did not eat human flesh they again swam across the lake after nine years and regained their human shape. Finally, he also told the story of a certain individual named Demaenetus, who tasted the sacrifice that the Arcadians regularly offered to their god Lycaeus by the immolation of a boy, and who was turned into a wolf and in the tenth year, being restored to his proper shape, trained as a boxer and was victor in the Olympic games.¹ And this same historian thinks there is no other reason for the name given in Arcadia to Pan Lycaeus and Jove Lycaeus except this transformation of men into wolves, which they did not think could be accomplished save by divine power. For the Greek word for wolf is *lykos*, from which the name *Lycaeus* seems to be derived. Varro also says that the Roman Luperki originated from those mysteries, which furnished the seed, as it were, from which they grew.

XVIII

What is to be believed about the transformations that seem to befall men by the craft of demons.

BUT those who read these words may well be waiting to hear what we have to say about this great mystification achieved by the demons. What, pray, are we to say, save that we must flee from the midst of Babylon?² This prophetic precept is spiritually

legitur ut de huius saeculi civitate, quae profecto et angelorum et hominum societas impiorum est, fidei passibus, quae per dilectionem operatur, in Deum vivum proficiendo fugiamus. Quanto quippe in haec ima potestatem daemonum maiorem videmus, tanto tenacius mediatori est inhaerendum, per quem de imis ad summa conscendimus. Si enim dixerimus ea non esse credenda, non desunt etiam nunc qui eius modi quaedam vel certissima audisse vel etiam expertos se esse adseverent. Nam et nos cum essemus in Italia audiebamus talia de quadam regione illarum partium, ubi stabularias mulieres inbutas his malis artibus in caseo dare solere dicebant quibus vellent seu possent viatoribus unde in iumenta ilico verterentur et necessaria quaeque portarent postque perfuncta opera iterum ad se redirent; nec tamen in eis mentem fieri bestialem, sed rationalem humanamque servari, sicut Apuleius in libris quos asini aurei titulo inscripsit sibi ipsi accidisse, ut accepto veneno humano animo permanente asinus fieret, aut indicavit aut finxit.

Haec vel falsa sunt vel tam inusitata, ut merito non credantur. Firmissime tamen credendum est omnipotentem Deum posse omnia facere quae voluerit, sive vindicando sive praestando, nec daemones aliquid operari secundum naturae suae potentiam—quia et ipsa angelica creatura est, licet proprio vitio sit maligna—nisi quod ille permiserit,

interpreted to mean that we are to flee from the city of this world, which is assuredly the society of evil angels as well as evil men, by the steps of faith which works through love, until we find refuge in the living God. Surely the greater we perceive the power of demons over this world below to be, the more tenaciously we must cling to the mediator through whom we climb from the valleys to the heights. For if I should say that such things are incredible, there are men even today who testify that they have either heard most convincing instances of this sort or have actually experienced them in person. For when I was in Italy I used to hear of such cases from a certain region of that country. People said that landladies skilled in these evil arts used to give drugs in cheese to whatever wayfarers they wished, or could, and by this means they were turned at once into pack-animals and carried all sorts of commodities, and afterwards, when their tasks were finished, returned to their proper forms again. Yet their minds were not made bestial, but were kept rational and human. That is what Apuleius, in the work entitled *The Golden Ass*, reported, or pretended, had happened to him: having taken a potion he became an ass, without losing his human intelligence.

Such things are either false or so extraordinary that we may well refuse to believe them. For we must believe most firmly that the omnipotent God can do everything he chooses, either as avenger or helper, and that demons can do nothing by any faculty natural to them—for they were created angelic, but now by their own fault are wicked—except in so far as God permits, and though many of his judgments

cuius iudicia occulta sunt multa, iniusta nulla. Nec sane daemones naturas creant, si aliquid tale faciunt, de qualibus factis ista vertitur quaestio; sed specie tenus, quae a vero Deo sunt creata, commutant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt. Non itaque solum animum, sed ne corpus quidem ulla ratione crediderim daemonum arte vel potestate in membra et liniamenta bestialia veraciter posse converti, sed phantasticum hominis, quod etiam cogitando sive somniano per rerum innumerabilia genera variatur et, cum corpus non sit, corporum tamen similes mira celeritate formas capit, sopitis aut oppressis corporeis hominis sensibus ad aliorum sensum nescio quo ineffabili modo figura corporea posse perduci; ita ut corpora ipsa hominum alicubi iaceant, viventia quidem, sed multo gravius atque vehementius quam somno suis sensibus obseratis; phantasticum autem illud veluti incorporatum in alicuius animalis effigie appareat sensibus alienis talisque etiam sibi esse homo videatur, sicut talis sibi videri posset in somnis, et portare onera. Quae onera si vera sunt corpora, portantur a daemonibus ut inludatur hominibus, partim vera onerum corpora, partim iumentorum falsa cernentibus.

Nam quidam nomine Praestantius patri suo contigisse indicabat ut venenum illud per caseum in domo sua sumeret et iaceret in lecto suo quasi dormiens, qui tamen nullo modo poterat excitari. Post aliquot autem dies eum velut evigilasse dicebat

are mysterious, none are unjust. Certainly demons do not create actual beings, if they do anything of the sort here under discussion. It is merely in appearance that they change beings that are created by the true God, so that they seem to be what they are not. Therefore I should by no means believe that the soul, or even the body, can be really changed by the craft or power of demons into the members and features of beasts. I hold instead that a man's phantom—which also in his thoughts and dreams is changed by the countless variety of objects it receives, and though it is not a body, still with astonishing swiftness receives shapes that are like material bodies—this phantom, I hold, can in some inexplicable way present itself to the senses of others in bodily form, when their physical senses are dulled or blocked out. The actual bodies of the men are lying somewhere, still living, to be sure, but in a torpor of the senses that is heavier and deeper than in sleep. The phantom, however, may appear to the senses of other men as being embodied in the likeness of some animal, and a man may seem to himself to be such a creature as he might imagine in his sleep, and carry burdens. But if these burdens are actual objects they are carried by demons to delude men, who see partly the actual bodies of the burdens and partly the false bodies of the animals.

For a certain man named Praestantius said that it happened in his father's case that he took that drug in a piece of cheese in his own home, and lay down on his bed, apparently sleeping, yet he could not be wakened by any means. After a few days, however, he said that his father woke as from sleep, and told

et quasi somnia narrasse quae passus est, caballum se scilicet factum annonam inter alia iumenta baiulasse militibus, quae dicitur Retica, quoniam ad Retias deportatur. Quod ita ut narravit factum fuisse compertum est; quae tamen ei sua somnia videbantur. Indicavit et alius se domi suae per noctem, antequam requiesceret, vidisse venientem ad se philosophum quendam sibi notissimum sibi que exposuisse nonnulla Platonica, quae antea rogatus exponere nolisset. Et cum ab eodem philosopho quaesitum fuisset, cur in domo eius fecerit, quod in domo sua petenti negaverat: "Non feci, inquit, sed me fecisse somniavi." Ac per hoc alteri per imaginem phantasticam exhibitum est vigilanti, quod alter vidit in somnis.

Haec ad nos non quibuscumque qualibus credere putaremus indignum, sed eis referentibus pervenerunt quos nobis non existimaremus fuisse mentitos. Proinde quod homines dicuntur mandatumque est litteris ab diis vel potius daemonibus Arcadibus in lupos solere converti, et quod

Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulixi,

secundum istum modum mihi videtur fieri potuisse quem dixi, si tamen factum est. Diomedes autem volucres, quando quidem genus earum per successionem propaginis durare perhibetur, non mutatis hominibus factas, sed subtractis credo fuisse positas, sicut cerva pro Iphigenia, regis Agamem-

his experiences as dreams. He had become a horse, it seemed, and with other pack animals had carried to the soldiers the grain ration that is called Rhaetic because it was sent to Rhaetia. It was discovered that this had happened just as he told it, and yet it all seemed to him to be his own dream. Another man also said that in his own home, at night before he went to bed, he saw a certain philosopher whom he knew very well, coming to him, and this philosopher expounded to him some Platonic theories that he had refused to explain when he was earlier asked to do so. And when the same philosopher was asked why he did in another's house what he had refused to do for him when the request was made in his own home, he said: "I did not do it, but I dreamed that I did." So in this case what one man saw in his sleep was presented to the other, who was awake, through a spectral image.

These instances were not reported to us by irresponsible persons such as we would scorn to believe, but by men we could never believe to have lied to us. Hence the thing that is commonly said, and recorded in writing, that men are wont to be turned into wolves by Arcadian gods, or rather demons, and that

Circe by charms transformed the men of Ulysses,¹

this, if it actually did happen, seems to me to have been possible in the manner I have stated. But as for the birds of Diomedes, since their type is said to persist through successive generations, I do not believe that they were produced by metamorphosis of men, but that they were substituted for the men who had been spirited away, as a hind was substituted

¹ Virgil, *Eclogues* 8.70.

nonis filia. Neque enim daemonibus iudicio Dei permissis huius modi praestigiae difficiles esse potuerunt; sed quia illa virgo postea viva reperta est, suppositam pro illa esse cervam facile cognitum est. Socii vero Diomedis quia nusquam subito comparuerunt et postea nullo loco apparuerunt, perdentibus eos ultoribus angelis malis, in eas aves, quae pro illis sunt occulte ex aliis locis, ubi est hoc genus avium, ad ea loca perductae ac repente suppositae, creduntur esse conversi. Quod autem Diomedis templo aquam rostris afferunt et aspergunt, et quod blandiuntur Graecigenis atque alienigenas persequuntur, mirandum non est fieri daemonum instinctu, quorum interest persuadere deum factum esse Diomedem ad decipiendos homines, ut falsos deos cum veri Dei iniuria multos colant et hominibus mortuis, qui nec cum viverent vere vixerunt, templis altaribus, sacrificiis sacerdotibus—quae omnia cum recta sunt non nisi uni Deo vivo et vero debentur—inserviant.

XIX

Quod eo tempore Aeneas in Italiam venerit quo Labdon iudex praesidebat Hebraeis.

Eo tempore post captam Troiam atque deletam Aeneas cum viginti navibus, quibus portabantur reliquiae Troianorum, in Italiam venit, regnante ibi

¹ Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.381.

for Iphigenia, the daughter of king Agamemnon. For feats of this sort cannot have been difficult for demons who were permitted to perform them by God's judgment; but because that maiden was later found alive, it was easy to see that a hind had been substituted for her. The companions of Diomedes, on the other hand, since they suddenly vanished from sight and did not reappear anywhere afterwards, since the avenging evil angels destroyed them, are believed to have been transformed into these birds, birds that were secretly brought to that place from other regions where this type of bird lives, and suddenly substituted for them. Moreover, as for the birds bringing water to Diomedes's temple in their beaks and sprinkling it, and fawning on men of Greek origin but attacking foreigners, it is no wonder that this is done at the prompting of demons who have reason to encourage the belief that Diomedes became a god, in order to deceive men. They want men to worship many false gods, thereby wronging the one true God, and to render service to dead men who did not truly live, even when they were alive, by means of temples, altars, sacrifices and priests, all of which rightly belong to none save the one true and living God.

XIX

That Aeneas came to Italy at the time when Labdon ruled the Hebrews as judge.

At this time, after Troy was captured and destroyed, Aeneas with twenty ships in which the survivors of the Trojans were embarked, came to Italy,¹

Latino et apud Athenienses Menestheo, apud Sicyonios Polyphide, apud Assyrios Tautane, apud Hebraeos autem iudex Labdon fuit. Mortuo autem Latino regnavit Aeneas tribus annis, eisdem in supradictis locis manentibus regibus, nisi quod Sicyoniorum iam Pelasgus erat et Hebraeorum iudex Samson; qui cum mirabiliter fortis esset, putatus est Hercules. Sed Aenean, quoniam quando mortuus est non comparuit, deum sibi fecerunt Latini. Sabini etiam regem suum primum Sancum sive, ut aliqui appellant, Sanctum, rettulerunt in deos. Per idem tempus Codrus rex Atheniensium Peloponnensibus eiusdem hostibus civitatis se interficiendum ignotus obiecit; et factum est. Hoc modo eum praedicant patriam liberasse. Responsum enim acceperant Peloponnenses tum demum se superaturos, si eorum regem non occidissent. Fefellit ergo eos habitu pauperis apparendo et in suam necem per iurgium provocando. Unde ait Vergilius: Et iurgia Codri. Et hunc Athenienses tamquam deum sacrificiorum honore coluerunt. Quarto Latinorum rege Silvio Aeneae filio—non de Creusa, de qua fuit Ascanius, qui tertius ibi regnavit, sed de Lavinia Latini filia—quem postumum Aeneas dicitur habuisse, Assyriorum autem vicensimo et nono Oneo et Melantho Atheniensium sexto decimo, iudice autem Hebraeorum Heli sacerdote regnum Sicyoniorum consumptum

when Latinus reigned there and Menestheus was king over the Athenians, Polyphides over the Sicyonians, Tautanes over the Assyrians and Labdon was judge over the Hebrews. Moreover, after Latinus died, Aeneas reigned for three years, while the same kings ruled in the places mentioned above, except that Pelasgus was now ruler of the Sicyonians and Samson judge of the Hebrews; the latter was so marvellously strong that he has been thought to be Hercules. But the Latins made Aeneas a god, since he was never seen after his death. The Sabines also enrolled their first king Sancus, or, as some call him, Sanctus, among the gods. At this same time Codrus king of the Athenians exposed himself in disguise to the Peloponnesians, the enemies of his city, to be slain by them; and he gained his end. In this way they declare that he won his country's freedom. For the Peloponnesians had received an oracle to the effect that they would win a final victory only if they had not killed the king of the Athenians. Accordingly, he tricked them by appearing in the guise of a poor man and provoking them by taunts to slay him. Hence Virgil says: "And the taunts of Codrus."¹ The Athenians worshipped him too as a god by offering sacrifices. When Silvius, who was the son of Aeneas—not by Creusa, who was mother of Ascanius the third king in that country, but by Lavinia the daughter of Latinus—and who, it is said, was Aeneas' posthumous son, was ruling as fourth king of the Latins, Oneus as twenty-ninth king of the Assyrians and Melanthus as sixteenth of the Athenians, and Eli the priest was judge over the Hebrews, the kingdom of the Sicyonians, which is said to have

¹ Virgil, *Eclogues* 5.11.

est, quod per annos nongentos quinquaginta et novem traditur fuisse porrectum.

XX

De successione ordinis regii apud Israelitas post iudicium tempora.

