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SAINT AUGUSTINE

THE CITY OF GOD AGAINST
THE PAGANS

VI

BOOKS XVIII, xxxvi-XX



SAINT AUGUSTINE

THE CITY OF GOD AGAINST
THE PAGANS

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VI

BOOK XVIII, CHAPTER XXXVI—BOOK XX

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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PREFACE

THIS volume follows in general the principles set forth in the first volume, in which will be found an Introduction, by George E. McCracken, dealing with the life and works of St. Augustine, and which contains also a Bibliographical Note. The translation in the present volume is based on the Teubner text of B. Dombart, revised in 1928-29 by A. Kalb. In the few instances where textual variants are significant, the facts are recorded in the apparatus. Punctuation has been made to conform to English usage. Although the translation is throughout derived from the Latin, the translator has compared his version with several earlier versions, in English or in French, especially that of M. Dods (reprinted in the Hafner Library of Classics, 1948), and that of E. Saisset, and with the notes of J. E. C. Welldon in his Commentary on the *De Civitate* (1924); these have often proved helpful in dealing with doubtful points. In translating Scriptural quotations, the present translator has also followed the Latin text of St. Augustine, utilizing wherever possible the wording of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible (1953) or that of the Authorized Version, if these seemed sufficiently accurate. See further Vol. I, p. lix.

W. C. G.

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**THE CITY OF GOD AGAINST THE
PAGANS**

S. AURELII AUGUSTINI
DE CIVITATE DEI CONTRA
PAGANOS

LIBER XVIII

XXXVI

De Esdra et libris Macchabaeorum.

Post hos tres prophetas, Aggaeum, Zachariam, Malachiam, per idem tempus liberationis populi ex Babyloniae servitute scripsit etiam Esdras, qui magis rerum gestarum scriptor est habitus quam propheta (sicuti est et liber, qui appellatur Esther, cuius res gesta in laudem Dei non longe ab his temporibus invenitur); nisi forte Esdras in eo Christum prophetasse intellegendus est quod inter quosdam iuvenes orta quaestione, quid amplius valeret in rebus, cum reges unus dixisset, alter vinum, tertius mulieres, quae plerumque regibus imperarent, idem tamen tertius veritatem super omnia demonstravit esse victricem. Consulto autem evangelio Christum esse cognoscimus veritatem. Ab hoc tempore apud Iudaeos restituto templo non reges, sed principes fuerunt usque ad Aristobolum; quorum supputatio

¹ Esdras 3.1-4.41.

² John 14.6.

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BOOK XVIII

XXXVI

About Esdras and the Books of the Maccabees.

AFTER these three prophets, Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi, during the same era of the liberation of the people from the Babylonian captivity, another writer was Esdras, who has been held to be rather a historian than a prophet (as is also the book entitled Esther, which narrates in praise of God events that belong in the neighbourhood of this historical period); unless perchance Esdras is to be understood as having prophesied of Christ in that passage ¹ in which, when an enquiry had arisen among three young men as to what thing it is that has the most influence on events and one had said "kings," another "wine," the third "women," who, he said, for the most part rule over kings; yet the same third man proved that truth is the conqueror over all things. Now on the evidence of the gospel we know that Christ is the truth.² From this time, after the rebuilding of the Temple down to the time of Aristobulus, it was not kings who

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temporum non in scripturis sanctis quae appellantur canonicae, sed in aliis invenitur, in quibus sunt et Macchabaeorum libri, quos non Iudaei sed ecclesia pro canonicis habet propter quorundam martyrum passiones vehementes atque mirabiles qui, antequam Christus venisset in carne, usque ad mortem pro Dei lege certarunt et mala gravissima atque horribilia pertulerunt.

XXXVII

*Quod prophetica auctoritas omni origine gentilis
philosophiae inveniatur antiquior.*

TEMPORE igitur prophetarum nostrorum, quorum iam scripta ad notitiam fere omnium gentium pervenerunt, et multo magis post eos fuerunt philosophi gentium qui hoc etiam nomine vocarentur, quod coepit a Samio Pythagora, qui eo tempore quo Iudaeorum est soluta captivitas coepit excellere atque cognosci. Multo magis ergo ceteri philosophi post prophetas reperiuntur fuisse. Nam ipse Socrates Atheniensis, magister omnium qui tunc maxime claruerunt tenens in ea parte quae moralis vel activa dicitur principatum, post Esdram in chronicis invenitur. Non multo post etiam Plato natus est, qui longe ceteros Socratis discipulos anteiret.

Quibus si addamus etiam superiores qui nondum philosophi vocabantur, septem scilicet sapientes ac

ruled over the Jews, but princes, the reckoning of whose dates is found not in the sacred writings that are called canonical but in others, among which are also the books of the Maccabees. These books are regarded by the Church (though not by the Jews) as canonical because of the fierce and amazing ordeals borne by certain martyrs, who before Christ came in the flesh stood their ground even unto death for the law of God, and endured most grievous and appalling tortures.

XXXVII

That prophetic authority is found of greater antiquity than any source of gentile philosophy.

It was in the era, then, of our prophets, whose writings had already come to the attention of nearly all nations, though to a much greater degree after their time, that the philosophers of the gentiles lived who were actually so called, for the term originated with Pythagoras of Samos, who first rose to eminence and recognition in the period when the Jews were released from captivity. The other philosophers therefore are much more surely discovered to have lived after the prophets. For even Socrates the Athenian, the master of all the most distinguished philosophers of that time, outranking all others in the branch of philosophy called moral or practical, is dated in works on chronology after Esdras. Not much later came the birth of Plato, too, who was far to surpass the other disciples of Socrates.

If we add to them the earlier men also, for whom the term "philosopher" was not yet in use, to wit, "The Seven Wise Men" and after them the natural

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deinde physicos qui Thaleti successerunt in perscrutanda natura rerum studium eius imitati, Anaximandrum scilicet et Anaximenem et Anaxagoram aliosque nonnullos antequam Pythagoras philosophum primus profiteretur, nec illi prophetas nostros universos temporis antiquitate praecedunt, quando quidem Thales, post quem ceteri fuerunt, regnante Romulo eminuisse fertur, quando de fontibus Israel in eis litteris, quae toto orbe manarent, prophetiae flumen erupit. Soli igitur illi theologi poetae, Orpheus, Linus, Musaeus et si quis alius apud Graecos fuit his prophetis Hebraeis, quorum scripta in auctoritate habemus, annis reperiuntur priores.

Sed nec ipsi verum theologum nostrum Moysen, qui unum verum Deum veraciter praedicavit, cuius nunc scripta in auctoritatis canone prima sunt, tempore praevenerunt; ac per hoc, quantum ad Graecos adtinet, in qua lingua litterae huius saeculi maxime ferbuerunt, nihil habent unde sapientiam suam iactent quo religione nostra, ubi vera sapientia est, si non superior saltem videatur antiquior. Verum, quod fatendum est, non quidem in Graecia sed in barbaris gentibus sicut in Aegypto, iam fuerat ante Moysen nonnulla doctrina quae illorum sapientia diceretur; alioquin non scriptum esset in libris sanctis Moysen eruditum fuisse omni sapientia Aegyptiorum, tunc utique quando ibi natus et a filia Pharaonis adoptatus atque nutritus etiam liberaliter

¹ Anaxagoras actually lived about a century after Pythagoras.

² Acts 7.22.

philosophers who succeeded Thales, who followed his example in making the investigation of nature their chief concern, namely Anaximander and Anaximenes and Anaxagoras¹ and some others, before Pythagoras first professed himself a "philosopher," even these do not antedate our prophets if we count them all. For Thales, to whom the rest are subsequent, is said to have won his high place during the reign of Romulus, the era when the stream of prophecy burst forth from the springs of Israel in those writings that were to irrigate the whole world. So only the famous theological poets, Orpheus, Linus, Musaeus, and whatever others there were among the Greeks, are discovered to be antecedent to the Hebrew prophets whose writings we hold as authoritative.

But not even these antedated in time our genuine theologian Moses, who gave a truthful account of the one true God, and whose writings now stand first in the authorized canon. This is decisive, as far as the Greeks are concerned, and it is in their language that worldly literature has most flourished. They have no ground for claiming that their wisdom, though not superior to our religion, in which is genuine wisdom, is at least more ancient. But it must be admitted that there was before Moses, not to be sure in Greece but among foreign nations, for example in Egypt, some learning which might be called the wisdom of these men; otherwise it would not have been written in the sacred Scriptures² that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, as he certainly was by the time when, born in Egypt, and adopted and nursed by Pharaoh's daughter, he had also been liberally educated. Yet

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educatus est. Sed nec sapientia Aegyptiorum sapientiam prophetarum nostrorum tempore antecedere potuit, quando quidem et Abraham propheta fuit. Quid autem sapientiae potuit esse in Aegypto antequam eis Isis, quam mortuam tamquam magnam deam colendam putarunt, litteras traderet? Isis porro Inachi filia fuisse proditur, qui primus regnare coepit Argivis quando Abrahae iam nepotes reperiuntur exorti.

XXXVIII

Quod quaedam sanctorum scripta ecclesiasticus canon propter nimiam non receperit vetustatem, ne per occasionem eorum falsa veris insererentur.

IAM vero si longe antiquiora repetam, et ante illud grande diluvium noster erat utique Noe patriarcha, quem prophetam quoque non inmerito dixerim; si quidem ipsa arca quam fecit et in qua cum suis evasit propheta nostrorum temporum fuit. Quid Enoch septimus ab Adam, nonne etiam in canonica epistula apostoli Iudae prophetasse praedicatur? Quorum scripta ut apud Iudaeos et apud nos in auctoritate non essent nimia fecit antiquitas, propter quam videbantur habenda esse suspecta ne proferrentur falsa pro veris. Nam et proferuntur quaedam quae ipsorum esse dicantur ab eis qui pro suo sensu passim quod volunt credunt. Sed ea castitas canonis non recepit non quod eorum hominum qui

¹ Genesis 20.7.

² Cf. above, Chap. 3, where the Greek Io is identified with the Egyptian Isis.

³ Hebrews 11.7; 1 Peter 3.20.

⁴ Jude 14.

not even the wisdom of the Egyptians could have preceded in time the wisdom of our prophets; for Abraham, too, was a prophet.¹ Moreover, how much wisdom could there be in Egypt before Isis, whom the Egyptians thought fit after her death to worship as a great goddess, gave them letters? Now Isis is said to have been the daughter of Inachus,² who became first king of the Argives at a time when we find that Abraham already had grandsons sprung from him.

XXXVIII

That the ecclesiastical canon has not admitted certain writings of holy men because of their too great antiquity, lest on their authority false things should be interwoven with the true.

Now if I may recall far more ancient things, our patriarch Noah assuredly lived even before that great flood; and I might justly call him a prophet, inasmuch as the very ark which he made and in which he escaped with his family was a prophecy of our era.³ What of Enoch, the seventh from Adam; is he not said even in the canonical epistle of the apostle Jude to have prophesied? ⁴ Only the too remote antiquity of the writings of these men has brought it about that they are not accepted as authoritative either by the Jews or by us. Their age made it seem better to class them as doubtful, lest falsehood should be represented as truth. For there are also some writings that are represented as genuine works of theirs by those who believe vaguely whatever suits their taste. But the pure canonical standard has not admitted such works, not because the authority of these men, who

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Deo placuerunt reprobetur auctoritas sed quod ista esse non credantur ipsorum.

Nec mirum debet videri quod suspecta habentur quae sub tantae antiquitatis nomine proferuntur, quando quidem in ipsa historia regum Iuda et regum Israel quae res gestas continet de quibus eidem scripturae canonicae credimus commemorantur plurima quae ibi non explicantur et in libris dicuntur aliis inveniri quos prophetae scripserunt, et alicubi eorum quoque prophetarum nomina non tacentur nec tamen inveniuntur in canone quem recepit populus Dei.

Cuius rei, fateor, causa me latet, nisi quod existimo etiam ipsos quibus ea quae in auctoritate religionis esse deberent sanctus utique Spiritus revelabat alia sicut homines historica diligentia alia sicut prophetas inspiratione divina scribere potuisse, atque haec ita fuisse distincta, ut illa tamquam ipsis ista vero tamquam Deo per ipsos loquenti iudicarentur esse tribuenda, ac sic illa pertinerent ad ubertatem cognitionis, haec ad religionis auctoritatem in qua auctoritate custoditur canon, praeter quem iam si qua etiam sub nomine verorum prophetarum scripta proferuntur, nec ad ipsam copiam scientiae valent, quoniam utrum eorum sint quorum esse dicuntur incertum est; et ob hoc eis non habetur fides, maxime his in quibus etiam contra fidem librorum canonicorum quaedam leguntur, propter quod ea prorsus non esse apparet illorum.

¹ 1 Chronicles 29.29; 2 Chronicles 9.29.

were approved by God, is rejected, but because the writings are not believed to be theirs.

Nor should it seem surprising that writings which are published with a name of such antiquity in the title are classed as doubtful, since in the actual history of the kings of Judah and Israel, which records events that we accept as true on the authority of that same canon of Scripture, there are many references to matters not there explained that are said to be found in other books composed by prophets, and sometimes the actual names of those prophets, too, are not withheld; yet the books are not found in the canon that is accepted by the people of God.¹

The reason for this circumstance, I confess, is hidden from me, except that I think that even those men to whom the Holy Spirit certainly revealed matters that properly fell within the scope of religious authority may have written sometimes as men, thanks to historical research, and sometimes as prophets, by divine inspiration; and the two kinds were so different that one kind, such was the verdict, must be credited, as it were, to themselves, the other to God speaking through them. Thus one kind contributed to the increase of knowledge, the other to the authorized doctrines of religion; and in this field strict guard is kept over the canon. Apart from the canon, even if there are now works published bearing the names of true prophets, they have no validity even as items in the armoury of knowledge, since it is uncertain whether they are genuine works of the men to whom they are attributed. Therefore they are not trusted, especially those in which certain statements are found that are even contrary to the testimony of the canonical books, so that they are quite clearly not genuine.

XXXIX

De Hebraicis litteris, quae numquam in sua linguae proprietate non fuerint.

NON itaque credendum est, quod nonnulli arbitrantur, Hebraeam tantum linguam per illum qui vocabatur Heber, unde Hebraeorum vocabulum est, fuisse servatam, atque inde pervenisse ad Abraham, Hebraeas autem litteras a lege coepisse quae data est per Moysen, sed potius per illam successionem patrum memoratam linguam cum suis litteris custoditam. Denique Moyses in populo constituit qui docendis litteris praessent, priusquam divinae legis ulla litteras nossent. Hos appellat scriptura *γραμματοεισαγωγούς*, qui Latine dici possunt litterarum inductores vel introductores, eo quod eas inducant, id est introducant, quodam modo in corda discentium vel in eas potius ipsos quos docent.

Nulla igitur gens de antiquitate suae sapientiae super patriarchas et prophetas nostros, quibus divina inerat sapientia, ulla se vanitate iactaverit, quando nec Aegyptus invenitur, quae solet falso et inaniter de suarum doctrinarum antiquitate gloriari, qualicumque sapientia sua patriarcharum nostrorum tempore praevenisse sapientiam. Neque enim quisquam dicere audebit mirabilium disciplinarum eos peritissimos fuisse antequam litteras nossent, id est, antequam Isis eo venisset easque ibi docuisset. Ipsa porro eorum memorabilis doctrina, quae appellata est sapientia, quid erat nisi maxime astronomia et si quid aliud talium disciplinarum magis ad exercenda

XXXIX

That the Hebrew language always had a literate record of itself.

Now it must not be believed, as some suppose, that it is only the Hebrew spoken language that was preserved by Heber, from whose name the word Hebrew is derived, and thus reached Abraham, and that written Hebrew began with the law that was given through Moses; but rather that the recorded language together with its literature was safeguarded by the tradition of that line of fathers. Indeed, Moses appointed some among the people to take charge of instruction in writing before they had any knowledge of the written divine law; these men the Scripture calls *grammatoeisagogoi*, who may in Latin be called ushers or introducers of letters, because they usher or introduce them in a certain sense into the minds of the learners, or rather introduce the learners to them.

Therefore let no nation with any false pride boast of the antiquity of its wisdom as surpassing that of our patriarchs and prophets, in whom divine wisdom was found; since not even Egypt, who is wont falsely and foolishly to boast of the antiquity of her learning, is found to antedate with any wisdom of her own, whatever its quality, the wisdom of our patriarchs. Nor in fact will any one dare to say that they were most skilled in scientific lore before they knew letters, that is, before Isis had come and taught letters in their country. Furthermore, what was that memorable learning of theirs, which is called wisdom, unless it was chiefly astronomy and such other like sciences as

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ingenia quam ad inluminandas vera sapientia mentes solet valere?

Nam quod adtinet ad philosophiam, quae se docere profitetur aliquid unde fiant homines beati, circa tempora Mercurii, quem Trismegistum vocaverunt, in illis terris eius modi studia claruerunt, longe quidem ante sapientes vel philosophos Graeciae, sed tamen post Abraham et Isaac et Iacob et Ioseph, nimirum etiam post ipsum Moysen. Eo quippe tempore quo Moyses natus est fuisse reperitur Atlas ille magnus astrologus, Promethei frater, maternus avus Mercurii maioris, cuius nepos fuit Trismegistus iste Mercurius.

XL

De Aegyptiorum mendacissima vanitate, quae antiquitati scientiae suae centum milia ascribit annorum.

FRUSTRA itaque vanissima praesumptione garriunt quidam dicentes ex quo Aegyptus rationem siderum comprehendit amplius quam centum annorum milia numerari. In quibus enim libris istum numerum collegerunt qui non multum ante annorum duo milia litteras magistra Iside didicerunt? Non enim parvus auctor est in historia Varro, qui hoc prodidit quod a litterarum etiam divinarum veritate non dissonat. Cum enim ab ipso primo homine, qui est appellatus Adam, nondum sex annorum milia compleantur, quo modo non isti ridendi potius quam refellendi sunt qui

¹ Hermes Trismegistus, a Greek title of Thoth, the Egyptian god of letters, to whom were attributed in late antiquity the

commonly serve to exercise men's talents rather than to enlighten men's hearts with true wisdom?

For as far as philosophy is concerned, which professes to teach men the way to happiness, studies of that kind won a place in those lands somewhere near the era of Mercury, whom they called Trismegistus, long before the wise men and philosophers of Greece, to be sure, but yet after Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and Joseph, and indeed after Moses himself. For research shows that it was at the time of Moses' birth that Atlas lived, that great astronomer, brother of Prometheus and maternal grandfather of the elder Mercury, whose grandson was the aforesaid Mercury Trismegistus.¹

XL

The utterly mendacious folly of the Egyptians, which attributes to their science an antiquity of a hundred thousand years.

IN vain, therefore, do certain babblers assert with quite unfounded audacity that Egypt mastered the lore of the stars more than a hundred thousand years ago by calculation. For in what books have they gathered that number, who learned letters in the school of Isis not much more than two thousand years ago? Varro is no slight authority in history; he stated it so, and his statement is in harmony with the truth of the divine books as well. For inasmuch as six thousand years have not yet elapsed since the first man, who was called Adam, why should they not be rather laughed out of court than refuted who advocate philosophic-religious treatises known as Hermetica. Cf. 8.23.

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de spatio temporum tam diversa et huic exploratae veritati tam contraria persuadere conantur?

Cui enim melius narranti praeterita credimus quam qui etiam futura praedixit quae praesentia iam videmus? Nam et ipsa historicorum inter se dissonantia copiam nobis praebet ut ei potius credere debeamus qui divinae quam tenemus non repugnat historiae. Porro autem cives impiae civitatis diffusi usquequaque per terras cum legunt doctissimos homines, quorum nullius contemnenda videatur auctoritas, inter se de rebus gestis ab aetatis nostrae memoria remotissimis discrepantes, cui potius credere debeant non inveniunt. Nos vero in nostrae religionis historia fulti auctoritate divina, quidquid ei resistit non dubitamus esse falsissimum, quomodo libet sese habeant cetera in saecularibus litteris, quae seu vera seu falsa sint nihil momenti adferunt quo recte beateque vivamus.

XLI

*De philosophicarum opinionum dissensionibus et
canonicarum apud ecclesiam concordia scrip-
turarum.*

Ut autem iam cognitionem omittamus historiae, ipsi philosophi a quibus ad ista progressi sumus, qui non videntur laborasse in studiis suis nisi ut invenirent quo modo vivendum esset adcommodate ad beatitudinem capessendam, cur dissenserunt et a

in chronology a view so different and so contrary to these fully investigated facts?

For in what historian of past events could we better put our trust than in one who also foretold coming events that we now see happening before our eyes? Indeed, the very disagreement of historians among themselves provides us with solid grounds for trusting by preference that one who does not contradict the divine history that we cherish. Furthermore, when the citizens of the infidel city, who have spread to every part of the earth, read authors of the greatest learning, not one of whom they feel justified in rejecting as an authority, and note the discrepancy in their accounts of events at furthest remove from the record of our age, they are puzzled to know whom they ought to trust. But we, who rely on divine authority in our religious history, are in no doubt that whatever sets itself against that authority is utterly false, however it may be with all other contents of the secular books, which whether true or false contribute nothing that might move us to lead a righteous and blessed life.

XLI

The differing views of philosophers and the harmony of the Scriptures that belong to the canon of the Church.

MOREOVER, not to dwell further on the question of history, the very philosophers from whom we digressed to discuss these matters seem to have sought no other object in their endeavours than to discover the best way of adjusting our lives to the pursuit of happiness. Why, then, have disciples

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magistris discipuli et inter se condiscipuli nisi quia ut homines humanis sensibus et humanis ratiocinationibus ista quaesierunt?

Ubi quamvis esse potuerit et studium gloriandi quo quisque alio sapientior et acutior videri cupit nec sententiae quodam modo addictus alienae sed sui dogmatis et opinionis inventor, tamen ut nonnullos vel etiam plurimos eorum fuisse concedam quos a suis doctoribus vel discendi sociis amor veritatis abruperit ut pro ea certarent quam veritatem putarent, sive illa esset sive non esset; quid agit aut quo vel qua ut ad beatitudinem perveniatur humana se porrigit infelicitas, si divina non ducit auctoritas?

Denique auctores nostri, in quibus non frustra sacrarum litterarum figitur et terminatur canon, absit ut inter se aliqua ratione dissentiant. Unde non inmerito, cum illa scriberent, eis Deum vel per eos locutum, non pauci in scholis atque gymnasiis litigiosis disputationibus garruli, sed in agris atque urbibus cum doctis atque indoctis tot tantique populi crediderunt.

Ipsi sane pauci esse debuerunt, ne multitudine vilesceret quod religione carum esse oporteret, nec tamen ita pauci ut eorum non sit miranda consensio. Neque enim in multitudine philosophorum qui labore

¹ Cf. Horace, *Epist.* 1.1.14.

disagreed with their teachers and fellow disciples with one another, unless because they sought these ends as men using the evidence of man's senses and man's reason?

Now whatever part in this may have been played besides by competitive self-advertisement, in that each man desires to appear wiser and more acute than his fellows and not a recruit, as it were, bound to repeat another's formula,¹ but rather an original thinker with a dogma and a view of his own, though I do nevertheless grant that there were some, or even a great many, philosophers who merely for the love of truth broke with their own teachers or fellow disciples in order to fight in defence of their conception of the truth, mistaken or not, yet for all that, what difference does it make in what direction or by what route the hapless condition of man launches its expedition in search of a blessed life, if divine authority does not show the way?

It follows that our authors, who are not for nothing set apart by our fixed and final canon of sacred books, do not disagree in any way of thinking. God forbid! And this justifies the conclusion that when they wrote their books God was speaking to them or through them,—an article of faith, not for a few babblers engaged in quarrelsome debates in schools and gymnasia, but for whole peoples, townsmen and rustics alike, learned and unlearned together, peoples so many in number, so great in size.

Of these authors there were bound to be few, lest what ought to be precious in the eyes of religion should be cheapened by abundance, yet not so few that their agreement is not matter for admiration. For among the multitude of philosophers who even

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etiam litterario monumenta suorum dogmatum reliquerunt facile quis invenerit inter quos cuncta quae sensere conveniant; quod ostendere hoc opere longum est.

Quis autem sectae cuiuslibet auctor sic est in hac daemonicola civitate adprobatus ut ceteri improbarentur qui diversa et adversa senserunt? Nonne apud Athenas et Epicurei clarebant, adserentes res humanas ad deorum curam non pertinere, et Stoici qui contraria sentientes eas regi atque muniri diis adiutoribus et tutoribus disputabant? Unde miror cur Anaxagoras reus factus sit quia solem dixit esse lapidem ardentem negans utique deum, cum in eadem civitate gloria floruerit Epicurus vixeritque securus non solum solem vel ullum siderum deum esse non credens sed nec Iovem nec ullum deorum omnino in mundo habitare contendens ad quem preces hominum supplicationesque perveniant.

Nonne ibi Aristippus, in voluptate corporis summum bonum ponens, ibi Antisthenes, virtute animi potius hominem fieri beatum adseverans, duo philosophi nobiles et ambo Socratici, in tam diversis atque inter se contrariis finibus vitae summam locantes, quorum etiam ille fugiendam iste administrandam sapienti dicebat esse rem publicam, ad suam quisque sectam sectandam discipulos congregabat?

Nempe palam in conspicua et notissima porticu, in gymnasiis, in hortulis, in locis publicis ac privatis

by literary efforts have left a record of their dogmas it is not easy to discover any whose views are in complete agreement. But a demonstration of this would exceed the limits of this work.

But what author of any sect whatever is so far accepted in this city, with its cult of demons, that the rest, who have held different and contrary views, are rejected? At Athens did there not flourish both the Epicureans, who asserted that human affairs are of no concern to the gods, and the Stoics, who, coming to the opposite conclusion, argued that these are guided and supported by the gods, who are our helpers and protectors? I wonder therefore why Anaxagoras was tried for saying that the sun is a blazing stone and denying that it is a god at all, while in the same city Epicurus had a thriving vogue and lived undisturbed, though he not only believed neither in the divinity of the sun nor in that of any other luminary, but also maintained that neither Jupiter nor any other god dwells in the universe at all for men's prayers and supplications to reach him.

Did not Aristippus flourish there, who saw the highest good in the pleasure of the body, and there, too, Antisthenes, who asserted that man becomes happy rather by superior character,—two distinguished philosophers, both Socratic, yet they located the highest life in realms so different and contradictory that, while one said that the wise man should shun politics, the other said that he should serve the state? Yet each mustered his flock of disciples to follow his own sectarian philosophy.

It was really quite public; it was in the conspicuous and well-known porch, in the gymnasia, in gardens, in places public and private, that they

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catervatim pro sua quisque opinione certabant, alii adserentes unum alii innumerabiles mundos; ipsum autem unum alii ortum esse alii vero initium non habere; alii interituum alii semper futurum; alii mente divina alii fortuito et casibus agi; alii immortales esse animas alii mortales; et qui immortales, alii revolvi in bestias, alii nequaquam; qui vero mortales, alii mox interire post corpus, alii vivere etiam postea vel paululum vel diutius, non tamen semper; alii in corpore constituentes finem boni, alii in animo, alii in utroque, alii extrinsecus posita etiam bona ad animum et corpus addentes; alii sensibus corporis semper, alii non semper, alii numquam putantes esse credendum.

Has et alias paene innumerabiles dissensiones philosophorum quis umquam populus, quis senatus, quae potestas vel dignitas publica impiae civitatis diiudicandas et alias probandas ac recipiendas, alias improbandas repudiandasque curavit, ac non passim sine ullo iudicio confuseque habuit in gremio suo tot controversias hominum dissidentium, non de agris et domibus vel quacumque pecuniaria ratione, sed de his rebus quibus aut misere vivitur aut beate?

Ubi etsi aliqua vera dicebantur, eadem licentia dicebantur et falsa, prorsus ut non frustra talis civitas

marshalled their troops, each in defence of his own opinion: some asserting that there is one world, others that there are innumerable worlds; some that this one world had a beginning, others that it had not; some that it would perish, others that it will last forever; some that it is governed by the divine mind, others that it is the sport of chance and circumstance; some that souls are immortal, others that they are mortal; and of those who believed that souls are immortal, some asserted that they pass into the bodies of animals, others that they never do; while of those who believed that souls are mortal, some believed that they die immediately after the body, others that they survive it for a briefer or a longer time, but not forever; some setting up their standard of good on the body, others on the mind, still others on both, while others again added external goods to those of the mind and the body; some thinking that the bodily senses should always be trusted, others not always, still others never.

Now what people, senate, magistrate, or dignitary of the infidel city has ever undertaken to adjudicate among all these and other almost innumerable conflicting views of the philosophers, and to see to it that some were approved and accepted, while others were condemned and rejected? Has it not rather held in its bosom in random confusion, without any verdict, all these controversies between men whose difference is not a matter of fields, houses or any financial accounting but of the issues of life that determine whether we are to be wretched or blessed?

To be sure, some of their statements were true. Those that were false, however, had equal privilege, so that it is not for nothing that such a city has

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mysticum vocabulum Babylonis acceperit. Babylon interpretatur quippe confusio, quod nos iam dixisse meminimus. Nec interest diaboli regis eius quam contrariis inter se rixentur erroribus quos merito multae variaeque impietatis pariter possidet.

At vero gens illa, ille populus, illa civitas, illa res publica, illi Israelitae, quibus credita sunt eloquia Dei, nullo modo pseudoprophetas cum veris prophetis parilitate licentiae confuderunt, sed concordantes inter se atque in nullo dissentientes sacrarum litterarum veraces ab eis agnoscebantur et tenebantur auctores. Ipsi eis erant philosophi, hoc est amatores sapientiae, ipsi sapientes, ipsi theologi, ipsi prophetae, ipsi doctores probitatis atque pietatis.

Quicumque secundum illos sapuit et vixit, non secundum homines sed secundum Deum, qui per eos locutus est, sapuit et vixit. Ibi si prohibitum est sacrilegium, Deus prohibuit. Si dictum est: *Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam*, Deus iussit. Si dictum est: *Non moechaberis, non homicidium facies, non furaberis*, et cetera huius modi, non haec ora humana sed oracula divina fuderunt.

Quidquid philosophi quidam inter falsa quae opinati sunt verum videre potuerunt et laboriosis disputationibus persuadere moliti sunt—quod mundum istum Deus fecerit eumque ipse providentissimus administret, de honestate virtutum, de amore patriae, de fide amicitiae, de bonis operibus atque omnibus ad mores probos pertinentibus rebus—quamvis nes-

¹ Exodus 20.12 ff.

received the symbolic name of "Babylon," for Babylon means "confusion," as we recall that we have already said. Nor does it matter to the king of that city, the devil, how contradictory are the errors that make them brawl, since he is in possession of all alike by warrant of their abounding and manifold irreligion.

But that nation, that people, that city, that republic, those Israelites, to whom the utterances of God were entrusted, by no means jumbled together true and false prophets by equality of privilege; but those who were of one mind and knew no dissent were recognized and held in esteem as reliable authors of sacred books. These were their philosophers (that is, lovers of wisdom), these were their wise men, their theologians, their prophets, their teachers of probity and piety.

Any one who took them as models of life and doctrine based his life and doctrine not on men but on God, who spoke through them. If irreligion is there forbidden, it is God who has forbidden it. If it is said: "Honour thy father and thy mother," it is God who has commanded it. If it is said: "Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal," and other like commandments,¹ it was not the mouth of man but the mouthpiece of God that uttered them.

Whatever truth certain philosophers were able to perceive amid their false opinions, and strove by laborious disputations to persuade men of,—that God made this world and himself most providently governs it, or about the honour due to the virtues, about loving one's country, about loyalty to friends, about good works and all things that pertain to sound character,—ignorant though they were of the goals

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cientes ad quem finem et quonam modo essent ista omnia referenda, propheticis, hoc est divinis, vocibus, quamvis per homines, in illa civitate populo commendata sunt, non argumentationum concertationibus inculcata, ut non hominis ingenium sed Dei eloquium contemnere formidaret qui illa cognosceret.

XLII

Qua dispensatione providentiae Dei scripturae sacrae veteris testamenti ex Hebraeo in Graecum eloquium translatae sint, ut gentibus innotescerent.

HAS sacras litteras etiam unus Ptolomaeorum regum Aegypti nosse studuit et habere. Nam post Alexandri Macedonis, qui etiam Magnus cognominatus est, mirificentissimam minimeque diuturnam potentiam, qua universam Asiam immo paene totum orbem partim vi et armis partim terrore subegerat quando inter cetera Orientis etiam Iudaeam ingressus obtinuit, eo mortuo comites eius cum regnum illud amplissimum non pacifice inter se possessuri divisissent sed potius dissipassent bellis omnia vastaturi, Ptolomaeos reges habere coepit Aegyptus, quorum primus, Lagi filius, multos ex Iudaea captivos in Aegyptum transtulit.

Huic autem succedens alius Ptolomaeus, qui est appellatus Philadelphus, omnes quos ille adduxerat subiugatos liberos redire permisit; insuper et dona regia in templum Dei misit petivitque ab Eleazaro tunc pontifice dari sibi scripturas, quas profecto

¹ Died 323 B.C.

and the standards by which all these things were to be judged, in our city it was by prophetic, that is to say by divine, words (albeit through men) that they were made welcome to the people. They were not inculcated by embattled arguments. Thus one who came to know them would fear to disregard what was not man's wit but the pronouncement of God.

XLII

The dispensation of God's providence whereby the sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament were translated from Hebrew into Greek, that they might become known to the Gentiles.

MOREOVER, one of the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, was eager to know and possess these sacred books. For after the forcible rule of Alexander of Macedon,¹ surnamed "the Great," which, though amazing in the highest degree, was not lasting in the least, whereby he had subdued all Asia and indeed almost the whole world, partly by force of arms, partly by terror, and among other parts of the east had entered and won Judea also, his generals did not peaceably divide that vast empire after his death so as to hold possession of it, but rather dissipated it by wars so as to lay everything waste. Egypt then went on to have Ptolemies as her kings, the first of whom, the son of Lagus, carried off many captives from Judea into Egypt.

But his successor, another Ptolemy called Philadelphus, permitted all whom the first Ptolemy had brought in as captives to depart as free men; more than that, he sent kingly gifts for the temple of God, and begged Eleazar, who was then the high priest, to give him a copy of the Scriptures, which he had heard

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audierat fama praedicante divinas, et ideo concupiverat habere in bibliotheca, quam nobilissimam fecerat. Has ei cum idem pontifex misisset Hebraeas, post ille etiam interpretes postulavit; et dati sunt septuaginta duo, de singulis duodecim tribubus seni homines, linguae utriusque doctissimi Hebraeae scilicet atque Graecae, quorum interpretatio ut Septuaginta vocetur iam obtinuit consuetudo.

Traditur sane tam mirabilem ac stupendum planeque divinum in eorum verbis fuisse consensum ut, cum ad hoc opus separatim singuli sederint (ita enim eorum fidem Ptolomaeo placuit explorare), in nullo verbo quod idem significaret et tantundem valeret vel in verborum ordine alter ab altero discreparet, sed tamquam unus esset interpres, ita quod omnes interpretati sunt unum erat, quoniam re vera spiritus erat unus in omnibus. Et ideo tam mirabile Dei munus acceperant ut illarum scripturarum non tamquam humanarum sed, sicut erant, tamquam divinarum etiam isto modo commendaretur auctoritas, credituris quandoque gentibus profutura, quod iam videmus effectum.

XLIII

De auctoritate septuaginta interpretum, quae, salvo honore Hebraei stili, omnibus sit interpretibus praeferenda.

NAM cum fuerint et alii interpretes, qui ex Hebraea lingua in Graecam sacra illa eloquia transtulerunt, sicut Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, sicut etiam

by report were truly divine, and had therefore conceived a great desire to have them in the celebrated library that he had created. When the high priest had sent them to him in Hebrew, he next requested interpreters; and seventy-two men were assigned to him, six out of each of the twelve tribes, who were most learned in both languages, that is to say both Hebrew and Greek. It is their translation that it has now become traditional to call the Septuagint.

It is reported indeed that there was a so wonderful, amazing and clearly divine agreement in their words that although each had his separate place where he sat working (for so Ptolemy chose to test their good faith), they did not differ one from another in any word, though it were a synonym and had just the same meaning, or in the order of words. It was rather as if there had been one translator, so completely were their translations at one, for in truth one Spirit was in them all. There was a purpose in their receiving such a wonderful gift of God, namely, that the authority of those Scriptures might be made welcome not as human but as divine (as indeed it was). Thus the Gentiles would ultimately become believers, to their profit,—a result that is now, as we see, accomplished.

XLIII

The authority of the seventy translators, whose work, with due respect for the Hebrew original, is to be preferred to all other translations.

FOR although others too have translated these sacred pronouncements from Hebrew into Greek, for example Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion and that

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illa est interpretatio cuius auctor non apparet et ob hoc sine nomine interpretis quinta editio nuncupatur, hanc tamen quae Septuaginta est, tamquam sola esset, sic recepit ecclesia eaque utuntur Graeci populi Christiani, quorum plerique utrum alia sit aliqua ignorant. Ex hac Septuaginta interpretatione etiam in Latinam linguam interpretatum est, quod ecclesiae Latinae tenent, quamvis non defuerit temporibus nostris presbyter Hieronymus, homo doctissimus et omnium trium linguarum peritus, qui non ex Graeco sed ex Hebraeo in Latinum eloquium easdem scripturas converterit.

Sed eius tam litteratum laborem quamvis Iudaei fateantur esse veracem, septuaginta vero interpretes in multis errasse contendunt, tamen ecclesiae Christi tot hominum auctoritati ab Eleazaro tunc pontifice ad hoc tantum opus electorum neminem iudicant praeferendum; quia, etsi non in eis unus apparuisset spiritus sine dubitatione divinus, sed inter se verba interpretationis suae septuaginta docti more hominum contulissent, ut quod placuisset omnibus hoc maneret, nullus eis unus interpres debuit anteponi. Cum vero tantum in eis signum divinitatis apparuit, profecto quisquis alius illarum scripturarum ex Hebraea in quamlibet aliam linguam interpres est verax, aut congruit illis septuaginta interpretibus, aut si non congruere videtur, altitudo ibi prophetica esse credenda est.

Spiritus enim qui in prophetis erat quando illa dixerunt, idem ipse erat etiam in septuaginta viris

unknown author whose translation is referred to anonymously as "the fifth," nevertheless the church has received this Septuagint as if it were the only translation, and the Christian peoples of the Greek world use it, most of them being quite unaware whether there is any other. From this Septuagint has been made also a translation into Latin, which the Latin churches possess, although our era has been served by the presbyter Jerome, a most learned man and one skilled in all three languages, who translated these same Scriptures not from the Greek but from the Hebrew into the Latin language.

But although the Jews bear witness that his very learned work is faithful, and assert that the Septuagint translators have gone wrong in many places, nevertheless the churches of Christ have passed judgement that no man is to be set above the authority of such a number, who were chosen for this great task by Eleazar, who was then high priest. For even supposing that there had not appeared among them one Spirit that was beyond doubt divine, and that the seventy learned men had like ordinary men compared the words of their translations so that what proved acceptable to all should stand approved, even so no one translator should be preferred to them. But since so great a sign of divinity was manifested in their case, it is certain that any other faithful translator of these Scriptures from the Hebrew into any other language either agrees with the Septuagint translators, or else, if he is seen not to agree with them, we must believe that the greater prophetic depth is found in the other version.

For the same Spirit that was in the prophets when they delivered those messages was present in person

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quando illa interpretati sunt, qui profecto auctoritate divina et aliud dicere potuit, tamquam propheta ille utrumque dixisset, quia utrumque idem Spiritus diceret, et hoc ipsum aliter, ut, si non eadem verba, idem tamen sensus bene intellegendibus dilucesceret, et aliquid praetermittere et aliquid addere, ut etiam hinc ostenderetur non humanam fuisse in illo opere servitutem, quam verbis debebat interpres, sed divinam potius potestatem, quae mentem replebat et regebat interpretis.

Nonnulli autem codices Graecos interpretationis Septuaginta ex Hebraeis codicibus emendandos putarunt; nec tamen ausi sunt detrahere, quod Hebraei non habebant et Septuaginta posuerunt, sed tantum modo addiderunt quae in Hebraeis inventa apud Septuaginta non erant, eaque signis quibusdam in stellarum modum factis ad capita eorundem versuum notaverunt, quae signa asteriscos vocant. Illa vero quae non habent Hebraei, habent autem Septuaginta, similiter ad capita versuum iacentibus virgulis, sicut scribuntur unciae, signaverunt. Et multi codices has notas habentes usquequaque diffusi sunt et Latini.

Quae autem non praetermissa vel addita sed aliter dicta sunt, sive alium sensum faciant etiam ipsum non abhorrentem, sive alio modo eundem sensum explicare monstrentur, nisi utrisque codicibus inspectis nequeunt reperiri. Si ergo, ut oportet, nihil aliud intueamur in scripturis illis nisi quid per homines

in the seventy men also; and he surely had it in his power to say something else, just as if the prophet had said both, because it was the same Spirit that said both. And the Spirit could say that very thing in different ways, so that though the words were not the same, yet, when they should be properly understood, the same meaning should shed its light through them; and he could omit or add something, so as to show in this way too that the work was not accomplished by a man enslaved to a literal rule of thumb, but by the power of God flooding and guiding the intelligence of the translator.

Some, to be sure, have supposed that the Greek manuscripts of the Septuagint translation should be corrected by the Hebrew manuscripts; yet they have not dared to expunge what the Hebrew lacks and the Septuagint set down, but only added what was found in the Hebrew, though lacking in the Septuagint; these passages they distinguished by certain signs in the form of stars, called asterisks, at the beginning of the said verses. The passages lacking in the Hebrew but present in the Septuagint they likewise distinguished at the head of the verses by horizontal strokes, like those used to indicate ounces. And many Latin manuscripts, too, that have these signs, are circulated far and wide.

But it is impossible, without inspecting both the Hebrew and the Greek, to discover the passages that are neither omitted nor added but are differently expressed, whether they yield a different, yet not conflicting meaning, or whether they may be shown to express the same meaning, though in a different form. If, then, we see, as it behooves us to see, in these Scriptures no words that the Spirit of God did

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dixerit Dei Spiritus, quidquid est in Hebraeis codicibus et non est apud interpretes septuaginta, noluit ea per istos, sed per illos prophetas Dei Spiritus dicere. Quidquid vero est apud Septuaginta, in Hebraeis autem codicibus non est, per istos ea maluit quam per illos idem Spiritus dicere, sic ostendens utrosque fuisse prophetas. Isto enim modo alia per Esaiam, alia per Hieremiam, alia per alium aliumque prophetam vel aliter eadem per hunc ac per illum dixit, ut voluit. Quidquid porro apud utrosque invenitur, per utrosque dicere voluit unus atque idem Spiritus, sed ita ut illi praecederent prophetando, isti sequerentur propheticè illos interpretando; quia sicut in illis vera et concordantia dicentibus unus pacis Spiritus fuit, sic et in istis non secum conferentibus et tamen tamquam ore uno cuncta interpretantibus idem Spiritus unus apparuit.

XLIV

Quid intellegendum sit de Ninevitarum excidio, cuius denuntiatio in Hebraeo quadraginta dierum spatio tenditur, in Septuaginta autem tridui brevitate concluditur.

SED ait aliquis: " Quo modo sciam quid Ionas propheta dixerit Ninevitis, utrum: *Triduum, et Nineve evertetur*, an: *Quadraginta dies?* " Quis enim non

¹ Jonah 3.4.

not speak through men, it follows that whatever is in the Hebrew text but not in that of the seventy translators is something that the Spirit of God did not choose to say through the latter, but only through the prophets. On the other hand, where anything that is in the Septuagint is not in the Hebrew text, the same Spirit must have preferred to say it through the former rather than through the prophets, thus showing that these as well as those were prophets. Likewise he spoke, as he pleased, some things through Isaiah, others through Jeremiah, still others through one or another prophet, or the same things but in different form through the latter prophet as well as the former. Moreover, anything that is found in both places is something that one and the same Spirit chose to say through both kinds of instrument, but in such wise that the one kind led the way in prophesying and the other came after with a prophetic translation of their words. For just as a single Spirit of peace inspired the former when they spoke true and concordant words, so the same single Spirit manifested himself in the latter when without mutual consultation they nevertheless translated the whole as if with one mouth.

XLIV

How the threat of the destruction of the men of Nineveh is to be understood, which in the Hebrew allows a space of forty days, in the Septuagint only three days.

BUT some one may say: How am I to know what the prophet Jonah said to the men of Nineveh, "Yet three days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown," or "forty days"?¹ For who cannot see that the

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videat non potuisse utrumque tunc dici a propheta qui missus fuerat terrere comminatione imminentis exitii civitatem? Cui si tertio die fuerat futurus interitus, non utique quadragensimo die; si autem quadragensimo, non utique tertio. Si ergo a me quaeritur quid horum Ionas dixerit, hoc puto potius quod legitur in Hebraeo: *Quadraginta dies, et Nineve evertetur*. Septuaginta quippe longe posterius interpretati aliud dicere potuerunt, quod tamen ad rem pertineret et in unum eundemque sensum, quamvis sub altera significatione, concurreret, admoneretque lectorem utraque auctoritate non sprete ab historia sese ad tollere ad ea requirenda propter quae significanda historia ipsa conscripta est. Gesta sunt quippe illa in Nineve civitate, sed aliquid etiam significaverunt quod modum illius civitatis excedat, sicut gestum est quod ipse propheta in ventre ceti triduo fuit, et tamen alium significavit in profundo inferni triduo futurum, qui dominus est omnium prophetarum.

Quapropter si per illam civitatem recte accipitur ecclesia gentium propheticè figurata, eversa scilicet per paenitentiam ut qualis fuerat iam non esset, hoc quoniam per Christum factum est in ecclesia gentium, cuius illa Nineve figuram gerebat, sive per quadraginta dies sive per triduum idem ipse significatus est Christus; per quadraginta scilicet, quia tot dies peregit cum discipulis suis post resurrectionem et ascendit

¹ The Letter to Can Grande, and the Second Tractate of the Convivio, of Dante, who was often indebted to St. Augustine, explain the various ways in which poetry may be understood (literal, allegorical, moral, anagogic).

prophet who had been sent to terrify the city by the threat of imminent destruction could not have said both? If it was destined to be destroyed on the third day, surely it could not be destined to be destroyed on the fortieth day; but if on the fortieth, then surely not on the third. If, then, I am asked which of these Jonah said, I conclude that it was rather what is read in the Hebrew: "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown." The seventy translators, since they translated long afterwards, were able to say something new, yet something pertinent, to the matter and with one and the same meaning although on a different level of significance,¹ thus admonishing the reader not to despise the authority of either text but to seek a level above mere history and to search out the meanings that the history itself was written to convey. These events took place, to be sure, in the city of Nineveh; but they also conveyed another meaning transcending the plane of that city, just as it is history that the prophet himself was for three days in the belly of the whale, and yet he symbolized another, the Lord of all prophets, who should be for three days in the depths of hell.

So if that city is rightly understood to represent in a prophetic allegory the church of the Gentiles, that is, after it had been overthrown by repentance so as to be no longer such as it was, since this was done through Christ in the church of the Gentiles, represented in the allegory by Nineveh, Christ himself is referred to both in the forty and in the three days: by the forty, because that was the number of days that he spent with his disciples after the resurrection and before the ascension; by the three days, because

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in caelum; per triduum vero, quia die tertio resurrexit; tamquam lectorem nihil aliud quam historiae rerum gestarum inhaerere cupientem de somno excitaverint septuaginta interpretes idemque prophetae ad perscrutandam altitudinem prophetiae et quodam modo dixerint: "In quadraginta diebus ipsum quaere, in quo et triduum potueris invenire, illud in ascensione, hoc in eius resurrectione reperies." Propter quod utroque numero significari convenientissime potuit, quorum unum per Ionam prophetam, alterum per septuaginta interpretum prophetiam, tamen unus atque idem Spiritus dixit. Longitudinem fugio, ut non haec per multa demonstrem in quibus ab Hebraica veritate putantur septuaginta interpretes discrepare et bene intellecti inveniuntur esse concordēs. Unde etiam ego pro meo modulo vestigia sequens apostolorum, quia et ipsi ex utrisque, id est ex Hebraeis et ex Septuaginta, testimonia prophetica posuerunt, utraque auctoritate utendum putavi, quoniam utraque una atque divina est. Sed iam quae restant, ut possumus, exequamur.

XLV

Quod post instaurationem templi prophetas Iudaei habere destiterint et exinde usque ad nativitatem Christi continuis adversitatibus sint afflicti, ut probaretur alterius templi aedificationem prophetis vocibus fuisse promissam.

POSTEA quam gens Iudaea coepit non habere prophetas, procul dubio deterior facta est, eo scilicet

he rose on the third day. It is as if the reader who would like to cleave to the mere historical narrative were roused from slumber by the seventy translators as well as by the prophets to search the greater prophetic depth, and as if they were to say: "In the forty days seek him in whom you can also find the three days; you will find the former in the ascension, the other in the resurrection." For this reason it was possible most fitly to convey a meaning by both numbers, one given through the prophet Jonah, the other through the prophecy of the seventy translators, yet both were the voice of one and the same Spirit. Except that I avoid prolixity, I should illustrate the point by many examples in which the seventy translators may be thought to differ from the true Hebrew text, though when well understood they are found to agree. Wherefore I, too, in my small measure follow in the footsteps of the apostles who themselves quoted prophetic testimonies from the Hebrew and from the Septuagint alike, and have concluded that both ought to be treated as authorities, since both are one, and divine. But now let us pursue the sequel according to our ability.

XLV

That after the rebuilding of the temple the Jews ceased to have prophets, and from then till the birth of Christ were afflicted by continual adversities, in order to prove that the building of another temple had been promised by prophetic voices.

AFTER the Jewish people began to have no prophets, they undoubtedly deteriorated, at the very

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tempore quo se sperabat instaurato templo post captivitatem quae fuit in Babylonia futuram esse meliorem. Sic quippe intellegebat populus ille carnalis quod praenuntiatum est per Aggaeum prophetam dicentem: *Magna erit gloria domus istius novissimae, plus quam primae.* Quod de novo testamento dictum esse paulo superius demonstravit, ubi ait aperte Christum promittens: *Et movebo omnes gentes, et veniet desideratus cunctis gentibus.* Quo loco septuaginta interpretes alium sensum magis corpori quam capiti, hoc est magis ecclesiae quam Christo, convenientem prophetica auctoritate dixerunt: *Venient quae electa sunt Domini de cunctis gentibus,* id est homines, de quibus ipse Iesus in evangelio: *Multi, inquit, vocati, pauci vero electi.* Talibus enim electis gentium domus aedificatur Dei per testamentum novum lapidibus vivis, longe gloriosior quam templum illud fuit quod a rege Salomone constructum est et post captivitatem instauratum. Propter hoc ergo nec prophetas ex illo tempore habuit illa gens et multis cladibus afflicta est ab alienigenis regibus ipsisque Romanis, ne hanc Aggaei prophetiam in illa instaurazione templi opinaretur impletam.

Non multo post enim adveniente Alexandro subiugata est, quando etsi nulla est facta vastatio, quoniam non sunt ei ausi resistere et ideo placatum facillime subditi receperunt, non erat tamen gloria tanta domus illius quanta fuit in suorum regum libera

¹ Haggai 2.9.

² Haggai 2.7. Cf. above, Chap. 35; below, 48; *desideratus* (Vulg.) represents a neuter plural substantive in the Sept.; the Hebrew means "desire."

³ Haggai 2.7 (Sept.).

⁴ Matthew 22.14.

time when, on the rebuilding of the temple after the captivity in Babylon, they hoped to become better. No doubt that carnal people interpreted in that way the prophecy of the prophet Haggai when he said: "Greater shall be the glory of this latter house than of the former."¹ That he referred to the New Testament he had made plainly evident a little above, where he says, clearly promising Christ: "And I will move all peoples, and he whom all peoples desire shall come."² In this passage the seventy translators, in another sense more fitting to the body than to the head (that is, to the church rather than to Christ), used by their prophetic privilege the words: "The things shall come that are chosen by the Lord from all peoples"³ (that is, men), about whom Jesus himself said in the gospel: "Many are called, but few are chosen."⁴ For of such chosen ones of the peoples, "living stones,"⁵ there is built through the New Testament a house of God far more glorious than that temple which was built by King Solomon and restored after the captivity. Here, then, we see the reason why that people had no prophets from that time on, and was afflicted by many disasters and by foreign kings and by the Romans themselves, namely, lest it should suppose that this prophecy of Haggai had been fulfilled by that restoration of the temple.

For not long afterwards, on the arrival of Alexander, it was subjugated, though not at all ravaged, since they did not dare to resist him, and consequently found him mild of mood when they welcomed him after yielding most readily; yet the glory of that house was not so great as it had been when governed

¹ 1 Peter 25; cf. below, Chap. 48.

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potestate. Hostias sane Alexander immolavit in Dei templo, non ad eius cultum vera pietate conversus, sed impia vanitate cum diis eum falsis colendum putans. Deinde Ptolomaeus, Lagi filius, quod supra memoravi, post Alexandri mortem captivos inde in Aegyptum transtulit, quos eius successor Ptolomaeus Philadelphus benevolentissime inde dimisit; per quem factum est, quod paulo ante narravi, ut septuaginta interpretum scripturas haberemus. Deinde contriti sunt bellis quae in Macchabaeorum libris explicantur. Post haec capti a rege Alexandriae Ptolomaeo, qui est appellatus Epiphanes; inde ab Antiocho rege Syriae multis et gravissimis malis ad idola colenda compulsi, templumque ipsum repletum sacrilegis superstitionibus gentium, quod tamen dux eorum strenuissimus Iudas, qui etiam Macchabaeus dictus est, Antiochi ducibus pulsus ab omni illa idolatriae contaminatione mundavit.

Non autem multo post Alcimus quidam per ambitionem, cum a genere sacerdotali esset alienus, quod nefas erat, pontifex factus est. Hinc iam post annos ferme quinquaginta, in quibus eis tamen pax non fuit, quamvis aliqua et prospere gesserint, primus apud eos Aristobulus adsumpto diademate et rex et pontifex factus est. Antea quippe, ex quo de Babyloniae captivitate reversi sunt templumque instauratum est, non reges, sed duces vel principes habuerunt; quamvis et qui rex est possit dici princeps a principatu imperandi et dux eo quod sit ductor exercitus; sed

by its own independent kings. Alexander sacrificed victims, to be sure, in the temple of God, not because he had been converted to God's worship by true piety, but because he thought in his impious folly that God should be worshipped along with the false gods. Then Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, as I have mentioned above, after Alexander's death carried captives into Egypt. His successor, Ptolemy Philadelphus, most benevolently let them go thence; and he is responsible, as I related a little way back, for our having the Scriptures of the seventy translators. Then they were crushed by the wars that are recounted in the books of the Maccabees. Thereafter they were taken captive by Ptolemy, king of Alexandria, called Epiphanes. Then they were forced by Antiochus, king of Syria, by means of many and most grievous evils to worship idols, and the temple itself was occupied by the abominable and impious rites of the Gentiles; yet their energetic leader Judas, surnamed Maccabeus, routed the leaders of Antiochus and cleansed it from all that pollution of idolatry.

But not long afterwards one Alcimus, through ambition, though he was not of the priestly clan, became high priest, which was not lawful. Almost fifty years later, during which time the Jews had no peace, although they prospered in some matters, Aristobulus was the first among them who, after assuming the diadem, became both king and high priest. Note that previously, after the return from the captivity in Babylon and the restoration of the temple, there were no kings, but rather leaders and princes. To be sure, a king may be called a prince because he takes the principal part in ruling, or a leader because he has leadership of the army; but it

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non continuo, quicumque principes vel duces sunt etiam reges dici possunt, quod iste Aristobulus fuit.

Cui successit Alexander, etiam ipse rex et pontifex, qui crudeliter in suos regnasse traditur. Post hunc uxor eius Alexandra regina Iudaeorum fuit, ex cuius tempore deinceps mala sunt eos secuta graviora. Filii quippe huius Alexandrae Aristobulus et Hyrcanus inter se de imperio dimicantes vires adversus Israeliticam gentem provocavere Romanas. Hyrcanus namque ab eis contra fratrem poposcit auxilium. Tunc iam Roma subiugaverat Africam, subiugaverat Graeciam lateque etiam aliis orbis partibus imperans tamquam se ipsa non valens ferre sua se quodam modo magnitudine fregerat. Pervenerat quippe ad seditiones domesticas graves atque inde ad bella socialia moxque civilia, tantumque se comminuerat et adriverat ut ei mutandus rei publicae status quo regeretur regibus immineret. Pompeius ergo, populi Romani praeclarissimus princeps, Iudaeam cum exercitu ingressus civitatem capit, templum reserat, non devotione supplicis sed iure victoris, et ad sancta sanctorum, quo nisi summum sacerdotem non licebat intrare, non ut venerator sed ut profanator accedit; confirmatoque Hyrcani pontificatu et subiugatae genti inposito custode Antipatro, quos tunc procuratores vocabant, vinctum secum Aristobulum ducit. Ex illo Iudaei etiam tributarii Romanorum esse coeperunt. Postea Cassius etiam templum expoliavit. Deinde post paucos

¹ Actually, it was Crassus, not Cassius, who plundered the temple.

does not follow that those who are princes or leaders may also be called king, which is what our Aristobulus was.

His successor was Alexander, who was also both king and high priest, and is reported to have been cruel to his people in his reign. After him his wife Alexandra was queen of the Jews, and from her time onwards more grievous misfortune dogged them. For her sons Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, struggling with one another for the kingdom, called in Roman forces against the people of Israel. For Hyrcanus asked for help from them against his brother. At that time Rome had already subjugated Africa and Greece and was ruling far and wide in other parts of the world also; yet as if unable to bear her own weight she had broken herself, as it were, by her own sheer size. Indeed, she had arrived at the point of grave domestic sedition, followed by war with her allies, and before long war between citizens, and had shrunk and worn herself to such an extent that the constitution was bound to be altered and a monarchy was imminent. So Pompey, a most illustrious chieftain of the Roman people, entered Judea with an army and took the city; he threw open the temple, not because of any religious zeal as a worshipper, but by right of conquest. He set foot, not reverently but profanely, in the Holy of Holies, which only the chief priest might enter. After confirming Hyrcanus as high priest and foisting Antipater upon the conquered nation as guardian, or procurator, as such governors were then called, he carried off Aristobulus in bonds. From that time the Jews also became tributaries of the Romans. Afterwards Cassius¹ even plundered the temple. Then after a few years

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annos etiam Herodem alienigenam regem habere meruerunt, quo regnante natus est Christus. Iam enim venerat plenitudo temporis significata prophético spiritu per os patriarchae Iacob, ubi ait: *Non deficiet princeps ex Iuda, neque dux de femoribus eius, donec veniat cui repositum est, et ipse expectatio gentium.* Non ergo defuit Iudaeorum princeps ex Iudaeis usque ad istum Herodem, quem primum acceperunt alienigenam regem. Tempus ergo iam erat, ut veniret ille cui repositum erat, quod novo promissum est testamento, ut ipse esset expectatio gentium. Fieri autem non posset ut expectarent eum gentes venturum, sicut eum cernimus expectari, ut veniat ad faciendum iudicium in claritate potentiae, nisi prius in eum crederent, cum venit ad patiendum iudicium in humilitate patientiae.

XLVI

De ortu Salvatoris nostri, secundum quod Verbum caro factum est, et de dispersione Iudaeorum per omnes gentes, sicut fuerat prophetatum.

REGNANTE ergo Herode in Iudaea, apud Romanos autem iam mutato rei publicae statu imperante Caesare Augusto et per eum orbe pacato natus est Christus secundum praecedentem prophetiam in Bethleem Iudae, homo manifestus ex homine virgine, Deus occultus ex Deo Patre. Sic enim propheta praedixerat: *Ecce virgo accipiet in utero et pariet filium,*

¹ Genesis 49.10.

² Micah 5.2.

they duly obtained a foreign-born king, Herod, in whose reign Christ was born. For now had come the moment of fulfilment for the event foreshadowed by the prophetic spirit through the mouth of the patriarch Jacob, when he said: "There shall not fail to be a prince out of Judah, nor a leader from his loins, until he shall come for whom it is reserved, and he shall be the expectation of the peoples."¹ Just so there failed not to be a prince of the Jews from among the Jews until this Herod, whom they took as their first foreign-born king. Therefore this was now the time when he should come for whom was reserved that which is promised by a new covenant, that he should be the expectation of the peoples. Moreover, the peoples could not expect his coming (as we see that they do expect it) in order to administer judgement in the splendour of his power, if they did not first put faith in him as he was when he came to suffer judgement in the humility of his patience.

XLVI

The birth of our Saviour, whereby the word was made flesh; and the dispersion of the Jews among all peoples, as had been prophesied.