Mox eisdem per loca memorata regnantibus, Israelitarum regnum finito tempore iudicum a Saule rege sumpsit exordium, quo tempore fuit propheta Samuel. Ab illo igitur tempore hi reges Latinorum esse coeperunt, quos cognominabant Silvios; ab eo quippe, qui filius Aeneae primus dictus est Silvius, ceteris subsecutis et propria nomina inponebantur et hoc non defuit cognomentum; sicut longe postea Caesares cognominati sunt qui successerunt Caesari Augusto. Reprobato autem Saule, ne quisquam ex eius stirpe regnaret, eoque defuncto David successit in regnum post annos a Saulis imperio quadraginta. Tunc Athenienses habere deinde reges post Codri interitum destiterunt et magistratus habere coeperunt administrandae rei publicae. Post David, qui etiam ipse quadraginta regnavit annos, filius eius Salomon rex Israelitarum fuit, qui templum illud nobilissimum Dei Hierosolymitanum condidit. Cuius tempore apud Latinos condita est Alba, ex qua deinceps non Latinorum, sed Albanorum reges appellari, in eodem tamen Latio, coeperunt. Salomoni successit filius eius Roboam, sub quo in duo

¹ 2 Samuel 2.

lasted for nine hundred and fifty-nine years, came to an end.

XX

On the royal succession among the Israelites after the times of the judges.

SHORTLY after this, while the same men were reigning in the places mentioned, the period of the judges came to an end and the kingdom of the Israelites had its beginning with king Saul, in whose time lived the prophet Samuel. Now at that time those kings whom men named the Silvii began to rule over the Latins, for the rulers who succeeded the son of Aeneas, who was first called Silvius, not only were assigned individual names but also kept the cognomen without fail, just as in much later times the successors of Caesar Augustus were called Caesars. Moreover, when Saul was rejected, so that no one of his family should rule, at his death David succeeded to the royal power after the forty years of Saul's reign.¹ At that time the Athenians gave up having kings after the death of Codrus and began to have magistrates to administer their commonwealth. After David, who also reigned forty years, his son Solomon was king of the Israelites; he founded that renowned temple of God at Jerusalem. In his time Alba was founded among the Latins, after which the kings began to be called not kings of the Latins, but of the Albans, though they reigned in the same Latin territory. Solomon's son Rehoboam succeeded him, under whom the Hebrew people were divided into

regna populus ille divisus est, et singulae partes suos singulos reges habere coeperunt.

XXI

De regibus Latii, quorum primus Aeneas et duodecimus Aventinus dii facti sunt.

LATIUM post Aenean, quem deum fecerunt, undecim reges habuit, quorum nullus deus factus est. Aventinus autem, qui duodecimo loco Aenean sequitur, cum esset prostratus in bello et sepultus in eo monte qui etiam nunc eius nomine nuncupatur, deorum talium quales sibi faciebant numero est additus. Alii sane noluerunt eum in proelio scribere occisum, sed non conparuisse dixerunt; nec ex eius vocabulo appellatum montem, sed ex adventu avium dictum Aventinum. Post hunc non est deus factus in Latio nisi Romulus conditor Romae. Inter istum autem et illum reges reperiuntur duo, quorum primus est, ut eum Vergiliano versu eloquar:

Proximus ille Procas, Troianae gloria gentis.

Cuius tempore quia iam quodam modo Roma parturiebatur, illud omnium regnorum maximum Assyrium finem tantae diuturnitatis accepit. Ad Medos quippe translatum est post annos ferme mille trecentos quinque, ut etiam Beli, qui Ninus genuit et illic parvo contentus imperio primus rex fuit, tempora computentur.

¹ Servius on *Aen.* 7.657.

² Virgil, *Aen.* 6.767.

two kingdoms, and each division subsequently had its own line of kings.

XXI

On the kings of Latium, of whom the first, Aeneas, and the twelfth, Aventinus, were made gods.

AFTER Aeneas, whom they made a god, Latium had eleven kings, none of whom was deified. But Aventinus, who was twelfth in the line following Aeneas, when he had been slain in war and was buried on that mountain which is even now called by his name, was added to the number of such gods as men created for themselves.¹ Others indeed have refused to say that he was killed in battle, but stated instead that he disappeared, and that the mountain was not named after him, but was called the Aventine from the advent of birds. After him none was made a god in Latium except Romulus the founder of Rome. Now between these two rulers two kings are known, of whom the first, to quote a line of Virgil, was:

Next that famous Procas, the glory of the Trojan race.²

Since in his time Rome was already, so to speak, in the process of coming to birth, that greatest of all empires, Assyria, came to the end of her long life. For her power was transferred to the Medes after almost one thousand three hundred and five years, if we include in it the years of Bel, who begot Ninus and as the first king was content with a small power in that region.

Procas autem regnavit ante Amulium. Porro Amulius fratris sui Numitoris filiam Rheam nomine, quae etiam Ilia vocabatur, Romuli matrem, Vestalem virginem fecerat, quam volunt de Marte geminos concepisse, isto modo stuprum eius honorantes vel excusantes, et adhibentes argumentum quod infantes expositos lupa nutriverit. Hoc enim genus bestiae ad Martem existimant pertinere, ut videlicet ideo lupa credatur admovisse ubera parvulis quia filios domini sui Martis agnovit; quamvis non desint qui dicant, cum expositi vagientes iacerent, a nescio qua primum meretrice fuisse collectos et primas eius susxisse mamillas—meretrices autem lupas vocabant, unde etiam nunc turpia loca earum lupanaria nuncupantur—et eos postea ad Faustulum pervenisse pastorem atque ab eius Acca uxore nutritos. Quamquam si ad arguendum hominem regem, qui eos in aquam proici crudeliter iusserat, eis infantibus per quos tanta civitas condenda fuerat, de aqua divinitus liberatis per lactantem feram Deus voluit subvenire, quid mirum est? Amulio successit in regnum Latiare frater eius Numitor, avus Romuli, cuius Numitoris primo anno condita est Roma; ac per hoc cum suo deinceps, id est Romulo, nepote regnavit.

¹ Servius on *Aen.* 1.273.

Now Procas ruled before Amulius. Amulius, moreover, had made his brother Numitor's daughter, named Rhea (who was also called Ilia, the mother of Romulus), a Vestal virgin. Men claim that she conceived twins of Mars, and in this way they honour or excuse her lapse from chastity, and offer as proof the fact that a she-wolf nursed the infants when they were exposed. For they think that this sort of animal belongs to Mars, and hence the she-wolf is believed to have offered her dugs to the little ones for the reason that she recognized them as the sons of her master Mars. And yet men are not lacking who say that when the exposed infants lay wailing they were first rescued by an unidentified harlot, and that her breasts were the first to suckle them—for indeed they called harlots she-wolves, for which reason even now houses of ill-fame are called *lupanaria* meaning dens of wolves—and that later they came into the hands of the shepherd Faustulus and were nursed by his wife Acca.¹ And yet, if to convict the man who was king, who had cruelly ordered them to be flung into the water, God wished to aid those infants through whom a great city was destined to be founded after their divine escape from the water, by letting a wild animal suckle them, what is surprising in this? Amulius' brother Numitor, the grandfather of Romulus, succeeded him in the Latin kingdom, and Rome was founded in the first year of this Numitor; for this reason he ruled thereafter along with his grandson, that is, with Romulus.

XXII

Quod eo tempore Roma sit condita quo regnum Assyriorum intercidit et quo Ezechias regnabat in Iuda.

NE multis morer, condita est civitas Roma velut altera Babylon et velut prioris filia Babylonis, per quam Deo placuit orbem debellare terrarum et in unam societatem rei publicae legumque perductum longe lateque pacare. Erant enim iam populi validi et fortes et armis gentes exercitatae, quae non facile cederent, et quas opus esset ingentibus periculis et vastatione utrimque non parva atque horrendo labore superari. Nam quando regnum Assyriorum totam paene Asiam subiugavit, licet bellando sit factum, non tamen multum asperis et difficilibus bellis fieri potuit, quia rudes adhuc ad resistendum gentes erant nec tam multae vel magnae, si quidem post illud maximum atque universale diluvium, cum in arca Noe octo soli homines evaserunt, anni non multo amplius quam mille transierant, quando Ninus Asiam totam excepta India subiugavit. Roma vero tot gentes et Orientis et Occidentis, quas imperio Romano subditas cernimus, non ea celeritate ac facilitate perdomuit, quoniam paulatim increscendo robustas eas et bellicosas, quaqua versum dilatabatur, invenit. Tempore igitur, quo Roma condita est, populus Israel habebat in terra promissionis annos

XXII

That Rome was founded at the time when the kingdom of the Assyrians came to an end and when Hezekiah ruled in Judah.

Nor to linger over details, the city of Rome was founded as the second Babylon and as the daughter of the former Babylon, through whose agency it pleased God to conquer the whole world and impose peace over its whole length and breadth, uniting it in the single society of the Roman commonwealth and its laws. For by this time there were powerful and strong nations, and races fully trained in arms, such as would not readily yield, and could not be conquered without mighty conflicts and no little devastation on both sides, as well as an appalling effort. For at the time when the Assyrian empire subdued almost all Asia, although their conquest was achieved by war, yet there was not much occasion for cruel and difficult wars, because the nations were still unskilled in resistance and were not yet so numerous or so great. To be sure, not much more than a thousand years had passed since that great universal flood, when only eight persons escaped in Noah's ark, before Ninus subdued all Asia except India. But Rome did not so speedily and easily complete the conquest of so many peoples of both east and west as we see were brought under the Roman sway, since as a result of her growing little by little she found them valiant and warlike, whichever way she spread. Now at the time when Rome was founded the people of Israel had lived seven hundred and eighteen years in the land of

septingentos decem et octo. Ex quibus viginti septem pertinent ad Iesum Nave, deinde ad tempus iudicum trecenti viginti novem. Ex quo autem reges ibi esse coeperant, anni erant trecenti sexaginta duo. Et rex tunc erat in Iuda, cuius nomen erat Achaz vel, sicut alii computant, qui ei successit Ezechias, quem quidem constat optimum et piissimum regem Romuli regnasse temporibus. In ea vero Hebraei populi parte quae appellabatur Israel regnare coeperat Osee.

XXIII

De Sibylla Erythraea, quae inter alias Sibyllas cognoscitur de Christo evidentia multa cecinisse.

EODEM tempore nonnulli Sibyllam Erythraeam vaticinatam ferunt. Sibyllas autem Varro prodit plures fuisse, non unam. Haec sane Erythraea Sibylla quaedam de Christo manifesta conscripsit; quod etiam nos prius in Latina lingua versibus male Latinis et non stantibus legimus per nescio cuius interpretis imperitiam, sicut post cognovimus. Nam vir clarissimus Flaccianus, qui etiam proconsul fuit, homo facillimae facundiae multaeque doctrinae, cum de Christo conloqueremur, Graecum nobis codicem protulit, carmina esse dicens Sibyllae Erythraeae, ubi ostendit quodam loco in capitibus versuum ordi-

promise. Twenty-seven years of this total belong to the time of Joshua, and the next three hundred and twenty-nine to that of the judges. Furthermore, after they began to have kings in their land, three hundred and sixty-two years passed. And at that time there was a king in Judah whose name was Ahaz, or else it was his successor Hezekiah, as others reckon the years. It is agreed that he was a very good and very religious king, and reigned in the days of Romulus. But Hoshea had begun to rule over that division of the Hebrew people which was called Israel.

XXIII

On the Erythraean Sibyl, who, among other Sibyls, is known to have chanted many conspicuous prophecies of Christ.

At this same time, so some men report, the Erythraean Sibyl uttered her prophecies. Now Varro tells us that there were several Sibyls, and not only one. This Erythraean Sibyl certainly wrote some passages that openly refer to Christ; these we read first in a Latin translation composed in verses of poor Latinity and not metrically sound, a fault due to the ignorance of their anonymous translator, as we afterwards learned. For the most eminent Flaccianus, who was also proconsul, a man of the most fluent eloquence and of great learning, when we were talking together about Christ, brought out a Greek manuscript, saying that it contained the poems of the Erythraean Sibyl. In this he showed me that in a certain passage the sequence of initial letters for the

nem litterarum ita se habentem, ut haec in eo verba
legerentur: Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ,
quod est Latine, Iesus Christus Dei filius salvator.
Hi autem versus, quorum primae litterae istum
sensum quem diximus reddunt, sicut eos quidam
Latinis et stantibus versibus est interpretatus, hoc
continent:

- I Iudicii signum tellus sudore madescet.
H E caelo rex adveniet per saecula futurus,
N Scilicet ut carnem praesens, ut iudicet
orbem.
O Unde Deum cernent incredulus atque fidelis
J Celsum cum sanctis aevi iam termino in
ipso.
N Sic animae cum carne aderunt, quas iudicat
ipse,
X Cum iacet incultus densis in vepribus orbis.
P Reicient simulacra viri, cunctam quoque
gazam,
E Exuret terras ignis pontumque polumque
I Inquirens, taetri portas effringet Averni.
N Sanctorum sed enim cunctae lux libera carni
T Tradetur, sontes aeterna flamma cremabit.
O Occultos actus retegens tunc quisque
loquetur
N Secreta, atque Deus reserabit pectora luci

individual verses was so contrived that they formed
an acrostic of these words: *Iesus Christos Theou
Uios Soter*, which, translated into Latin, means 'Jesus
Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour.' Now these
verses, whose initial letters convey the meaning that
we have just given, are as follows in the translation
that a certain man has made in good Latin verses with
sound metre:

- In sign of judgment shall the earth with sweat
be drenched.
Eternally to reign a king from heaven shall
come,
Sit here, to wit, to judge all flesh, to judge the
world.
Our God shall unbelievers and believers see
Uplifted with the saints, as ends the present age.
So souls embodied shall before his judgement
stand;
CHaotic now, untilled the world in thickets
dense doth lie.
Rejected images and all men's gauds shall be,
Each land and all the sea and sky with fire shall
blaze,
In searching to destroy the gates of loathsome
hell.
Salvation's light shall set saints' bodies free,
Though wicked souls shall burn in everlasting
flame.
Obscurest acts revealing, each shall his secrets
tell.
Soon too shall God unlock men's bosoms to the
light.

Θ Tunc erit et luctus, stridebunt dentibus
 omnes.
 Ε Eripitur solis iubar et chorus interit astris.
 Ο Volvetur caelum, lunaris splendor obibit;
 Ι Deiciet colles, valles extollet ab imo.
 Κ Non erit in rebus hominum sublime vel
 altum.
 Ι Iam aequantur campis montes et caerula
 ponti
 Ο Omnia cessabunt, tellus confracta peribit:
 Σ Sic pariter fontes torrentur fluminaque igni.
 Μ Sed tuba tum sonitum tristem demittet ab
 alto
 Ο Orbe, gemens facinus miserum variosque
 labores,
 Τ Tartareumque chaos monstrabit terra dehis-
 cens.
 Η Et coram hic Domino reges sistentur ad
 unum.
 ϐ Reccidet e caelo ignisque et sulphuris amnis.

In his Latinis versibus de Graeco utcumque translatis ibi non potuit ille sensus occurrere, qui fit, cum litterae, quae sunt in eorum capitibus, conectuntur, ubi Υ littera in Graeco posita est, quia non poterunt Latina verba inveniri, quae ab eadem littera inciperent et sententiae convenirent. Hi autem sunt

¹ *Oracula Sibyllina* 8.217 ff. (ed. Geffcken, pp. 153 ff.); Lactantius, *Inst. div.* 7.16.11; 20.3.

² The Greek upsilon is represented in Latin by Y, but since few Latin words begin with that letter, the translator has made no attempt to maintain the acrostic form in lines beginning with that letter. The English substitutes U.

TH en shall great mourning be, then all shall gnash
 their teeth.
 Extinguished is the blazing sun, the rhythm of
 the planets stilled.
 Our skies shall roll away, the radiance of the
 moon shall die;
 Uplands shall he lay low, and valleys raise aloft.

 Upheaval leaves to men no eminence or height.
 In one flat plain the mountains lie, and all the
 seas
 Of azure now shall cease; earth too shall vanish,
 cracked.
 So shall all springs by fire, all streams alike be
 quenched.

 Still shall a trumpet then with mournful blast
 resound
 On high, bewailing wretched deeds and varied
 toils.
 The vast abyss of Tartaros appears, as earth
 yawns wide.
 Each monarch there shall stand before the bar of
 God.
 Rivers of fire and brimstone from the sky shall
 rain.¹

In these Latin verses, translated as well as might be from the Greek, the meaning conveyed by the sequence of the initial letters could not be kept in the cases where the letter *upsilon* occurs in the Greek, because Latin words could not be found that began with the corresponding letter and suited the sense.²

versus tres, quintus et octavus decimus et nonus decimus. Denique si litteras quae sunt in capitibus omnium versuum conectentes horum trium quae scriptae sunt non legamus, sed pro eis Υ litteram, tamquam in eisdem locis ipsa sit posita, recordemur, exprimitur in quinque verbis: Iesus Christus Dei filius salvator; sed cum Graece hoc dicitur, non Latine. Et sunt versus viginti et septem, qui numerus quadratum ternarium solidum reddit. Tria enim ter ducta fiunt novem; et ipsa novem si ter ducantur, ut ex lato in altum figura consurgat, ad viginti septem perveniunt. Horum autem Graecorum quinque verborum, quae sunt Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ, quod est Latine Iesus Christus Dei filius salvator, si primas litteras iungas, erit ἰχθύς, id est piscis, in quo nomine mystice intellegitur Christus, eo quod in huius mortalitatis abyssu velut in aquarum profunditate vivus, hoc est sine peccato, esse potuerit.

Haec autem Sibylla sive Erythraea sive, ut quidam magis credunt, Cumaea ita nihil habet in toto carmine suo, cuius exigua ista particula est, quod ad deorum falsorum sive factorum cultum pertineat, quin immo ita etiam contra eos et contra cultores eorum loquitur, ut in eorum numero deputanda videatur qui pertinent ad civitatem Dei. Inserit etiam Lactantius operi suo quaedam de Christo vaticinia Sibyllae, quamvis non exprimat cuius. Sed quae ipse singillatim posuit, ego arbitratus sum

¹ *Inst. div.* 4.18 f.; cf. *Or. Sib.* 8.287 ff. Lactantius had broken a continuous passage from the Sibyl into six parts by interspersing his own comments.

Now there are three verses of this sort, the fifth, eighteenth and nineteenth. Hence if we take in order the letters that stand at the beginning of every verse, and do not read those actually written as the initials of these three lines, but substitute the letter *upsilon* as if it were actually placed in that position, the rendering is in five words: Jesus Christ the Son of God the Saviour, but only when read in Greek, not in Latin. And there is a total of twenty-seven verses, which number gives us the cube of three. For three times three make nine; and if this number nine is multiplied by three, so that the figure ascends from the square to the cube, we arrive at twenty-seven. Furthermore, if you combine the initial letters of the five Greek words, which are *Iesus Christos Theou Uios Soter*, that is in Latin, 'Jesus Christ the Son of God the Saviour,' they make the word *ichthys*, meaning fish, and the mystic meaning of this noun is Christ, because he had power to exist alive, that is, without sin, in the bottomless pit of our mortal life, as in the depths of the sea.

Moreover, this Erythraean or, as certain men prefer to believe, Cumaean Sibyl is far from admitting anywhere in her whole poem, of which this is only a very small portion, any reference to the worship of false or fabricated gods; on the contrary, she even inveighs so strongly against them and against their worshippers that she is clearly to be assigned to the number of those who belong to the City of God. Lactantius also inserts in his work certain Sibylline prophecies of Christ, although he does not state which Sibyl wrote them.¹ But I have thought best to repeat in continuous series the citations that he

coniuncta esse ponenda, tamquam unum sit prolixum, quae ille plura commemoravit et brevia. "In manus iniquas,"¹ inquit, "infidelium postea veniet; dabunt autem Deo alapas manibus incestis et inpurato ore expuent venenatos sputus; dabit vero ad verbera simpliciter sanctum dorsum. Et colaphos accipiens tacebit, ne quis agnoscat, quod verbum vel unde venit, ut inferis loquatur et corona spinea coronetur. Ad cibum autem fel et ad sitim acetum dederunt; inhospitalitatis hanc monstrabunt mensam. Ipsa enim insipiens tuum Deum non intellexisti, ludentem mortalium mentibus, sed et² spinis coronasti et horridum fel miscuisti. Templi vero velum scindetur; et medio die nox erit tenebrosa nimis in tribus horis. Et morte morietur tribus diebus somno suscepto; et tunc ab inferis regressus ad lucem veniet primus resurrectionis principio revocatis ostenso." Ista Lactantius carptim per intervalla disputationis suae, sicut ea poscere videbantur quae probare intenderat, adhibuit testimonia Sibyllina. Quae nos nihil interponentes, sed in unam seriem conexas ponentes solis capitibus, si tamen scriptores deinceps ea servare non neglegant, distinguenda curavimus. Nonnulli sane Erythraeam

¹ *The word iniquas is lacking in the manuscripts, but is supplied from Lactantius.*

² *The word et is supplied from Lactantius.*

¹ Lactantius makes it clear that the Sibyl is addressing the land of Judea.

² In Augustine's time books were regularly written in uncial letters, with larger letters (*capita*, "capitals") at the beginning of each page, or of each column. A break in the thought might be indicated by a space, followed by one of the

gave one by one; it will be as if the many brief passages that he cited formed one continuous prophecy. He says: "In days to come the world shall fall into the wicked hands of unbelievers; moreover, they will smite God with their foul hands and spit their venomous jets of spittle from filthy mouths; but he without guile will submit his holy back to their lashes. And he will suffer blows from their hands in silence so that none may know that he came as the Word, or whence he came, that he may preach to the spirits in hell and be crowned with a crown of thorns. Moreover, they have given him gall for food and vinegar for his thirst—such is the inhospitable board that they will set before him. For you, Judea,¹ in your folly have not known your God in his role that eluded the hearts of mortal men, but you have crowned him with thorns and have mixed nauseating gall for him. And the veil of the temple shall be rent, and at midday there shall be the exceeding great darkness of night, for three hours. And he shall fall asleep and lie in death three days; then shall he be the first to return from the lower world and come again to the light, manifesting to those recalled from the dead the beginning of resurrection." These Sibylline testimonies Lactantius cited piecemeal at various places in his argument, as the points that he sought to prove required. I have taken the pains, without interposing any matter of my own, to arrange the citations in a continuous text, and mark them off merely by capital letters, which I can only hope the copyists will not carelessly omit.² Some men, to be

larger letters. Augustine intended the breaks in his quoting from Lactantius to be thus indicated.

Sibyllam non Romuli, sed belli Troiani tempore fuisse scripserunt.

XXIV

Quod regnante Romulo septem sapientes claruerint, quo tempore decem tribus, quae Israel dicebantur, in captivitatem a Chaldaeis ductae sunt, idemque Romulus mortuus divino honore donatus est.

EODEM Romulo regnante Thales Milesius fuisse perhibetur, unus e septem sapientibus, qui post theologos poetas, in quibus Orpheus maxime omnium nobilitatus est, σοφοὶ appellati sunt, quod est Latine sapientes. Per idem tempus decem tribus quae in divisione populi vocatae sunt Israel debellatae a Chaldaeis et in eas terras captivae ductae sunt, remanentibus in Iudaea terra duabus illis tribubus quae nomine Iudae vocabantur sedemque regni habebant Hierusalem. Mortuum Romulum, cum et ipse non comparuisset, in deos, quod et vulgo notissimum est, rettulere Romani; quod usque adeo fieri iam desierat—nec postea nisi adulando, non errando, factum est temporibus Caesarum—ut Cicero magnis Romuli laudibus tribuat, quod non rudibus et indoctis temporibus, quando facile homines fallentur, sed iam expolitibus et eruditibus meruerit hos

¹ Cicero, *De re publica* 2.10.18.

sure, have written that the Erythraean Sibyl did not live in the time of Romulus, but in that of the Trojan war.

XXIV

That during Romulus' reign there were seven famous wise men, at the time when the ten tribes called Israel were led into captivity by the Chaldaeans, and the same Romulus was given divine honours at his death.

DURING the reign of Romulus, Thales of Miletus is said to have lived. He is one of the seven wise men who, coming after the theological poets, among whom Orpheus won glory above the rest, were called *sophoi*, which in Latin means 'wise men'. At this same time the ten tribes that were called Israel in the division of the kingdom were conquered by the Chaldaeans and led away captive into their lands, while the other two tribes that were called by the name of Judah remained in the Judaeian land and held Jerusalem as the seat of their power. At the death of Romulus, when he, too, had disappeared, the Romans added him to the number of the gods, as indeed the common people know quite well. This practice had so far declined by Cicero's time—there is no later instance till the era of the Caesars, when it was a matter of flattery, not ignorance—that he heaps lavish praises on Romulus because he earned these honours not in crude and ignorant times when men were easily deceived, but in an age already civilized and educated,¹ even though there was as yet no

honores, quamvis nondum efferbuerat ac pullulaverat philosophorum subtilis et acuta loquacitas.

Sed etiamsi posteriora tempora deos homines mortuos non instituerunt, tamen ab antiquis institutos colere ut deos et habere non destiterunt. Quin etiam simulacris, quae veteres non habebant, auxerunt vanae atque impiae superstitionis inlecebram, id efficientibus inmundis in eorum corde daemonibus per fallacia quoque oracula decipientibus, ut fabulosa etiam crimina deorum, quae iam urbaniore saeculo non fingebantur, per ludos tamen in eorundem falsorum numinum obsequium turpiter agerentur. Regnavit deinde Numa post Romulum, qui cum illam civitatem putaverit deorum profecto falsorum numerositate muniendam, in eandem turbam referri mortuus ipse non meruit, tamquam ita putatus sit caelum multitudine numinum constipasse ut locum ibi reperire non posset. Hoc regnante Romae et apud Hebraeos initio regni Manasse, a quo impio rege propheta Esaias perhibetur occisus, Samiam fuisse Sibyllam ferunt.

¹ There is a Jewish tradition as old as Justin Martyr (*Dialogus* 120.14 f.) that in Manasseh's persecution Isaiah was

efflorescence and proliferation of the fine-spun and hair-splitting verbosity of the philosophers.

But even though later times did not establish dead men as gods, still they did not cease to worship and maintain as gods those who had been deified by the ancients. Nay more, they even increased by means of images, which the ancients did not have, the allurements of futile and irreligious superstition. This was brought about by foul demons influencing their minds, who used among other things specious oracles to deceive them, with the result that though new myths were not invented in an age grown too sophisticated, yet the old stories of crimes among the gods were still disgracefully enacted in their shows as a service to their false divinities. The successor to the throne of Romulus was Numa, who, seriously impressed by the need of defending the city by a great number of gods—assuredly false—did not himself when he died gain the honour of admission to their throng. It was as if he were supposed to have packed heaven so full with the number of his deities that he could find no vacant space there. They say that the Samian sibyl was contemporary with his reign at Rome, and with the early part of Manasseh's reign over the Hebrews, a wicked king by whom the prophet Isaiah is said to have been killed.¹

sawn asunder with a wooden saw; it may be referred to in Hebrews 11.37.

XXV

*Qui philosophi enituerint regnante apud Romanos
Tarquinio Prisco, apud Hebraeos Sedechia, cum
Hierusalem capta est templumque subversum.*

REGNANTE vero apud Hebraeos Sedechia et apud Romanos Tarquinio Prisco, qui successerat Ancus Marcio, ductus est captivus in Babyloniam populus Iudaeorum eversa Hierusalem et templo illo a Salomone constructo. Incredibiles enim eos prophetae de iniquitatibus et impietatibus suis haec eis ventura praedixerant, maxime Hieremias, qui etiam numerum definivit annorum. Eo tempore Pittacus Mitylenseus, alius e septem sapientibus, fuisse perhibetur. Et quinque ceteros, qui, ut septem numerentur, Thaleti, quem supra commemoravimus, et huic Pittaco adduntur, eo tempore fuisse scribit Eusebius, quo captivus Dei populus in Babylonia tenebatur. Hi sunt autem: Solon Atheniensis, Chilon Lacedaemonius, Periandrus Corinthius, Cleobulus Lindius, Bias Prienaenus. Omnes hi, septem appellati sapientes, post poetas theologos claruerunt, quia genere vitae quodam laudabili praestabant hominibus ceteris et morum nonnulla praecepta sententiarum brevitate complexi sunt. Nihil autem monumentorum, quod ad litteras adtinet, posteris reliquerunt, nisi quod Solon quasdam leges Atheniensibus dedisse perhibetur; Thales vero physicus fuit et suorum

Jeremiah 25.11.