DURING the reign of Herod in Judea, at the time when after a revision of the Roman constitution Caesar Augustus was emperor and had pacified the world, Christ was born, according to an earlier prophecy,² in Bethlehem of Judah, human in outward appearance and sprung from a human virgin, God inwardly, sprung from God the Father. For so the prophet had foretold: "Behold a virgin shall

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et vocabunt nomen eius Emmanuel, quod est interpretatum: Nobiscum Deus. Qui ut in se commendaret Deum miracula multa fecit, ex quibus quaedam, quantum ad eum praedicandum satis esse visum est, scriptura evangelica continet. Quorum primum est quod tam mirabiliter natus est; ultimum autem quod cum suo resuscitato a mortuis corpore ascendit in caelum. Iudaei autem, qui eum occiderunt et in eum credere noluerunt, quia oportebat eum mori et resurgere, vastati infelicius a Romanis funditusque a suo regno, ubi iam eis alienigenae dominabantur, cradicati dispersique per terras (quando quidem ubique non desunt) per scripturas suas testimonio nobis sunt prophetias nos non finxisse de Christo; quas plurimi eorum considerantes et ante passionem et maxime post eius resurrectionem crediderunt in eum, de quibus praedictum est: *Si fuerit numerus filiorum Israel sicut harena maris, reliquiae salvae fient.* Ceteri vero excaecati sunt, de quibus praedictum est: *Fiat mensa eorum coram ipsis in laqueum et in retributionem et in scandalum. Obscurentur oculi eorum, ne videant; et dorsum illorum semper incurva.* Proinde cum scripturis nostris non credunt, complentur in eis suae quas caeci legunt. Nisi forte quis dixerit illas prophetias Christianos finxisse de Christo quae Sibyllae nomine proferuntur vel aliorum, si quae sunt, quae non per-

¹ Isaiah 7.14; Matthew 1.23.

² Isaiah 10.22; Romans 9.27.

³ Psalms 69.22; Romans 11.9, 10.

⁴ Cf. above, Chap. 23.

conceive in her womb, and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, is 'God with us.' " ¹ And in order to make God welcome in his person he worked many miracles, of which the gospel writings contain as many as seemed sufficient to make him known. The first of these is his miraculous birth; the last, his ascension into heaven together with his body that had been revived from among the dead. But the Jews, who killed him and would not believe in him, because he must needs die and rise again, were ravaged still more miserably by the Romans, and were utterly uprooted from their kingdom, where they had already been ruled by foreign-born rulers; and they were scattered throughout the lands,—for indeed there is no place where they are not found,—and so by means of their own Scriptures they bear witness on our behalf that we have not forged the prophecies about Christ. Very many of them, considering these prophecies both before his passion and still more after his resurrection, believed on him. Of them it was predicted: "Though the number of the sons of Israel be as the sand of the sea, the remnant shall be saved." ² But the rest were blinded; of them it was predicted: "Let their table be a trap in their presence and a retribution and a stumbling-block; let their eyes be darkened, that they may not see; and do thou bow down their backs always." ³ Therefore, when they do not believe in our Scriptures, their own Scriptures, to which they are blind when they read, are fulfilled in them. Unless indeed any one says that the Christians forged the prophecies about Christ that are quoted under the name of a Sibyl ⁴ or of others, if there be any, which have no

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tinent ad populum Iudaeorum. Nobis quidem illae sufficiunt quae de nostrorum inimicorum codicibus proferuntur, quos agnoscimus propter hoc testimonium, quod nobis inviti perhibent eosdem codices habendo atque servando, per omnes gentes etiam ipsos esse dispersos, quaqua versum Christi ecclesia dilatatur.

Nam prophetia in psalmis, quos legunt etiam, de hac re praemissa est, ubi scriptum est: *Deus meus, misericordia eius praeveniet me; Deus meus demonstravit mihi in inimicis meis, ne occideris eos, ne quando obliviscantur legem tuam; disperge eos in virtute tua.* Demonstravit ergo Deus ecclesiae in eius inimicis Iudaeis gratiam misericordiae suae, quoniam, sicut dicit apostolus, *delictum illorum salus gentibus*; et ideo non eos occidit, id est non in eis perdidit quod sunt Iudaei, quamvis a Romanis fuerint devicti et oppressi, ne obliti legem Dei ad hoc, de quo agimus, testimonium nihil valerent. Ideo parum fuit, ut diceret: *Ne occideris eos, ne quando obliviscantur legem tuam*, nisi adderet etiam: *Disperge eos*; quoniam si cum isto testimonio scripturarum in sua tantummodo terra, non ubique essent, profecto ecclesia, quae ubique est, eos prophetiarum quae de Christo praemissae sunt testes in omnibus gentibus habere non posset.

connection with the Jewish people. For us, to be sure, those suffice which are quoted from the books of our enemies, for we see and know that it is in order to bear this witness,—which they involuntarily supply on our behalf by possessing and preserving these same books,—that they themselves are scattered among all peoples, in whatever direction the church of Christ expands.

For a prophecy about this thing was given in advance, in the Psalms which they, too, read, where it is written: “My God, his mercy shall go before me; my God has shown me concerning my enemies, that you are not to slay them, lest they some day forget your law; scatter them by your might.”¹ So God has shown the church the grace of his mercy in the case of her enemies the Jews, since, as the Apostle says: “Their sin is the salvation of the Gentiles.”² For this reason he did not slay them (that is, he did not put an end to their being Jews, although they were conquered and oppressed by the Romans), lest through forgetting the law of God they should bear no effective witness on this point that we are concerned with. So it was not enough for him to say: “You are not to slay them, lest they some day forget your law,” without also adding: “Scatter them.” For if they dwelt with that testimony of their Scriptures in their own land only, and not everywhere, then the church, which is everywhere, could not have them at hand among all the Gentiles as witnesses to those prophecies that were given in advance concerning Christ.

¹ Psalms 59.10, 11.

² Romans 11.11.

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XLVII

*An ante tempora Christiana aliqui fuerint extra
Israeliticum genus qui ad caelestis civitatis con-
sortium pertinerent.*

QUAPROPTER quisquis alienigena, id est non ex Israel progenitus nec ab illo populo in canonem sacram litterarum receptus, legitur aliquid prophetasse de Christo, si in nostram notitiam venit aut venerit, ad cumulum a nobis commemorari potest; non quo necessarius sit, etiamsi desit, sed quia non incongrue creditur fuisse et in aliis gentibus homines quibus hoc mysterium revelatum est, et qui haec etiam praedicere impulsus sunt, sive participes eiusdem gratiae fuerint sive expertes, sed per malos angelos docti sint, quos etiam praesentem Christum, quem Iudaei non agnoscebant, scimus fuisse confessos. Nec ipsos Iudaeos existimo audere contendere neminem pertinuisse ad Deum praeter Israelitas, ex quo propago Israel esse coepit, reprobato eius fratre maiore. Populus enim re vera, qui proprie Dei populus diceretur, nullus alius fuit; homines autem quosdam non terrena sed caelesti societate ad veros Israelitas supernae civis patriae pertinentes etiam in aliis gentibus fuisse negare non possunt; quia si negant, facillime convincuntur de sancto et mirabili viro Iob, qui nec indigena nec proselytus, id est advena populi Israel fuit, sed ex gente Idumaea genus

¹ Cf. Matthew 8.29; Mark 1.24; Luke 4.34.

XLVII

Whether before the Christian era there were any outside the race of Israel who belonged to the fellowship of the heavenly city.

WHEREFORE if there has come or shall come to our knowledge any alien, that is, one not born of the line of Israel and not admitted by that people to the canon of the sacred Scriptures, who has written prophecy about Christ, he can be cited by us as a crowning authority; not because we should have need of him if he were lacking, but because it is not improper to believe that among other peoples too there existed men to whom this mystery was revealed and who were also moved to proclaim these things, whether they enjoyed the same gift of God or, not enjoying it, were taught by evil angels,¹ whom we know to have acknowledged Christ in his presence, though the Jews did not recognize him. Nor do I think that the Jews dare to maintain that no one has belonged to God who was not an Israelite, from the time when Israel began his line after his elder brother was rejected. To be sure, there was no other people especially called the people of God; nevertheless, they cannot deny that among other peoples too there have been certain men who belonged not by earthly but by heavenly fellowship to the company of true Israelites who are citizens of the country that is above. For if they deny it, they are very easily refuted by citing the holy and wonderful man Job, who was neither a native-born Israelite nor a proselyte (that is, a stranger received among the people of Israel), but one who sprang from the stock

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ducens, ibi ortus, ibidem mortuus est; qui divino sic laudatur eloquio, ut, quod ad iustitiam pietatemque adtinet, nullus ei homo suorum temporum coaequetur. Quae tempora eius quamvis non inveniamus in Chronicis, colligimus tamen ex libro eius, quem pro sui merito Israelitae in auctoritatem canonicam receperunt, tertia generatione posteriorem fuisse quam Israel.

Divinitus autem provisum fuisse non dubito ut ex hoc uno sciremus etiam per alias gentes esse potuisse qui secundum Deum vixerunt eique placuerunt, pertinentes ad spiritalem Hierusalem. Quod nemini concessum fuisse credendum est nisi cui divinitus revelatus est unus mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus, qui venturus in carne sic antiquis sanctis praenuntiabatur, quem ad modum nobis venisse nuntiatus est, ut una eademque per ipsum fides omnes in Dei civitatem, Dei domum, Dei templum praedestinos perducatur ad Deum. Sed quaecumque aliorum prophetae de Dei per Iesum Christum gratia proferuntur, possunt putari a Christianis esse confictae. Ideo nihil est firmiter ad convincendos quoslibet alienos, si de hac re contenderint, nostrosque faciendos, si recte sapuerint, quam ut divina praedicta de Christo ea proferantur quae in Iudaeorum codicibus scripta sunt; quibus avulsis de sedibus propriis et propter hoc testimonium toto orbe dispersis Christi usquequaque crevit ecclesia.

¹ Job 1.1, 8; Ezekiel 14.14-20.

² 1 Timothy 2.5.

of Edom, was born in the land of Edom and died there. Now he is so praised by the divine pronouncement that for justice and piety no man of his era is set on his level.¹ And although we do not find his date in the Chronicles, yet we gather from the book about him, which the Jews admitted to canonical authority as if it had been their own, and deservedly, that he belonged to the third generation after Israel.

And I do not doubt that it was divinely provided by this one example that we should know that there could be also scattered among other peoples men who lived as followers of God and found favour with him, being members of the spiritual Jerusalem. But we must not suppose that this was granted to any one unless there was revealed to him the one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus,² whose coming in the flesh was foretold to the saints of old, just as his having come has been proclaimed to us, so that one and the same faith may lead through him to God all who are predestined to enter the city of God, the house of God, the temple of God. But whatsoever prophecies of other men regarding the grace of God through Jesus Christ are cited may be thought to have been forged by the Christians. Therefore there is no surer means of convincing "aliens" of whatever country, if they dispute about this matter, and of making them one with us, if they are really wise, than to bring forward the divine prophecies about Christ written in the books of the Jews, by whose expulsion from their own homes and dispersion throughout the whole world, in order to bear this witness, the church of Christ has increased in every region.

XLVIII

Prophetiam Aggaei, qua dixit maiorem futuram gloriam domus Dei quam primum fuisset, non in reaedificatione templi sed in ecclesia Christi esse completam.

HAEC domus Dei maioris est gloriae quam fuerat illa prima lignis et lapidibus ceterisque pretiosis rebus metallisque constructa. Non itaque Aggaei prophetia in templi illius instauratione completa est. Ex quo enim est instauratum, numquam ostenditur habuisse tantam gloriam quantam habuit tempore Salomonis; immo potius ostenditur primum cessatione prophetiae fuisse domus illius gloriam diminutam, deinde ipsius gentis cladibus tantis usque ad ultimum excidium, quod factum est a Romanis, sicut ea quae supra sunt commemorata testantur. Haec autem domus ad novum pertinens testamentum tanto utique maioris est gloriae, quanto meliores sunt lapides vivi, quibus credentibus renovatisque construitur. Sed ideo per instaurationem templi illius significata est, quia ipsa renovatio illius aedificii significat eloquio prophetico alterum testamentum quod appellatur novum. Quod ergo Deus dixit per memoratum prophetam: *Et dabo pacem in loco isto*, per significantem locum ille qui eo significatur intellegendus est; ut, quia illo loco instaurato significata est ecclesia quae fuerat aedificanda per Christum, nihil aliud accipiatur, quod dictum est: *Dabo*

¹ Cf. Haggai 2.7.

² Cf. above, Chap. 45.

XLVIII

That the prophecy of Haggai, in which he said that the glory of the house of God would be greater than it had been at first, was fulfilled not in the restoration of the temple but in the church of Christ.

THIS house of God is of greater glory than was that first one which was built of wood and stone and metal and other precious things. Not so was the prophecy of Haggai¹ fulfilled by the restoration of the former temple; for it can never be shown to have had so great glory after the rebuilding as it had in the time of Solomon. Nay rather, that the glory of that house was diminished is shown first by the cessation of prophecy, and then by the great disasters of the people of Israel themselves down to the final destruction carried out by the Romans, as the events prove that were recorded above.² But this house that belongs to the new covenant is certainly the more glorious inasmuch as its stones are better, being alive, for it is of men who believe and have been created anew that it is built. But it was foreshadowed in the rebuilding of that temple inasmuch as the very renewing of that temple signifies in prophetic utterance a second covenant, which is called the new covenant. When, then, God said by the prophet just mentioned: "And I will give peace in this place,"³ by the symbolic word "place" he is to be understood who is to be symbolized by it. Therefore, since the rebuilding in that place symbolizes the church that was to be built by Christ, nothing else can be accepted as the meaning of the saying: "I

³ Haggai 2.9.

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pacem in loco isto, nisi "dabo pacem in loco, quem significat locus iste."

Quoniam omnia significantia videntur quodam modo earum rerum quas significant sustinere personas; sicut dictum est ab apostolo: *Petra erat Christus*, quoniam petra illa, de qua hoc dictum est, significabat utique Christum. Maior est itaque gloria domus huius novi testamenti quam domus prioris veteris testamenti, et tunc apparebit maior, cum dedicabitur. Tunc enim *veniet desideratus cunctis gentibus*, sicut legitur in Hebraeo. Nam primus eius adventus nondum erat desideratus omnibus gentibus. Non enim quem deberent desiderare sciebant, in quem non crediderant. Tunc etiam secundum septuaginta interpretes (quia et ipse propheticus sensus est) *venient quae electa sunt Domini de cunctis gentibus*. Tunc enim vere non venient nisi electa, de quibus dicit apostolus: *Sicut elegit nos in ipso ante mundi constitutionem*. Ipse quippe architectus, qui dixit: *Multi vocati, pauci vero electi*, non de his qui vocati sic venerunt ut de convivio proicerentur, sed de electis demonstraturus est aedificatam domum, quae nullam ruinam deinceps formidabit. Nunc autem, quando et hi replent ecclesias quos tamquam in area ventilatio separabit, non apparet tanta gloria domus huius quanta tunc apparebit quando quisquis ibi erit semper erit.

¹ 1 Corinthians 10.4.

² Haggai 2.7.

will give peace in this place" than "I will give peace in the place which this place signifies."

For all symbolic things seem somehow to play the part of the things that they symbolize; thus it is said by the Apostle: "The rock was Christ,"¹ since the rock of which this was said certainly symbolized Christ. And so the glory of this house, the new covenant, is greater than that of the former house, the old covenant, and will appear yet greater when it shall be dedicated. "For then shall come he whom all peoples desire,"² as the Hebrew reads. For his first coming was not yet desired by all peoples; for they knew nothing of him whom it was their destiny to desire, for they had not yet believed on him. Then, too, according to the seventy translators (whose meaning is also prophetic), "shall come the elect of the Lord from all peoples." For then indeed there shall come only the elect, about whom the Apostle says: "Even as he has chosen us in him before the foundation of the world."³ The master builder himself, who said: "Many are called, but few are chosen,"⁴ will show us a house, constructed not of those who were called but came in such fashion that they were cast out of the feast,⁵ but of such as are chosen,—a house that need fear thenceforth no downfall. Now of course, as long as the churches are also made up of those who are to be sorted out as if by a winnowing fan on a threshing floor, the glory of this house does not yet appear so great as it will when every one who is there is one who will be there forever.

¹ Ephesians 1.4.

² Matthew 22.14.

³ Cf. Matthew 22.11-14.

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XLIX

De indiscreta multiplicatione ecclesiae, qua in hoc saeculo multi reprobi miscentur electis.

IN hoc ergo saeculo maligno, in his diebus malis, ubi per humilitatem praesentem futuram comparat ecclesia celsitudinem et timorum stimulis, dolorum tormentis, laborum molestiis, temptationum periculis eruditur, sola spe gaudens, quando sanum gaudet, multi reprobi miscentur bonis et utrique tamquam in sagemam evangelicam colliguntur et in hoc mundo tamquam in mari utrique inclusi retibus indiscrete natant, donec perveniatur ad litus, ubi mali segregentur a bonis et in bonis tamquam in templo suo *sit Deus omnia in omnibus*. Proinde vocem nunc agnoscimus eius impleri qui loquebatur in psalmo atque dicebat: *Adnuntiavi et locutus sum, multiplicati sunt super numerum*. Hoc fit nunc, ex quo primum per os praecursoris sui Iohannis, deinde per os proprium adnuntiavit et locutus est dicens: *Agite paenitentiam, adpropinquavit enim regnum caelorum*.

Elegit discipulos, quos et apostolos nominavit, humiliter natos, inhonoratos, inlitteratos, ut, quidquid magnum essent et facerent, ipse in eis esset et faceret. Habuit inter eos unum, quo malo utens bene et suae passionis impleret dispositum et ecclesiae suae tolerandorum malorum praeberet exemplum. Seminato, quantum per eius oportebat prae-

¹ Cf. Matthew 13.47-50.

² Psalms 40.5.

³ Cf. Luke 6.13.

⁴ 1 Corinthians 15.28.

⁵ Matthew 3.2; 4.17.

XLIX

The indiscriminate increase of the church, whereby many reprobates are in this world mingled with the elect.

IN this evil world, therefore, in these evil days, when amid present humiliation the church is preparing for her future high estate, and is schooled by the goads of fear, the tortures of sorrow, the vexations of toil and the dangers of temptation, rejoicing only in hope, in so far as her joy is wholesome, many reprobates are mingled with the good, and both kinds are gathered together as it were into the dragnet of the gospel.¹ And in this world, as it were in a sea, both swim indiscriminately enclosed in nets until shore is reached, where the evil are to be separated from the good, and "God is to be all in all"² among the good, as it were in his temple. Indeed, we acknowledge that his words are now fulfilled who spoke in a psalm and said: "I have announced and spoken; they are multiplied beyond number."³ This has now been coming to pass ever since, first by the mouth of his forerunner John and then by his own mouth, he spoke, saying: "Repent; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."⁴

He chose disciples, whom he called also apostles,⁵ men humbly born, without honours or learning, so that whatever great thing they might be or do, he himself should be and do it in them. He had one among them whom, being evil, he used for good, both to carry out his own foreordained suffering and to set his church an example of patient forbearance with evil men. When he had sown the holy gospel,

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sentiam corporalem, sancto evangelio passus est, mortuus est, resurrexit, passione ostendens quid sustinere pro veritate, resurrectione quid sperare in aeternitate debeamus, excepta altitudine sacramenti, qua sanguis eius in remissionem fusus est peccatorum. Conversatus est in terra quadraginta dies cum discipulis suis atque ipsis videntibus ascendit in caelum et post dies decem misit promissum Spiritum sanctum; cuius venientis in eos qui crediderant tunc signum erat maximum et maxime necessarium, ut unusquisque eorum linguis omnium gentium loqueretur; ita significans unitatem catholicae ecclesiae per omnes gentes futuram ac sic linguis omnibus locuturam.

L

*De praedicatione evangelii, quae per passiones
praedicantium clarior et potentior facta est.*

DEINDE secundum illam prophetiam: *Ex Sion lex prodiet et verbum Domini ex Hierusalem*, et secundum ipsius Domini Christi praedicta, ubi post resurrectionem stupentibus eum discipulis suis *aperuit sensum, ut intellegerent scripturas, et dixit eis, quoniam sic scriptum est, et sic oportebat Christum pati et resurgere a mortuis tertio die et praedicari in nomine eius paenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum per omnes gentes, incipientibus ab Hierusalem*, et ubi rursus eis de adventu eius novissimo requirentibus respondit atque ait: *Non est*

¹ Isaiah 2.3.

² Luke 24.45-47.

so far as it behooved him to do so through his bodily presence, he suffered, died and rose again, showing by his passion what we ought to undergo for the truth, and by his resurrection what we ought to hope for in eternity, quite apart from the mystery of the sacrament by which his blood was shed for the remission of sins. He had converse on earth for forty days with his disciples, and in their sight ascended into heaven, and after ten days sent the Holy Spirit, as he had promised, of whose coming to those who had believed the greatest and most compelling sign was that every one of them spoke with the tongues of all peoples, thus signifying that the united universal church would be found among all peoples and would thus speak in all tongues.

L

The preaching of the Gospel, which was made the more glorious and powerful through the sufferings of its preachers.

THEN according to that prophecy: "Out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem;"¹ and according to the prediction of the Lord Christ himself, when, after the resurrection, for his amazed disciples, "He opened their understanding, so that they might understand the Scriptures, and he said to them: Thus it was written and thus did it behoove Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead the third day, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all peoples, beginning from Jerusalem."² And again when they asked about his last coming, he answered and said: "It is not yours to know the times that the

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vestrum scire tempora quae Pater posuit in sua potestate; sed accipietis virtutem Spiritus sancti supervenientem in vos, et eritis mihi testes in Hierusalem et in totam Iudaeam et Samariam et usque in fines terrae.

Primum se ab Hierusalem diffudit ecclesia, et cum in Iudaea atque Samaria plurimi credidissent, et in alias gentes itum est, eis adnuntiantibus evangelium quos ipse, sicut luminaria, et aptaverat verbo et accenderat Spiritu sancto. Dixerat enim eis: *Nolite timere eos, qui corpus occidunt, animam autem non possunt occidere.* Qui ut frigidi timore non essent, igne caritatis ardebant. Denique non solum per ipsos qui eum et ante passionem et post resurrectionem viderant et audierant, verum etiam post obitum eorum per posteros eorum inter horrendas persecutiones et varios cruciatus ac funera martyrum praedicatum est toto orbe evangelium, contestante Deo signis et ostentis et variis virtutibus et Spiritus sancti muneribus; ut populi gentium credentes in eum, qui pro eorum redemptione crucifixus est, Christiano amore venerarentur sanguinem martyrum, quem diabolico furore fuderunt, ipsique reges, quorum legibus vastabatur ecclesia, ei nomini salubriter subderentur quod de terra crudeliter auferre conati sunt, et falsos deos inciperent persequi quorum causa cultores Dei veri fuerant antea persecuti.

BOOK XVIII. L

Father has put in his own power; but you shall receive the power of the Holy Spirit when it comes upon you, and you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and even to the ends of the earth." ¹

First the church spread from Jerusalem, and when a great many in Judea and Samaria had believed, other peoples also were visited, as those proclaimed the gospel whom he himself had prepared by his word, like torches, and had kindled by the Holy Spirit. For he had said to them: "Fear not those who slay the body but cannot slay the soul." ² And that they might not be frozen with fear, they burned with the fire of love. Finally, the gospel was preached throughout the whole world, not only by those who had seen and heard him both before and after his passion and resurrection but also after their death by their successors amid dreadful persecutions and all manner of tortures and deaths of martyrs. So God himself bore witness by signs and portents and varied examples of his power as well as of the working of the Holy Spirit, in order that the people of the nations, believing in him who was crucified for their redemption, might venerate with Christian love the blood of the martyrs that they had shed with devilish fury, and in order that the very kings by whose laws the church was devastated might for their own healing be subjected to that name which they had cruelly tried to banish from the earth, and might begin to persecute the false gods for whose sake the worshippers of the true God had hitherto been persecuted.

¹ Acts 1.7, 8.

² Matthew 10.28.

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LI

*Quod etiam per haereticorum dissensiones fides catholica
roboretur.*

VIDENS autem diabolus templa daemonum deseri et in nomen liberantis Mediatoris currere genus humanum, haereticos movit, qui sub vocabulo Christiano doctrinae resisterent Christianae, quasi possent indifferenter sine ulla correptione haberi in civitate Dei, sicut civitas confusionis indifferenter habuit philosophos inter se diversa et adversa sentientes. Qui ergo in ecclesia Christi morbidum aliquid pravumque sapiunt, si correpti, ut sanum rectumque sapiant, resistunt contumaciter suaque pestifera et mortifera dogmata emendare nolunt, sed defensare persistunt, haeretici fiunt et foras exeuntes habentur in exercentibus inimicis. Etiam sic quippe veris illis catholicis membris Christi malo suo prosunt, dum Deus utitur et malis bene et *diligentibus eum omnia cooperatur in bonum*. Inimici enim omnes ecclesiae, quolibet errore caecentur vel malitia depraventur, si accipiunt potestatem corporaliter affligendi, exercent eius patientiam; si tantummodo male sentiendo adversantur, exercent eius sapientiam; ut autem etiam inimici diligantur, exercent eius benevolentiam aut etiam beneficentiam, sive suadibili doctrina cum eis agatur sive terribili disciplina.

¹ Romans 8.28.

LI

How the catholic faith is confirmed even through the dissensions of the heretics.

BUT the devil, seeing the temples of the demons deserted and the human race having recourse to the name of the Mediator who sets men free, stirred up heretics to resist the Christian doctrine under the guise of Christianity, as if they could be kept indifferently in the city of God without any reproof, even as the city of confusion kept indifferently the philosophers who held diverse and conflicting beliefs. So those in the church of Christ who crave some unhealthy and base opinion, and who on being reproofed, so that they may relish sound and right opinions, stubbornly resist and are unwilling to reform their pernicious and deadly dogmas, but persist in defending them, become heretics and, when they leave her, are counted among the enemies who serve to discipline the church. For even so their wickedness benefits those true catholic members of Christ, since God makes a good use even of the wicked, and "all things work together for good for those who love him."¹ For all the enemies of the church, however blinded by error or depraved by wickedness, are useful. If given the power of inflicting bodily harm, they exercise her patience. If they oppose her only by their wrong opinions, they exercise her wisdom. Moreover, to bring it about that even enemies shall be loved, they exercise her benevolence or even her beneficence, whether she deals with them by winsome doctrine or by fearsome discipline.

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Ac per hoc diabolus princeps impiae civitatis adversus peregrinantem in hoc mundo civitatem Dei vasa propria commovendo nihil ei nocere permittitur, cui procul dubio et rebus prosperis consolatio, ut non frangatur adversis, et rebus adversis exercitatio, ut non corrumpatur prosperis, per divinam providentiam procuratur, atque ita temperatur utrumque ab alterutro, ut in psalmo illam vocem non aliunde agnoscamus exortam: *Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo consolationes tuae iucundaverunt animam meam.* Hinc est et illud apostoli: *Spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes.*

Nam et id quod ait idem doctor: *Quicumque volunt in Christo pie vivere, persecutionem patiuntur,* nullis putandum est deesse posse temporibus. Quia et cum ab eis qui foris sunt non saevientibus videtur esse tranquillitas et re vera est plurimumque consolationis adfert, maxime infirmis: non tamen desunt, immo multi sunt intus, qui corda pie viventium suis perditis moribus cruciant; quoniam per eos blasphematur Christianum et catholicum nomen; quod quanto est carius eis qui volunt pie vivere in Christo, tanto magis dolent quod per malos intus positos fit ut minus quam piorum mentes desiderant diligatur. Ipsi quoque haeretici, cum cogitantur habere nomen et sacramenta Christiana et scripturas et professionem, magnum dolorem faciunt in cordibus piorum, quia et multi volentes esse Christiani propter eorum dissensiones haesitare coguntur et multi maledici etiam in his inveniunt materiam blasphemandi Chris-

¹ Psalms 94.19.

² Romans 12.12.

³ 2 Timothy 3.12. (The original Greek has the future tense of "suffer.")

Thus the devil, the prince of the impious city, in setting in motion his own vessels against the city of God which is a pilgrim in this world, is permitted to do her no harm. Beyond doubt the divine providence provides means to comfort her by prosperity, lest she be broken by adversity, and means to train her by adversity, lest she be spoiled by prosperity, and so tempers the one by the other that we recognize that this is the very source of the words of the psalm: "According to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart thy consolations have made glad my soul,"¹ and likewise the saying of the Apostle: "Rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation."²

For it must not be supposed that another saying of the same teacher can fail at any time: "All who desire to live a godly life in Christ suffer persecution."³ Because even though those who are without do not rage, and there seems to be, and really is, tranquillity, which is a very great source of consolation, especially to the weak, nevertheless there are some, nay many, within, who by their abandoned behaviour torment the minds of those who live a godly life. For they are the cause of railing against the Christian and catholic name; and the dearer this name is to those who wish to live a godly life in Christ, the more they grieve that evildoers within the church make it less attractive than the minds of the godly desire. The heretics themselves, too, since they are thought to have the Christian name and sacraments and scriptures and creed, cause great sorrow in the hearts of the godly; for many who wish to become Christians are compelled by their dissensions to hesitate, and many revilers find among them something from which to create railing charges

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tianum nomen, quia et ipsi quoquo modo Christiani appellantur. His atque huius modi pravis moribus et erroribus hominum persecutionem patiuntur qui volunt in Christo pie vivere, etiam nullo infestante neque vexante corpus illorum. Patiuntur quippe hanc persecutionem non in corporibus, sed in cordibus. Unde illa vox est: *Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo.* Non enim ait: "In corpore meo."

Sed rursus quoniam cogitantur inmutabilia divina promissa, et quod ait apostolus: *Novit Dominus qui sunt eius; quos enim praescivit et praedestinavit conformes imaginis filii sui,* ex eis perire nullus potest. Ideo sequitur in illo psalmo: *Consolationes tuae iucundaverunt animam meam.* Dolor autem ipse qui fit in cordibus piorum quos persequuntur mores Christianorum malorum sive falsorum prodest dolentibus, quoniam de caritate descendit qua eos perire nolunt nec impedire aliorum salutem. Denique magnae consolationes fiunt etiam de correctionibus eorum quae piorum animas tanta iucunditate perfundunt quantis doloribus de sua perditione cruciaverant. Sic in hoc saeculo, in his diebus malis non solum a tempore corporalis praesentiae Christi et apostolorum eius, sed ab ipso Abel, quem primum iustum impius frater occidit, et deinceps usque in huius saeculi finem inter persecutiones mundi et consolationes Dei peregrinando procurrit ecclesia.

against the Christian name, because they, too, are, no matter how falsely, called Christians. By this and by similar immoral behaviour and human errors those who wish to live a godly life in Christ suffer persecution, even though no one abuses or torments their bodies; for they suffer this persecution not in their bodies but in their hearts. Whence the message comes: "According to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart" (for he does not say, "in my body").