XXV

*What philosophers won fame during the reign of
Tarquinius Priscus over the Romans, and Zedekiah
over the Hebrews, at the time when Jerusalem
was captured and the temple overthrown.*

Now while Zedekiah reigned over the Hebrews and Tarquinius Priscus over the Romans, succeeding Ancus Marcius, the people of the Jews were led away captive to Babylonia after Jerusalem and that famous temple constructed by Solomon were overthrown. For the prophets who inveighed against their iniquity and impiety had foretold that this would befall them, and especially Jeremiah, who even specified the number of years of their captivity.¹ At that time Pittacus of Mitylene, another of the seven wise men, is said to have lived. And Eusebius writes that the five others who are added to Thales, whom we mentioned above, and this Pittacus, to make up the total of seven, lived at this time, when the people of God were held captive in Babylonia. Now these are their names: Solon of Athens, Chilon the Lacedaemonian, Periander of Corinth, Cleobulus of Lindos, Bias of Priene. All these, called the seven wise men, were famous after the time of the theological poets, because they surpassed the rest of mankind by a certain praiseworthy manner of life and embodied a number of moral precepts in pithy maxims. But they did not bequeath any literary monuments to posterity except for the fact that Solon is known to have formulated certain laws for the Athenians; Thales was a naturalist and left

dogmatum libros reliquit. Eo captivitatis Iudaicae tempore et Anaximander et Anaximenes et Xenophanes physici claruerunt. Tunc et Pythagoras, ex quo coeperunt appellari philosophi.

XXVI

Quod eo tempore quo impletis septuaginta annis Iudaeorum est resoluta captivitas Romani quoque a dominatu sint regio liberati.

PER idem tempus Cyrus, rex Persarum, qui etiam Chaldaeis et Assyriis imperabat, relaxata aliquanta captivitate Iudaeorum, quinquaginta milia hominum ex eis ad instaurandum templum regredi fecit. A quibus tantum prima coepta fundamenta et altare constructum est. Incursantibus autem hostibus nequaquam progredi aedificando valuerunt, dilatatum opus est usque ad Darium. Per idem tempus etiam illa sunt gesta quae conscripta sunt in libro Iudith; quem sane in canonem scripturarum Iudaei non receperunt dicuntur. Sub Dario ergo rege Persarum impletis septuaginta annis, quos Hieremias propheta praedixerat, reddita est Iudaeis soluta captivitate libertas, regnante Romanorum septimo rege Tarquinio. Quo expulso etiam ipsi a regum suorum dominatione liberi esse coeperunt. Usque ad hoc tempus prophetas habuit populus Israel; qui

¹ Cf. Book 8.2.

books containing his teachings. At that time of the Jewish captivity Anaximander and Anaximenes and Xenophanes were also famous students of nature. Then came Pythagoras also, from whose time such men began to be called philosophers.¹

XXVI

That at the time when on the completion of seventy years the Jewish captivity was ended, the Romans also were freed from royal domination.

DURING this same period Cyrus, king of the Persians, who also ruled over the Chaldeans and Assyrians, releasing a good part of the captive Jews, caused fifty thousand men of their number to return home, in order to rebuild the temple. But only the first foundations were laid by these men, and the altar was constructed. For when they were raided by foes they were much too weak to advance the building further, and the work was postponed until the reign of Darius. At this same time the events occurred that were recorded in the book of Judith, which the Jews indeed are said to have excluded from the canon of scripture. Then under Darius, king of the Persians, when the seventy years that Jeremiah the prophet had foretold were completed, the captivity was ended and liberty was restored to the Jews, in the reign of Tarquin, the seventh king of the Romans. On his expulsion the Romans themselves also began to be free from the domination of their kings. Up to this time the people of Israel had prophets; although there were many of these,

cum multi fuerint, paucorum et apud Iudaeos et apud nos canonica scripta retinentur. De quibus me aliqua positurum esse promisi in hoc libro, cum clauderem superiorem, quod iam video esse faciendum.

XXVII

De temporibus prophetarum, quorum oracula habentur in libris quique tunc de vocatione gentium multa cecinerunt, quando Romanorum regnum coepit Assyriorumque defecit.

TEMPORA igitur eorum ut possimus advertere, in anteriora paululum recurramus. In capite libri Osee prophetae, qui primus in duodecim ponitur, ita scriptum est: *Verbum Domini, quod factum est ad Osee in diebus Oziae et Ioatham et Achaz et Ezechiae regum Iuda.* Amos quoque diebus regis Oziae prophetasse se scribit; addit etiam Hieroboam regem Israel, qui per eosdem dies fuit. Nec non Esaias, filius Amos, sive supradicti prophetae sive, quod magis perhibetur, alterius qui non propheta eodem nomine vocabatur, eosdem reges quattuor quos posuit Osee in capite libri sui ponit, quorum diebus se prophetasse praeloquitur. Michaeas etiam eadem suae prophetiae commemorat tempora post dies Oziae. Nam tres qui sequuntur reges nominat,

¹ Hosea 1.1.

² Amos 1.1.

we possess now the writings of only a few that are regarded as canonical among the Jews and among us also. When I concluded the previous book I promised that I would set down some account of these prophets in this book, which I see I must now do.

XXVII

On the dates of the prophets whose oracles are preserved in books and who made many prophecies about the calling of the gentiles at the time when the Roman empire began and the Assyrian empire fell.

IN order, therefore, to focus attention on their era let us go back to a slightly earlier time. At the beginning of the book of Hosea the prophet, who has first place among the twelve, these words are written: "The word of the Lord came to Hosea in the days of Uzziah and Jotham and Ahaz and Hezekiah the kings of Judah."¹ Amos also writes that he prophesied in the days of king Uzziah, and adds the name of Jeroboam, king of Israel, who lived at the same time. Isaiah also, the son of Amos, whether his father was the prophet just mentioned or, as is more widely held, another man called by the same name who was not a prophet, lists at the beginning of his book the same four kings that Hosea named, in whose days he says that he prophesied.² Micah also indicates this same period as the time of his prophecy, after the days of Uzziah. For he names the three following kings, whom Hosea also named,

quos et Osee nominavit, Ioatham et Achaz et Ezechian. Hi sunt, quos eodem tempore simul prophetasse ex eorum litteris invenitur. His adiungitur Ionas eodem Ozia rege regnante et Ioel, cum iam regnaret Ioatham, qui successit Oziae. Sed istorum prophetarum duorum tempora in chronicis, non in eorum libris potuimus invenire, quoniam de suis diebus tacent. Tenduntur autem hi dies a rege Latinorum Proca sive superiore Aventino usque ad regem Romulum iam Romanum, vel etiam usque ad regni primordia successoris eius Numae Pompilii; Ezechias quippe rex Iuda eo usque regnavit. Ac per hoc per ea tempora isti velut fontes prophetiae pariter eruperunt, quando regnum defecit Assyrium coepitque Romanum; ut scilicet, quem ad modum regni Assyriorum primo tempore extitit Abraham, cui promissiones apertissimae fierent in eius semine benedictionis omnium gentium, ita occidentalis Babylonis exordio, qua fuerat Christus imperante venturus, in quo implerentur illa promissa, ora prophetarum non solum loquentium, verum etiam scribentium in tantae rei futurae testimonium solverentur. Cum enim prophetae numquam fere defuissent populo Israel, ex quo ibi reges esse coeperunt, in usum tantummodo eorum fuere, non gentium; quando autem scriptura manifestius prophetica condebatur, quae gentibus quandoque pro-

¹ Micah 1.1.

² The reference is to Jerome's translation of the *Chronicles* of Eusebius.

Jotham and Ahaz and Hezekiah.¹ These men are seen by their own statements to have prophesied as contemporaries at the time mentioned. To them are added Jonah, during the reign of the same king Uzziah, and Joel, at the time when Jotham, Uzziah's successor, had begun his reign. But the dates of these two prophets are found in the chronicles,² not in their own books, because they do not mention their own times. Now these times extend from Procas king of the Latins or his predecessor Aventinus to Romulus, now a Roman king, or even to the beginning of the reign of his successor Numa Pompilius, inasmuch as Hezekiah, the king of Judah, reigned until this date. Hence it is that these men, wellsprings of prophecy, gushed forth together, so to speak, at the time when the Assyrian empire ended and the Roman began. It was evidently intended that, just as Abraham appeared, to whom the most explicit prophecies of the blessing of all nations in his seed were to be made, in the first years of the Assyrian empire, so also at the beginning of the western Babylon under whose rule Christ was to come, in whom those promises were to be fulfilled, the lips of the prophets should be opened, not only for oral but also for written testimony of this great future event. For although there had hardly ever been a time when the people of Israel were without a prophet from the time when they began to have kings, such prophets had been for the use of their own people only, and not for that of gentile nations. But when the series of prophetic writings that were to be of value to the gentiles in later times was more publicly inaugurated the ideal time to inaugurate it

desset, tunc oportebat inciperet quando condebatur
haec civitas quae gentibus imperaret.

XXVIII

*De his quae ad evangelium Christi pertinent, quid
Osee et Amos prophetaverint.*

OSEE igitur propheta quanto profundius quidem loquitur tanto operosius penetratur. Sed aliquid inde sumendum est et hic ex nostra promissione ponendum. *Et erit, inquit, in loco quo dictum est eis: Non populus meus vos, vocabuntur et ipsi filii Dei vivi.* Hoc testimonium propheticum de vocatione populi gentium, qui prius non pertinebat ad Deum, etiam apostoli intellexerunt. Et quia ipse quoque populus gentium spiritualiter est in filiis Abrahae ac per hoc recte dicitur Israel, propterea sequitur et dicit: *Et congregabuntur filii Iuda et filii Israel in id ipsum, et ponent sibi principatum unum et ascendent a terra.* Hoc si adhuc velimus exponere, eloquii prophetici obtundetur sapor. Recolatur tamen lapis ille angularis et duo parietes, unus ex Iudaeis, alter ex gentibus;

¹ Hosea 1.10.

² Romans 9.26.

³ Hosea 1.11. The words *in id ipsum*, like the Greek ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, represent a Hebrew adverb which means 'together, to the

was when this city was founded, which was to rule the nations of the world.

XXVIII

*On the prophecies of Hosea and Amos that refer to
Christ.*

Now as to the prophet Hosea, the greater the profundity of his message, the more difficult it is to penetrate his meaning. But we must take some part of his prophecy for consideration here, according to our promise. "And it shall come to pass," he says, "that in the place where it was said to them: 'You are not my people,' even they shall be called the sons of the living God."¹ The apostles also recognized this as prophetic evidence for the calling of the world's people, who did not formerly belong to God.² And since the world's people themselves belong in the spirit to the children of Abraham and thus are rightly called Israel, for this reason he goes on to say: "And the children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together to the same place, and shall appoint themselves one head, and shall ascend from the earth."³ If we should try to analyse this saying at the present time the flavour of its prophetic eloquence would be dulled. Yet let us recall that cornerstone and the two walls,⁴ the one composed of the Jews, the other of the

same place.' The word *principatus*, Greek *arche*, represents the Hebrew word *rosh* which means 'head, beginning, chief man, chief place.'

⁴ Ephesians 2.14, 20.

ille nomine filiorum Iuda, iste nomine filiorum Israel, eidem uni principatui suo in id ipsum innitentes et ascendentes agnoscantur a terra.

Istos autem carnaliter Israelitas, qui nunc nolunt credere in Christum, postea credituros, id est filios eorum—nam utique isti in suum locum moriendo transibunt—idem propheta testatur dicens: *Quoniam diebus multis sedebunt filii Israel sine rege, sine principe, sine sacrificio, sine altari, sine sacerdotio, sine manifestationibus.* Quis non videat nunc sic esse Iudaeos? Sed quid adiungat, audiamus. *Et postea, inquit, revertentur filii Israel et inquirent Dominum Deum suum et David regem suum, et stupescant in Domino et in bonis ipsius in novissimis diebus.* Nihil est ista prophetia manifestius, cum David regis nomine significatus intellegitur Christus, quia *factus est*, sicut dicit apostolus, *ex semine David secundum carnem.* Praenuntiavit iste propheta etiam tertio die Christi resurrectionem futuram, sicut eam prophetica altitudine praenuntiari oportebat, ubi ait: *Sanabit nos post biduum, in die tertio resurgemus.* Secundum hoc enim nobis dicit apostolus: *Si resurrexistis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt quaerite.*

Amos quoque de rebus talibus sic prophetat: *Praepara, inquit, te, ut invoces Deum tuum Israel; quia ecce ego firmans tonitrum et creans spiritum et*

Gentiles; and let us recognize that the former in the name of the children of Judah, and the latter in that of the children of Israel, supported together by the same single head, are ascending from the earth.

Moreover, the same prophet testifies that the Israelites according to the flesh, who are not now willing to believe in Christ, will later come to believe in him, or rather, their sons will do so—for those will surely go to their own place as they die—when he says: “For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, without a prince, without a sacrifice, without an altar, without a priesthood, without the symbols of their faith.” Who could fail to see that the Jews are now in this condition? But let us hear what he adds: “And afterward the children of Israel shall return and seek the Lord their God and David their king, and shall be amazed before the Lord and his goodness in the last days.”¹ Nothing could be clearer than this prophecy, since the name of king David is known to signify Christ, for, as the Apostle says: “He sprang from David’s seed according to the flesh.”² That prophet also foretold that Christ’s resurrection would take place on the third day, in the sublime terms proper for prophecy, when he said: “He will heal us after two days; on the third day we shall rise again.”³ For it is in this vein that the Apostle says to us: “If you have risen with Christ, seek those things that are above.”⁴

Amos also prophesies as follows on the same subject, saying: “Prepare to call upon your God, O Israel; for lo, I am he that strengthens the thunder and creates the wind and proclaims to men their

¹ Hosea 3.4 f.

² Romans 1.3.

³ Hosea 6.2.

⁴ Colossians 3.1.

adnuntians in hominibus Christum suum; et alio loco: In illa die, inquit, resuscitabo tabernaculum David quod cecidit, et reaedificabo quae ceciderunt eius, et destructa eius resuscitabo et reaedificabo ea sicut dies saeculi; ita ut exquirant me residui hominum et omnes gentes, in quibus invocatum est nomen meum super eos, dicit Dominus faciens haec.

XXIX

Quae ab Esaia de Christo et ecclesia sint praedicta.

ESAIAS propheta non est in libro duodecim prophetarum, qui propterea dicuntur minores quia sermones eorum sunt breves in eorum comparatione qui maiores ideo vocantur quia proluxa volumina condiderunt; ex quibus est hic Esaias quem propter eadem prophetiae tempora subiungo supradictis duobus. Esaias ergo inter illa quae arguit iniqua et iusta praecepit et peccatori populo mala futura praedixit, etiam de Christo et ecclesia, hoc est de rege et ea quam condidit civitate, multo plura quam ceteri prophetavit, ita ut a quibusdam evangelista quam propheta potius diceretur. Sed propter rationem operis terminandi unum de multis hoc loco ponam. Ex persona quippe Dei Patris loquens: *Ecce, inquit, intellet puer meus et exaltabitur et glorificabitur valde. Quem ad modum stupescunt super te multi, ita gloria*

¹ Amos 4.12 f.

² Amos 9.11 f.

³ Jerome, *Praefatio in Is.* (Migne, PL 24, 18).

Christ.”¹ In another passage also he says: “In that day I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and will rebuild the ruins of it and will raise again the parts destroyed and rebuild them as in the days of old, so that the remnant of men may seek me out, and all the nations among whom my name is invoked upon them; thus says the Lord who does these things.”²

XXIX

Isaiah's predictions concerning Christ and the church.

THE prophet Isaiah is not in the book of the twelve prophets, called ‘minor’ prophets because their writings are brief in comparison with those called ‘major’ on account of the large volumes that they produced. Among the latter is this Isaiah, whom I associate with the two discussed above because they belong to the same period of prophecy. Isaiah, then, in his denunciations of wrong and his admonitions to do right and his predictions of the evils that were to befall the sinful people, also uttered many more prophecies than the others did about Christ and the church, that is, about the king and the city he founded, so that by some authorities, Isaiah was called evangelist rather than prophet.³ But to keep my book within limits according to plan I shall insert at this point only one of his many prophecies. Speaking then in the person of God the Father he says: “Behold, my servant shall understand, and be exalted, and glorified exceedingly. As many shall be amazed at thee, so shall thy appearance be

privabitur ab hominibus species tua et gloria tua ab hominibus; ita mirabuntur gentes multae super eum et continebunt reges os suum; quoniam quibus non est nuntiatum de illo, videbunt, et qui non audierunt, intellegent. Domine, quis credidit auditui nostro, et brachium Domini cui revelatum est? Adnuntiavimus coram illo, ut infans, ut radix in terra sitienti: non est species illi neque gloria. Et vidimus eum, et non habebat speciem neque decorem; sed species eius sine honore, deficiens prae omnibus hominibus. Homo in plaga positus et sciens ferre infirmitatem; quoniam aversa est facies eius, inhonoratus est nec magni aestimatus est. Hic peccata nostra portat et pro nobis dolet; et nos existimavimus illum esse in dolore et in plaga et in adflictione. Ipse autem vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras et infirmatus est propter peccata nostra. Eruditio pacis nostrae in eo; livore eius nos sanati sumus. Omnes ut oves erravimus, homo a via sua erravit; et Dominus tradidit illum pro peccatis nostris; et ipse, propter quod adflictus est, non aperuit os. Ut ovis ad immolandum ductus est et ut agnus ante eum qui se tonderet sine voce, sic non aperuit os suum. In humilitate iudicium eius sublatum est. Generationem eius quis enarrabit? Quoniam tolletur de terra vita eius. Ab iniquitatibus populi mei ductus est ad mortem. Et dabo malignos pro sepultura eius et divites pro morte eius. Quoniam iniquitatem non fecit nec dolum in ore suo; et Dominus vult purgare eum de plaga. Si dederitis pro peccato

without glory from men and thy glory dishonoured by men. Thus shall many nations wonder at him, and shall keep their mouths shut; for those to whom no report was brought concerning him shall see, and those who have not heard shall understand. O Lord, who has believed our report, and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed? We announced him in his presence as an infant; he is as a root in a thirsty land; he has no beauty nor glory. And we saw him, and he had no beauty nor comeliness, but his form was ignoble and inferior to that of all men. He was a man struck down by misfortune, who knew how to bear his infirmity. Because his face is turned from us, he was dishonoured and not highly esteemed. He bears our sins and suffers pain for us, yet we thought of him as one in pain and misfortune and affliction. But he was wounded on account of our iniquities and weakened on account of our sins. The chastisement which brings us peace fell on him, and by his bruises we were healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; man has wandered from his proper path, and the Lord has delivered him up for our sins, yet he did not open his mouth because of his afflictions. He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before the shearer is dumb, so he opened not his mouth. In his humiliation justice was denied him. Who shall declare his generation? For his life shall be taken away from the earth. Because of the iniquities of my people he was led to death. And I will give the wicked for his burial and the rich for his death, for he practised no iniquity nor craft with his mouth; and it is the Lord's will to cleanse him from his affliction. If you

animam vestram, videbitis semen longævum; et Dominus vult auferre a dolore animam eius, ostendere illi lucem et formare intellectum, iustificare iustum bene servientem pluribus; et peccata eorum ipse portabit. Propterea ipse hereditabit plures et fortium dividet spolia, propter quod tradita est ad mortem anima eius, et inter iniquos aestimatus est et ipse peccata multorum portavit, et propter peccata eorum traditus est. Haec de Christo.

Iam vero de ecclesia quod sequitur audiamus. *Laetare, inquit, sterilis, quae non paris; erumpe et exclama, quae non parturis; quoniam multi filii desertae magis quam eius, quae habet virum. Dilata locum tabernaculi tui et aulaearum tuarum; fuge, noli parcere, prolonga funiculos tuos et palos tuos conforta, adhuc in dextram et sinistram partem extende. Et semen tuum hereditabit gentes, et civitates desertas inhabitabis. Ne timeas quoniam confusa es, neque reverearis quia exprobrata es; quoniam confusionem aeternam oblivisceris et opprobrium viduitatis tuae non eris memor. Quoniam Dominus faciens te, Dominus Sabaoth nomen ei; et qui eruit te, ipse Deus Israel universae terrae vocabitur; et cetera. Verum ista sint satis; et in eis sunt exponenda nonnulla; sed sufficere arbitror quae ita sunt aperta ut etiam inimici intellegere cogantur inviti.*

give your life for sin you shall see a long-lived seed, and it is the Lord's will to rescue his soul from pain, to show him the light and to form his understanding, to justify the righteous man who serves many well, and he himself shall bear their sins. Therefore he shall inherit many, and he shall divide the spoils of the mighty, because his soul was delivered to death, and he was reckoned among the transgressors, and he bore the sins of many, and for their sins was delivered up."¹ These things were said of Christ.

Let us now hear what follows concerning the church. He says: "Rejoice, O barren, you that do not bear children; break forth and shout, you who do not give birth, for the children of the desolate one are many, surpassing those of her that has a husband. Enlarge the place of your tent, and of your curtains, fix the pins, spare not, lengthen your cords and strengthen your tent poles, spread forth your tent still to the right and the left, for your seed shall inherit the nations and you shall populate deserted cities. Have no fear because you are put to shame, do not stand in awe because you were reproached, for you shall forget your old confusion and shall not remember the reproach of your widowed state. For it is the Lord that made you, the Lord of hosts is his name, and he that delivered you shall be called the God of Israel in all the earth,"² and so forth. But let this suffice. There are some points in it that require explanation, but I think there are enough points that are so clear that even our adversaries will be compelled to understand in spite of themselves.

¹ Isaiah 52.13–53.12.

² Isaiah 54.1–5.

XXX

Quae Michaeas et Ionas et Ioel novo testamento congruentia prophetaverint.

MICHAELAS propheta Christum in figura ponens magni cuiusdam montis haec loquitur: *Erit in novissimis diebus manifestus mons Domini, paratus super vertices montium et exaltabitur super colles. Et festinant ad eum plebes, et ibunt gentes multae et dicent: Venite, ascendamus in montem Domini et in domum Dei Iacob, et ostendet nobis viam suam, et ibimus in semitis eius; quia ex Sion procedet lex et verbum Domini ex Hierusalem. Et iudicabit inter plebes multas, et redarguet gentes potentes usque in longinquum. Praedicens iste propheta et locum in quo natus est Christus: Et tu, inquit, Bethleem, domus Ephrata, minima es, ut sis in milibus Iuda; ex te mihi prodiet, ut sit in principem Israel; et egressus eius ab initio et ex diebus aeternitatis. Propterea dabit eos usque ad tempus parturientis, pariet, et residui fratres eius convertentur ad filios Israel. Et stabit et videbit et pascet gregem suum in virtute Domini, et in honore nominis Domini Dei sui erunt; quoniam nunc magnificabitur usque ad summum terrae.*

Ionas autem propheta non tam sermone Christum,

¹ Micah 4.1-3.

² Micah 5.2-4.

XXX

What prophecies of Micah and Jonah and Joel apply to the new covenant.

THE prophet Micah, referring to Christ by the metaphor of a certain great mountain, says: "In the last days the mountain of the Lord shall be revealed, arrayed above the mountain-tops, and he shall be exalted above the hills. And the peoples shall hasten toward him and many nations shall go and shall say: 'Come, let us go up into the mountain of the Lord and into the house of the God of Jacob, and he will show us his road and we shall walk in his paths; because the law shall go forth from Sion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.' And he shall judge between many peoples and shall rebuke powerful nations even afar off."¹ This prophet also foretold the place where Christ was born, saying: "And you, Bethlehem, the house of Ephrata, though you are very small to be among the thousands of Judah, yet out of you shall come forth unto me one who is to be leader over Israel; and his goings forth have been from the beginning and from the days of eternity. Therefore will he give them to wait until the time when she that is in labour shall bear her child, and the remnant of his brothers shall return to the children of Israel. Then he shall stand and see and shall feed his flock in the strength of the Lord, and they shall live in the honour of the name of the Lord their God, for he shall be magnified at this time even to the ends of the earth."²

The prophet Jonah, on the other hand, foretold

quam sua quadam passione prophetavit, profecto apertius quam si eius mortem et resurrectionem voce clamaret. Ut quid enim exceptus est ventre beluino et die tertio redditus, nisi ut significaret Christum de profundo inferni die tertio rediturum?

Joel omnia quae prophetat multis verbis compellit exponi ut quae pertinent ad Christum et ecclesiam dilucescant. Unum tamen, quod etiam apostoli commemoraverunt, quando in congregatos credentes Spiritus sanctus, sicut a Christo promissus fuerat, desuper venit, non praetermittam. *Et erit, inquit, post haec, et effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem; et prophetabunt filii vestri et filiae vestrae, et seniores vestri somnia somniabunt, et iuvenes vestri visa videbunt; et quidem in servos et ancillas meas in illis diebus effundam de spiritu meo.*

XXXI

Quae in Abdia et Naum et Ambacu de salute mundi in Christo praenuntiata reperiantur.

TRES prophetae de minoribus, Abdias, Naum, Ambacum, nec tempora sua dicunt ipsi, nec in chronicis Eusebii et Hieronymi, quando propheta-verint, invenitur. Abdias enim positus est quidem ab eis cum Michaea, sed non eo loco ubi notantur

¹ Jonah 1 f. ² Acts 2.17 f.
³ Joel 2.28 f.

Christ not so much by his writings as by certain things that he suffered; he did so more clearly, indeed, than if he had proclaimed Christ's death and resurrection in words. For why was he received into the monster's belly, and given back on the third day, except to indicate that Christ should return from the depths of hell on the third day?¹

All Joel's prophecies require extensive explanation in order to clarify those passages that refer to Christ and the church. There is one text, however, that I shall not pass over, one recalled also by the apostles when the holy spirit descended upon the congregation of the faithful,² as had been promised them by Christ. Joel said: "And it shall come to pass after this, that I will pour my spirit over all flesh; then your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; your old men shall dream dreams and your young men shall see visions. And indeed in those days I will pour forth my spirit upon my servants and my handmaidens."³

XXXI

What predictions are found in Obadiah and Nahum and Habakkuk about the salvation of the world in Christ.

THREE of the minor prophets, Obadiah, Nahum and Habakkuk, neither mention their own times themselves, nor is the date of their prophecies found in the chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome. For Obadiah is indeed grouped by them with Micah, but not in the passage where the date is noted at which

tempora quando Michaeam prophetasse ex eius litteris constat; quod errore negligenter describentium labores alienos existimo contigisse; duos vero alios commemoratos in codicibus chronicorum quos habuimus non potuimus invenire. Tamen quia canone continentur, nec ipsi oportet praetereantur a nobis.

Abdias, quantum ad scripturam eius adtinet, omnium brevissimus prophetarum, adversus Idumaeam loquitur, gentem scilicet Esau, ex duobus geminis filiis Isaac, nepotibus Abrahae, maioris illius reprobati. Porro si Idumaeam modo locutionis quo intellegitur a parte totum accipiamus positam esse pro gentibus, possumus de Christo agnoscere quod ait inter cetera: *In monte autem Sion erit salus et erit sanctum;* et paulo post in fine ipsius prophetiae: *Et ascendent,* inquit, *resalvati ex monte Sion, ut defendant montem Esau, et erit Domino regnum.* Apparet quippe id esse completum, cum resalvati ex monte Sion, id est ex Iudaea credentes in Christum, qui praecipue agnoscuntur apostoli, ascenderunt ut defenderent montem Esau. Quo modo defenderent, nisi per evangelii praedicationem salvos faciendo eos qui crediderunt, ut eruerentur de potestate tenebrarum et transferrentur in regnum Dei? Quod consequenter expressit addendo: *Et erit Domino regnum.* Mons enim Sion Iudaeam significat, ubi futura praedicta est salus et sanctum, quod est Christus Iesus. Mons

Micah is known from his writings to have prophesied. I think that this is due to the error of copyists carelessly transcribing the works of others. But we have not been able to find the other two mentioned at all in the books that we used containing the chronicles. Yet inasmuch as they are a part of the canon, I must not let them go without mention.

Obadiah, the shortest of all the prophets in his written message, speaks against Edom, that is, the clan of Esau, that elder son who was rejected, of the twin sons of Isaac, the grandsons of Abraham. Now if we take Edom, according to the figure of speech in which the whole is signified by a part, as put for the gentiles, we can recognize a reference to Christ in these words, found among the others: "But upon Mount Sion there shall be salvation and there shall be a holy place." And a little later, at the end of the same prophecy: "Those who have been saved," he says, "shall go up from Mount Sion to defend the mount of Esau, and the kingdom shall be the Lord's."¹ It is clear that this was fulfilled when those saved from Mount Sion—that is, those from Judaea who were believers in Christ, and here we recognize the apostles especially—went up to defend the mount of Esau. How could they defend it except by saving through the preaching of the gospel those who have come to believe, so that they might be rescued from the power of darkness and transferred to the kingdom of God? This he stated in the next words, when he added: "And the kingdom shall be the Lord's." For Mount Sion means Judaea, where it was predicted that there should be salvation and a holy place, which is Christ Jesus. But Mount

¹ Obadiah 17.21.

vero Esau Idumaea est, per quam significata est ecclesia gentium, quam defenderunt, sicut exposui, resalvati ex monte Sion, ut esset Domino regnum. Hoc obscurum erat antequam fieret; sed factum quis non fidelis agnoscat?