Again, since divine promises are thought of as unchangeable, and the Apostle says: "The Lord knows them that are his;¹ for those whom he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his son."² Therefore none of them can perish. And so it follows in that psalm: "Thy consolations have made glad my soul."³ For the very grief that arises in the hearts of the godly who are persecuted by the behaviour of wicked or false Christians profits those who grieve, since it proceeds from a love that does not wish them to perish nor to hinder the salvation of others. Finally, great consolations arise also when they are rescued from error, for such occasions flood the souls of the godly with a delight as great as were the torments that they caused them by their being lost. Such is the course run by the church in this world, in these evil days, a course that began not merely in the time of the bodily presence of Christ and in the time of his apostles but in the time of Abel himself, the first just man slain by his ungodly brother, and extends all the way to the end of this world, a pilgrimage that is bounded by the persecutions of this world and the consolations of God.

¹ 2 Timothy 2.19. ² Romans 8.29. ³ Psalms 94.19.

LII

An credendum sit, quod quidam putant, impletis decem persecutionibus, quae fuerunt, nullam iam superesse praeter undecimam, quae in ipso Antichristi tempore sit futura.

PROINDE ne illud quidem temere puto esse dicendum sive credendum, quod nonnullis visum est vel videtur, non amplius ecclesiam passuram persecutiones usque ad tempus Antichristi quam quot iam passa est, id est decem, ut undecima eademque novissima sit ab Antichristo. Primam quippe computant a Nerone quae facta est, secundam a Domitiano, a Traiano tertiam, quartam ab Antonino, a Severo quintam, sextam a Maximino, a Decio septimam, octavam a Valeriano, ab Aureliano nonam, decimam a Diocletiano et Maximiano. Plagas enim Aegyptiorum, quoniam decem fuerunt, antequam exire inde inciperet populus Dei, putant ad hunc intellectum esse referendas, ut novissima Antichristi persecutio similis videatur undecimae plagae, qua Aegyptii, dum hostiliter sequerentur Hebraeos, in mari Rubro populo Dei per siccum transeunte perierunt. Sed ego illa re gesta in Aegypto istas persecutiones propheticè significatas esse non arbitror, quamvis ab eis qui hoc putant exquisite et ingeniose illa singula his singulis comparata videantur, non prophetico spiritu, sed coniectura mentis humanae, quae aliquando ad verum pervenit, aliquando fallitur.

Quid enim qui hoc sentiunt dicturi sunt de per-

LII

Whether it should be believed, as some suppose, that since the completion of the ten persecutions that are past no further persecution remains except the eleventh, which is to be in the very time of Antichrist.

FURTHERMORE, I do not think that one should rashly say or believe, as some have done or now do, that the church will not suffer other persecutions before the time of Antichrist, in addition to those that she has already suffered, to wit ten, so that the eleventh and last is to be inflicted by Antichrist. As the first persecution they reckon that of Nero, the second that of Domitian, the third of Trajan, the fourth of Antoninus, the fifth of Severus, the sixth of Maximinus, the seventh of Decius, the eighth of Valerian, the ninth of Aurelian, the tenth of Diocletian and Maximian. For they think that the plagues in Egypt, of which there were ten before the people of God began their exodus, should be interpreted as meaning that the last persecution by Antichrist should be taken as figured in the eleventh plague, in which the Egyptians, while pursuing the Hebrews with enmity, perished in the Red Sea, while the people of God passed through on dry land. But I do not think that those events in Egypt were prophetic symbols of these persecutions, although those who think so evidently have matched those and these one by one with far-fetched ingenuity, yet not so much by prophetic inspiration as by speculation of the human mind, which sometimes attains to truth but sometimes goes astray.

For what will those who hold this view find to say

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secutione qua ipse Dominus crucifixus est? In quo eam numero posituri? Si autem hac excepta existimant computandum, tamquam illae numerandae sint quae ad corpus pertinent non qua ipsum caput est appetitum et occisum, quid agent de illa, quae, postea quam Christus ascendit in caelum, Hierosolymis facta est, ubi beatus Stephanus lapidatus est, ubi Iacobus frater Iohannis gladio trucidatus, ubi apostolus Petrus ut occideretur inclusus et per angelum liberatus, ubi fugati atque dispersi de Hierosolymis fratres, ubi Saulus, qui postea Paulus apostolus factus est, vastabat ecclesiam, ubi ipse quoque iam fidem quam persequabatur evangelizans, qualia faciebat est passus, sive per Iudaeam sive per alias gentes, quacumque Christum ferventissimus praedicabat? Cur ergo eis a Nerone videtur ordiendum, cum ad Neronis tempora inter atrocissimas persecutiones, de quibus nimis longum est cuncta dicere, ecclesia crescendo pervenerit? Quod si a regibus factas persecutiones in numero existimant esse debere, rex fuit Herodes, qui etiam post ascensum Domini gravissimam fecit.

Deinde quid respondent etiam de Iuliano, quem non numerant in decem? An ipse non est ecclesiam persecutus, qui Christianos liberales litteras docere ac discere vetuit? Sub quo Valentinianus maior, qui post eum tertius imperator fuit, fidei Christianae confessor extitit militiaque privatus est, ut omittam quae

¹ That is, Herod Agrippa in A.D. 41. Cf. Acts 12.

about the persecution in which the Lord himself was crucified? What number will they assign to that persecution? If indeed they think that we should omit this persecution from the reckoning on the principle that only those cases should count that concern the body and not the case in which the head itself was aimed at and slain, then what will they do with the one that occurred at Jerusalem after Christ ascended into heaven, when the blessed Stephen was stoned, when James the brother of John was slaughtered with the sword, when the apostle Peter was imprisoned to be put to death, and was set free by an angel, when the brethren were forced to flee and scattered from Jerusalem, when Saul (who afterwards became the apostle Paul) laid waste the church, and when he also, when he later himself spread the gospel that he had persecuted, received the same treatment as he had given, both in Judea and among Gentiles, wherever that ardent spirit preached Christ? Why, then, do they think one should begin with Nero, when the course of the growing church brought her to the days of Nero only by way of the most cruel persecutions, that it would be tedious to recount in full? But if they think that only persecutions inflicted by kings should be reckoned, it was a king, Herod,¹ who inflicted the most grievous one even after the ascension of the Lord.

Then what answer will they give about Julian, whom they do not reckon among the ten? Did not he persecute the church who forbade the Christians to teach and learn liberal letters? Under him the elder Valentinian, who was the third emperor after him, stood forth as a confessor of the Christian faith, and was deprived of his military command. And I

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apud Antiochiam facere coeperat, nisi unius fidelissimi et constantissimi iuvenis, qui multis ut torqueantur adprehensus per totum diem primus est tortus, inter ungulas cruciatusque psallentis libertatem atque hilaritatem miratus horruisset et in ceteris deformius erubescere timuisset. Postremo nostra memoria Valens, supradicti Valentiniani frater, Arrianus,¹ nonne magna persecutione per Orientis partes catholicam vastavit ecclesiam? Quale est autem non considerare ecclesiam per totum mundum fructificantem atque crescentem posse in aliquibus gentibus persecutionem pati a regibus, et quando in aliis non patitur? Nisi forte non est persecutio computanda, quando rex Gothorum in ipsa Gothia persecutus est Christianos crudelitate mirabili, cum ibi non essent nisi catholici, quorum plurimi martyrio coronati sunt, sicut a quibusdam fratribus, qui tunc illic pueri fuerant et se ista vidisse incunctanter recordabantur, audivimus? Quid modo in Perside? Nonne ita in Christianos ferbuit persecutio (si tamen iam quievit), ut fugientes inde nonnulli usque ad Romana oppida pervenerint? Haec atque huius modi mihi cogitanti non videtur esse definiendus numerus persecutionum quibus exerceri oportet ecclesiam. Sed rursus adfirmare aliquas futuras a regibus praeter illam novissimam, de qua nullus ambigit Christianus, non

¹ Arrianus, MSS. But the name of the famous heresiarch was Arius.

will say nothing of what he essayed and would have done at Antioch, had not one most faithful and steadfast young man,¹ who, when many were arrested for torture, was taken first and put to torture for a whole day, still singing though torn and racked, so that the emperor, astonished by his unsubdued good spirits, was awed and alarmed lest he might suffer still more ignominious disgrace if he went on with the rest. Lastly, did not Valens the Arian, the brother of the above-mentioned Valentinian, within our own memory lay waste the catholic church in the east in a great persecution? After all, what an oversight it is not to consider that the church, which grows and bears fruit throughout the whole world, may suffer persecution from kings among some peoples, even while not suffering it among others! Unless perchance that was not to be reckoned as persecution when the king of the Goths in the very land of the Goths persecuted the Christians with amazing cruelty, though there were none but catholics there, of whom a great many were crowned with martyrdom, as we have heard from certain brethren who were boys there at the time and instantly recalled that they had seen these events. What of the recent events in Persia? Did not persecution rage against the Christians so hot (if indeed it has even yet ceased) that some refugees fled from it even to Roman towns? When I reflect on these and similar things, it seems to me that we ought not to set any limit to the number of persecutions by which the church is destined to be tried. On the other hand, to assert that there are in store other persecutions by kings besides that final one, about which no Christian is in

¹ Theodorus, according to Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.36.

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minoris est temeritatis. Itaque hoc in medio relin-
quimus neutram partem quaestionis huius astruentes
sive destruentes, sed tantummodo ab adfirmandi
quodlibet horum audaci praesumptione revocantes.

LIII

*De tempore novissimae persecutionis nulli hominum
revelato.*

ILLAM sane novissimam persecutionem, quae ab
Antichristo futura est, praesentia sua extinguet ipse
Iesus. Sic enim scriptum est, quod eum *interficiet
spiritu oris sui et evacuabit inluminatione praesentiae suae.*
Hic quaeri solet: Quando istud erit? Inportune
omnino. Si enim hoc nobis nosse prodesset, a quo
melius quam ab ipso Deo magistro interrogantibus
discipulis diceretur? Non enim siluerunt inde apud
eum, sed a praesente quaesierunt dicentes: *Domine,
si hoc tempore repraesentabis regnum Israel?* At ille:
*Non est, inquit, vestrum scire tempora, quae Pater posuit
in sua potestate.* Non utique illi de hora vel die vel
anno, sed de tempore interrogaverant, quando istud
acceperere responsum. Frustra igitur annos qui re-
manent huic saeculo computare ac definire conamur,
cum hoc scire non esse nostrum ex ore Veritatis
audiamus; quos tamen alii quadringentos, alii quin-
gentos, alii etiam mille ab ascensione Domini usque
ad eius ultimum adventum compleri posse dixerunt.
Quem ad modum autem quisque eorum astruat

¹ 2 Thessalonians 2.8.

² Acts 1.6, 7.

doubt, is just as rash. So we leave the matter undetermined, contributing nothing for or against either side, but merely sounding a call to abandon the audacious presumption of taking any stand at all on this question.

LIII

About the time of the last persecution, which is revealed to no man.

JESUS himself shall extinguish by his presence, to be sure, that last persecution that will be the work of Antichrist. For thus it is written, that "he shall slay him by the breath of his mouth, and he shall annihilate him by the splendour of his coming."¹ Here it is customary to ask: When shall that be? But the question is not at all to the point; for if it were to our advantage to know this, by whom could it have been better told than by the Master, God himself, when the disciples asked him? For they were not silent about it with him, but asked him in person, saying: "Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" But he said: "It is not yours to know the times that the Father has fixed by his power."² Now they had not asked in any case about the hour or the day or the year, but about the time, when they received that answer. In vain therefore do we try to reckon and set limits to the years that remain for this world, when we hear from the mouth of Truth that it is not ours to know this. Yet some have said that four hundred, some five hundred, others even a thousand years may be reached between the Lord's ascension and his last coming. But to show how each of them supports his

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opinionem suam, longum est demonstrare et non necessarium. Coniecturis quippe utuntur humanis, non ab eis aliquid certum de scripturae canonicae auctoritate profertur. Omnium vero de hac re calculantium digitos resolvit et quiescere iubet ille qui dicit: *Non est vestrum scire tempora, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate.*

Sed haec quia evangelica sententia est, mirum non est non ea repressos fuisse deorum multorum falso-rumque cultores quominus fingerent daemonum responsis, quos tamquam deos colunt, definitum esse quanto tempore mansura esset religio Christiana. Cum enim viderent nec tot tantisque persecutionibus eam potuisse consumi, sed his potius mira incrementa sumpsisse, excogitaverunt nescio quos versus Graecos tamquam consulenti cuidam divino oraculo effusos, ubi Christum quidem ab huius tamquam sacrilegii crimine faciunt innocentem, Petrum autem maleficia fecisse subiungunt, ut coleretur Christi nomen per trecentos sexaginta quinque annos, deinde completo memorato numero annorum sine mora sumeret finem.

O hominum corda doctorum! O ingenia litterata digna credere ista de Christo, quae credere non vultis in Christum, quod eius discipulus Petrus ab eo magicas artes non didicerit, sed, ipso innocente, tamen eius maleficus fuerit nomenque illius quam suum coli maluerit magicis artibus suis, magnis laboribus et periculis suis, postremo etiam effusione sanguinis sui!

¹ The finger-counting of the ancients involved much bending of joints. See Carl Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig, 1890, or J. H. Turner in *Class. Journal* 47 (1951).

opinion would take too long, and is not necessary; for they use human speculations, and produce nothing decisive from the authority of the canonical scriptures. Truly he relaxes the fingers of all who do sums on them about this matter and bids them be at rest,¹ when he says: "It is not yours to know the times that the Father has fixed by his own power."

But since this declaration is in the gospel, it is not surprising that the worshippers of the many false gods have not been restrained by it from inventing a story that it was by the responses of the demons whom they worship as gods that it has been determined how long the Christian religion was destined to last. For when they saw that it could not be destroyed by all those many great persecutions but rather increased amazingly because of them, they thought up some Greek verses or other, as if they were the outpouring of a divine oracle in reply to some one consulting it; in them they make Christ blameless, to be sure, of this charge of sacrilege (so to call it), but explain that Peter contrived by sorcery that the name of Christ should be worshipped for three hundred and sixty-five years, and then after the completion of that number of years it should immediately come to an end.

O hearts of learned men! O lettered wits who see fit to believe such a thing about Christ, when you are unwilling to believe in Christ, namely that a disciple of his, Peter, was not his disciple in the discipline of magical arts, yet, though the teacher was blameless, one of his disciples was a sorcerer who chose that Christ's name rather than his own should be worshipped thanks to his magical arts, at the cost to himself of mighty toils and dangers, and at last even

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Si Petrus maleficus fecit ut Christum sic diligeret mundus, quid fecit innocens Christus ut eum sic diligeret Petrus? Respondeant igitur ipsi sibi et si possunt intellegant illa superna gratia factum esse ut propter aeternam vitam Christum diligeret mundus, qua gratia factum est ut et propter aeternam vitam ab illo accipiendam et usque ad temporariam mortem pro illo patiendam Christum diligeret Petrus. Deinde isti dii qui sunt, qui possunt ista praedicere nec possunt avertere, ita succumbentes uni malefico et uni sceleri magico (quo puer, ut dicunt, anniculus occisus et dilaniatus et ritu nefario sepultus est) ut sectam sibi adversariam tam prolixo tempore convalescere, tot tantarumque persecutionum horrendas crudelitates non resistendo, sed patiando superare et ad suorum simulacrorum templorum, sacrorum oraculorum eversionem pervenire permetterent? Quis postremo est deus, non noster utique, sed ipsorum, qui vel inlectus tanto scelere vel impulsus est ista praestare? Non enim alicui daemone sed deo dicunt illi versus haec Petrum arte magica definisse. Talem deum habent qui Christum non habent.

of the pouring out of his own blood! If the sorcerer Peter made the world so love Christ, what did the blameless Christ do to make Peter so love him? Let them therefore give answer to themselves, and let them understand, if they can, that by that grace from on high it came to pass that the world loved Christ because of life eternal, by which same grace from on high it came about that Peter loved Christ both for the sake of receiving from him life eternal and even to the extent of enduring for him a temporal death. Moreover, what sort of gods are these who make that prediction but cannot avert what they predict, gods who fall down before a single sorcerer and a single piece of criminal magic,—they say that a yearling infant was slain, dissected, and buried with abominable rites,—so that they allowed a sect hostile to them to recruit its strength over such a prolonged period, to survive the shocking atrocities of so many great persecutions, not by active, but by passive resistance, and to reach the point of overthrowing their own images and temples, rituals and oracles? Finally, what god was it,—surely not ours, but one of theirs,—who was enticed by so great wickedness, or was compelled to bring about that result? For it was not by addressing some demon, but a god (so we are told in those verses), that Peter by his magical art fixed this term of years. Such a god have they who have not Christ.

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LIV

De stultissimo mendacio paganorum, quo Christianam religionem non ultra trecentos sexaginta quinque annos mansuram esse finxerunt.

HAEC atque huius modi multa colligerem, si nondum annus ipse transisset quem divinatio ficta promisit et decepta vanitas credidit. Cum vero, ex quo nominis Christi cultus per eius in carne praesentiam et per apostolos institutus est, ante aliquot annos anni trecenti sexaginta quinque completi sunt, quid aliud quaerimus unde ista falsitas refellatur? Ut enim in Christi nativitate huius rei non ponamus initium, quia infans et puer discipulos non habebat, tamen quando habere coepit, procul dubio tunc innotuit per eius corporalem praesentiam doctrina et religio Christiana, id est, postea quam in fluvio Iordane ministerio Iohannis est baptizatus. Propter hoc enim de illo prophetia illa praecesserat: *Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrae.*

Sed quoniam, priusquam passus esset et resurrexisset a mortuis, nondum fides omnibus fuerat definita (in resurrectione quippe Christi definita est, nam sic apostolus Paulus Atheniensibus loquitur dicens: *Iam nunc adnuntiat hominibus omnes ubique agere paenitentiam, eo quod statuit diem iudicare orbem in aequitate in viro quo definivit fidem omnibus resuscitans*

¹ Psalms 72.8.

LIV

A very foolish falsehood of the pagans, invented to the effect that the Christian religion would not last more than three hundred and sixty-five years.

I MIGHT gather many similar arguments of the same and similar substance, if the year had not in fact already passed that was foretold by a fictitious divination and taken seriously by cheated fools. But since the truth is that the three hundred and sixty-five years elapsed a few years ago, counting from the time when the worship of the name of Christ was established by his presence in the flesh and by his apostles, what other proof need we seek to refute that falsehood? Not to set the beginning of the period at Christ's nativity, since he had no disciples when he was an infant or a boy, yet from the moment when he first had them, from that time beyond doubt the Christian doctrine and religion won a growing publicity by his bodily presence, that is, once he was baptized in the river Jordan by the ministry of John. This explains in fact the famous prophecy of him that anticipated this event: "He shall have dominion from sea to sea and from the river even unto the ends of the earth." ¹

But since the faith was not marked out for all men before he suffered and rose from the dead,—it *was* marked out, of course, in the resurrection of Christ, for the apostle Paul says, speaking to the Athenians: "Now he gives men notice that all of them everywhere must repent, because he has appointed a day on which to judge the world in righteousness, by a man in whom he has appointed faith for all men, by

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illum a mortuis), melius in hac quaestione solvenda inde initium sumimus; praesertim quia tunc datus est etiam Spiritus sanctus, sicut eum dari post resurrectionem Christi oportebat in ea civitate ex qua debuit incipere lex secunda, hoc est testamentum novum. Prima enim fuit ex monte Sina per Moysen, quod testamentum vocatur vetus. De hac autem, quae per Christum danda erat, praedictum est: *Ex Sion lex prodiet et verbum Domini ex Hierusalem*. Unde et ipse per omnes gentes dixit praedicari oportere in nomine suo paenitentiam, sed tamen incipientibus ab Hierusalem. Ibi ergo exorsus est huius nominis cultus, ut in Iesum Christum, qui crucifixus fuerat et resurrexerat, crederetur. Ibi haec fides tam insignibus initiis incanduit ut aliquot hominum milia in Christi nomen mirabili alacritate conversa venditis suis rebus ut egenis distribuarentur, proposito sancto et ardentissima caritate ad paupertatem voluntariam pervenirent atque inter frementes et sanguinem sitientes Iudaeos se usque ad mortem pro veritate certare non armata potentia, sed potentiore patientia praepararent. Hoc si nullis magicis artibus factum est, cur credere dubitant eadem virtute divina per totum mundum id fieri potuisse qua hoc factum est?

Si autem ut Hierosolymis sic ad cultum nominis Christi accenderetur tanta hominum multitudo, quae

¹ Acts 17.30, 31. Vulg.: *in viro in quo statuit fidem praebens omnibus*; Greek: *ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὤρισεν, πίστιν παρασχῶν πᾶσιν κτλ.*

raising him from the dead,"¹—therefore this is a better initial date to take in seeking an answer to our problem, especially since that is also the date of the bestowing of the Holy Spirit, which was necessarily given after the resurrection of Christ in that city from which was to issue the second law, that is, the new covenant. For the first, which is called the old covenant, was the law delivered from Mount Sinai through Moses. Of this, however, which was to be given through Christ it was foretold: "Out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem."² Wherefore he himself said that repentance must be preached in his name among all peoples, but beginning from Jerusalem.³ So that is where the worship of this name began, if we mean that men believed in the Jesus Christ who had been crucified and had risen again. That is where this faith blazed up with such marked initial success that some thousands of men were converted to the name of Christ at an amazing rate, and sold their goods for distribution among the needy, so that by holy resolution and most ardent love they might achieve a voluntary poverty, and among raging and blood-thirsty Jews they might make themselves ready to do battle for the truth even unto death, not by force of arms but by the even stronger force of patience. If this came to pass through no magical arts, why do they hesitate to believe that the like could have come to pass throughout the whole world by the same divine power?

But if Peter had already worked his sorcery, and that is the reason why so great a multitude of men at

² Isaiah 2.3. Cf. above, Chap. 50, for this and the following.

³ Luke 24.47.

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illum in cruce vel fixerat prenum vel riserat fixum, iam malefium illud fecerat Petrus, ex ipso anno quaerendum est quando trecenti sexaginta quinque completi sint. Mortuus est ergo Christus duobus Geminis consulibus octavum Kalendas Aprilis. Resurrexit tertio die, sicut apostoli suis etiam sensibus probaverunt. Deinde post quadraginta dies ascendit in caelum; post decem dies, id est quinquagesimo post suam resurrectionem die, misit Spiritum sanctum. Tunc tria milia hominum apostolis eum praedicantibus crediderunt. Tunc itaque nominis illius cultus exorsus est, sicut nos credimus et veritas habet, efficacia Spiritus sancti; sicut autem finxit vanitas impia vel putavit, magicis artibus Petri. Paulo post etiam signo mirabili facto, quando ad verbum ipsius Petri quidam mendicus ab utero matris ita claudus ut ab aliis portaretur et ad portam templi, ubi stipem peteret, poneretur, in nomine Iesu Christi salvus exiit, quinque hominum milia crediderunt; ac deinde aliis atque aliis accessibus credentium crevit ecclesia.

Ac per hoc colligitur etiam dies, ex quo annus ipse sumpsit initium, scilicet quando missus est Spiritus sanctus, id est per Idus Maias. Numeratis proinde consulibus trecenti sexaginta quinque anni reperiuntur impleti per easdem Idus consulatu Honorii et Eutychni. Porro sequenti anno, consule Malio

¹ March 25; If Augustine (agreeing with Tertullian and Lactantius) is correct, the year would be A.D. 29.

² Acts 3.1-8; 4.4.

Jerusalem were kindled to worship the name of Christ, men who had fastened him to the cross or had mocked him on the cross, that is the very year with which to start when we would discover the date of fulfilment of the three hundred and sixty-five years. Now Christ died on the eighth day before the Kalends of April in the consulship of the two Gemini.¹ He rose on the third day, as the apostles proved even by the evidence of their own senses. Next after forty days he ascended into heaven; after ten days (that is, on the fiftieth day after his resurrection) he sent the Holy Spirit. On that occasion three thousand men believed when the apostles preached him. On that occasion, therefore, as we believe and as the truth stands, arose the worship of that name, through the efficacy of the Holy Spirit,—in the version invented or believed by blasphemous fools, however, through the magical arts of Peter. A little later, too, five thousand men believed after an amazing miracle had been worked, when a certain beggar, so lame from his mother's womb that he was carried by others to the door of the temple to seek alms, at Peter's own word was made whole in the name of Jesus Christ, and leaped up.² Thereafter the church grew by more and more accessions of believers.

Thus the very day is discovered with which the year began, namely the day when the Holy Spirit was sent (that is, on the Ides of May). By counting the consuls from this date, the three hundred and sixty-five years are found to have been completed on the same Ides in the consulship of Honorius and Euty-chianus.³ Now in the following year, in the consul-

¹ A.D. 398. Correct calculation would give 394.

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Theodoro, quando iam secundum illud oraculum daemonum aut figmentum hominum nulla esse debuit religio Christiana (quid per alias terrarum partes forsitan factum sit, non fuit necesse perquirere), interim, quod scimus, in civitate notissima et eminentissima Carthagine Africae Gaudentius et Iovius comites imperatoris Honorii quarto decimo Kalendas Aprilis falsorum deorum templa everterunt et simulacra fregerunt. Ex quo usque ad hoc tempus per triginta ferme annos quis non videat quantum creverit cultus nominis Christi, praesertim postea quam multi eorum Christiani facti sunt, qui tamquam vera illa divinatione revocabantur a fide eamque completo eodem numero annorum inanem ridendamque viderunt? Nos ergo, qui sumus vocamurque Christiani, non in Petrum credimus, sed in quem credidit Petrus; Petri de Christo aedificati sermonibus, non carminibus venenati; nec decepti maleficiis, sed beneficiis eius adiuti. Ille Petri magister Christus in doctrina quae ad vitam ducit aeternam ipse est magister et noster.

Sed aliquando iam concludamus hunc librum, hoc usque disserentes et quantum satis visum est demonstrantes quisnam sit duarum civitatum, caelestis atque terrenae, ab initio usque in finem permixtarum mortalis excursus; quarum illa, quae terrena est, fecit sibi quos voluit vel undecumque vel etiam ex

¹ According to this reckoning, Book 18 of the *City of God* would have been written about A.D. 429. But Augustine died in 430. The date of completion of the *City of God* is supposed to be 426. If we count 30 years from the lapse of the 365

ship of Malius Theodorus, when according to that oracle of the demons or fiction of men there ought to have been no Christian religion, we know that at Carthage, the most notable and eminent city of Africa,—there was no need to enquire carefully what may have occurred elsewhere,—Gaudentius and Jovius, officials of the emperor Honorius, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of April overturned the temples of the false gods and broke their images. Who does not see how much the worship of the name of Christ has grown during the period of nearly thirty years from then to the present,¹ especially after many of those became Christians who had been held back from the faith by that supposedly true prophecy, which they now saw, after the completion of the specified number of years, to be foolish and ridiculous? We therefore who are, and are called, Christians believe not in Peter, but in him in whom Peter believed; we are edified by the preaching of Peter about Christ, not poisoned by any incantations of his; not deceived by his bad arts, but aided by his good deeds. The Christ who was Peter's master in the teaching that leads to eternal life is himself our master also.

But let us now at last bring to a close this book, in which we have discoursed thus far and shown sufficiently, as it seemed, what is the mortal course of the two cities, the heavenly and the earthly, which are intermingled from beginning to end. One of them, the earthly, has created for herself from any

years in 394, Augustine was writing in 424, which seems more probable. He might well get his addition right for the year 424, and so bypass the previous error. Cf. further Volume I, pp. lxxx-lxxxii.

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hominibus falsos deos quibus sacrificando serviret; illa autem, quae caelestis peregrinatur in terra, falsos deos non facit, sed a vero Deo ipsa fit cuius verum sacrificium ipsa sit. Ambae tamen temporalibus vel bonis pariter utuntur vel malis pariter affliguntur, diversa fide, diversa spe, diverso amore, donec ultimo iudicio separentur, et percipiat unaquaeque suum finem, cuius nullus est finis; de quibus ambarum finibus deinceps disserendum est.

BOOK XVIII. LIV

source she pleased, even out of men, false gods to worship with sacrifice; the other, a heavenly pilgrim on earth, does not create false gods, but is herself created by the true God, whose true sacrifice she is herself. But both alike in this life either enjoy good things or suffer evils, but with diverse faith, diverse hope, and diverse love, until they are separated by the last judgement, and each receives her own end, of which there is no end. Our next topic must be the said ends of the two.

BOOK XIX

LIBER XIX

I

Quod in quaestione quam de finibus bonorum et malorum philosophica disputatio ventilavit ducentas octoginta et octo sectas esse posse Varro perspexerit.

QUONIAM de civitatis utriusque, terrenae scilicet et caelestis, debitis finibus deinceps mihi video disputandum, prius exponenda sunt, quantum operis huius terminandi ratio patitur, argumenta mortalium quibus sibi ipsi beatitudinem facere in huius vitae infelicitate moliti sunt, ut ab eorum rebus vanis spes nostra quid differat, quam Deus nobis dedit, et res ipsa, hoc est vera beatitudo, quam dabit, non tantum auctoritate divina sed adhibita etiam ratione, qualem propter infideles possumus adhibere, clarescat. De finibus enim bonorum et malorum multa et multipliciter inter se philosophi disputarunt, quam quaestionem maxima intentione versantes invenire conati sunt quid efficiat hominem beatum. Illud enim est finis boni nostri propter quod appetenda sunt cetera, ipsum autem propter se ipsum; et illud finis mali propter quod vitanda sunt cetera, ipsum autem propter se ipsum. Finem boni ergo nunc dicimus, non

BOOK XIX

I

Concerning the question aired by philosophic debate, what are the supreme good and evil, Varro has observed that two hundred and eighty-eight sects are possible.

SINCE I see that I must next discuss the appointed destinies of both cities, the earthly and the heavenly, I must first explain, so far as the limits of this work permit, the arguments by which men have struggled to build happiness for themselves amid the unhappiness of this life, so that it may become clear, not only by divine authority but also through the use of such reason as we have at command for the benefit of unbelievers, how different from their empty thought is our hope, which God has given us, and the realization, that is the true happiness, which he will give us. The philosophers have debated much and in many ways about the supreme ends of good and evil; and by energetically attacking this question they have sought to discover what it is that makes a human being happy. For our final good is that for the sake of which other things are desirable, and which is itself desired for its own sake; and the final evil is that on account of which other things are undesirable, while it is itself to be avoided on its own account. So by the final good we mean at present

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quo consumatur ut non sit, sed quo perficiatur ut plenum sit; et finem mali, non quo esse desinat, sed quo usque nocendo perducatur. Fines itaque isti sunt summum bonum et summum malum. De quibus inveniendis atque in hac vita summo bono adipiscendo, vitando autem summo malo, multum, sicut dixi, laboraverunt qui studium sapientiae in saeculi huius vanitate professi sunt; nec tamen eos, quamvis diversis errantes modis, naturae limes in tantum ab itinere veritatis deviare permisit ut non alii in animo, alii in corpore, alii in utroque fines bonorum ponerent et malorum. Ex qua tripertita velut generalium distributione sectarum Marcus Varro in libro de philosophia tam multam dogmatum varietatem diligenter et subtiliter scrutatus advertit ut ad ducentas octoginta et octo sectas, non quae iam essent, sed quae esse possent, adhibens quasdam differentias facillime perveniret.