Naum vero propheta, immo per illum Deus: *Exterminabo, inquit, sculptilia et conflabilia, ponam sepulturam tuam; quia veloces ecce super montes pedes evangelizantis et adnuntiantis pacem. Celebra, Iuda, dies festos tuos, redde vota tua; quia iam non adicient ultra, ut transeant in vetustatem. Consummatum est, consumptum est, ablatum est. Ascendit qui insufflat in faciem tuam, eripiens te ex tribulatione. Quis ascenderit ab inferis et insufflaverit in faciem Iudae, hoc est Iudaeorum discipulorum, Spiritum sanctum, recolat qui meminit evangelium. Ad novum enim testamentum pertinent quorum dies festi ita spiritaliter innovantur ut in vetustatem transire non possint. Porro per evangelium exterminata sculptilia et conflabilia, id est idola deorum falsorum, et oblivioni tamquam sepulturae tradita iam videmus et hanc etiam in hac re prophetiam completam esse cognoscimus.*

Ambacum de quo alio quam de Christi adventu, qui futurus fuerat, intellegitur dicere: *Et respondit Dominus ad me et dixit: Scribe visum aperte in buxo, ut adsequatur qui legit ea; quia adhuc visio ad tempus,*

Esau is Edom, by which is meant the church of the gentiles, which, as I have explained, the men from Mount Sion who had been saved defended, so that it might be the kingdom of the Lord. This was obscure before the event, but what believer can fail to recognize the meaning after the event?

Now Nahum the prophet says, or rather God says through him: "I will destroy the graven images and the molten images, I will make your grave. For lo, the feet of him who brings good tidings and news of peace are swift upon the mountains. Celebrate, O Judah, your festal days, pay your vows, for hereafter they shall not continue to pass on into the decay of age. It is finished, it is consumed, it is removed. He comes up who breathes upon your face, rescuing you from tribulation."¹ Who shall come up from the lower world and breathe the Holy Spirit upon the face of Judah, that is, of the Jewish disciples? Let one who remembers the Gospel recall!² For those whose festal days are spiritually reformed so that they cannot pass into decay belong to the new covenant. Furthermore, it is by the gospel that the graven and molten images, that is, the idols of false gods, have been destroyed, as we see, and delivered to oblivion as if to the grave; and we recognize that this prophecy also has been fulfilled in this event.

Of what else do we understand Habakkuk to speak than the coming of Christ, who was destined to come, when he says: "And the Lord answered me and said: 'Write the vision plainly on a tablet, so that he who reads these things may follow, for still the vision awaits its time, yet at the end it shall

¹ Nahum 1.14 f.; 2.1.

² John 20.22 f.

et oriatur in fine et non in vacuum; si tardaverit, sustine eum, quia veniens veniet et non morabitur?

XXXII

De prophetia quae in oratione Ambacu et cantico continetur.

IN oratione autem sua cum cantico cui nisi Domino Christo dicit: *Domine, audivi auditionem tuam, et timui; Domine, consideravi opera tua, et expavi?* Quid enim hoc est nisi praecognitae novae ac repentinae salutis hominum ineffabilis admiratio? *In medio duorum animalium cognosceris* quid est nisi aut in medio duorum testamentorum, aut in medio duorum latronum, aut in medio Moysi et Heliae cum illo in monte sermocinantium? *Dum adpropinquant anni, nosceris; in adventu temporis ostenderis, nec exponendum est. In eo cum turbata fuerit anima mea, in ira misericordiae memor eris* quid est nisi quod Iudaeos in se transfiguravit, quorum gentis fuit, qui cum magna ira turbati crucifigerent Christum, ille misericordiae memor dixit: *Pater ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quod faciunt?*

Deus de Theman veniet et sanctus de monte umbroso et condenso. Quod hic dictum est: De Theman veniet

¹ Habakkuk 2.2 f. The meaning of the Hebrew, 'so that he may run who reads it,' is rendered well enough by the verb δάωκω in LXX, but not by the Latin *adsequor*.

² This chapter is based on Habakkuk 3, as translated from the LXX.

³ Luke 23.34.

arise, and not come to no purpose. If it delay, wait patiently for it; it will surely come and it will not delay' " ?¹

XXXII

*On the prophecy contained in the prayer and song of Habakkuk.*²

MOREOVER, in his prayer with its accompanying song, whom is he addressing but the Lord Christ when he says: "O Lord, I have heard thy words, and was afraid; Lord, I have considered thy works, and have been terrified"? For what is this but the inexpressible amazement of one who foresees a new and sudden salvation for men? "Between the two living creatures thou shalt be recognized"; what does this mean but either between the two covenants, or between the two thieves, or between Moses and Elijah conversing with him on the mountain? "When the years draw nigh thou shalt be recognized, when the time arrives thou shalt be revealed"; this needs no explanation. "In the day when my soul is troubled, thou wilt be mindful of mercy in the day of wrath"; what is this but the prophet's identification of himself with the Jews, to whose race he belonged? For when in the violence of their great wrath they crucified Christ he remembered his mercy and said: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."³

"God shall come from Teman, and the holy one from the thickly shaded mountain." These words, "he shall come from Teman," are interpreted by

alii interpretati sunt ab Austro vel Africo; per quod significatur merities, id est fervor caritatis et splendor veritatis. Montem vero umbrosum atque condensum, quamvis multis modis possit intellegi, libentius acceperim scripturarum altitudinem divinarum quibus prophetatus est Christus. Multa ibi quippe umbrosa atque condensa sunt quae mentem quaerentis exerceant. Inde autem venit, cum ibi eum qui intellegit invenit. *Operuit caelos virtus eius, et laudis eius plena est terra* quid est nisi quod etiam in psalmo dicitur: *Exaltare super caelos, Deus, et super omnem terram gloria tua? Splendor eius ut lumen erit* quid est nisi fama eius credentes inluminabit? *Cornua in manibus eius sunt* quid est nisi tropaeum crucis? *Et posuit caritatem firmam fortitudinis suae* nec exponendum est.

Ante faciem eius ibit verbum, et prodiet in campum post pedes eius quid est nisi quod et antequam huc veniret praenuntiatus est, et postea quam hinc reversus est, adnuntiatus est? *Stetit, et terra commota est* quid est nisi stetit ad subveniendum, et terra commota est ad credendum? *Respexit, et tabuerunt gentes*, hoc est misertus est et fecit populos paenitentes. *Contriti sunt montes violentia*, hoc est vim facientibus miraculis elatorum est contrita superbia. *Defluxerunt colles aeternales*, hoc est, humiliati sunt

some as 'from the south' or 'from the African quarter,' by which is meant noonday, that is, the fervour of affection and the splendour of truth. Now although the thickly shaded mountain might be interpreted in many ways, I would prefer to accept it as referring to the profundity of the divine Scriptures by which Christ was prophesied. For surely in these there are many obscure and thickly shaded sayings that tax the mind of him who searches them. But Christ comes from there when he is found there by the man who understands. "His glory covers the heavens and the earth is full of his praise"; what is this save what is also indicated in the psalm: "Be exalted over the heavens, O God, and thy glory over all the earth"?¹ "His splendour shall be as the light"; what does this mean but "his fame shall enlighten those who believe on him"? "Horns are in his hands"; what is this but the trophy of the cross? "And he has implanted an abiding love for his strength" needs no explanation.

"His word shall go before his face, and it shall spread over the plain after his feet"; what does this mean but that even before he came hither he was heralded, and after he departed hence he was proclaimed? "He stood still and the earth was moved"; what does this mean but that he stood still to aid us, and the world was moved to believe on him? "He looked down and the nations wasted away," that is, he had mercy and made the peoples repent. "The mountains were ground fine by his violence"; that is, the pride of the haughty was ground fine by the power of his miracles. "The everlasting hills melted away"; that is, they were

¹ Psalms 57.5.

ad tempus, ut erigerentur in aeternum. *Ingressus aeternos eius pro laboribus vidi*, hoc est, non sine mercede aeternitatis laborem caritatis aspexi. *Tabernacula Aethiopum expavescent et tabernacula terrae Midiam*, hoc est, gentes repente perterritae nuntio mirabilium tuorum etiam quae non sunt in iure Romano erunt in populo Christiano.

Numquid in fluminibus iratus es, Domine, aut in fluminibus furor tuus aut in mari impetus tuus? hoc ideo dictum est, quia non venit nunc ut iudicet mundum, sed ut salvetur mundus per ipsum. *Quia ascendes super equos tuos, et equitatio tua salus*, hoc est, evangelistae tui portabunt te, qui reguntur a te, et evangelium tuum salus erit eis, qui credunt in te. *Intendens intendes arcum tuum super sceptrata, dicit Dominus*, hoc est, comminaberis iudicium tuum etiam regibus terrae. *Fluminibus scindetur terra*, hoc est, influentibus sermonibus praedicantium te aperientur ad confitendum hominum corda, quibus est dictum: *Scindite corda vestra et non vestimenta*. Quid est: *Videbunt te et dolebunt populi*, nisi ut lugendo sint beati? Quid est: *Dispergens aquas incessu*, an ambulando in eis qui te usque quaque adnuntiant hac atque hac dispergis fluentia doctrinae?

Quid est: *Dedit abyssus vocem suam*, an profunditas

laid low for the time being, that they might be uplifted for eternity. "I saw his eternal advances in return for his labours"; that is, I did not see a labour of love without its eternal reward. "The tents of the Ethiopians shall tremble with fear, and the tents of the land of Midian"; this is, the nations, smitten with sudden terror at the report of your marvellous deeds, shall become a part of the Christian people, even those who are not under the Roman law.

"Surely thou art not angry at the rivers, Lord, nor is thy fury against the rivers nor thy attack against the sea?" This was said to show that he does not come this time to judge the world, but that the world may be saved through him.¹ "For thou shalt mount thy horses, and thy riding shall be salvation"; that is, your evangelists shall transport you, men whom you direct, and your gospel shall be salvation for those who believe on you. "Surely thou wilt stretch thy bow against sceptrata, says the Lord"; that is, you will menace with your judgment even the kings of the earth. "The earth shall be rent by streams"; that is, by the influence of the sermons of those who preach you the hearts of men will be opened to confess you, men to whom it was said, "Rend your hearts and not your garments."² What does "The peoples shall see thee and mourn" mean except that they shall be blessed by their mourning? What is "Scattering the waters by his steps" unless it means that by walking in the person of those who are proclaiming you in all places, you spread the floods of doctrine on this side and on that?

What is "the abyss gave forth its voice" but to

¹ John 3.17.

² Joel 2.13.

cordis humani quid ei videretur expressit? *Altitudo phantasiae suae* tamquam versus superioris est expositio; altitudo enim est abyssus. Quod autem ait: *Phantasiae suae*, subaudiendum est vocem dedit; hoc est, quod diximus, quid ei videretur expressit. Phantasia quippe visio est, quam non tenuit, non operuit, sed confitendo eructavit. *Elevatus est sol, et luna stetit in ordine suo*, hoc est, adscendit Christus in caelum, et ordinata est ecclesia sub rege suo. *In lucem iacula tua ibunt*, hoc est, non in occultum, sed in manifestum tua verba mittentur. *In splendorem coruscationis armorum tuorum*, subaudiendum est iacula tua ibunt. Dixerat enim suis: *Quae dico vobis in tenebris, dicite in lumine. In comminatione minorabis terram*, id est, comminando humiliabis homines. *Et in furore deicies gentes*, quia eos qui se exaltant vindicando conlides. *Existi in salutem populi tui, ut salvos facias christos tuos; misisti in capita iniquorum mortem*, nihil horum est exponendum.

Excitasti vincula usque ad collum, et bona hic possunt intellegi vincula sapientiae, ut iniciantur pedes in compedes eius et collum in torquem eius. *Praecidisti in stupore mentis*, subaudimus vincula, excitavit enim bona, praecidit mala, de quibus ei dicitur: *Disrupisti*

say that the depth of the human heart has declared what it thought good? "The depths of her imagination" is a sort of gloss on the preceding verse, for 'depths' means 'abyss.' Moreover, with the phrase 'of her imagination' we must supply 'gave forth its voice,' which as we said, means 'declared what it thought good.' 'Imagination' is surely a vision which the heart did not keep to itself, did not conceal, but blurted out in confession. "The sun was raised aloft and the moon stood still in her course"; that is, Christ ascended to heaven, and the church took her place beneath her king. "Your darts shall go forth into the light"; that is, your words shall not be uttered secretly, but openly. "Into the brightness of the gleaming of your arms"; with this we must supply 'your darts shall go.' For he had said to his followers: "What I tell you in the dark, utter in the light."¹ "In your threats you will bring low the land"; that is, by threatening men you shall humble them. "And in your fury you shall cast down nations," because in your vengeance you shall crush those who exalt themselves. "You went forth for the salvation of your people, to save your anointed; you have sent death upon the heads of the wicked"; nothing here requires explanation.

"You have raised up bonds even to his neck"; these can be interpreted also as the good bonds of wisdom, that our feet may be placed in its fetters and our neck in its collar. "You have severed in the amazement of his spirit"; here we understand the word 'bonds,' for he raised up the good bonds and severed the evil, of which he is told: "You

¹ Matthew 10.27.

vincula mea, et hoc in stupore mentis, id est, mirabiliter. Capita potentium movebuntur in ea, in ea scilicet admiratione. Adaperient morsus suos, sicut edens pauper absconse. Potentes enim quidam Iudaeorum veniebant ad Dominum facta eius et verba mirati, et esurientes panem doctrinae manducabant absconse propter metum Iudaeorum, sicut eos prodidit evangelium.

Et inimisisti in mare equos tuos turbantes aquas multas, quae nihil sunt aliud quam populi multi; non enim alii timore converterentur, alii furore persequerentur, nisi omnes turbarentur. Observavi, et expavit venter meus a voce orationis labiorum meorum; et introiit tremor in ossa mea, et subtus me turbata est habitudo mea. Intendit in ea quae dicebat, et ipsa sua est oratione perterritus, quam propheticè fundebat et in qua futura cernebat; turbatis enim populis multis vidit imminentes ecclesiae tribulationes; continuoque se membrum eius agnovit atque ait: *Requiescam in die tribulationis, tamquam ad eos pertinens qui sunt spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes. Ut ascendam, inquit, in populum peregrinationis meae, recedens utique a populo maligno carnalis cognationis suae, non peregrinante in hac terra nec supernam patriam requirente. Quoniam ficus, inquit, non adferet fructus, et non erunt nativitates in vineis; mentietur opus olivae, et campi non facient escam. Defecerunt ab esca oves, et*

have broken my bonds,"¹ and this is done "in the amazement of his spirit," that is, miraculously. "The heads of the mighty shall be moved in this"; that is, in this amazement. "They shall open their jaws wide, like a poor man eating in secret." For certain powerful men among the Jews came to the Lord marvelling at his deeds and words, and hungering for the bread of doctrine they ate it secretly for fear of the Jews, as the Gospel has made them known.²

"And you drove your horses into the sea, stirring up mighty waters," which is just the same as saying many people, for some would not be converted in fear while others in fury persecuted them, if all were not stirred up. "I watched, and my belly was aghast at the sound of the prayer of my lips, and trembling entered into my bones, and all my frame was shaken beneath me." He fixed his mind on what he was saying, and he was terrified by his own utterance, which he poured out in prophetic fashion, and in which he perceived future events. For in the tumult of many peoples he saw the tribulations that threatened the church, and at once he saw that he was a member of it and said: "I shall have rest in the day of tribulation," as one who belongs among those who "are rejoicing in hope and patient in tribulation."³ "That I may go up among the people of my pilgrimage," that is, withdrawing from the wicked people who were his kinsmen in the flesh, who were not pilgrims on this earth and did not seek a celestial country. "Because," he says, "the fig shall not bear fruit, and there shall be no increase on the vines, the labour of the olive shall not be rewarded, and the fields shall yield no food. The sheep have

¹ Psalms 116.16.

² Compare John 3.2; 19.38.

³ Romans 12.12.

non supersunt in praesepeibus boves. Vidit eam gentem quae Christum fuerat occisura ubertatem copiarum spiritalium perdituram, quas per terrenam fecunditatem more prophetico figuravit.

Et quia iram Dei talem propterea passa est illa gens, quia ignorans Dei iustitiam suam voluit constituere, iste continuo: *Ego autem, inquit, in Domino exultabo, gaudebo in Deo salutari meo. Dominus Deus meus virtus mea, statuet pedes meos in consummationem; super excelsa inponet me, ut vincam in cantico eius, illo scilicet cantico de quo similia quaedam dicuntur in psalmo: Statuit super petram pedes meos et direxit gressus meos, et inmisit in os meum canticum novum, hymnum Deo nostro.* Ipse ergo vincit in cantico Domini, qui placet in eius laude, non sua, ut *qui gloriatur in Domino gloriatur.* Melius autem mihi videntur quidam codices habere: *Gaudebo in Deo Iesu meo* quam hi, qui volentes id Latine ponere, nomen ipsum non posuerunt, quod est nobis amicius et dulcius nominare.

¹ Romans 10.3.

² Habakkuk 3.18 f.

³ Psalms 40.2 f.

⁴ 1 Corinthians 1.31.

⁵ Augustine's Old Latin text of Habakkuk, just cited, agrees with both the Hebrew and LXX. But he also had

deserted the pasture, and there are no cattle at the mangers." He saw that the nation which was destined to kill Christ was to lose its rich harvest of spiritual goods, which he figuratively described in prophetic fashion in terms of the fertility of the earth.

And since the reason why that nation suffered such a visitation of God's wrath was that in their ignorance of God's righteousness they wished to establish their own in its place,¹ he adds at once: "But I shall be glad in the Lord, I shall rejoice in God my saviour. The Lord God is my strength, he shall establish my feet till the end; he shall set me upon the heights so that I may win the victory with his song."² This refers, of course, to the song of which much the same thing is said in the psalm: "He has set my feet on a rock and has guided my steps, and he has put in my mouth a new song, a hymn to our God."³ That man, therefore, wins the victory with the Lord's song who pleases by praising the Lord, not himself, according to the words: "He who glories, let him glory in the Lord."⁴ Now the reading of certain manuscripts, "I will rejoice in God my Jesus,"⁵ seems to me better than the text given by those who, wishing to translate this into Latin, have not employed that name which is for us more pleasing and sweet to pronounce.

"certain manuscripts," perhaps of Jerome's Vulgate, which presented the curiously awkward text "I will rejoice in God my Jesus" instead of "God my saviour." The name "Jesus" (Greek for "Joshua") is related to the Hebrew word for "saviour", as is clear from Matthew 1.21. Augustine here shows his fondness for such word-play.

XXXIII

De Christo et vocatione gentium quae Hieremias et Sophonias prophetico spiritu sint praefati.

HIEREMIAS propheta de maioribus est, sicut Esaias, non de minoribus, sicut ceteri de quorum scriptis nonnulla iam posui. Prophetavit autem regnante Iosia in Hierusalem et apud Romanos Anco Marcio, iam propinquante captivitate Iudaeorum. Tetendit autem prophetiam usque ad quintum mensem captivitatis, sicut in eius litteris invenimus. Sophonias autem unus de minoribus adiungitur ei. Nam et ipse in diebus Iosiae prophetasse se dicit; sed quousque, non dicit. Prophetavit ergo Hieremias non solum Anci Marcii, verum etiam Tarquini Prisci temporibus, quem Romani habuerunt quintum regem. Ipse enim, quando illa captivitas facta est, regnare iam coeperat.

Prophetans ergo de Christo Hieremias: *Spiritus, inquit, oris nostri Christus Dominus captus est in peccatis nostris*, sic breviter ostendens et dominum nostrum Christum et passum esse pro nobis. Item loco alio: *Hic Deus meus, inquit, et non aestimabitur alter ad eum; qui invenit omnem viam prudentiae et dedit eam Iacob puero suo et Israel dilecto suo; post haec in terra visus est et cum hominibus conversatus est.* Hoc testimonium quidam non Hieremiae, sed scribae eius adtribuunt,

¹ Jeremiah 1.2 f.

³ Lamentations 4.20.

² Zephaniah 1.1.

⁴ Baruch 3.36.

XXXIII

What Jeremiah and Zephaniah foretold with prophetic inspiration about Christ and the calling of the Gentiles.

JEREMIAH is one of the major prophets like Isaiah, not one of the minor prophets like the others from whose writings I have given some excerpts. Now he prophesied during the reign of Josiah in Jerusalem and that of Ancus Marcius over the Romans, just before the captivity of the Judaeans. And he continued his prophecies until the fifth month of the captivity, as we learn from his writings.¹ Zephaniah, one of the minor prophets, is also associated with him. For he himself says that he prophesied in the days of Josiah, but he does not say how long.² Jeremiah prophesied not only during the times of Ancus Marcius but also during those of Tarquinius Priscus, whom the Romans had as their fifth king. For he had already begun to reign when the captivity took place.

Jeremiah, then, prophesying about Christ, says: "The breath of our nostrils, Christ the Lord, has been taken captive through our sins";³ thus he shows briefly that Christ is our Lord and that he suffered for us. Likewise in another passage he says: "This is my God, and no other shall be compared with him; who discovered all the way of knowledge and bestowed it on Jacob his servant and on Israel his beloved, after which he was seen on earth and had converse with men."⁴ Certain men ascribe this testimony not to Jeremiah but to his

qui vocabatur Baruch; sed Hieremiae celebratius habetur.

Rursus idem propheta de ipso: *Ecce, inquit, dies veniunt, ait Dominus, et suscitabo David germen iustum, et regnabit rex et sapiens erit et faciet iudicium et iustitiam in terra. In diebus illis salvabitur Iudas, et Israel habitabit confidenter; et hoc est nomen, quod vocabunt eum: Dominus iustus noster.* De vocatione etiam gentium, quae fuerat futura et eam nunc impletam cernimus, sic locutus est: *Domine Deus meus et refugium meum in die malorum, ad te gentes venient ab extremo terrae et dicent: Vere mendacia coluerunt patres nostri simulacra, et non est in illis utilitas.* Quia vero non erant eum agnitori Iudaei, a quibus eum et occidi oportebat, sic idem propheta significat: *Grave cor per omnia, et homo est, et quis agnoscit eum?* Huius est etiam illud quod in libro septimo decimo posui de testamento novo, cuius est mediator Christus. Ipse quippe Hieremias ait: *Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et consummabo super domum Iacob testamentum novum, et cetera quae ibi leguntur.*

Sophoniam autem prophetam, qui cum Hieremia prophetabat, haec praedicta de Christo interim ponam: *Expecta me, dicit Dominus, in die resurrectionis meae in futurum; quia iudicium meum, ut congregem*

scribe who was named Baruch; however, it is more commonly attributed to Jeremiah.

Again the same prophet says of Christ: "Lo, the days are coming, saith the Lord, when I shall raise up a true scion of David, and he shall reign as king, and shall be wise and shall execute judgment and righteousness on the earth. In those days Judah shall be saved and Israel shall dwell in security; and this is the name by which men shall call him, the Lord our righteous one."¹ Furthermore, he spoke thus about the calling of the gentiles, which was then destined to take place, and which we see accomplished at the present time: "O Lord my God, my refuge in the time of troubles, the nations shall come to thee from the farthest ends of the earth and shall say: 'Truly our fathers worshipped false images, and there is no profit in them.'"² But that the Jews by whom he was to be killed were not to recognize him, is indicated by this same prophet in these words: "Heavy is the heart altogether, he is the man, and who knows him?"³ A passage that I discussed in the seventeenth book⁴ about the new covenant, whose mediator is Christ, was also written by this prophet. It is, of course, Jeremiah who says: "Lo, the days are at hand, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant for the house of Jacob", and the remainder of this passage.⁵

Now I shall insert here the following prophecies of Christ that come from the prophet Zephaniah, who prophesied at the same time as Jeremiah: "Wait for me, saith the Lord, in the day of my resurrection to come, since it is my decision that I will gather the nations together and assemble the kingdoms."⁶

¹ Jeremiah 23.5 f.

² Jeremiah 16.19.

³ Jeremiah 17.9. For Augustine, Christ is 'the man' referred to, while a more natural rendering would say 'it (the heart) is the man.'

⁴ Chapter III, p. 219 above.

⁵ Jeremiah 31.31.

⁶ Zephaniah 3.3.

gentes et colligam regna. Et iterum: Horribilis, inquit, Dominus super eos, et exterminabit omnes deos terrae, et adorabit eum vir de loco suo, omnes insulae gentium. Et paulo post: Tunc, inquit, transvertam in populos linguam et progenies eius, ut invocent omnes nomen Domini et serviant ei sub iugo uno; a finibus fluminum Aethiopiae adferent hostias mihi. In illo die non confunderis ex omnibus adinventionibus tuis, quas impie egisti in me; quia tunc auferam abs te pravitates iniuriae tuae; et iam non adicies, ut magnificeris super montem sanctum meum, et subrelinquam in te populum mansuetum et humilem; et verebuntur a nomine Domini qui reliqui fuerint Israel. Hae sunt reliquiae de quibus alibi prophetatur, quod apostolus etiam commemorat: Si fuerit numerus filiorum Israel sicut harena maris, reliquiae salvae fient. Hae quippe in Christum illius gentis reliquiae crediderunt.

XXXIV

De prophetia Danielis et Hiezechielis quae in Christum ecclesiamque concordat.

In ipsa porro Babyloniae captivitate prius propheta-verunt Daniel et Hiezechiel, alii scilicet duo ex pro-

¹ Zephaniah 2.11.

² Zephaniah 3.9-12. The Latin at the beginning of this passage is almost unintelligible; *progenies* seems to be plural accusative, and could mean 'generations,' as in Genesis 2.4; 5.9; etc., but this hardly suits the context. To agree with the

And again he says: "The Lord will be terrible in his dealings with them, and will destroy all the gods of the earth, and men shall worship him, each in his own place, all the islands of the heathen."¹ And a little later he says: "Then will I change the language of the peoples and races, that all may call upon the name of the Lord and serve him under one yoke; from the farthest rivers of Ethiopia they shall bring offerings to me. On that day you shall not be ashamed of all your evil practices which you have wickedly contrived in my despite, for at that time I will absolve you for the evil deeds that you have unjustly wrought; and you shall no longer seek to exalt yourself upon my holy mountain, and I will leave in you still a gentle and humble people; and those who remain of Israel shall fear the name of the Lord."² These are the remnant of which there is another prophecy that the Apostle also records: "Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sands of the sea, only a remnant shall be saved."³ The remnant of that race spoken of here means, of course, such as have believed in Christ.

XXXIV

On the prophecies of Daniel and Ezekiel which are consonant with Christ and the Church.

Now in the time of the Babylonian captivity itself Daniel and Ezekiel, two more of the major prophets,

LXX εἰς γενεὰν αὐτῆς it should read *in progeniem eius*, 'for the offspring of Eve.'

³ Isaiah 10.22; Romans 9.27.

phetis maioribus. Quorum Daniel etiam tempus quo venturus fuerat Christus atque passurus numero definivit annorum; quod longum est computando monstrare, et ab aliis factitatum est ante nos. De potestate vero eius et ecclesia sic locutus est: *Videbam, inquit, in visu noctis, et ecce cum nubibus caeli ut filius hominis veniens erat, et usque ad vetustum dierum pervenit, et in conspectu eius praelatus est; et ipsi datus est principatus et honor et regnum, et omnes populi, tribus, linguae ipsi servient. Potestas eius potestas perpetua, quae non transibit, et regnum eius non corrumpetur.*

Hiezechiel quoque more prophetico per David Christum significans, quia carnem de David semine adsumpsit—propter quam formam servi, qua factus est homo, etiam servus Dei dicitur idem Dei filius—sic eum prophetando praenuntiat ex persona Dei Patris: *Et suscitabo, inquit, super pecora mea pastorem unum qui pascat ea, servum meum David; et ipse pascet ea et ipse erit his in pastorem. Ego autem Dominus ero eis in Deum, et servus meus David princeps in medio eorum: ego Dominus locutus sum.* Et alio loco: *Et rex, inquit, unus erit omnibus imperans; et non erunt ultra duae gentes, nec dividuntur amplius in duo regna; neque polluentur ultra in idolis suis et abominationibus et in cunctis iniquitatibus suis. Et salvos eos faciam de*

gave their prophecies in its earlier days. Of these Daniel actually specified the number of years in the interval before Christ should come and suffer; to give a mathematical demonstration of his reckoning would take too long, and has been done by others before us. But this is what he said about his power and the church: “I saw in a vision by night, and behold one was coming as the son of man amid the clouds of heaven, and he came to the ancient of days and was brought forward in his presence; and to him were given dominion and honour and sovereignty; and all the peoples, tribes and tongues shall serve him. His power is an everlasting power that shall not pass away, and his kingdom shall not be destroyed.”¹

Ezekiel also, describing Christ in prophetic style, in the person of David, because he took upon him flesh of the seed of David—and because of the servile form that he assumed, being made man, even though he is the son of God he is also called the servant of God—Ezekiel gives this prediction of him, speaking as a prophet in the person of God the Father: “And I will raise up for my flocks a single shepherd to feed them, my servant David; and he shall feed them and shall be their shepherd. Moreover, I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David shall be chief among them; I the Lord have spoken.”² And elsewhere he says: “And there shall be one king ruling over them all; and there shall no longer be two nations, nor shall they be divided any longer into two kingdoms; nor shall they suffer further corruption from their idols and their abominable deeds and all their iniquities. And I will save them

¹ Daniel 7.13 f.