Quod ut breviter ostendam, inde oportet incipiam quod ipse advertit et posuit in libro memorato quatuor esse quaedam quae homines sine magistro, sine ullo doctrinae adminiculo, sine industria vel arte vivendi, quae virtus dicitur et procul dubio discitur, velut naturaliter appetunt, aut voluptatem, qua delectabiliter movetur corporis sensus, aut quietem,

¹ A favourite subject for discussion among ancient philosophers was the question whether virtue can be taught. Cf.

BOOK XIX. I

not the finish in which good is exhausted so that it no longer exists, but the finished state in which it is brought to complete perfection; and by the final evil we mean not an ending whereby it ceases to be, but the final end of the harmful course that we take under its guidance. These two finalities, then, are the supreme good and the supreme evil. The attempt to discover these, and to gain the supreme good in this life while avoiding the supreme evil, has greatly exercised, as I have remarked, those who have devoted themselves to the pursuit of wisdom amid the vanity of this age; moreover, divergent as are their mistaken views, nevertheless nature has set bounds to their aberration from the path of truth, so that there are none who did not locate the supreme good and evil, either in the soul, or in the body, or in both. Starting with this triple division in the main classification of the sects, Marcus Varro in his book *Concerning Philosophy* has by his diligent and subtle analysis noted so great a variety of opinions that by employing certain variables he easily reached the number of two hundred and eighty-eight sects, not that so many were already in existence, but that they might have been.

To show this briefly, I ought to begin with his statement, in the above-mentioned book, that there are four things that men naturally seek, without a master and without the support of any instruction, without effort and without any art of living, an art that is called virtue and is certainly learned :¹ that is, pleasure, which is an agreeable activity of physical perception, or repose, the state in which the

P. Shorey, in *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 40 (1909), 185-201. See 19.3 below.

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qua fit ut nullam molestiam corporis quisque patiat, aut utramque, quam tamen uno nomine voluptatis Epicurus appellat, aut universaliter prima naturae, in quibus et haec sunt et alia, vel in corpore, ut membrorum integritas et salus atque incolumitas eius, vel in animo, ut sunt ea quae vel parva vel magna in hominum reperiuntur ingeniis. Haec igitur quatuor, id est voluptas, quies, utrumque, prima naturae, ita sunt in nobis ut vel virtus, quam postea doctrina inserit, propter haec appetenda sit, aut ista propter virtutem, aut utraque propter se ipsa; ac per hoc fiunt hinc duodecim sectae, per hanc enim rationem singulae triplicantur; quod cum in una demonstra-vero, difficile non erit id in ceteris invenire. Cum ergo voluptas corporis animi virtuti aut subditur aut praefertur aut iungitur, tripertita variatur diversitate sectarum. Subditur autem virtuti, quando in usum virtutis adsumitur. Pertinet quippe ad virtutis officium et vivere patriae et propter patriam filios procreare, quorum neutrum fieri potest sine corporis voluptate; nam sine illa nec cibus potusque sumitur ut vivatur, nec concumbitur ut generatio propagetur. Cum vero praefertur virtuti, ipsa appetitur propter se ipsam, virtus autem adsumenda creditur propter illam, id est, ut nihil virtus agat nisi ad consequendam vel conservandam corporis voluptatem; quae vita deformis est quidem, quippe ubi virtus servit dominae voluptati (quamvis nullo modo haec dicenda sit

¹ The Stoic τὰ πρῶτα κατὰ φύσιν. Cf. Cicero, *De Finibus* 2 and 3.

BOOK XIX. 1

individual suffers no bodily discomfort, or both of these (which Epicurus nevertheless calls by the single name of pleasure), or, taking everything together, the primary wants of nature,¹ among which are these and others, whether they belong to the body, for example, the wholeness and health of the limbs and its preservation, or to the mind, for example, the natural gifts, whether great or small, that characterize human beings. Now these four,—pleasure, repose, the two together, the primary wants of nature,—exist in us in such a fashion that virtue (which education subsequently implants) is desirable for their sake, or they are desirable for the sake of virtue, or both for their own sakes; so twelve sects arise, since by this principle of classification we get in each case three sub-classes. I will give the proof in one case, and it will not be hard to discover a proof for the rest. Since, then, physical pleasure is either subjected to mental virtue, or is put above it, or is bracketed with it, we have a threefold division of sects. Now bodily pleasure is subjected to virtue when it is taken into the service of virtue. For example, it is an obligation of virtue to live for one's fatherland and to beget sons for one's fatherland, neither of which can be done without bodily pleasure; for without it food and drink cannot be taken for the sake of life, nor can sexual intercourse take place for the sake of procreation. But when bodily pleasure is preferred to virtue, it is sought for its own sake, and the view is held that virtue should be made to serve pleasure, that is, that virtue should not act except for the purpose of obtaining or maintaining bodily pleasure. Now this is a hideous kind of life, in which virtue serves the tyrant pleasure, and in any case should

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virtus); sed tamen etiam ista horribilis turpitude habuit quosdam philosophos patronos et defensores suos.

Virtuti porro voluptas iungitur, quando neutra earum propter alteram, sed propter se ipsas ambae appetuntur. Quapropter sicut voluptas vel subdita vel praelata vel iuncta virtuti tres sectas facit, ita quies, ita utrumque, ita prima naturae alias ternas inveniuntur efficere. Pro varietate quippe humanarum opinionum virtuti aliquando subduntur, aliquando praeferuntur, aliquando iunguntur, ac sic ad duodenarium sectarum numerum pervenitur. Sed iste quoque numerus duplicatur adhibita una differentia, socialis videlicet vitae, quoniam quisquis sectatur aliquam istarum duodecim sectam profecto aut propter se tantum id agit aut etiam propter socium, cui debet hoc velle quod sibi. Quocirca duodecim sunt eorum qui propter se tantum unamquamque tenendam putant, et aliae duodecim eorum qui non solum propter se sic vel sic philosophandum esse decernunt, sed etiam propter alios, quorum bonum appetunt sicut suum. Hae autem sectae viginti quattuor iterum geminantur addita differentia ex Academicis novis et fiunt quadraginta octo. Illarum quippe viginti quattuor unamquamque sectarum potest quisque sic tenere ac defendere ut certam, quem ad modum defenderunt Stoici quod hominis bonum, quo beatus esset, in animi tantummodo virtute consisteret; potest alius ut incertam, sicut defenderunt Academici novi, quod eis etsi non certum, tamen veri

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certainly not be called virtue; yet this shocking and disgusting view has found some philosophers to be its patrons and defenders.

Moreover, pleasure is bracketed with virtue when neither of them is sought for the sake of the other, but both for their own sakes. Therefore according as pleasure is subjected or preferred or bracketed with virtue it makes three sects; so likewise repose, and repose plus pleasure, and the primary wants of nature make each three more sects. Inasmuch as men's views of course differ, these three things are sometimes subjected to virtue, sometimes preferred, sometimes bracketed with it; so we reach the number of twelve sects. But this number is doubled in turn when one more variable is introduced, namely that of the social life, since whosoever follows any of these twelve sects surely does so either for his own sake only, or for the sake of his fellow as well, for whom he is obligated to wish what he wishes for himself. So there are twelve sects of those who think that some one philosophic position should be held for one's own sake only, and twelve others of those who adopt the view that they should follow this or that philosophy not merely for their own sakes but for the sake of others also, whose good they seek as their own. These twenty-four sects are again doubled, and become forty-eight, when a variable is introduced from the New Academy. For each man can hold and defend any one of the twelve sects as certain, as the Stoics defended their thesis that the good of man, by reason of which he is blessed, is based solely on moral excellence; while another man may hold any of them as uncertain, as the New Academics defended the view that seemed to them, though not certain,

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simile videbatur. Viginti quattuor ergo fiunt per eos qui eas velut certas propter veritatem, et aliae viginti quattuor per eos qui easdem quamvis incertas propter veri similitudinem sequendas putant. Rursus, quia unamquamque istarum quadraginta octo sectarum potest quisque sequi habitu ceterorum philosophorum, itemque alius potest habitu Cynicorum, ex hac etiam differentia duplicantur et nonaginta sex fiunt. Deinde quia earum singulas quasque ita tueri homines possunt atque sectari ut aut otiosam diligant vitam, sicut hi qui tantummodo studiis doctrinae vacare voluerunt atque valuerunt, aut negotiosam, sicut hi qui cum philosopharentur tamen administratione rei publicae regendisque rebus humanis occupatissimi fuerunt, aut ex utroque genere temperatam, sicut hi qui partim erudito otio partim necessario negotio alternantia vitae suae tempora tribuerunt; propter has differentias potest etiam triplicari numerus iste sectarum et ad ducentas octoginta octo perducii.

Haec de Varronis libro, quantum potui, breviter ac dilucide posui, sententias eius meis explicans verbis. Quo modo autem refutatis ceteris unam eligat, quam vult esse Academicorum veterum (quos a Platone institutos usque ad Polemonem, qui ab illo quartus eius scholam tenuit quae Academia dicta est, habuisse certa dogmata vult videri et ob hoc distinguit ab Academicis novis, quibus incerta sunt omnia, quod philosophiae genus ab Arcesila coepit successore Polemonis), eamque sectam, id est veterum Academicorum, sicut dubitatione ita omni errore carere arbi-

yet probable. So there are twenty-four sects of those who hold their views to be certainly true, and twenty-four others of those who maintain their views as being probable though uncertain. Again, because each one who follows one of these forty-eight sects may do so after the fashion of the Cynics or after that of the other philosophers, the number is doubled by this variable, and becomes ninety-six. Finally, because each sect may be maintained and followed by men who prefer for themselves either a life of leisure, as did those who neither could nor would take time for anything but theoretical studies, or a life of business, as did those who while philosophizing have been much engaged in public administration and the direction of human affairs, or a mixed life, as did those who have given their time alternately to erudite leisure and to necessary business—because of these differences, I say, the number of sects may again be tripled and brought up to two hundred and eighty-eight.

I have thus expressed as briefly and clearly as I could, in my own words, the reasoning contained in Varro's book. But his refutation of all the other sects, and his choice of one, and his claim that that one is the Old Academy, founded by Plato and continuing to Polemo, who was fourth in charge of that school called the Academy, which, so Varro claims, seems to have held that its beliefs were certain, so that he makes use of this criterion to set it off from the New Academics, since for them all things are uncertain,—and this school of philosophy began with Arcesilaus the successor of Polemo,—and his belief that this sect, that is, the Old Academy was free not only from doubt but also from error: to relate all this

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tretur, longum est per omnia demonstrare; nec tamen omni ex parte res omittenda est.

Removet ergo prius illas omnes differentias quae numerum multiplicavere sectarum, quas ideo removendas putat quia non in eis est finis boni. Neque enim existimat ullam philosophiae sectam esse dicendam quae non eo distet a ceteris quod diversos habeat fines bonorum et malorum. Quando quidem nulla est homini causa philosophandi, nisi ut beatus sit, quod autem beatum facit, ipse est finis boni; nulla est igitur causa philosophandi, nisi finis boni; quam ob rem quae nullum boni finem sectatur, nulla philosophiae secta dicenda est. Cum ergo quaeritur de sociali vita, utrum sit tenenda sapienti ut summum bonum, quo fit homo beatus, ita velit et curet amici sui quem ad modum suum, an suae tantummodo beatitudinis causa faciat quidquid facit, non de ipso summo bono quaestio est, sed de adsumendo vel non adsumendo socio ad huius participationem boni, non propter se ipsum, sed propter eundem socium, ut eius bono ita gaudeat sicut gaudet suo. Item cum quaeritur de Academicis novis, quibus incerta sunt omnia, utrum ita sint res habendae in quibus philosophandum est, an, sicut aliis philosophis placuit, certas eas habere debeamus, non quaeritur quid in boni fine sectandum sit, sed de ipsius boni veritate quod sectandum videtur, utrum sit necne dubitandum, hoc est, ut id planius eloquar, utrum ita

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in full would be too long an undertaking; yet it may not be wholly omitted.

Varro, then, sets aside at the outset all those variables that have multiplied the number of sects; and his reason for setting them aside is that they do not involve any disagreement about the supreme good. For he holds that no sect of philosophy deserves to be recognized that does not differ from others in having its own special view of the ultimate good and evil. For man has no other motive for philosophizing than the desire to be happy; but what makes him happy is precisely the ultimate good. That is, the sole reason for philosophizing is the ultimate good; so when a sect has no sectarian view of the ultimate good, it must not be termed a sect. Consequently when the question is raised whether a wise man will uphold a social life in that he wants and tries to get for his friend as much as for himself the supreme good by which a man becomes happy, or whether he does all that he does only for the sake of his own happiness, the question is not about the supreme good, but about taking or not taking a partner to go shares in this good, not for his own sake but for his friend's that he may take as much pleasure in his friend's good as in his own. Likewise when the question is raised in discussing the New Academics, to whom everything seems uncertain, whether this is the correct view to take of anything that may be a proper subject for philosophy, or whether we should hold that philosophic truths are certain, as other philosophers maintained, the question is not what should be pursued in the matter of the ultimate good itself, but whether we are to have doubts or not of the certainty of that very good which

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sectandum sit ut qui sectatur dicat esse verum, an ita ut qui sectatur dicat verum sibi videri, etiamsi forte sit falsum, tamen uterque sectetur unum atque idem bonum. In illa etiam differentia quae adhibetur ex habitu et consuetudine Cynicorum, non quaeritur quisnam sit finis boni, sed utrum in illo habitu et consuetudine sit vivendum ei qui verum sectatur bonum quodlibet ei verum videatur esse atque sectandum. Denique fuerunt, qui cum diversa sequerentur bona finalia, alii virtutem, alii voluptatem, eundem tamen habitum et consuetudinem tenebant, ex quo Cynici appellabantur. Ita illud quidquid est unde philosophi Cynici discernuntur a ceteris, ad eligendum ac tenendum bonum quo beati fierent utique nil valebat. Nam si aliquid ad hoc interesset, profecto idem habitus eundem finem sequi cogeret, et diversus habitus eundem sequi finem non sineret.

II

Quo modo remotis omnibus differentiis quae non sectae sed quaestiones sint ad tripertitam summi boni definitionem Varro perveniat, quarum tamen una sit eligenda.

IN tribus quoque illis vitae generibus, uno scilicet non segniter sed in contemplatione vel inquisitione veritatis otioso, altero in gerendis rebus humanis

¹ Because they lived the lives of "dogs" (κύνες).

BOOK XIX. I-II

should apparently be pursued; or, to speak more plainly, whether the pursuit of the ultimate good requires that the pursuer should say that his view of the ultimate good is true, or whether he is to say that it seems true to him, although it may possibly be false; yet in either case it would be one and the same good that is pursued. Again in the case of that variable which derives from the manners and customs of the Cynics, the question is not about the supreme good, but whether he who pursues that which seems to him to be the true good, no matter what, and to be the proper object of pursuit, should live according to the manners and customs of the Cynics. There were, in fact, men who pursued different final goods, some virtue, others pleasure, yet who held to the same manners and customs, from which they were called "Cynics."¹ So whatever it is that distinguishes the Cynics from other philosophers has had in any case nothing to contribute to the choice and support of the good that was to make them happy. For if it were in fact relevant, then surely the same manners would necessarily imply pursuit of the same end, and different manners would exclude any pursuit of the same end.

II

How Varro, by eliminating all variables which do not determine sects but are only disputes, reaches a definition of the supreme good under three heads, of which we must still choose one.

LIKEWISE with regard to those three kinds of life,—namely, the first life, which though not slothful yet is a life of leisure spent in considering or enquiring

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negotioso, tertio ex utroque genere temperato, cum quaeritur quid horum sit potius eligendum, non finis boni habet controversiam; sed quid horum trium difficultatem vel facilitatem adferat ad consequendum vel retinendum finem boni, id in ista quaestione versatur. Finis enim boni, cum ad eum quisque pervenerit, protinus beatum facit; in otio autem litterato, vel in negotio publico, vel quando utrumque vicibus agitur, non continuo quisque beatus est. Multi quippe in quolibet horum trium possunt vivere, et in appetendo boni fine, quo fit homo beatus, errare.

Alia est igitur quaestio de finibus bonorum et malorum, quae unamquamque philosophorum sectam facit, et aliae sunt quaestiones de sociali vita, de cunctatione Academicorum, de vestitu et victu Cynicorum, de tribus vitae generibus, otioso, actuoso, ex utroque modificato; quarum nulla est, in qua de bonorum et malorum finibus disputatur. Proinde quoniam Marcus Varro has quattuor adhibens differentias, id est ex vita sociali, ex Academicis novis, ex Cynicis, ex isto vitae genere tripertito ad sectas ducentas octoginta octo pervenit, et si quae aliae possunt similiter adici; remotis eis omnibus, quoniam de sectando summo bono nullam inferunt quaestionem et ideo sectae nec sunt nec vocandae sunt, ad illas duodecim, in quibus quaeritur, quod sit bonum

into truth, the second life, which is actively engaged in administration of human affairs, and the third, which is a combination of the two others,—when the question is asked which of them should be chosen, there is no dispute about the supreme good; the subject of the dispute is which of these three hampers or facilitates the attainment or preservation of the supreme good. When any one achieves the supreme good, it forthwith makes him happy, whereas a life spent in lettered leisure or in public business or in both by turns does not immediately make him happy. No doubt there are many people who may be leading any one of these three lives, yet who go astray in their quest for the ultimate good that determines human happiness.

So the question involving the supreme good and the supreme evil, which is the basis of all sectarianism in philosophy, is in a class by itself; in another class are the questions involving the social life, the suspension of judgement of the New Academics, the dress and food of the Cynics, or the three kinds of life, the inactive, the active and that which has some proportion of both; none of these questions involves any argument about the supreme good and the supreme evil. Accordingly, Marcus Varro, once he has employed these four variables (derived from the social life, from the New Academics, from the Cynics and from that three-fold classification of lives), to arrive at the figure of two hundred and eighty-eight sects (or any larger figure that may be reached by the same method), proceeds to eliminate all four as not raising the question of the supreme good to be pursued, so that the sects thus arrived at are not really sects and the term should not be used of them, and so gets back

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hominis, quo adsecuto fit beatus, ut ex eis unam veram, ceteras falsas ostendat esse, revertitur. Nam remoto illo tripertito genere vitae duae partes huius numeri detrahuntur et sectae nonaginta sex remanent. Remota vero differentia ex Cynicis addita ad dimidium rediguntur et quadraginta octo fiunt. Auferamus etiam quod ex Academicis novis adhibitum est, rursus dimidia pars remanet, id est viginti quattuor. De sociali quoque vita quod accesserat similiter auferatur, duodecim sunt reliquae, quas ista differentia, ut viginti quattuor fierent, duplicaverat.

De his ergo duodecim nihil dici potest cur sectae non sint habendae. Nihil quippe aliud in eis quaeritur quam finis bonorum et malorum. Inventis autem bonorum finibus profecto e contrario sunt malorum. Hae autem ut fiant duodecim sectae, illa quattuor triplicantur, voluptas, quies, utrumque et prima naturae, quae primigenia Varro vocat. Haec quippe quattuor dum singillatim virtuti aliquando subduntur, ut non propter se ipsa sed propter officium virtutis appetenda videantur, aliquando praeferuntur, ut non propter se ipsa sed propter haec adipiscenda vel conservanda necessaria virtus putetur, aliquando iunguntur, ut propter se ipsa et virtus et ista appetenda credantur, quaternarium numerum triplum reddunt et ad duodecim sectas perveniunt. Ex illis autem quattuor rebus Varro tres tollit, voluptatem scilicet et quietem et utrumque, non quod eas in-

¹ See above, 19.1, and note on page 100.

to those twelve sects which differ on the question of man's ultimate good, the attainment of which makes him happy, and shows that only one of them is true, while the rest are false. For by the elimination of any differentiation based on the three kinds of life two-thirds of the total number are subtracted, and ninety-six sects remain. Eliminate again any differentiation based on the Cynics, and the number is reduced to a half, or forty-eight. Again we reject the distinction that was taken from the New Academics, and once more only half remain, or twenty-four. Subtract besides the question brought in about the social life; twelve remain, which had been doubled by that distinction to make twenty-four.

As for these twelve, no reason can be given why they may not be recognized as sects; for their sole object of enquiry is the ultimate good and the ultimate evil. Moreover, once the ultimate good is discovered, you at once find the ultimate evil by reversing it. Now to make these twelve sects, four things are taken three times: pleasure, repose, these two combined and the primary wants of nature which Varro calls *primigenia*.¹ For since these four things are sometimes severally subordinated to virtue, so that they are found worthy of being sought, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of virtue, sometimes are preferred to it, so that virtue is thought to be necessary not for its own sake but in order to attain to or to preserve these things, and sometimes are bracketed with it, so that both they and virtue are deemed worthy of being sought for their own sakes, the number four is tripled, and the result is twelve sects. But from these four things Varro removes three: pleasure, repose and these two combined; not

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probet sed quod primigenia illa naturae et voluptatem in se habeant et quietem. Quid ergo opus est ex his duabus tria quaedam facere, duo scilicet cum singulatim appetuntur voluptas aut quies, et tertium cum ambae simul, quando quidem prima naturae et ipsas et praeter ipsas alia multa contineant? De tribus ergo sectis ei placet diligenter esse tractandum, quaenam sit potius eligenda. Non enim veram plus quam unam vera ratio esse permittit, sive in his tribus sit sive alicubi alibi, quod post videbimus. Interim de his tribus quo modo unam Varro eligat, quantum breviter aperteque possumus, disseramus. Ista nempe tres sectae ita fiunt, cum vel prima naturae propter virtutem, vel virtus propter prima naturae, vel utraque, id est et virtus et prima naturae, propter se ipsa sunt expetenda.

III

*De tribus sectis summum hominis bonum quaerentibus
quam eligendam Varro definiat sequens veteris
Academiae Antiocho auctore sententiam.*

QUID ergo istorum trium sit verum atque sectandum, isto modo persuadere conatur. Primum, quia summum bonum in philosophia non arboris, non pecoris, non Dei, sed hominis quaeritur, quid sit ipse homo, quaerendum putat. Sentit quippe in eius natura duo esse quaedam, corpus et animam, et horum quidem duorum melius esse animam longeque

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because he disapproves of them, but because the primary wants of nature include pleasure and repose. And what need, then, to make three out of these two, two when pleasure or repose are sought severally and a third when they are sought together, since the primary wants of nature include them and many other things besides? It is the three remaining sects, therefore, that Varro considers worthy of serious study, to see which is to be chosen. For sound logic does not allow more than one to be right, whether it be one of these three or some other, as we shall see later. Meanwhile let us explain as briefly and clearly as we can how Varro chooses one of these three; note that the division into sects is derived from their holding that the primary wants of nature are to be sought for the sake of virtue, or virtue for their sake, or both (that is, both virtue and the primary natural wants) for their own sake.

III

Which of the three sects that seek the supreme good of man does Varro, following the doctrine of the Old Academy (on the authority of Antiochus), define as worthy of choice?

WHICH, then, of these three is true and to be pursued he sets out to prove in the following manner. First, since philosophy seeks the supreme good not of a tree, or of a beast, or of God, but of man, he thinks that we must put the question what man himself is. He concludes that in man's nature there are two things, body and soul; and of these two he has no doubt at all that the soul is the better and by far

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praestabilius omnino non dubitat, sed utrum anima sola sit homo, ut ita sit ei corpus tamquam equus equiti (eques enim non homo et equus, sed solus homo est; ideo tamen equus dicitur, quod aliquo modo se habet ad equum), an corpus solum sit homo, aliquo modo se habens ad animam, sicut poculum ad potionem (non enim calix et potio, quam continet calix, simul dicitur poculum, sed calix solus; ideo tamen quod potioni continendae sit adcommodatus), an vero nec anima sola nec solum corpus, sed simul utrumque sit homo, cuius sit pars una sive anima sive corpus, ille autem totus ex utroque constet, ut homo sit (sicut duos equos iunctos bigas vocamus, quorum sive dexter sive sinister pars est bigarum, unum vero eorum, quoquo modo se habeat ad alterum, bigas non dicimus, sed ambo simul).

Horum autem trium hoc elegit tertium hominemque nec animam solam nec solum corpus, sed animam simul et corpus esse arbitratur. Proinde summum bonum hominis, quo fit beatus, ex utriusque rei bonis constare dicit, et animae scilicet et corporis. Ac per hoc prima illa naturae propter se ipsa existimat expetenda ipsamque virtutem, quam doctrina inserit velut artem vivendi, quae in animae bonis est excellentissimum bonum. Quapropter eadem virtus, id est ars agenda vitae, cum acceperit prima naturae, quae sine illa erant, sed tamen erant etiam quando eis doctrina adhuc deerat, omnia propter se ipsa appetit simulque etiam se ipsam, omnibusque simul

¹ See above, 19.1, and note on page 98.

more excellent. But is the soul alone the man, and is the body to him as the horse to the horseman? For the horseman is not a man and a horse, but only a man, and is called a horseman because he bears a certain relation in respect to a horse. Or is the body alone the man, bearing some relation to the soul, like that of the cup to the drink? For it is not the cup and the drink that it contains which are together called the cup, but the cup alone; yet it is so called because it is designed to hold the drink. Or again is it neither the soul alone nor the body alone but both together that constitute the man, of whom the soul and the body are each a part, while the whole man consists of both, as we call two horses yoked together a pair, though we do not call either the near or the off horse, however related to the other, a pair, but only call both together a pair?

Of these three possibilities, Varro chose the third, that man is neither soul alone nor body alone but soul and body together. Therefore, he says, the supreme good of man by which he becomes happy consists in the combination of the goods of each kind of thing, namely soul and body. And he holds accordingly that the primary wants of nature are to be sought for their own sake, and so also virtue, which is implanted by instruction,¹ as being the art of living, which is most outstanding among the goods of the soul. Wherefore this virtue, or art of conducting life, when she has taken over the primary wants of nature, which were there apart from virtue,—nay, were there even when they lacked any instruction whatever,—seeks to satisfy all of them for her own sake and at the same time seeks her own development. She makes use of them and of herself at the

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et se ipsa utitur, eo fine ut omnibus delectetur atque perfruatur, magis minusque, ut quaeque inter se maiora atque minora sunt, tamen omnibus gaudens et quaedam minora, si necessitas postulat, propter maiora vel adipiscenda vel tenenda contemnens.

Omnium autem bonorum vel animi vel corporis nihil sibi virtus omnino praeponit. Haec enim bene utitur et se ipsa et ceteris, quae hominem faciunt beatum, bonis. Ubi vero ipsa non est, quamlibet multa sint bona, non bono eius sunt cuius sunt, ac per hoc nec eius bona dicenda sunt cui male utenti utilia esse non possunt. Haec ergo vita hominis, quae virtute et aliis animi et corporis bonis, sine quibus virtus esse non potest, fruitur, beata esse dicitur; si vero et aliis, sine quibus esse virtus potest, vel ullis vel pluribus, beatior; si autem prorsus omnibus, ut nullum omnino bonum desit vel animi vel corporis, beatissima. Non enim hoc est vita, quod virtus, quoniam non omnis vita, sed sapiens vita virtus est; et tamen qualiscumque vita sine ulla virtute potest esse, virtus vero sine ulla vita non potest esse. Hoc et de memoria dixerim atque ratione, et si quid tale aliud est in homine. Sunt enim haec et ante doctrinam, sine his autem non potest esse ulla doctrina, ac per hoc nec virtus, quae utique discitur. Bene autem currere, pulchrum esse corpore, viribus ingentibus praevalere et cetera huius modi talia sunt ut et virtus sine his esse possit et ipsa sine virtute; bona sunt tamen, et secundum istos etiam ipsa propter se

same time to the end that she may delight in and enjoy all of them. Her enjoyment may be greater or less as these elements are severally more or less important; still they are all a source of joy, though she may, if that is a necessary condition, slight some elements as less important, in order to win or preserve the more important.

Now of all goods, whether of soul or of body, virtue prefers none at all to herself. For virtue makes good use both of herself and of all the other goods that go to make man happy; but where she is lacking, however many goods a man has, they do him no good, and so must not be called his "goods"; since he uses them ill, they cannot be useful to him. Here, then, is the sort of human life that is termed happy, a life that enjoys virtue and the other goods of soul and body without which virtue cannot exist; a life is called happier, if it enjoys one or more of the goods that virtue can lack and still exist; and happiest, if it enjoys absolutely all goods, so that it lacks not one of the goods either of soul or of body. For life is not identical with virtue, since not every life, but only a wisely conducted life, is virtue; in fact, there can be life of a sort without any virtue, though there can be no virtue without some life. I might say as much of memory and reason and any other such human faculties; these exist before instruction, but without them there can be no instruction, and therefore no virtue, since virtue is in any case imparted by instruction. But swiftness in running, and physical beauty and victories won by unusual strength and the like, can exist without virtue, as virtue without them; yet they are goods, and according to these philosophers, even these are sought

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ipsa diligit virtus, utiturque illis et fruitur, sicut virtutem decet.

Hanc vitam beatam etiam socialem perhibent esse, quae amicorum bona propter se ipsa diligat sicut sua eisque propter ipsos hoc velit quod sibi; sive in domo sint, sicut coniux et liberi et quicumque domestici, sive in loco, ubi domus est eius, sicuti est urbs, ut sunt hi qui cives vocantur, sive in orbe toto, ut sunt gentes quas ei societas humana coniungit, sive in ipso mundo, qui censetur nomine caeli et terrae, sicut esse dicunt deos, quos volunt amicos esse homini sapienti, quos nos familiariter angelos dicimus. De bonorum autem et e contrario malorum finibus negant ullo modo esse dubitandum et hanc inter se et novos Academicos adfirmant esse distantiam, nec eorum interest quicquam, sive Cynico sive alio quolibet habitu et victu in his finibus quos veros putant, quisque philosophetur. Ex tribus porro illis vitae generibus, otioso, actuoso et quod ex utroque compositum est, hoc tertium sibi placere adseverant. Haec sensisse atque docuisse Academicos veteres Varro adserit, auctore Antiocho, magistro Ciceronis et suo, quem sane Cicero in pluribus fuisse Stoicum quam veterem Academicum vult videri. Sed quid ad nos, qui potius de rebus ipsis iudicare debemus, quam pro magno de hominibus quid quisque senserit scire?

by virtue herself for their own sake, and are used and enjoyed by her in her own becoming way.