² Ezekiel 34.23 f.

universis sedibus suis, in quibus peccaverunt, et mundabo eos; et erunt mihi populus, et ego ero eis Deus; et servus meus David rex super eos, et pastor unus erit omnium eorum.

XXXV

De trium prophetarum vaticinio, id est Aggaei, Zachariae et Malachiae.

RESTANT tres minores prophetae qui propheta-verunt in fine captivitatis, Aggaeus, Zacharias, Malachias. Quorum Aggaeus Christum et ecclesiam hac apertius brevitate prophetat: *Haec dicit Dominus exercituum: Adhuc unum modicum est, et ego commovebo caelum et terram et mare et aridam, et movebo omnes gentes, et veniet desideratus cunctis gentibus.* Haec prophetia partim completa iam cernitur, partim speratur in fine complenda. Movit enim caelum angelorum et siderum testimonio, quando incarnatus est Christus; movit terram ingenti miraculo de ipso virginis partu; movit mare et aridam, cum et in insulis et in orbe toto Christus adnuntiatur. Ita moveri omnes gentes videmus ad fidem. Iam vero quod sequitur: *Et veniet desideratus cunctis gentibus,* de novissimo eius expectatur adventu. Ut enim esset desideratus expectantibus, prius oportuit eum dilectum esse credentibus.

Zacharias de Christo et ecclesia: *Exulta, inquit,*

¹ Ezekiel 37.22-24.

² Haggai 2.6 f.

out of all their habitations in which they have sinned; and I will purify them; and they shall be my people and I will be their God; and my servant David shall be king over them, and shall be the sole shepherd for them all.”¹

XXXV

On the predictions of three prophets: Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi.

THREE minor prophets remain, who prophesied at the end of the captivity; Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. Of these, Haggai gives the more explicit prophecy of Christ and the church in this brief form: “Thus saith the Lord of hosts. Yet a little while and I will greatly move heaven and earth and sea and dry land, and I will move all nations, and he that is desired by all nations shall come.”² This prophecy is already marked as fulfilled in part; in part its fulfilment at the last is awaited. For he moved the heavens by the witness of the angels and the stars when Christ became flesh; he moved the earth by the mighty miracle involved in the virgin birth; he has moved the sea and the dry land, now that Christ is proclaimed both in the islands and throughout all the world. Just so we see that all nations are being moved to faith in him. But when we come to the next clause, “And he that is desired by all nations”—this is still awaited and concerns his final coming. For he could not be desired by those who awaited his coming until he was loved by those who believed on him. Zechariah says of Christ and the church: “Rejoice

valle, filia Sion, iubila, filia Hierusalem; ecce rex tuus venit tibi iustus et salvator; ipse pauper et ascendens super asinum et super pullum filium asinae; et potestas eius a mari usque ad mare et a fluminibus usque ad fines terrae. Hoc quando factum sit, ut Dominus Christus in itinere iumento huius generis uteretur, in evangelio legitur, ubi et haec prophetia commemoratur ex parte, quantum illi loco sufficere visum est. Alio loco ad ipsum Christum in spiritu prophetiae loquens de remissione peccatorum per eius sanguinem: *Tu quoque, inquit, in sanguine testamenti tui emisisti vinctos tuos de lacu, in quo non est aqua.* Quid per hunc lacum velit intellegi, possunt diversa sentiri etiam secundum rectam fidem. Mihi tamen videtur non eo significari melius, nisi humanae miseriae profunditatem siccam quodam modo et sterilem, ubi non sunt fluentia iustitiae, sed iniquitatis lutum. De hoc quippe etiam in psalmo dicitur: *Et eduxit me de lacu miseriae et de luto limi.*

Malachias prophetans ecclesiam, quam per Christum cernimus propagatam, Iudaeis apertissime dicit ex persona Dei: *Non est mihi voluntas in vobis, et munus non suscipiam de manu vestra. Ab ortu enim solis usque ad occasum magnum nomen meum in gentibus, et in omni loco sacrificabitur et offeretur nomini meo oblatio munda; quia magnum nomen meum in gentibus,*

greatly, daughter of Zion; shout for joy, daughter of Jerusalem; for lo, your king comes to you, a righteous king and a saviour; as a poor man, mounted on an ass and on a colt, the foal of an ass; and his power shall stretch from sea to sea and from the rivers even to the ends of the earth.”¹ The fulfilment of this when the Lord Christ on his journey used a mount of this sort is described in the Gospel. This prophecy is also there quoted in part, at such length as seemed sufficient on that occasion.² In another passage, speaking to Christ himself in the spirit of prophecy, concerning the remission of sins through his blood, he says: “You also by the blood of your covenant have released your prisoners from the pit in which there is no water.”³ The question how he meant ‘pit’ to be taken can have different answers, all according to the true faith. Yet it seems to me that there is no interpretation better than that of the depth of human misery, well described as dry and sterile, wherein are found, not streams of righteousness, but only the mire of iniquity. To this indeed there is another reference in the psalm which says: “And he led me out of the pit of misery and out of the miry clay.”⁴

Malachi, in his prophecy of the church which we see propagated by Christ, addresses the Jews in the plainest terms, speaking in the person of God: “I have no pleasure in you, and I will not accept an offering from your hand. For from the rising of the sun even to its setting my name shall be great among the gentiles, and in every place sacrifice shall be offered, and a pure offering shall be made to my name, for my name is great among the gentiles, saith the

¹ Zechariah 9.9 f.² Matthew 21.5.³ Zechariah 9.11.⁴ Psalms 40.2.

dicit Dominus. Hoc sacrificium per sacerdotium Christi secundum ordinem Melchisedech cum in omni loco a solis ortu usque ad occasum Deo iam videamus offerri, sacrificium autem Iudaeorum, quibus dictum est: Non est mihi voluntas in vobis, nec accipiam munus de manibus vestris, cessasse negare non possint, quid adhuc expectant alium Christum, cum hoc, quod prophetatum legunt et impletum vident, impleri non potuerit nisi per ipsum?

Dicit enim paulo post de ipso ex persona Dei: *Testamentum meum erat cum eo vitae et pacis, et dedi ei, ut timore timeret me, et a facie nominis mei revereatur. Lex veritatis erat in ore ipsius, in pace dirigens ambulavit mecum et multos convertit ab iniquitate; quoniam labia sacerdotis custodient scientiam et legem inquirent ex ore eius; quoniam angelus Domini omnipotentis est. Nec mirandum est, quia Domini omnipotentis angelus dictus est Christus Iesus. Sicut enim servus propter formam servi in qua venit ad homines, sic angelus propter evangelium, quod nuntiavit hominibus. Nam si Graeca ista interpretemur, et evangelium bona nuntiatio est et angelus nuntius. De ipso quippe iterum dicit: Ecce mittam angelum meum, et prospiciet viam ante faciem meam; et subito veniet in templum suum Dominus, quem vos quaeritis, et angelus testamenti, quem vos vultis. Ecce venit, dicit Dominus*

¹ Malachi 1.10 f.

² Malachi 2.5-7.

Lord.”¹ Since we now see this sacrifice, through Christ’s priesthood after the order of Melchisedech, being offered to God everywhere, from sunrise to sunset, and since, moreover, the Jews, to whom it was said: “I have no pleasure in you, and I will not accept an offering from your hand,” cannot deny that their sacrifice has ceased, why do they still await another Christ, even though this prophecy of which they read, and which they see fulfilled, could not have been fulfilled except through Christ himself?

For shortly after, speaking in the person of God, Malachi says of Christ: “My covenant with him was a covenant of life and peace, and I granted to him that he should reverently fear me, and stand in awe before my name. The law of truth was in his mouth; directing his steps in peace he walked with me and turned many from the paths of iniquity. For the priest’s lips shall guard knowledge, and they shall seek the law from his mouth, since he is the angel of almighty God.”² Now we must not be surprised that Christ Jesus is called the angel of almighty God. For as he is called a servant on account of the form of a servant in which he came among men, so is he also spoken of as an angel on account of the gospel message that he brought to mankind. For if we translate the original Greek words, gospel means good tidings, and angel means a messenger. Indeed, he speaks of this in another passage also: “Lo, I will send my angel and he shall survey the way before me, and the Lord whom you seek shall suddenly come to his temple, and the angel of the covenant whom you desire. Lo, he is coming, says the Lord almighty, and who can endure the day of

omnipotens; et quis sustinebit diem introitus eius? Aut quis resistet in aspectu eius? Hoc loco et primum et secundum Christi praenuntiavit adventum; primum scilicet, de quo ait: *Et subito veniet in templum suum, id est in carnem suam, de qua dixit in evangelio: Solvite templum hoc, et in triduo resuscitabo illud;* secundum vero, ubi ait: *Ecce venit, dicit Dominus omnipotens, et quis sustinebit diem introitus eius? Aut quis resistet in aspectu eius?* Quod autem dixit: *Dominus, quem vos quaeritis, et angelus testamenti, quem vos vultis,* significavit utique etiam Iudaeos secundum scripturas quas legunt Christum quaerere et velle. Sed multi eorum quem quaesierunt et voluerunt venisse non agnoverunt, excaecati in cordibus suis praecedentibus meritis suis.

Quod sane hic nominat testamentum, vel supra, ubi ait: *Testamentum meum erat cum eo, vel hic, ubi eum dixit angelum testamenti,* novum procul dubio testamentum debemus accipere ubi sempiterna, non vetus ubi temporalia sunt promissa; quae pro magno habentes plurimi infirmi et Deo vero talium rerum mercede servientes, quando vident eis impios abundare, turbantur. Propter quod idem propheta, ut novi testamenti aeternam beatitudinem, quae non dabitur nisi bonis, distingueret a veteris terrena felicitate, quae plerumque datur et malis: *Ingravastis, inquit, super me verba vestra, dicit Dominus, et dixistis:*

¹ Malachi 3.1 f.

² John 2.19.

³ The phrase *praecedentibus meritis suis* is ambiguous, meaning either 'by their preoccupation with the merits previously earned,' or 'by their preceding misdeeds, which merit such blindness.'

his coming, or who shall stand firm before his gaze? ”¹ In these words he announced both the first and the second coming of Christ; the first, that is, when he says: “ And he shall suddenly come to his temple ”, that is, into his body, of which it is said in the Gospel: “ Destroy this temple, and I will raise it up again in three days ”;² and the second when he says: “ Lo, he is coming, says the Lord almighty, and who can endure the day of his coming, or who shall stand firm before his gaze? ” Moreover, in saying “ the Lord whom you seek, and the angel of the covenant whom you desire, ” he surely meant that the Jews also, according to the Scriptures which they read, both seek and desire the Christ, the Messiah. But many of them have not recognized that he whom they sought and desired has really come, for their hearts are blinded by their preceding merits.³

As for the covenant mentioned previously, where he says: “ My covenant was with him ”, or in this passage, where he called him “ the angel of the covenant, ” we must undoubtedly take it to be the new covenant, where eternal rewards are promised, not the old one, which promised mere temporal goods. Most men, being weak and serving the true God only for the sake of these temporal rewards, value such goods greatly, and are consequently distressed when they see how abundantly the irreligious possess them. On this account the same prophet, seeking to distinguish the eternal blessedness of the new covenant, which will be granted only to good men, from the earthly felicity of the old, which is commonly vouchsafed to the wicked also, says: “ You have brought heavy charges against me, saith the Lord,

In quo detraximus de te? Dixistis: Vanus est omnis qui servit Deo, et quid plus quia custodivimus observationes eius, et quia ambulavimus supplicantes ante faciem Domini omnipotentis? Et nunc nos beatificamus alienos, et reaedificantur omnes qui faciunt iniqua; et adversati sunt Deo, et salvi facti sunt. Haec oblocuti sunt qui timebant Dominum, unusquisque ad proximum suum; et animadvertit Dominus et audivit; et scripsit librum memoriae in conspectu suo eis qui timent Dominum et reverentur nomen eius. Isto libro significatum est testamentum novum.

Denique quod sequitur audiamus: *Et erunt mihi, dicit Dominus omnipotens, in diem quam ego facio in acquisitionem, et eligam eos sicut eligit homo filium suum servientem sibi; et convertimini, et videbitis inter iustum et iniustum, et inter servientem Deo et non servientem. Quoniam ecce dies venit ardens sicut clibanus et concremabit eos, et erunt omnes alienigenae et omnes facientes iniquitatem stipula, et incendet illos dies qui adveniet, dicit Dominus omnipotens; et non derelinquetur eorum radix neque sarmentum. Et orietur vobis timentibus nomen meum sol iustitiae, et sanitas in pinnis eius; et exibitis et exultabitis sicut vituli ex vinculis resoluti; et conculcabit iniquos, et erunt cinis sub pedibus vestris in die, in quo ego facio, dicit Dominus omnipotens. Hic est qui dicitur dies iudicii; de quo suo loco, si Deus voluerit, loquemur uberius.*

and you have said: 'Wherein have we spoken against you?' You have said: 'Everyone who serves God is foolish, and what profit have we because we have kept his ordinances and have walked in supplication before the face of almighty God? And now we call aliens happy, and all those who work iniquity are restored; they have both opposed God and have been saved.' Those who feared the Lord spoke these scornful words, each one to his neighbour; and the Lord marked it and listened; and he wrote a book of remembrance in his sight for those who fear the Lord and reverence his name."¹ By that book he means the New Testament.

Next let us hear what follows: "And they shall be mine, says the Lord almighty, for a special possession on the day that I make, and I will choose them as a man chooses his son who serves him; and turn again and you shall distinguish between the just and the unjust, between him that serves God and him that does not. For lo, the day is coming, burning like an oven, and it shall burn them utterly, and all the aliens and all that act wickedly shall be as stubble, and the day that is to come shall consume them with fire, says the Lord almighty, and there shall be left of them neither root nor branch. But for you who fear my name the sun of righteousness shall rise with healing in his wings; and you shall go forth leaping for joy like calves released from the pen. And you shall tread down the wicked, and they shall be as ashes under your feet on the day when I act, says the Lord almighty."² The day referred to is the day of judgment, about which we shall speak more fully at the proper time, if God wills.

¹ Malachi 3.13-16.

² Malachi 3.17-4.3.