This happy life, they say, is also social, and loves the good of friends itself for its own sake as being its own good, and wishes for them for their own sakes what it wishes for itself, whether by friends we mean housemates, such as wife or children and others of the household, or neighbours with houses in the same locality, such as fellow citizens of a city, or men anywhere in the whole world, such as nations with whom we are joined by human society, or denizens even of the universe, which is designated by the term heaven and earth, such as those whom they call gods and like to think of as friends of the wise man, whom we more familiarly call angels. About the supreme good and its opposite the supreme evil they deny that there is any room for doubt, and this, they assert, distinguishes them from the New Academy; and they are not at all interested whether any one who practises philosophy, accepting those ends which they deem to be true, wears the Cynic dress and eats the Cynic food or some other. Finally, of those three kinds of life, the inactive, the active and the composite, they state that they prefer the third. That the Old Academy held and taught these doctrines Varro asserts on the authority of Antiochus, Cicero's master and his own, although Cicero would have it that on a good many points he appeared to be a Stoic rather than an Old Academic. But what does that matter to us, who ought rather to base our judgement on the bare facts than to set store on knowing what opinion each man held about them?

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IV

*De summo bono et summo malo quid Christiani sentiant
contra philosophos qui summum bonum in se sibi
esse dixerunt.*

Si ergo quaeratur a nobis, quid civitas Dei de his singulis interrogata respondeat ac primum de finibus bonorum malorumque quid sentiat, respondebit aeternam vitam esse summum bonum, aeternam vero mortem summum malum, propter illam proinde adipiscendam istamque vitandam recte nobis esse vivendum. Propter quod scriptum est: *Iustus ex fide vivit*, quoniam neque bonum nostrum iam videmus, unde oportet ut credendo quaeramus, neque ipsum recte vivere nobis ex nobis est, nisi credentes adjuvet et orantes qui et ipsam fidem dedit, qua nos ab illo adjuvandos esse credamus. Illi autem, qui in ista vita fines bonorum et malorum esse putaverunt, sive in corpore sive in animo sive in utroque ponentes summum bonum, atque, ut id explicatius eloquar, sive in voluptate sive in virtute sive in utraque, sive in quiete sive in virtute sive in utraque, sive in voluptate simul et quiete sive in virtute sive in utrisque, sive in primis naturae sive in virtute sive in utrisque, hic beati esse et a se ipsis beatificari mira vanitate voluerunt. Inrisit hos Veritas per prophetam dicentem: *Dominus novit cogitationes hominum*, vel, sicut hoc testimonium posuit apostolus Paulus: *Dominus novit cogitationes sapientium, quoniam vanae sunt.*

¹ Habbakuk 2.4; Romans 1.17; Galatians 3.11; Hebrews 10.38.

² Psalms 94.11.

³ I Corinthians 3.20.

IV

What view the Christians hold about the supreme good and the supreme evil, as against the philosophers who have maintained that for them the supreme good is in themselves.

IF, then, we are asked what the City of God replies when asked about these several matters, and first what its opinion is about the ultimate good and the ultimate evil, it will reply that the ultimate good is eternal life, and that the ultimate evil is eternal death, and that in order to obtain the one and escape the other we must live rightly. Wherefore it is written: "The just man lives by faith."¹ For neither do we see as yet our good, and therefore must seek it by believing, nor is it in our power of ourselves to live rightly unless he who has given us faith to believe that we must seek help from him shall help us, as we believe in and pray to him. But those who have supposed that the ultimate good and evil are to be found in the present life, placing the ultimate good either in the body or in the soul or in both, or, to speak more explicitly, either in pleasure or in virtue or in both, in repose or in virtue or in both, in pleasure combined with repose or in virtue or in both, in the primary wants of nature or in virtue or in both, all these persons have sought, with a surprising vanity, to be happy in this life and to get happiness by their own efforts. Truth laughed at these men through the words of the prophet: "The Lord knows the thoughts of men,"² or, as the apostle Paul has set forth this passage: "The Lord knows the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain."³

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Quis enim sufficit quantovis eloquentiae flumine vitae huius miserias explicare? Quam lamentatus est Cicero in consolatione de morte filiae, sicut potuit; sed quantum est quod potuit? Ea quippe, quae dicuntur prima naturae, quando, ubi, quo modo tam bene se habere in hac vita possunt ut non sub incertis casibus fluctuent? Quis enim dolor contrarius voluptati, quae inquietudo contraria quieti in corpus cadere sapientis non potest? Membrorum certe amputatio vel debilitas hominis expugnat incolumitatem, deformitas pulchritudinem, inbecillitas sanitatem, vires lassitudo, mobilitatem torpor aut tarditas; et quid horum est, quod nequeat in carnem sapientis irruere? Status quoque corporis atque motus, cum decentes et congruentes sunt, inter naturae prima numerantur; sed quid si aliqua mala valetudo membra tremore concutiat? quid si usque ad ponendas in terra manus dorsi spina curvetur et hominem quodam modo quadrupedem faciat? Nonne omnem statuendi corporis et movendi speciem decusque pervertet?

Quid ipsius animi primigenia quae appellantur bona, ubi duo prima ponunt propter comprehensionem perceptionemque veritatis sensum et intellectum? Sed qualis quantusque remanet sensus, si, ut alia taceam, fiat homo surdus et caecus? Ratio vero et intellegentia quo recedet, ubi sopietur, si aliquo morbo efficiatur insanus? Phrenetici multa absurda cum dicunt vel faciunt, plerumque a bono suo proposito et moribus aliena, immo suo bono proposito

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For who, no matter how great his torrent of eloquence, can avail to enumerate the miseries of this life? Cicero lamented them, as best he could, in the *Consolation* on the death of his daughter; but how inadequate was his best! For when, where, how can the so-called primary wants of nature be on such a good footing in this life that they are not tossed about at the mercy of blind accidents? Why, what pain is there, the opposite of pleasure, what turbulence is there, the opposite of repose, that may not assail the wise man's frame? Surely the amputation or weakening of a man's limbs forces his freedom from physical defects to capitulate, ugliness his beauty, illness his health, weariness his strength, sleepiness or sluggishness his agility; now, which of these may not invade the flesh of the wise man? Fitting and harmonious attitudes and movements of the body are also reckoned among the primary wants of nature; but what if some disease makes the limbs quake and tremble? What if a man's spine be so bent that he puts his hands on the ground, which makes of him a quadruped, so to speak? Will not this ruin all beauty and grace whether of bodily pose or of movement?

What of the so-called primary goods of the mind itself, of which the two that are rated first, as means to the grasping and observing of truth, are sensation and intelligence? But how much sensation remains, and of what value, if a man becomes deaf and blind, to say nothing of other defects? And whither will reason and intelligence withdraw, where will they slumber, if a man is crazed by some disease? When the insane say or do many absurd things that are for the most part alien to their own aims and characters,

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moribusque contraria, sive illa cogitemus sive videamus, si digne consideremus, lacrimas tenere vix possumus aut forte nec possumus. Quid dicam de his, qui daemonum patiuntur incursus? Ubi habent absconditam vel obrutam intellegentiam suam, quando secundum suam voluntatem et anima eorum et corpore malignus utitur spiritus? Et quis confidit hoc malum in hac vita evenire non posse sapienti? Deinde perceptio veritatis in hac carne qualis aut quanta est, quando, sicut legimus in veraci libro sapientiae, *corpus corruptibile adgravat animam et deprimit terrena inhabitatio sensum multa cogitantem?* Impetus porro vel appetitus actionis, si hoc modo recte Latine appellatur ea quam Graeci vocant ὄρμήν, quia et ipsam primis naturae deputant bonis, nonne ipse est, quo geruntur etiam insanorum illi miserabiles motus et facta quae horremus, quando pervertitur sensus ratioque sopitur?

Porro ipsa virtus, quae non est inter prima naturae, quoniam eis postea doctrina introducente supervenit, cum sibi bonorum culmen vindicet humanorum, quid hic agit nisi perpetua bella cum vitiis, nec exterioribus, sed interioribus, nec alienis, sed plane nostris et propriis, maxime illa quae Graece σωφροσύνη, Latine temperantia nominatur, qua carnales frenantur libidines ne in quaeque flagitia mentem consentientem trahant? Neque enim nullum est vitium, cum, sicut dicit apostolus, *caro concupiscit adversus spiritum*; cui vitio contraria virtus est, cum, sicut

¹ Wisdom 9.15.

—nay, even opposed to their good aims and characters,—whether we use our imaginations or have them before our eyes, if we reflect on their case as it deserves, we can scarce hold back our tears, or it may be even that we cannot. What shall I say of those who are afflicted by attacks of demons? In what hidden or submerged places do their intellects lurk, when the evil spirit is using their souls and bodies according to its own will? And who is quite sure that this evil cannot befall the wise man in this life? Then what sort of observation of truth is there in this flesh, or how great is it, when, as we read in the truthful book of Wisdom: “The corruptible body weighs down the soul, and the earthly frame lies heavy on a mind that ponders many things”?¹ Furthermore, drive or impulse to act,—if either is the correct Latin word for what the Greeks call *hormē*, for that, too, is included among the primary goods of nature,—is not impulse also responsible for those pitiable movements and acts of the insane that shock us, when sensation is distraught and reason is asleep?

Finally, as to virtue itself, which is not among the primary wants of nature, since it is a later addition ushered in by instruction, although it claims the highest place among human goods, what is its activity here but perpetual war with vices, not external vices but internal, not alien but clearly our very own, a war waged especially by that virtue called in Greek *sōphrosynē* and in Latin temperance, which bridles the lusts of the flesh lest they win the consent of the mind and drag it into crimes of every sort? For it is not the case that there is no vice when, as the Apostle says: “The flesh lusts against the spirit.” For to this vice there is an opposing virtue, when, as

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idem dicit, *spiritus concupiscit adversus carnem. Haec enim, inquit, invicem adversantur, ut non ea quae vultis faciatis.* Quid autem facere volumus, cum perfici volumus fine summi boni, nisi ut caro adversus spiritum non concupiscat, nec sit in nobis hoc vitium contra quod spiritus concupiscat? Quod in hac vita, quamvis velimus, quoniam facere non valemus, id saltem in adiutorio Dei facimus, ne carni concupiscenti adversus spiritum spiritu succumbente cedamus et ad perpetrandum peccatum nostra consensione pertrahamur. Absit ergo ut, quamdiu in hoc bello intestino sumus, iam nos beatitudinem ad quam vincendo volumus pervenire adeptos esse credamus. Et quis est usque adeo sapiens ut contra libidines nullum habeat omnino conflictum?

Quid illa virtus, quae prudentia dicitur, nonne tota vigilantia sua bona discernit a malis, ut in illis appetendis istisque vitandis nullus error obrepat, ac per hoc et ipsa nos in malis vel mala in nobis esse testatur? Ipsa enim docet malum esse ad peccandum consentire bonumque esse ad peccandum non consentire libidini. Illud tamen malum, cui nos non consentire docet prudentia, facit temperantia, nec prudentia nec temperantia tollit huic vitae. Quid iustitia, cuius munus est sua cuique tribuere (unde fit in ipso homine quidam iustus ordo naturae, ut anima subdatur Deo et animae caro, ac per hoc Deo et anima et caro), nonne demonstrat in eo se adhuc opere

¹ Galatians 5.17.

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the same Apostle says: "The spirit lusts against the flesh. These two," he says, "are opposed one to the other, so that you do not what you would."¹ But what is it that we would do, when we wish to be made perfect by the ultimate good, unless it be that the flesh should not lust against the spirit, and that there should be in us no such vice for the spirit to lust against it? But since we cannot bring that to pass in the present life, however much we may desire it, we can at least with God's help so act that we do not yield to the lust of the flesh against the spirit by failure of the spirit, and we are not dragged with our own consent to the perpetration of sin. Far be it from us, then, so long as we are engaged in this internal war, to hold it true that we have already attained to that happiness which is the goal that we would gain by victory. And who is so wise that he has no battle at all to wage against his lusts?

What of that virtue which is called prudence? Does she not devote all her vigilance to the discrimination of good and evil, so that in pursuing the one and shunning the other no error may creep in? Thus she bears witness herself that we are among evils, that is, that evils are in us; for she teaches us herself that it is an evil to yield to a lust for sin, and a good not to yield to a lust for sin. But that evil to which prudence teaches and temperance causes us not to yield, is neither by prudence nor by temperance banished from this life. What of justice, whose function it is to assign to each man his due, whereby there is located in man himself a certain right order of nature, so that soul is subordinated to God, and flesh to soul, and therefore both soul and flesh to God? Does not justice thereby demonstrate

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laborare potius quam in huius operis iam fine requiescere? Tanto minus quippe anima subditur Deo, quanto minus Deum in ipsis suis cogitationibus concipit; et tanto minus animae subditur caro, quanto magis adversus spiritum concupiscit. Quamdiu ergo nobis inest haec infirmitas, haec pestis, hic languor, quo modo nos iam salvos, et si nondum salvos, quo modo iam beatos illa finali beatitudine dicere audebimus? Iam vero illa virtus, cuius nomen est fortitudo, in quantacumque sapientia evidentissima testis est humanorum malorum, quae compellitur patientia tolerare.

Quae mala Stoici philosophi miror qua fronte mala non esse contendant, quibus fatentur, si tanta fuerint ut ea sapiens vel non possit vel non debeat sustinere, cogi eum mortem sibimet inferre atque ex hac vita emigrare. Tantus autem superbiae stupor est in his hominibus hic se habere finem boni et a se ipsis fieri beatos putantibus ut sapiens eorum, hoc est, qualem mirabili vanitate describunt, etiamsi excaecetur obsurdescat obmutescat, membris debilitetur doloribus crucietur et, si quid aliud talium malorum dici aut cogitari potest, incidat in eum, quo sibi mortem cogatur inferre, hanc in his malis vitam constitutam eum non pudeat beatam vocare. O vitam beatam, quae ut finiatur mortis quaerit auxilium! Si beata est, maneatur in ea. Quo modo ista non sunt mala, quae vincunt fortitudinis bonum eandemque fortitudinem non solum sibi cedere, verum etiam delirare compellunt, ut eandem vitam et dicat beatam et persuadeat esse fugiendam? Quis usque adeo caecus

that she is still labouring in her task rather than resting already at the goal of her labours? For the less the soul keeps God clearly in mind in all its activity, the less it is subordinate to God; and the more the flesh lusts against the spirit, the less it is subordinate to the soul. So long, then, as we have in us this weakness, this sickness, this torpor, how shall we dare say that we are already saved, and if not saved, how already blest with that ultimate bliss? Then truly that virtue called fortitude, though combined with however great wisdom, bears witness most convincingly to human ills, for they are what she is required to endure with patience.

Now I am amazed that the Stoic philosophers have the face to argue that these ills are no ills, though they admit that, if they should be so great that the wise man cannot or ought not to endure them, he is compelled to inflict death on himself and depart from this life. But such is the stupid pride of these men who suppose that the supreme good is to be found in this life, and that they can be the agents of their own happiness, that their wise man,—I mean the man whom they describe as such with astounding inanity,—whom, even if he be blinded and grow deaf and dumb, lose the use of his limbs, be tortured with pain, and visited by every other evil of the sort that tongue can utter or fancy conceive, whereby he is driven to inflict death on himself, they do not scruple to call happy. What a happy life, that seeks the help of death to end it! If it be happy, let a man stay in it. How can those things not be evil that vanquish the good that is fortitude, and compel it not only to give way to them but so to rave that it calls the same life happy from which it advises us to escape? Who

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est ut non videat quod, si beata esset, fugienda non esset? Sed aperta infirmitatis voce fugiendam fatentur. Quid igitur causae est cur non etiam miseram fracta superbiae cervice fateantur? Utrum, obsecro, Cato ille patientia an potius impatientia se peremit? Non enim hoc fecisset, nisi victoriam Caesaris impatienter tulisset. Ubi est fortitudo? Nempe cessit, nempe succubuit, nempe usque adeo superata est ut vitam beatam dereliqueret desereret fugeret. An non erat iam beata? Misera ergo erat. Quo modo igitur mala non erant, quae vitam miseram fugiendamque faciebant?

Quapropter etiam ipsi qui mala ista esse confessi sunt, sicut Peripatetici, sicut veteres Academici, quorum sectam Varro defendit, tolerabilius quidem loquuntur, sed eorum quoque mirus est error, quod in his malis, etsi tam gravia sint ut morte fugienda sint ab ipso sibimet inlata qui haec patitur, vitam beatam tamen esse contendunt. "Mala sunt," inquit, "tormenta atque cruciatus corporis, et tanto sunt peiora quanto potuerint esse maiora; quibus ut careas, ex hac vita fugiendum est." Qua vita, obsecro? "Hac," inquit, "quae tantis adgravatur malis." Certe ergo beata est in eisdem ipsis malis propter quae dicis esse fugiendam? An ideo beatam dicis, quia licet tibi ab his malis morte discedere? Quid si ergo in eis aliquo divino iudicio tenereris nec permettereris mori nec

is so blind as not to perceive that, if it were happy, it would not be a life to escape from? Why, the word "escape" is an unconcealed admission of weakness in their argument! What ground have they now to keep them, with stiff-necked pride broken, from admitting that it is even a wretched life? Was it not through lack of fortitude, rather than through fortitude, that the famous Cato took his life? For he would not have done it, had he not lacked the fortitude to bear the victory of Caesar. Where, then, is his fortitude? It yielded, it succumbed, it was so far vanquished that he gave up, forsook, escaped from this happy life. Or was it no longer happy? Then it was wretched. How, then, were those not evils that made life wretched and a thing to be escaped from?

And therefore those who admitted that these are evils, as did the Peripatetics and the Old Academics, the sect that Varro defends, speak in a more tolerable manner; but they, too, are sponsors of a surprising error, in that they maintain that amid these evils, even if they be so grave that he who suffers them is obliged to escape by seeking his own death, life is nevertheless happy. "Among evils," says Varro, "are pains and anguish of body, and their evil is the greater in proportion to their severity; and to avoid them one should escape from this life." What life, pray? "This life," he says, "that is beset by so great evils." So it is definitely happy, then, amid those very evils because of which you say that one must escape from it? Or do you call it happy because you have freedom to escape from these evils by death? What, then, if by some divine judgement you were held among them and were not permitted

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umquam sine illis esse sincereris? Nempe tunc saltem miseram talem diceres vitam. Non igitur propterea misera non est, quia cito relinquitur, quando quidem si sempiterna sit, etiam abs te ipso misera iudicatur; non itaque propterea, quoniam brevis est, nulla miseria debet videri aut, quod est absurdus, quia brevis miseria est, ideo etiam beatitudo appellari.

Magna vis est in eis malis, quae cogunt hominem secundum ipsos etiam sapientem sibimet auferre quod homo est; cum dicant, et verum dicant, hanc esse naturae primam quodam modo et maximam vocem, ut homo concilietur sibi et propterea mortem naturaliter fugiat, ita sibi amicus ut esse se animal et in hac coniunctione corporis atque animae vivere velit vehementer atque appetat. Magna vis est in eis malis, quibus iste naturae vincitur sensus, quo mors omni modo omnibus viribus conatibusque vitatur, et ita vincitur ut quae vitabatur, optetur appetatur et, si non potuerit aliunde contingere, ab homine ipso sibimet inferatur. Magna vis est in eis malis, quae fortitudinem faciunt homicidam, si tamen adhuc dicenda est fortitudo quae ita his malis vincitur ut hominem, quem sicut virtus regendum tuendumque suscepit, non modo non possit per patientiam custodire, sed ipsa insuper cogatur occidere. Debet qui-

either to die or ever to be free of them? Then, no doubt, at any rate, you would say that such a life is wretched. So it is not unwretched merely because it is soon abandoned, inasmuch as, if it were everlasting, even you yourself would pronounce it to be wretched. And so it ought not to be judged free from all wretchedness because the wretchedness is brief; or, still more absurdly, because the wretchedness is brief, on that account be even called a state of bliss.

Mighty is the power in these evils that compel a man, and according to these philosophers compel even a wise man, to deprive himself of his own existence as a man; although they say, and say truly, that the first and greatest commandment of nature is that a man should be brought into harmony with himself and therefore instinctively avoid death, and that he be his own friend in such wise as to be vigorously determined and eager to keep the breath of life and to live on in this union of body and soul. Mighty is the power in these evils that overcome the natural feeling we hear of, by whose working we use every means and bend all our strength and all our endeavours to avoid death, and so completely defeat nature that what was avoided is now longed for, pursued, and, if it may not arrive from some other quarter, inflicted on a man by himself. Mighty is the power in these evils that make fortitude a homicide, if indeed she should still be called fortitude who is overcome by these evils so completely that she not only cannot by her endurance safeguard the man whom, as virtue, she has undertaken to govern and protect but is herself compelled to go to the length of killing him. The wise man ought, to be sure, to

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dem etiam mortem sapiens ferre patienter, sed quae accidit aliunde. Secundum istos autem si eam sibi ipse inferre compellitur, profecto fatendum est eis non solum mala, sed intolerabilia etiam mala esse, quae hoc eum perpetrare compellunt.

Vita igitur quae istorum tam magnorum tamque gravium malorum aut premitur oneribus aut subiacet casibus nullo modo beata diceretur, si homines qui hoc dicunt, sicut victi malis ingravescentibus, cum sibi ingerunt mortem, cedunt infelicitati, ita victi certis rationibus, cum quaerunt beatam vitam, dignarentur cedere veritati et non sibi putarent in ista mortalitate fine summi boni esse gaudendum, ubi virtutes ipsae, quibus hic certe nihil melius atque utilius in homine reperitur, quanto maiora sunt adiutoria contra vim periculorum laborum dolorum, tanto fideliora testimonia miseriarum. Si enim verae virtutes sunt, quae nisi in eis quibus vera inest pietas, esse non possunt, non se profitentur hoc posse ut nullas miserias patiantur homines in quibus sunt (neque enim mendaces sunt verae virtutes ut hoc profiteantur), sed ut vita humana, quae tot et tantis huius saeculi malis esse cogitur misera, spe futuri saeculi sit beata, sicut et salva. Quo modo enim beata est quae nondum salva est? Unde et apostolus Paulus non de hominibus imprudentibus impatientibus, intemperantibus et iniquis, sed de his, qui secundum

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endure even death with firmness, but death that befalls him from an external source. If, then, he is compelled, according to these philosophers, to inflict it on himself, surely they must admit not only that those are evils but that they are in fact intolerable evils that compel him to perpetrate this crime.

The life, then, that is oppressed by the weight of such great and grievous evils or exposed to the chance of them would by no means be termed happy if the men who use that term,—men who, when they are defeated by the increasing pressure of their ills, in the act of inflicting death upon themselves, surrender to misfortune,—would with equal condescension, when they are defeated by sound logic in the attempt to discover a happy life, surrender to the truth, instead of supposing that the enjoyment of the supreme good is a goal to be attained in the mortal state of which they speak. For our very virtues, which are surely the best and most useful attributes of a man, bear trustworthy witness to life's miseries so much the more, the more strongly they support us against life's dangers, toils and sorrows. For if our virtues are genuine,—and genuine virtues can exist only in those who are endowed with true piety,—they do not lay claim to such powers as to say that men in whom they reside will suffer no miseries (for true virtues are not so fraudulent in their claims); but they do say that our human life, though it is compelled by all the great evils of this age to be wretched, is happy in the expectation of a future life in so far as it enjoys the expectation of salvation too. For how can a life be happy, if it has no salvation yet? So the apostle Paul, speaking not of men who lacked prudence, patience, temperance and justice, but of men who lived in

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veram pietatem viverent et ideo virtutes, quas haberent, veras haberent, ait: *Spe enim salvi facti sumus. Spes autem quae videtur, non est spes. Quod enim videt quis, quid et sperat? Si autem quod non videmus speramus, per patientiam expectamus.* Sicut ergo spe salvi, ita spe beati facti sumus, et sicut salutem, ita beatitudinem non iam tenemus praesentem, sed expectamus futuram, et hoc *per patientiam*; quia in malis sumus, quae patienter tolerare debemus, donec ad illa veniamus bona, ubi omnia erunt¹ quibus ineffabiliter delectemur, nihil erit autem quod iam tolerare debeamus. Talis salus quae in futuro erit saeculo ipsa erit etiam finalis beatitudo. Quam beatitudinem isti philosophi, quoniam non videntes nolunt credere, hic sibi conantur falsissimam fabricare, quanto superbiore, tanto mendaciore virtute.

V

*De sociali vita, quae, cum maxime expetenda sit, multis
offensionibus saepe subvertitur.*

Quod autem socialem vitam volunt esse sapientis, nos multo amplius adprobamus. Nam unde ista Dei civitas, de qua huius operis ecce iam undevicensimum librum versamus in manibus, vel inchoaretur exortu vel progredieretur excursu vel adprehenderet debitos fines, si non esset socialis vita sanctorum? Sed in huius mortalitatis aerumna quot et quantis abundet

¹ *Some MSS. omit erunt.*

¹ Romans 8.24, 25.

accordance with true piety, and whose virtues were therefore genuine, says: "Now we are saved by hope. But hope that is seen is not hope. For how should a man hope for what he sees? But if we hope for that which we do not see, then we look forward with endurance."¹ As, therefore, we are saved by hope, so it is by hope that we have been made happy; and as we have no hold on a present salvation, but look for salvation in the future, so we look forward to happiness, and a happiness to be won "by endurance." For we are among evils, which we ought patiently to endure until we arrive among those goods where nothing will be lacking to provide us ineffable delight, nor will there now be anything that we are obliged to endure. Such is the salvation which in the life to come will itself be also the ultimate bliss. But those philosophers, not believing in this blessedness because they do not see it, strive to manufacture for themselves in this life an utterly counterfeit happiness by drawing on a virtue whose fraudulence matches its arrogance.

V

About social life, which, though very greatly to be desired, is often upset by many distresses.

BUT in that they believe that the life of the wise man must be social, we approve much more fully. For how could the City of God, about which we are already engaged in writing the nineteenth book, begin at the start or progress in its course or reach its appointed goal, if the life of the saints were not social? But who could reckon up the number and the magnitude of the woes with which human society overflows

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malis humana societas, quis enumerare valeat? Quis aestimare sufficiat? Audiant apud comicos suos hominem cum sensu atque consensu omnium hominum dicere:

Duxi uxorem; quam ibi miseriam vidi! Nati filii,
Alia cura.

Quid itidem illa quae in amore vitia commemorat idem Terentius, "iniuriae suspiciones, inimicitiae bellum, pax rursum": nonne res humanas ubique impleverunt? nonne et in amicorum honestis amoribus plerumque contingunt? nonne his usquequaque plenae sunt res humanae, ubi iniurias suspiciones, inimicitias bellum mala certa sentimus, pacem vero incertum bonum, quoniam corda eorum cum quibus eam tenere volumus ignoramus, et si hodie nosse possemus, qualia cras futura essent utique nesciremus. Qui porro inter se amiciores solent esse vel debent quam qui una etiam continentur domo? Et tamen quis inde securus est, cum tanta saepe mala ex eorum occultis insidiis extiterint, tanto amariora quanto pax dulcior fuit quae vera putata est cum astutissime fingeretur?

Propter quod omnium pectora sic adtingit ut cogat in gemitum, quod ait Tullius: "Nullae sunt occultiores insidiae quam hae quae latent in simulatione officii aut in aliquo necessitudinis nomine. Nam eum qui palam est adversarius facile cavendo vitare possis; hoc vero occultum intestinum ac domesticum malum non solum existit, verum etiam opprimit, antequam prospicere atque explorare potueris."

¹ Terence, *Adelph.* 5.4, 13 f.

² Terence, *Eun.* 1.1, 14 f.

³ Cicero, *In Verr.* 2.1, 13.

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amid the worries of this our mortal state? Who could be equal to the task of assessing them? Let them give ear to a man in one of their own comedies, who says what every man concurs in: "I have taken a wife; what misery I have known therewith! Children were born; another responsibility."¹ What of the ills that love breeds, as enumerated by that same Terence: "Slights, suspicions, enmities, war, then peace again"?² Have they not everywhere made up the tale of human events? Do they not usually occur even when friends are united in a noble love? The history of man is in every cranny infested with them; in this list we count the slights, suspicions, enmities and war, as certainly evil; while peace is but a doubtful good, since we do not know the hearts of those with whom we choose to be at peace, and even if we could know them today, in any case we know not what they may be like tomorrow. Who, moreover, are wont to be more friendly, or at least ought to be, than those who dwell together in the same home? And yet who is free from doubt in such relations, seeing that from the hidden treachery of such persons great woes have often arisen,—woes the more bitter, as the peace was sweeter that was counted real when it was most cleverly feigned?

That is why the words of Cicero so touch all men's hearts that we lament perforce: "No ambushed foes are harder to detect than those who mask their aim with a counterfeit loyalty or under the guise of some close tie. For against an open adversary you would be on your guard, and so easily escape him; but this hidden evil, being internal and domestic, not only arises but even crushes you before you have a chance to observe and investigate it."³ That is why

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Propter quod etiam divina vox illa: *Et inimici hominis domestici eius* cum magno dolore cordis auditur, quia, etsi quisque tam fortis sit ut aequo animo perferat, vel tam vigilans, ut provido consilio caveat quae adversus eum molitur amicitia simulata, eorum tamen hominum perfidorum malo, cum eos esse pessimos experitur, si ipse bonus est, graviter excrucietur necesse est, sive semper mali fuerint et se bonos finxerint, sive in istam malitiam ex bonitate mutati sint. Si ergo domus, commune perfugium in his malis humani generis, tuta non est, quid civitas, quae quanto maior est tanto forum eius litibus et civilibus et criminalibus plenius, etiamsi quiescant non solum turbulenta, verum saepius et cruentae seditiones ac bella civilia, a quorum eventis sunt aliquando liberae civitates, a periculis numquam?

VI

De errore humanorum iudiciorum, cum veritas latet.

QUID ipsa iudicia hominum de hominibus, quae civitatibus in quantalibet pace manentibus deesse non possunt, qualia putamus esse, quam misera, quam dolenda? Quando quidem hi iudicant qui conscientias eorum, de quibus iudicant, cernere nequeunt. Unde saepe coguntur tormentis innocentium testium ad alienam causam pertinentem quaerere veritatem. Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur et, cum

¹ Matthew 10.36.

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the divine word has also been spoken: "A man's foes are even those of his own household,"¹ words that are heard with great sorrow of heart. For even if any man is strong enough to bear them with equanimity, or alert enough to guard with prudent foresight against the designs of a pretended friend, nevertheless, if he is himself a good man, he must needs feel grievous pain when he finds by experience that they are utterly base, whether they were always evil and feigned goodness or whether they underwent a change from goodwill to the evil mind that he finds in them. If, then, the home, our common refuge amid the ills of this human life, is not safe, what of the city? The larger it is, the more does its forum teem with lawsuits both civil and criminal, even though its calm be not disturbed by the turbulence, or more often the bloodshed, of sedition and civil wars. Cities are indeed free at times from such events, but never from the threat of them.

VI

About the error of human judgement, when the truth is hidden.

WHAT of those judgements pronounced by men on their fellow men, which are indispensable in cities however deep the peace that reigns in them? How sad, how lamentable we find them, since those who pronounce them cannot look into the consciences of those whom they judge. Therefore they are often compelled to seek the truth by torturing innocent witnesses though the case does not concern them. What shall I say of torture inflicted on the accused

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quaeritur utrum sit nocens, cruciatur et innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimas poenas, non quia illud commisisse detegitur, sed quia non commisisse nescitur? Ac per hoc ignorantia iudicis plerumque est calamitas innocentis. Et quod est intolerabilius magisque plangendum rigandumque, si fieri possit, fontibus lacrimarum, cum propterea iudex torqueat accusatum, ne occidat nesciens innocentem, fit per ignorantiae miseriam ut et tortum et innocentem occidat, quem ne innocentem occideret torserat.

Si enim secundum istorum sapientiam elegerit ex hac vita fugere quam diutius illa sustinere tormenta, quod non commisit, commisisse se dicit. Quo damnato et occiso, utrum nocentem an innocentem iudex occiderit, adhuc nescit, quem ne innocentem nesciens occideret torsit; ac per hoc innocentem et ut sciret torsit, et dum nesciret occidit. In his tenebris vitae socialis sedebit iudex ille sapiens an non audebit? Sedebit plane. Constringit enim eum et ad hoc officium pertrahit humana societas, quam deserere nefas ducit.

Hoc enim nefas esse non ducit, quod testes innocentes in causis torquentur alienis; quod hi qui arguuntur vi doloris plerumque superati et de se falsa

man himself? The question is whether he is guilty; yet he is tortured even if he is innocent, and for a doubtful crime he suffers a punishment that is not doubtful at all, not because it is discovered that he committed it but because it is not known that he did not commit it. Thus the ignorance of the judge generally results in the calamity of the innocent. And what is still more intolerable, and still more to be deplored and, were it possible, purged by floods of tears, is that the judge, in the act of torturing the accused for the express purpose of avoiding the unwitting execution of an innocent man, through pitiable ignorance puts to death, both tortured and innocent, the very man whom he has tortured in order not to execute him if innocent.

For if he has chosen, applying the wisdom of the philosophers mentioned above, to escape from this life rather than endure those torments any longer, he pleads guilty to a crime that he did not commit. And after he has been condemned and put to death, the judge still does not know whether it was a guilty or an innocent man whom he put to death and whom he tortured that he might not unwittingly execute an innocent man; so he has both tortured an innocent man in order to learn the truth and put him to death without learning it. Since there are such dark places in political life, will a wise judge sit on the bench, or will he not dare to do so? Clearly he will; for the claim of society constrains and draws him until he consents to serve; for to desert his duty to society he counts abominable.

For he does not think it abominable that innocent witnesses are tortured in other men's cases; or that the accused are often overcome by the pain of

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confessi etiam puniuntur innocentes, cum iam torti fuerint innocentes; quod, etsi non morte puniantur, in ipsis vel ex ipsis tormentis plerumque moriuntur; quod aliquando et ipsi qui arguunt, humanae societati fortasse, ne crimina impunita sint, prodesse cupientes et mentientibus testibus reoque ipso contra tormenta durante inmaniter nec fatente probare quod obiciunt non valentes, quamvis vera obiecerint, a iudice nesciente damnantur. Haec tot et tanta mala non deputat esse peccata; non enim haec facit sapiens iudex nocendi voluntate, sed necessitate nesciendi, et tamen, quia cogit humana societas, necessitate etiam iudicandi. Haec est ergo quam dicimus miseria certe hominis, etsi non malitia sapientis. An vero necessitate nesciendi atque iudicandi torquet insontes, punit insontes, et parum est illi, quod non est reus, si non sit insuper et beatus? Quanto consideratius et homine dignius agnoscit in ista necessitate miseriam eamque odit in se et, si pie sapit, clamat ad Deum: *De necessitatibus meis erue me!*

torture and so make false confessions and are punished, though innocent; or that, although not condemned to death, they often die under torture or as a consequence of torture; or that the accusers, perhaps moved by a desire to benefit society by seeing that crimes do not go unpunished, are themselves condemned by an ignorant judge, if both the evidence of witnesses is false and the defendant with fierce resistance to torture makes no admission of guilt, so that they have no way to prove the truth of their allegations, although those allegations are true. These many great evils he does not count as sins; for the wise judge does not commit them because of any will to do harm but because his action is determined by his ignorance, being also, however, determined by the binding claim of society that requires him to sit in judgement. Here, then, is a clear proof of man's miserable lot, of which I speak, even though we may not accuse the judge of evil intent. But if by ignorance and by office he is constrained to torture and punish the innocent, is it not enough that we acquit him of guilt? Must he be happy as well? How much more creditable is it for his powers of reflection and for his worth as a human being when he acknowledges our pitiable condition in that our acts are determined in spite of us, and loathes his own part in it, sending up, if he is wise as a religious man, a cry to God: "From my necessities deliver thou me!"¹

¹ Psalms 25.17.

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VII

De diversitate linguarum qua societas hominum dirimatur, et de miseria bellorum, etiam quae iusta dicuntur.

Post civitatem vel urbem sequitur orbis terrae, in quo tertium gradum ponunt societatis humanae, incipientes a domo atque inde ad urbem, deinde ad orbem progrediendo venientes, qui utique, sicut aquarum congeries, quanto maior est tanto periculis plenior. In quo primum linguarum diversitas hominem alienat ab homine. Nam si duo sibimet invicem fiant obviam neque praeterire, sed simul esse aliqua necessitate cogantur, quorum neuter linguam novit alterius, facilius sibi muta animalia, etiam diversi generis, quam illi, cum sint homines ambo, sociantur. Quando enim quae sentiunt inter se communicare non possunt, propter solam diversitatem linguae nihil prodest ad consociandos homines tanta similitudo naturae, ita ut libentius homo sit cum cane suo quam cum homine alieno. At enim opera data est ut imperiosa civitas non solum iugum, verum etiam linguam suam domitis gentibus per pacem societatis inponeret, per quam non deesset, immo et abundaret etiam interpretum copia. Verum est; sed hoc quam multis et quam grandibus bellis, quanta strage hominum, quanta effusione humani sanguinis comparatum est?

Quibus transactis, non est tamen eorundem malorum finita miseria. Quamvis enim non defuerint neque desint hostes exterae nationes, contra quas semper bella gesta sunt et geruntur, tamen etiam ipsa imperii latitudo peperit peioris generis bella,

VII

About the diversity of languages by which human society is divided; and about the misery of wars, even of those called just.

AFTER the state or city comes the world, to which they assign the third level of human society; they begin with the household, then progressively arrive at the city, and then at the world. And this, like a confluence of waters, is the fuller of dangers as it is the larger. In the first place, the diversity of languages separates one man from another. For if two men, each ignorant of the other's language, meet and are compelled by some necessity not to pass on but to remain together, then it is easier for dumb animals, even of different kinds, to associate together than for them, though both are human beings. For where they cannot communicate their views to one another, merely because they speak different languages, so little good does it do them to be alike by endowment of nature, so far as social unity is concerned, that a man would rather have his dog for company than a foreigner. But the imperial city has taken pains to impose on conquered peoples, as a bond of peace, not only her yoke but her language, so that there has been far from a lack, but rather a superfluity, of interpreters. True; but at what a cost has this unity been achieved, all those great wars, all that human slaughter and bloodshed!

These wars are past; yet the miseries of these evils are not ended. For though foreign foes have not been, and are not, lacking, against whom wars have always been waged and are being waged, nevertheless the very extent of the empire has begotten wars

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socialia scilicet et civilia, quibus miserabilius quatitur humanum genus, sive cum belligeratur ut aliquando conquiescant, sive cum tinetur ne rursus exsurgant. Quorum malorum multas et multiplices clades, duras et diras necessitates si ut dignum est eloqui velim, quamquam nequaquam sicut res postulat possim, quis erit prolixae disputationis modus? Sed sapiens, inquiunt, iusta bella gesturus est. Quasi non, si se hominem meminit, multo magis dolebit iustorum necessitatem sibi extitisse bellorum; quia nisi iusta essent, ei gerenda non essent, ac per hoc sapienti nulla bella essent. Iniquitas enim partis adversae iusta bella ingerit gerenda sapienti; quae iniquitas utique homini est dolenda, quia hominum est, etsi nulla ex ea bellandi necessitas nasceretur. Haec itaque mala tam magna, tam horrenda, tam saeva quisquis cum dolore considerat, miseriam fateatur; quisquis autem vel patitur ea sine animi dolore vel cogitat, multo utique miserius ideo se putat beatum, quia et humanum perdidit sensum.

VIII

Quod amicitia bonorum segura esse non possit, dum a periculis quae in hac vita sunt trepidari necesse est.

Si autem non contingat quaedam ignorantia similis dementiae, quae tamen in huius vitae misera con-

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of a worse kind; I mean social and civil wars, by which the human race is more wretchedly shaken, whether while they are actually being waged for the sake of calm at last or while they are a source of fear lest a new storm arise. If I were to attempt to do verbal justice to the many and manifold disasters, to the hard and harsh necessities, though I could not possibly deal with them adequately, where would my long-drawn argument end? But the wise man, they say, will wage just wars. As if he would not all the more, if he remembers his humanity, deplore his being compelled to engage in just wars; for if they were not just, he would not have to wage them, and so a wise man would have no wars. For it is the injustice of the opposing side that imposes on the wise man the necessity of waging just wars; and this injustice, even if no necessity of waging war were to arise from it, must still be deplored by a human being, since human beings perpetrate it. Let every man, then, reflect with sorrow upon all these great evils, so horrible and so cruel, and confess his misery. But if any man has no sorrow in his heart either when he suffers himself or when he imagines such suffering, his case is certainly far more miserable, for he thinks himself happy precisely because he has lost all human feeling to boot.

VIII

That the friendship of good men can not be free from anxiety, so long as it is necessary to worry about the dangers of this life.

IF we escape from a kind of ignorance, akin to madness, that often befalls men in the wretched

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dicione saepe contingit, ut credatur vel amicus esse qui inimicus est, vel inimicus qui amicus est, quid nos consolatur in hac humana societate erroribus aerumnisque plenissima nisi fides non ficta et mutua dilectio verorum et bonorum amicorum? Quos quanto plures et in locis pluribus habemus, tanto longius latiusque metuimus, ne quid eis contingat mali de tantis malorum aggeribus huius saeculi. Non enim tantummodo solliciti sumus ne fame, ne bellis, ne morbis, ne captivitatibus affligantur, ne in eadem servitute talia patiantur qualia nec cogitare sufficimus; verum etiam, ubi timor est multo amarior, ne in perfidiam malitiam nequitiamque mutantur. Et quando ista contingunt (tanto utique plura quanto illi sunt plures) et in nostram notitiam perferuntur, quibus cor nostrum flagris uratur, quis potest, nisi qui talia sentit, advertere? Mortuos quippe audire mallems, quamvis et hoc sine dolore non possimus audire.

Quorum enim nos vita propter amicitiae solacia delectabat, unde fieri potest ut eorum mors nullam nobis ingerat maestitudinem? Quam qui prohibet, prohibeat, si potest, amica conloquia, interdicat amicalem vel intercidat affectum, humanarum omnium necessitudinem vincula mentis inmiti stupore dirumpat aut sic eis utendum censeat ut nulla ex eis animum dulcedo perfundat. Quod si fieri nullo modo potest, etiam hoc quo pacto futurum est ut eius nobis amara mors non sit cuius dulcis est vita? Hinc enim est et luctus quoddam non inhumani cordis quasi vulnus aut ulcus, cui sanando adhibentur officiosae

condition of this life, and that leads them to mistake a foe for a friend or a friend for a foe, what consolation have we in this human society, full of mistakes and distresses, save the unfeigned faith and mutual affection of true and good friends? But the more friends we have, and the more widely scattered they are, the further and more widely spread are our fears lest some evil may befall them among the accumulated evils of this age. For we are anxious not only for fear lest they may be afflicted by hunger, warfare, disease, captivity and the unimaginable sufferings of slavery, but also with far more bitter fear lest friendship be changed into perfidy, malice and villainy. And when these contingencies do occur, more frequently as our friends are the more numerous, and the tidings come to our knowledge, who, save the man who experiences them, can conceive of the pain that consumes our hearts? Indeed, we would rather hear that they were dead, although this, too, we could not hear without sorrow.

For if their lives delighted us with the comforts of friendship, how could it be that their death should bring us no sadness? He who would forbid such sadness must forbid, if he can, all friendly conversation, must interdict or intercept all friendly affection, must break with harsh brutality the bonds of all human relationships, or else lay down the law that they must be so indulged that no pleasure may be derived from them. But if this is utterly impossible, how can it be that a man's death shall not be bitter to us if his life be sweet to us? For hence it is that the sorrow of a heart not devoid of human feeling is like some wound or sore for whose healing we use as salve our kindly messages of comfort. Nor must it

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consolationes. Non enim propterea non est quod sanetur, quoniam quanto est animus melior tanto in eo citius faciliusque sanatur. Cum igitur etiam de carissimorum mortibus, maxime quorum sunt humanae societati officia necessaria, nunc mitius, nunc asperius affligatur vita mortalium, mortuos tamen eos quos diligimus quam vel a fide vel a bonis moribus lapsos, hoc est in ipsa anima mortuos, audire seu videre malle. Qua ingenti materia malorum plena est terra, propter quod scriptum est: *Numquid non temptatio est vita humana super terram?* et propter quod ipse Dominus ait: *Vae mundo ab scandalis*, et iterum: *Quoniam abundabit,¹ inquit, iniquitas, refrigescet caritas multorum.* Ex quo fit ut bonis amicis mortuis gratulemur et, cum mors eorum nos contristet, ipsa nos certius consoletur, quoniam caruerunt malis quibus in hac vita etiam boni homines vel conteruntur vel depravantur vel in utroque periclitantur.

IX

De amicitia sanctorum angelorum, quae homini in hoc mundo non potest esse manifesta propter fallaciam daemonum, in quos inciderunt qui multos sibi deos colendos putarunt.

IN societate vero sanctorum angelorum, quam philosophi illi qui nobis deos amicos esse voluerunt quarto constituerunt loco, velut ad mundum venientes

¹ abundabit Abeg: abundavit other MSS.

¹ Job 7.1. For Augustine's *temptatio*, and Septuagint *πειρατήριον*, the Hebrew meaning is "army" or "warfare"; Vulgate *militia*.

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be supposed that there is nothing to be healed merely because healing is the easier and the more rapid the finer a man's spirit is. Since, then, the life of mortals is afflicted now more gently, again more harshly, by the death of those very dear to us, and especially of those whose performance of public duties is needful for human society, nevertheless we would rather hear of or behold the death of those whom we love than perceive that they have fallen from faith or virtue, that is, that the soul itself has suffered death. The earth is full of this vast store of evils; wherefore it is written: "Is man's life on earth anything but temptation?"¹ And therefore the Lord himself says: "Woe to the world because of offences";² and again: "Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold."³ The result is that we feel thankful at the death of good men among our friends, and that, though their death brings sorrow, it is the more surely mitigated in that they have been spared those evils by which in this life even good men are crushed or contaminated or at least are in danger of either fate.

IX

About the friendship of the holy angels, which can not be manifest to man in this life because of the deceitfulness of the demons into whose power have fallen those who judged it proper to worship many gods.

ON the other hand, the society of the holy angels, which those philosophers who held that the gods are our friends⁴ placed at a fourth level as it were

² Matthew 18.7.

³ Matthew 24.12.

⁴ Cf. 9.23 above: *Platonici*.

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ab orbe terrarum, ut sic quodam modo complecterentur et caelum, nullo modo quidem metuimus ne tales amici vel morte nos sua vel depravatione contristent. Sed quia nobis non ea, qua homines, familiaritate miscentur (quod etiam ipsum ad aerumnas huius pertinet vitae) et aliquando Satanus, sicut legimus, transfigurat se velut angelum lucis ad temptandos eos, quos ita vel erudiri opus est vel decipi iustum est, magna Dei misericordia necessaria est, ne quisquam, cum bonos angelos amicos se habere putat, habeat malos daemones fictos amicos, eosque tanto nocentiores quanto astutiores ac fallacioses, patiatur inimicos. Et cui magna ista Dei misericordia necessaria est nisi magnae humanae miseriae, quae ignorantia tanta premitur ut facile istorum simulatione fallatur? Et illos quidem philosophos in impia civitate, qui deos sibi amicos esse dixerunt, in daemones malignos incidisse certissimum est, quibus tota ipsa civitas subditur, aeternum cum eis habitura supplicium. Ex eorum quippe sacris vel potius sacrilegiis, quibus eos colendos, et ex ludis inmundissimis, ubi eorum crimina celebrantur, quibus eos placandos putarunt eisdem ipsis auctoribus et exactoribus talium tantorumque dedecorum, satis ab eis qui colantur apertum est.

BOOK XIX. IX

(passing from the earth to the universe in order thereby in a way to embrace heaven itself), we have no fear lest such friends bring us grief by their death or deterioration. But because they do not mingle with us with the familiarity of men (which in itself is also one of the distresses of this life), and because, as we read,¹ Satan sometimes takes the form of an angel of light in order to tempt men who are in need of the discipline so provided, or deserve to be deceived, there is great need of God's mercy lest some one, when he thinks that he enjoys the friendship of good angels, be enjoying the feigned friendship of evil demons and suffering from their enmity, which is the more harmful the more shrewd and deceitful they are. Indeed, who is in need of this mercy of God if not men in their great misery, which is so weighed down by ignorance as easily to be deceived by such masquerades? And indeed it is most certain that those philosophers in the sacrilegious city who said that the gods were their friends have fallen into the company of the malignant demons to whom that city itself is altogether subject and with whom it will suffer everlasting punishment. The truth is sufficiently revealed by those beings who are worshipped by them, in the sacred, or rather sacrilegious, rites, and in the most filthy shows in which their crimes are celebrated; it is those same demons on whose authority and demand the worshippers supposed that shows so full of such vile indecencies were required as propitiation.

¹1 Corinthians 11.14.

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X

*Quis fructus sanctis de superata huius vitae temptatione
pariatur.*

SED neque sancti et fideles unius veri Dei sum-
mique cultores ab eorum fallaciis et multiformi
temptatione securi sunt. In hoc enim loco infirmi-
tatis et diebus malignis etiam ista sollicitudo non est
inutilis, ut illa securitas, ubi pax plenissima atque
certissima est, desiderio ferventiore quaeratur. Ibi
enim erunt naturae munera, hoc est, quae naturae
nostrae ab omnium naturarum creatore donantur, non
solum bona, verum etiam sempiterna, non solum in
animo, qui sanatur per sapientiam, verum etiam in
corpore, quod resurrectione renovabitur; ibi virtutes,
non contra ulla vitia vel mala quaecumque certantes,
sed habentes victoriae praemium aeternam pacem,
quam nullus adversarius inquietet. Ipsa est enim
beatitudo finalis, ipse perfectionis finis, qui con-
sumentem non habet finem. Hic autem dicimur
quidem beati, quando pacem habemus, quantula-
cumque hic haberi potest in vita bona; sed haec
beatitudo illi, quam finalem dicimus, beatitudini com-
parata prorsus miseria reperitur. Hanc ergo pacem
qualis hic potest esse mortales homines in rebus
mortalibus quando habemus, si recte vivimus, bonis
eius recte utitur virtus; quando vero eam non habe-
mus, etiam malis quae homo patitur bene utitur
virtus. Sed tunc est vera virtus, quando et omnia
bona quibus bene utitur et quidquid in bono usu
bonorum et malorum facit, et se ipsam ad eum finem

BOOK XIX. x

X

What reward is begotten for the saints of their victory over the temptation of this life.

BUT not even the saints and the faithful worshippers of the one true and most high God are safe from the deceptions and the manifold temptations of the demons. For in this region of weakness and in these evil days such anxiety is also not without its uses in causing them to seek with a keener longing that place of safety where peace is most complete and assured. For there the gifts of nature, bestowed on our nature by the creator of all natures, shall be not only good but everlasting, not only as regards the spirit, which is healed by wisdom, but also as regards the body, which will be restored by resurrection. There the virtues shall not struggle against any vice or evil whatsoever, but shall hold in possession the reward of victory, an eternal peace that no adversary can disquiet. For this indeed is the final blessedness, the end of perfect attainment that knows no devouring end. Here, to be sure, we are called blessed when we have peace, however small may be the portion which we can possess here in a good life; but this blessedness, when compared to that final blessedness, is found to be downright misery. So when we mortals have such peace as we can enjoy in this mortal estate, if we live rightly, virtue makes the right use of its good things; but when we have it not, virtue makes good use even of the ills from which men suffer. But true virtue is this: to subordinate all the good things that it makes use of, and all that it does in making good use of good and evil things, and also itself, to that end where our

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refert, ubi nobis talis et tanta pax erit qua melior et maior esse non possit.

XI

De beatitudine pacis aeternae, in qua sanctis finis est, id est vera perfectio.

QUAPROPTER possemus dicere fines bonorum nostrorum esse pacem, sicut aeternam diximus vitam, praesertim quia ipsi civitati Dei, de qua nobis est ista operosissima disputatio, in sancto dicitur psalmo: *Lauda Hierusalem Dominum, conlauda Deum tuum Sion; quoniam confirmavit seras portarum tuarum, benedixit filios tuos in te, qui posuit fines tuos pacem.* Quando enim confirmatae fuerint serae portarum eius, iam in illam nullus intrabit nec ab illa ullus exibit. Ac per hoc fines eius eam debemus hic intellegere pacem quam volumus demonstrare finalem. Nam et ipsius civitatis mysticum nomen, id est Hierusalem, quod et ante iam diximus, visio pacis interpretatur. Sed quoniam pacis nomen etiam in his rebus mortalibus frequentatur, ubi utique non est vita aeterna, propterea finem civitatis huius, ubi erit summum bonum eius, aeternam vitam maluimus commemorare quam pacem. De quo fine apostolus ait: *Nunc vero liberati a peccato, servi autem facti Deo, habetis fructum vestrum in sanctificationem, finem vero vitam aeternam.* Sed rursus quia vita aeterna ab eis qui familiaritatem non habent cum scripturis sanctis potest accipi etiam malorum vita, vel secundum quosdam etiam philo-

¹ Psalms 147.12-14.

² Jerusalem probably means rather "abode of peace."

³ Romans 6.22.

peace shall be so excellent and so great that it cannot be improved or increased.

XI

About the blessedness of the everlasting peace in which the saints find their end or true perfection.

WE might say, therefore, of peace, as we have said of the eternal life, that it is the end of all our good, especially since the sacred psalmist says of the city of God, about which our laborious work is written: "Praise the Lord, Jerusalem, praise thy God, O Zion; for he has strengthened the bars of thy gates; he has blessed thy children within thee; he has made thy borders peace."¹ For when the bars of her gates are strengthened, then none shall go in or come out of her; so we must understand that her borders are that peace whose finality it is our purpose to demonstrate. For even the mystic name of the city itself, Jerusalem, as we have said before, means "vision of peace."² But since the word "peace" is often applied to the story of our mortal days, where certainly there is no eternal life, we have preferred to call the end of this city, that in which shall be found its supreme good, eternal life rather than peace. And about this end the Apostle says: "But now, being freed from sin, and become servants to God, you have your fruit unto holiness, and the end life everlasting."³ But, on the other hand, because the life of the wicked may also be held to be eternal life by those who are not familiar with the holy scriptures, either with an eye to the immortality of the soul that is also taught by certain philosophers,

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sophos propter animae immortalitatem vel secundum etiam fidem nostram propter poenas interminabiles impiorum, qui utique in aeternum cruciari non poterunt nisi etiam vixerint in aeternum, profecto finis civitatis huius, in quo summum habebit bonum, vel pax in vita aeterna vel vita aeterna in pace dicendus est, ut facilius ab omnibus possit intellegi. Tantum est enim pacis bonum ut etiam in rebus terrenis atque mortalibus nihil gratius soleat audiri, nihil desiderabilius concupisci, nihil postremo possit melius inveniri. De quo si aliquanto diutius loqui voluerimus, non erimus, quantum arbitror, onerosi legentibus, et propter finem civitatis huius, de qua nobis sermo est, et propter ipsam dulcedinem pacis, quae omnibus cara est.

XII

Quod etiam bellantium saevitia omnesque hominum inquietudines ad pacis finem cupiant pervenire, sine cuius appetitu nulla natura sit.

QUOD mecum quisquis res humanas naturamque communem utcumque intuetur agnoscit, sicut enim nemo est qui gaudere nolit, ita nemo est qui pacem habere nolit. Quando quidem et ipsi qui bella volunt nihil aliud quam vincere volunt, ad gloriosam ergo pacem bellando cupiunt pervenire. Nam quid est aliud victoria nisi subiectio repugnantium? quod cum factum fuerit, pax erit. Pacis igitur intentione geruntur et bella, ab his etiam qui virtutem bellicam

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or with an eye to our own belief in the endless punishment of the wicked, who surely cannot be tormented forever if they are not also to live forever, it behooves us to say, in order that all may understand our meaning more easily, that the end of this city, whereby it will possess its supreme good, may be put either way, as peace in everlasting life or as everlasting life in peace. For so great a good is peace that even where earthly and mortal affairs are in question no other word is heard with more pleasure, nothing else is desired with greater longing, and finally nothing better can be found. So if we choose to speak about it at a little greater length, we shall not be tedious to our readers, I think, both because our theme is the end of this city and because of the very sweetness of peace, which is dear to all.

XII

That even the fierceness of those at war and all the restless drives of men have in them a yearning to attain the end of peace, a good that is sought by every creature.

WHOEVER reviews at all, with me, the pattern of human affairs and our common nature observes that just as there is no man who does not wish joy, so there is no man who does not wish peace. For even they who choose warfare desire nothing but victory; it follows that they desire by waging war to arrive at a glorious peace. For what else is victory but the conquest of the other party to the fight? And when this is achieved, there will be peace. Wars also, then, are waged in a struggle for peace, even by those who seek

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student exercere imperando atque pugnando. Unde pacem constat belli esse optabilem finem. Omnis enim homo etiam belligerando pacem requirit, nemo autem bellum pacificando. Nam et illi qui pacem, in qua sunt, perturbari volunt, non pacem oderunt, sed eam pro arbitrio suo cupiunt commutari. Non ergo ut sit pax nolunt, sed ut ea sit quam volunt. Denique etsi per seditionem se ab aliis separaverint, cum eis ipsis conspiratis vel coniuratis suis nisi qualemcumque speciem pacis teneant, non efficiunt quod intendunt. Proinde latrones ipsi, ut vehementius et tutius infesti sint paci ceterorum, pacem volunt habere sociorum.

Sed etsi unus sit tam praepollens viribus et conscios ita cavens ut nulli socio se committat solusque insidians et praevalens quibus potuerit oppressis et extinctis praedas agat, cum eis certe quos occidere non potest et quos vult latere quod facit qualemcumque umbram pacis tenet. In domo autem sua cum uxore et cum filiis, et si quos alios illic habet, studet profecto esse pacatus; eis quippe ad nutum obtemperantibus sine dubio delectatur. Nam si non fiat, indignatur corripit vindicat et domus suae pacem, si ita necesse sit, etiam saeviendo componit, quam sentit esse non posse, nisi cuidam principio, quod ipse in domo sua est, cetera in eadem domestica

a field of training for prowess in war, whether in command or in personal combat. It follows that peace is the desired end of war. For every man even in the act of waging war is in quest of peace, but no one is in quest of war when he makes peace. For even those who prefer that a state of peace should be upset do so not because they hate peace but because they desire a different state of peace that will meet their wishes. Therefore they do not desire that there shall be no peace, but only that the peace shall be such as they choose. And supposing even that they have separated themselves from other men by sedition, they cannot effect their design without maintaining some sort of peace with their confederates and fellow conspirators. Why, even robbers, in order the more violently and the more safely to attack the peace of other men, choose to maintain peace with their comrades.

Why, even though one man may be so preëminent in strength and so cautious in letting no one know his secrets that he trusts no partner, but lies in wait and triumphs alone, taking his booty after overcoming and slaying such as he can, yet he keeps up some shadow of peace with those whom he cannot kill and from whom he wishes to conceal his deeds. And in his own home he surely strives to be at peace with his wife and children and any other members of the household, since there is no doubt that he is pleased when they are at his beck and call; for if they disobey, he is angry, he rebukes and punishes, and if need be he secures even by cruelty the peace of his home, which, he judges, cannot exist unless all the other members of the same domestic society are subject to one chief; and this chief, in his own home,

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societate subiecta sint. Ideoque si offerretur ei servitus plurium, vel civitatis vel gentis, ita ut sic ei servirent quem ad modum sibi domi suae serviri volebat, non se iam latronem latebris conderet, sed regem conspicuum sublimaret, cum eadem in illo cupiditas et malitia permaneret. Pacem itaque cum suis omnes habere cupiunt, quos ad arbitrium suum volunt vivere. Nam et quibus bellum gerunt, suos facere, si possint, volunt eisque subiectis leges suae pacis inponere.

Sed faciamus aliquem qualem canit poetica et fabulosa narratio, quem fortasse propter ipsam insociabilem feritatem semihominem quam hominem dicere maluerunt. Quamvis ergo huius regnum dirae speluncae fuerit solitudo tamque malitia singularis ut ex hac ei nomen inventum sit (Graece namque malus *κακός* dicitur, quod ille vocabatur), nulla coniux ei blandum ferret referretque sermonem, nullis filiis vel adluderet parvulis vel grandiusculis imperaret, nullo amici colloquio frueretur, nec Vulcani patris, quo vel hinc tantum non parum felicius fuit quia tale monstrum ipse non genuit, nihil cuiquam daret, sed a quo posset quidquid vellet et quando posset quem vellet auferret, tamen in ipsa sua spelunca solitaria, cuius, ut describitur, semper recenti caede tepebat humus, nihil aliud quam pacem volebat in qua nemo illi molestus esset, nec eius quietem vis ullius terrorve turbaret. Cum corpore denique suo pacem habere cupiebat, et quantum habebat tantum bene illi erat. Quando quidem

¹ Virgil *Aeneid* 8.190–305, on Cacus and his cave.

² *Ibid.* 195 f.

is himself. So if he were offered the servitude of many, whether of a city or of a nation, on the same terms that he had imposed on his own household, he would no longer keep himself concealed out of sight like a brigand, but would lift his royal head before men's eyes, though the same covetousness and malice were still in him. Thus all men desire to have peace with their own associates, when they wish them to live as they decree. For even those against whom they wage war they wish, if they can, to make their own, and to impose on them after their subjection the laws of their own peace.

But let us imagine a man such as epic and mythical poetry describe, one so unsociable and wild that they have perhaps preferred to call him a semi-man rather than a man. Although, then, his kingdom was the solitude of a dismal cave, and although he himself was so exceedingly bad that his name derived from it (the Greek for "bad" is *kakos*, and Cacus¹ was his name); although he had no wife to exchange fond words with him, no little children to play with, none to command when they were somewhat bigger, no friends to give him the enjoyment of conversation, not even his father Vulcan (whose happiness he much surpassed merely because he begot no monster like himself); although he gave to none, but took what he chose from any one he chose whenever he could; nevertheless in the very solitude of his cave, "the floor of which was always reeking with fresh carnage," as the poet says,² all that he desired was peace unmolested by any, a peace whose calm was untroubled by any man's violence or the fear of it. In a word, he longed to be at peace with his own body; and so far as he succeeded in this, all was well with him. His limbs obeyed his

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membris obtemperantibus imperabat, et ut suam mortalitatem adversum se ex indigentia rebellantem ac seditionem famis ad dissociandam atque excludendam de corpore animam concitantem quanta posset festinatione pacaret, rapiebat necabat vorabat et quamvis inmanis ac ferus paci tamen suae vitae ac salutis inmaniter ac ferociter consulebat; ac per hoc si pacem quam in sua spelunca atque in se ipso habere satis agebat etiam cum aliis habere vellet, nec malus nec monstrum nec semihomo vocaretur. Aut si eius corporis forma et atrorum ignium vomitus ab eo deterrebat hominum societatem, forte non nocendi cupiditate, sed vivendi necessitate saeviebat. Verum iste non fuerit vel, quod magis credendum est, non talis fuerit qualis poetica vanitate describitur; nisi enim nimis accusaretur Cacus, parum Hercules laudaretur. Talis ergo homo sive semihomo melius, ut dixi, creditur non fuisse, sicut multa figmenta poetarum.

Ipsae enim saevissimae ferae, unde ille partem habuit feritatis (nam et semiferus dictus est), genus proprium quadam pace custodiunt, coeundo gignendo pariendo, fetus fovendo atque nutriendo, cum sint pleraeque insociabiles et solivagae, non scilicet ut oves cervi columbae sturni apes, sed ut leones lupi vulpes aquilae noctuae. Quae enim tigris non filiis suis mitis inmurmurat et pacata feritate blanditur? Quis milvus, quantumlibet solitarius rapinis circumvolet, non coniugium copulat, nidum congerit, ova confovet, pullos alit et quasi cum sua matre familias societatem domesticam quanta potest pace conservat?

commands; and in order to pacify with all possible speed his mortal nature when it rebelled against him through its impoverishment, and incited hunger to wage a civil war that aimed to sever and eject his soul from his body, he ravished, slew and devoured. And yet, cruel and savage though he was, he was providing by his cruelty and savagery for the peace of his life and safety; so if he had been willing to keep the peace with other men as he was content to keep it in his cave and with himself, he would not be called bad or a monster or a semi-man. Or if the ugliness of his body and his belching of murky flames frightened off human companions, perhaps it was not through lust for harm but through the need of keeping alive that he was fierce. But it may be that he never existed, or more likely, that he was not such as he is described with poetic fancy; for Hercules would be underpraised if Cacus were not too much abused. So the existence of such a man, or rather semi-man, as I have said, like many fictions of the poets, is not credited.

For even the most savage beasts, from whom he derived a part of his savagery (for he was in fact called half-wild), preserve their species by a sort of peace: by cohabitation, by begetting, bearing, suckling and rearing their young, although most of them are not gregarious, but solitary; not like sheep, deer, doves, starlings and bees, but like lions, wolves, foxes, eagles and owls. What tigress does not softly purr over her cubs and subdue her fierceness as she caresses them? What kite, however solitary in circling over his prey, does not join a mate, build a nest, hatch the eggs, rear the young birds and maintain with the mother of his brood as peaceful a domestic society as

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Quanto magis homo fertur quodam modo naturae suae legibus ad ineundam societatem pacemque cum hominibus, quantum in ipso est, omnibus obtinendam, cum etiam mali pro suorum pace belligerent omnesque, si possint, suos facere velint, ut uni cuncti et cuncta deserviant; quo pacto, nisi in eius pacem vel amando vel timendo consentiant? Sic enim superbia perverse imitatur Deum. Odit namque cum sociis aequalitatem sub illo, sed inponere vult sociis dominationem suam pro illo. Odit ergo iustam pacem Dei et amat iniquam pacem suam. Non amare tamen qualemcumque pacem nullo modo potest. Nullius quippe vitium ita contra naturam est, ut naturae deleat etiam extrema vestigia.

Itaque pacem iniquorum in pacis comparatione iustorum ille videt nec pacem esse dicendam, qui novit praeponere recta pravis et ordinata perversis. Quod autem perversum est, etiam hoc necesse est ut in aliqua et ex aliqua et cum aliqua rerum parte pacatum sit, in quibus est vel ex quibus constat; alioquin nihil esset omnino. Velut si quisquam capite deorsum pendcat, perversus est utique situs corporis et ordo membrorum, quia id quod desuper esse natura postulat subter est, et quod illa subter vult esse desuper factum est; conturbavit carnis pacem ista perversitas et ideo molesta est: verum tamen anima corpori suo pacata est et pro eius salute satagit, et ideo est qui doleat; quae si molestiis eius exclusa discesserit, quamdiu compago membrorum

possible? How much more is a man moved by the laws of his nature, so to speak, to enter upon a fellowship with all his fellow men, and to maintain peace with them, so far as he can, since even wicked men wage war to protect the peace of their own fellows, and would make all men their own, if they could, so that all men and all things might serve one master. And how could that be, unless they accepted his peace either through love or through fear? So pride is a perverse imitation of God. For it abhors a society of peers under God, but seeks to impose its own rule, instead of his, on society. In other words, it abhors the just peace of God, and loves its own unjust peace; but peace, of some kind or other, it cannot help loving. For no creature's vice is so completely at odds with nature that it destroys the very last traces of nature.

He, then, who knows enough to prefer right to wrong and the orderly to the perverse, sees that the peace of the unjust, compared with that of the just, does not deserve the name of peace at all. Yet even the perverted must be in, or in dependence upon, or in accord with a part of the whole order of things in which it rests or of which it is made; otherwise it could not exist at all. Just as if a man were to hang with his head downwards, this position of body and limbs is certainly perverted, because the normal attitude of nature is turned topsy-turvy. This perverted position disturbs the peace of the flesh, and is therefore painful; yet the spirit is at peace with its body, and labours for its preservation, and that is why there is one that suffers. But if it is banished from the body by its pains, then so long as the framework of the limbs remains, there is still a sort of peace among

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manet, non est sine quadam partium pace quod remanet, et ideo est adhuc qui pendeat. Et quod terrenum corpus in terram nititur et vinculo quo suspensum est renititur, in suae pacis ordinem tendit et locum quo requiescat quodam modo voce ponderis poscit, iamque exanime ac sine ullo sensu a pace tamen naturali sui ordinis non recedit, vel cum tenet eam, vel cum fertur ad eam. Si enim adhibeantur medicamenta atque curatio, quae formam cadaveris dissolvi dilabique non sinat, adhuc pax quaedam partes partibus iungit totamque molem adplicat terreno et convenienti ac per hoc pacato loco.

Si autem nulla adhibeatur cura condendi, sed naturali cursui relinquatur, tamdiu quasi tumultuatur dissidentibus exhalationibus et nostro inconuenientibus sensui (id enim est quod in putore sentitur), donec mundi conveniat elementis et in eorum pacem paulatim particulatimque discedat. Nullo modo tamen inde aliquid legibus summi illius creatoris ordinatorisque subtrahitur, a quo pax universitatis administratur, quia, etsi de cadavere maioris animantis animalia minuta nascantur, eadem lege creatoris quaeque corpuscula in salutis pace suis animulis serviunt; etsi mortuorum carnes ab aliis animalibus devorentur, easdem leges per cuncta diffusas ad salutem generis cuiusque mortalium congrua congruis pacificantes, quaqua versum trahantur et rebus quibuscumque iungantur et in res quaslibet convertantur et commutentur, inveniunt.

them, and that is why there is still some one to hang there. And because the earthly body presses earthwards, and pulls against the bond by which it is suspended, it tends toward its proper peace, and by the plea of its weight, so to speak, demands a place of rest; and now, though lifeless and without sensation, it does not depart from the peace natural to its rank, whether while possessed of it or while tending toward it. For if preservative and treatment are applied to prevent the form of the corpse from dissolution and disintegration, a sort of peace still unites the several parts, and keeps the whole mass attached to its fitting and therefore its peaceable place in the earth.

But if no treatment for embalming is given, and nature is left to take its course, for a time the body is jarred by warring exhalations, offensive to our senses (for that is what we smell in case of putrefaction), until the body joins company with the elements of the world, and little by little, particle by particle, it departs to enter into their peace. And yet in this process not a whit is abated from the laws of the most high Creator and Ruler by whom the peace of the universe is administered. For although tiny animals breed in the carcass of a larger animal, by the same law of the Creator all these little creatures serve in salutary peace their own little spirits. And although the flesh of dead animals be devoured by other animals, no matter where it is transported, no matter what other things it is mixed with, no matter what transformation or permutation it undergoes, it still finds itself among the same laws that are everywhere diffused for the preservation of every mortal species, and act as peacemakers in that they match the parts that belong together.

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XIII

*De pace universali, quae inter quaslibet perturbationes
privari non potest lege naturae, dum sub iusto iudice
ad id quisque pervenit ordinatione quod meruit
voluntate.*

PAX itaque corporis est ordinata temperatura partium, pax animae irrationalis ordinata requies appetitionum, pax animae rationalis ordinata cognitionis actionisque consensus, pax corporis et animae ordinata vita et salus animantis, pax hominis mortalis et Dei ordinata in fide sub aeterna lege oboedientia, pax hominum ordinata concordia, pax domus ordinata imperandi atque oboediendi concordia cohabitantium, pax civitatis ordinata imperandi atque oboediendi concordia civium, pax caelestis civitatis ordinatissima et concordissima societas fruendi Deo et invicem in Deo, pax omnium rerum tranquillitas ordinis. Ordo est parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio.

Proinde miseri, quia in quantum miseri sunt utique in pace non sunt, tranquillitate quidem ordinis carent, ubi perturbatio nulla est; verum tamen quia merito iusteque sunt miseri, in ea quoque ipsa miseria sua praeter ordinem esse non possunt, non quidem coniuncti beatis, sed ab eis tamen ordinis lege seiuncti. Qui cum sine perturbatione sunt, rebus in

XIII

About the universal peace, which amid all disturbances whatsoever is preserved by a law of nature, while every one under the decree of the just judge attains to the ordered state that he has earned by his free will.

THE peace of the body, therefore, is an ordered proportionment of its components; the peace of the irrational soul is an ordered repose of the appetites; the peace of the rational soul is the ordered agreement of knowledge and action. The peace of body and soul is the ordered life and health of a living creature; peace between mortal man and God is an ordered obedience in the faith under an everlasting law; peace between men is an ordered agreement of mind; domestic peace is an ordered agreement among those who dwell together concerning command and obedience; the peace of the heavenly city is a perfectly ordered and fully concordant fellowship in the enjoyment of God and in mutual enjoyment by union with God; the peace of all things is a tranquillity of order. Order is the classification of things equal and unequal that assigns to each its proper position.

Therefore the wretched,—for, in so far as they are wretched, they certainly are not in a state of peace,—lack the tranquillity of order, in which there is no tumultuous activity; nevertheless, because they are deservedly and justly wretched, in that very wretchedness of theirs they are still unable to escape from the realm of order. Though they are not indeed united with the blessed, yet it is by a law of order that they are separated from them. And when they are

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quibus sunt quantacumque congruentia coaptantur; ac per hoc inest eis ordinis nonnulla tranquillitas, inest ergo nonnulla pax. Verum ideo miseri sunt, quia, etsi in aliqua securitate non dolent, non tamen ibi sunt ubi securi esse ac dolere non debeant; miseriores autem, si pax eis cum ipsa lege non est, qua naturalis ordo administratur. Cum autem dolent, ex qua parte dolent, pacis perturbatio facta est; in illa vero adhuc pax est, in qua nec dolor urit nec compago ipsa dissolvitur. Sicut ergo est quaedam vita sine dolore, dolor autem sine aliqua vita esse non potest, sic est quaedam pax sine ullo bello, bellum vero esse sine aliqua pace non potest; non secundum id quod bellum est, sed secundum id quod ab eis vel in eis geritur quae aliquae naturae sunt; quod nullo modo essent, si non qualicumque pace subsisterent.

Quapropter est natura in qua nullum malum est vel etiam in qua nullum esse malum potest; esse autem natura in qua nullum bonum sit, non potest. Proinde nec ipsius diaboli natura, in quantum natura est, malum est; sed perversitas eam malam facit. Itaque in veritate non stetit, sed veritatis iudicium non evasit; in ordinis tranquillitate non mansit, nec ideo tamen a potestate ordinatoris effugit. Bonum Dei, quod illi est in natura, non eum subtrahit iustitiae Dei, qua ordinatur in poena; nec ibi Deus bonum insequitur quod creavit, sed malum quod ille com-

¹ John 8.44.

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free from tumultuous activity, they are adjusted to their condition, no matter how slightly. Hence there is among them some tranquillity of order, and therefore there is among them some peace. But they are wretched because, although they are to some degree free from anxiety and suffering, they are not in such a case as could justify their being free from anxiety and suffering. Still more wretched are they, however, if they are not at peace with that law by which the natural order is administered. But when they suffer, their peace is embroiled in the part that suffers; but in the part where there is no torment of pain and the frame of nature is not dissolved, peace still abides. Just as there can be life, then, without pain, while there can be no pain without life, so, too, there can be peace without any war, but no war without some sort of peace. This does not follow from the nature of war, but because war is waged by or within persons who have some natural being, for they could not exist if there were not some sort of peace to hold them together.

Therefore there is a nature in which there is no evil, nay, in which no evil can even exist; but there cannot be a nature in which there is no good. Hence not even the nature of the devil himself is evil, so far as it is nature; but perversity makes it evil. So he did not stand steadfast in the truth,¹ yet did not escape the judgement of the truth; he did not remain in the tranquillity of order, yet did not thereby flee from the power of the ordainer. The goodness of God, imparted to his nature, does not remove him from the justice of God, which ordains his punishment; nor does God thereby punish the good that he has created, but the evil that the devil has committed. Nor does God take away all that he gave to his nature;

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misit. Neque enim totum aufert quod naturae dedit, sed aliquid adimit, aliquid relinquit, ut sit qui doleat quod ademit.

Et ipse dolor testimonium est boni adempti et boni relictum. Nisi enim bonum relictum esset, bonum amissum dolere non posset. Nam qui peccat peior est si laetatur in damno aequitatis; qui vero cruciatur, si nihil inde adquirat boni, dolet damnum salutis. Et quoniam aequitas ac salus utrumque bonum est bonique amissione dolendum est potius quam laetandum (si tamen non sit compensatio melioris; melior est autem animi aequitas quam corporis sanitas), profecto convenientius iniustus dolet in supplicio quam laetatus est in delicto. Sicut ergo laetitia deserti boni in peccato testis est voluntatis malae, ita dolor amissi boni in supplicio testis est naturae bonae. Qui enim dolet amissam naturae suae pacem, ex aliquibus reliquiis pacis id dolet quibus fit ut sibi amica natura sit. Hoc autem in extremo supplicio recte fit ut iniqui et impii naturalium bonorum damna in cruciatibus defleant, sentientes eorum ablatorem iustissimum Deum, quem contempserunt benignissimum largitorem.

Deus ergo naturarum omnium sapientissimus conditor et iustissimus ordinator, qui terrenorum ornamentorum maximum instituit mortale genus humanum, dedit hominibus quaedam bona huic vitae congrua, id est pacem temporalem pro modulo mortalis vitae in ipsa salute et incolumitate ac societate

but something he takes, and something he leaves, so that there should be something remaining to feel pain at the loss.

And this very pain is evidence of the good that was taken and the good that was left. For had good not been left, he could not feel pain for the good lost. For a sinner is worse if he rejoices in the loss of righteousness; but he who is tormented, though he may gain no good thereby, yet grieves for the loss of salvation. And since both righteousness and salvation are good, and the loss of any good is cause for grief rather than for joy (at least where there is no compensation in the form of a better good, as righteousness of soul is better than bodily health), surely it is more fitting for an unjust man to grieve in punishment than to rejoice in sin. So even as the rejoicing of a sinner because he has abandoned what is good is evidence of a bad will, so his grief in punishment, because of the good that he has lost, is evidence of a good nature. For he who mourns the lost peace of his nature does so by his possession of some remnants of that peace, by reason of which his nature is friendly to itself. Now it is right that in the last punishment the wicked and impious should weep in their torments for the loss of the good that was in their natures, being aware that he who deprived them is an altogether just God whom they scorned when he was the altogether kindly distributor of bounty.

God, then, the most wise creator and most just ordainer of all natures, who has set upon the earth as its greatest adornment the mortal human race, has bestowed on men certain good things that befit this life; to wit, temporal peace, so far as it can be enjoyed in the little span of a mortal life in terms of

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sui generis, et quaeque huic paci vel tuendae vel recuperandae necessaria sunt (sicut ea quae apte et convenienter adiacent sensibus, lux vox aerae spirabiles aquae potabiles, et quidquid ad alendum tegendum curandum ornandumque corpus congruit), eo pacto aequissimo ut qui mortalis talibus bonis paci mortalium adcommodatis recte usus fuerit accipiat ampliora atque meliora, ipsam scilicet immortalitatis pacem eique convenientem gloriam et honorem in vita aeterna ad fruendum Deo et proximo in Deo; qui autem perperam, nec illa accipiat et haec amittat.

XIV

De ordine ac lege sive terrena sive caelesti, per quam societati humanae etiam dominando consulitur, cui et consulendo servitur.

OMNIS igitur usus rerum temporalium refertur ad fructum pacis terrena in terrena civitate; in caelesti autem civitate refertur ad fructum pacis aeternae. Quapropter si irrationalia essemus animantia, nihil appeteremus praeter ordinatam temperaturam partium corporis et requiem appetitionum; nihil ergo praeter quietem carnis et copiam voluptatum, ut pax corporis prodesset paci animae. Si enim desit pax corporis, impeditur etiam irrationalis animae pax, quia requiem appetitionum consequi non potest.

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personal health and preservation and fellowship with one's kind, and all things necessary to safeguard or recover this peace (such as the objects that are suitably and conveniently available for our senses: light, speech, air to breathe and water to drink, and whatever befits the body, to feed and cover it, to heal and adorn it); all this under the most just condition that every mortal who rightly uses such goods, that are designed to contribute to the peace of mortals, shall receive larger and better goods, that is, the peace of immortality, and the glory and honour appropriate to it in an everlasting life spent in the enjoyment of God and of one's neighbour in union with God; while he who uses the goods of this life perversely shall lose them, and shall not receive those of the everlasting life.

XIV

About order and law, whether earthly or heavenly, by which human society is both the concern of those who rule and served by their concern.

THEREFORE every use of temporal things is related to the enjoyment of earthly peace in the earthly city, while in the heavenly city it is related to the enjoyment of everlasting peace. Wherefore, if we were irrational animals, we should seek nothing beyond the ordered proportionment of the components of the body and the assuagement of the appetites; nothing, that is, beyond repose of the flesh and good store of pleasures, so that the peace of the body might further serve the peace of the soul. For if bodily peace be wanting, the peace of the irrational soul is also impaired, because it cannot achieve the assuagement of

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Utrumque autem simul ei paci prodest quam inter se habent anima et corpus, id est ordinatae vitae ac salutis. Sicut enim pacem corporis amare se ostendunt animantia, cum fugiunt dolorem, et pacem animae, cum propter explendas indigentias appetitionum voluptatem sequuntur, ita mortem fugiendo satis indicant quantum diligant pacem qua sibi conciliantur anima et corpus.

Sed quia homini rationalis anima inest, totum hoc quod habet commune cum bestiis subdit paci animae rationalis, ut mente aliquid contempletur et secundum hoc aliquid agat ut sit ei ordinata cognitionis actionisque consensio quam pacem rationalis animae dixeramus. Ad hoc enim velle debet nec dolore molestari nec desiderio perturbari nec morte dissolvi, ut aliquid utile cognoscat et secundum eam cognitionem vitam moresque componat. Sed ne ipso studio cognitionis propter humanae mentis infirmitatem in pestem alicuius erroris incurrat, opus habet magisterio divino, cui certus obtemperet, et adiutorio, ut liber obtemperet. Et quoniam, quamdiu est in isto mortali corpore, peregrinatur a Domino, ambulat per fidem, non per speciem; ac per hoc omnem pacem vel corporis vel animae vel simul corporis et animae refert ad illam pacem quae homini mortali est cum immortali Deo, ut ei sit ordinata in fide sub aeterna lege oboedientia.

Iam vero quia duo praecipua praecepta, hoc est

¹ 2 Corinthians 5.6, 7.

its appetites. But the two together serve the mutual peace of soul and body, the peace of an ordered life and of health. For just as animals, by avoiding pain, show that they love bodily peace, and by pursuing pleasure in order to satisfy the wants of their appetites show that they love peace of soul, so by their shunning death they give a sufficient indication how great is their love of the peace that harmonizes soul and body.

But because man has a rational soul, he subordinates all that he has in common with the beasts to the peace of the rational soul in order that he may exercise his mind in contemplation and may act in accordance with it, and in order that he may thus enjoy that ordered agreement of knowledge and action which we called the peace of the rational soul. It is for this end that he ought to prefer to be annoyed by no pain, moved by no desire, and dissipated by no death, namely, that he may discover some profitable knowledge and may shape his life and character in accordance with such knowledge. But lest by his very eagerness for knowledge he should fall, through the weakness of the human mind, into some fatal infection of error, he needs divine instruction that he may follow with assurance, and divine assistance that he may follow it as a freeman. And since, so long as he is in this mortal body, he wanders on alien soil far from God, he walks by faith, not by sight,¹ and therefore he subordinates all peace, of body or of soul or of both, to that peace which exists between mortal man and the immortal God, that he may show an ordered obedience in faith under the everlasting law.

Now since the divine instructor teaches two chief

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dilectionem Dei et dilectionem proximi, docet magister Deus, in quibus tria invenit homo quae diligat, Deum, se ipsum et proximum, atque ille in se diligendo non errat qui Deum diligit, consequens est ut etiam proximo ad diligendum Deum consulat, quem iubetur sicut se ipsum diligere (sic uxori, sic filiis, sic domesticis, sic ceteris quibus potuerit hominibus), et ad hoc sibi a proximo, si forte indiget, consuli velit; ac per hoc erit pacatus, quantum in ipso est, omni homini pace hominum, id est ordinata concordia, cuius hic ordo est, primum ut nulli noceat, deinde ut etiam prosit cui potuerit. Primitus ergo inest ei suorum cura, ad eos quippe habet oportuniorem facilioremque aditum consulendi, vel naturae ordine vel ipsius societatis humanae. Unde apostolus dicit: *Quisquis autem suis et maxime domesticis non providet, fidem denegat et est infideli deterior.* Hinc itaque etiam pax domestica oritur, id est ordinata imperandi oboediendique concordia cohabitantium. Imperant enim qui consulunt, sicut vir uxori, parentes filiis, domini servis. Oboediunt autem quibus consulitur, sicut mulieres maritis, filii parentibus, servi dominis. Sed in domo iusti viventis ex fide et adhuc ab illa caelesti civitate peregrinantis etiam qui imperant serviunt eis quibus videntur imperare. Neque enim dominandi cupiditate imperant, sed

¹ Matthew 22.37-39.

² 1 Timothy 5.8.

precepts, love of God and love of one's neighbour, and since in them man finds three objects of love, God, himself, and his neighbour,¹ and he who loves God does not err in loving himself, it follows that he is concerned also for his neighbour that he should love God, since he is bidden to love his neighbour as himself. He is thus concerned for his wife, his children, his household and for other men so far as he can be; and he would wish his neighbour to be so concerned for him, should he perchance stand in need of it. Therefore he will be at peace, so far as in him lies, with all men in that human peace, or ordered agreement, of which the pattern is this: first, to do harm to no man, and, secondly, to help every man that he can. In the first place, then, he has the care of his own household, inasmuch as the order of nature or of human society provides him with a readier and easier access to them for seeking their interest. Wherefore the Apostle says: "Whosoever does not provide for his own, and especially for those of his household, he denies the faith, and is worse than an infidel."² So at this point begins domestic peace, the ordered agreement among those who dwell together, concerning command and obedience. For those who are concerned for others give commands, the husband to his wife, the parents to their children, the masters to their servants; while those who are objects of concern obey; for example, the women obey their husbands, the children their parents, the servants their masters. But in the home of the just man who lives by faith and who is still a pilgrim in exile from the celestial city, even those who give commands serve those whom they seem to command. For they command not through lust for rule but through

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officio consulendi, nec principandi superbia, sed providendi misericordia.

XV

De libertate naturali et de servitute, cuius prima causa peccatum est, quia homo malae voluntatis, etiamsi non est mancipium alterius hominis, servus est propriae libidinis.

Hoc naturalis ordo praescribit, ita Deus hominem condidit. Nam: *Dominetur*, inquit, *piscium maris et volatilium caeli et omnium reptantium quae repunt super terram*. Rationalem factum ad imaginem suam noluit nisi inrationabilibus dominari; non hominem homini, sed hominem pecori. Inde primi iusti pastores pecorum magis quam reges hominum constituti sunt, ut etiam sic insinuaret Deus, quid postulet ordo creaturarum, quid exigit meritum peccatorum. Conditio quippe servitutis iure intellegitur inposita peccatori. Proinde nusquam scripturarum legimus servum, antequam hoc vocabulo Noe iustus peccatum filii vindicaret. Nomen itaque istud culpa meruit, non natura. Origo autem vocabuli servorum in Latina lingua inde creditur ducta, quod hi qui iure belli possent occidi, a victoribus cum servabantur servi fiebant, a servando appellati; quod etiam ipsum sine peccati merito non est. Nam et cum iustum geritur bellum, pro peccato e contrario dimicatur; et

¹ Genesis 1.26.

² Genesis 9.25.

³ St. Augustine rightly reports a common ancient derivation of *servus* from *servare*. But modern scholarship derives it from a root which (in several languages, e.g., Lat. *sero*) means "to join," with reference to the bound condition of a slave.

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dutiful concern for others, not with pride in exercising princely rule but with mercy in providing for others.

XV

About the freedom natural to man, and about the servitude of which the prime cause is sin, because a man whose will is evil, even though he is not the property of another man, is the slave of his own lust.

THIS is the prescription of the order of nature, and thus has God created man. For, he says: "Let him have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds that fly in the heavens, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth."¹ For he did not wish a rational creature, made in his own image, to have dominion save over irrational creatures: not man over man, but man over the beasts. So it was that the first just men were established as shepherds of flocks, rather than as kings of men, so that even so God might indirectly point out what is required by the principle of gradation among his creatures, and what the guilt of sinners demands; for of course it is understood that the condition of slavery is justly imposed on the sinner. Wherefore we do not read of a slave anywhere in the Scriptures until the just man Noah branded his son's sin with this word;² so he earned this name by his fault, not by nature. The origin of the Latin word for "slave" is believed to be derived from the fact that those who by the law of war might have been put to death, when preserved by their victors, became slaves, so named from their preservation.³ But even this could not have occurred were it not for the wages of sin; for

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omnis victoria, cum etiam malis provenit, divino iudicio victos humiliat vel emendans peccata vel puniens. Testis est homo Dei Daniel, cum in captivitate positus peccata sua et peccata populi sui confitetur Deo et hanc esse causam illius captivitatis pio dolore testatur. Prima ergo servitutis causa peccatum est, ut homo homini condicionis vinculo subderetur; quod non fit nisi Deo iudicante, apud quem non est iniquitas et novit diversas poenas meritis distribuere delinquentium.

Sicut autem supernus Dominus dicit: *Omnis, qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati*, ac per hoc multi quidem religiosi dominis iniquis, non tamen liberis serviunt: *A quo enim quis devictus est, huic et servus addictus est*. Et utique feliciter servitur homini quam libidini, cum saevissimo dominatu vastet corda mortalium, ut alias omittam, libido ipsa dominandi. Hominibus autem illo pacis ordine quo aliis alii subiecti sunt, sicut prodest humilitas servientibus, ita nocet superbia dominantibus. Nullus autem natura, in qua prius Deus hominem condidit, servus est hominis aut peccati. Verum et poenalis servitus ea lege ordinatur quae naturalem ordinem conservari iubet, perturbari vetat, quia si contra eam legem non esset factum, nihil esset poenali servitute coherendum. Ideoque apostolus etiam servos monet subditos esse dominis suis et ex animo eis cum bona voluntate servire, ut scilicet, si non possunt a dominis

¹ Daniel 9.3-15.

² John 8.34.

³ 2 Peter 2.19.

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even when a just war is waged, the enemy fights to defend his sin, and every victory, even when won by wicked men, humbles the vanquished through a divine judgement, correcting or punishing their sins. Witness the man of God, Daniel, who in captivity confesses to God his own sins and those of his people, and in pious sorrow recognizes in them the cause of his captivity.¹ The prime cause of slavery, then, is sin, so that man was put under man in a state of bondage; and this can be only by a judgement of God, in whom there is no unrighteousness, and who knows how to assign divers punishments according to the deserts of the sinners.

But as our Lord in heaven says: "Every man who sins is the slave of his sin,"² so many wicked masters, though they have religious men as their slaves, yet are not on that account themselves free; "For by whom a man is vanquished, to him is he also bound as a slave."³ And surely it is a happier lot to be slave to a man than to a lust; for the most cruel overlord that desolates men's hearts, to mention no other, is this very lust for overlordship. Moreover, in a peaceful order in which some men are subjected to others, humility is as beneficial to servants as pride is harmful to masters. But by nature, in which God first created man, no man is the slave either of another man or of sin. Yet slavery as a punishment is also ordained by that law which bids us to preserve the natural order and forbids us to disturb it; for if nothing had been done contrary to that law, there would have been nothing requiring the check of punishment by slavery. For this reason too the Apostle admonishes slaves to be subject to their masters, and to serve them heartily and with good

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liberi fieri, suam servitutem ipsi quodam modo liberam faciant, non timore subdolo, sed fideli dilectione serviendo, donec transeat iniquitas et evacuetur omnis principatus et potestas humana et sit Deus omnia in omnibus.

XVI

De aequo iure dominandi.

QUOCIRCA etiamsi habuerunt servos iusti patres nostri, sic administrabant domesticam pacem ut secundum haec temporalia bona filiorum sortem a servorum condicione distinguerent; ad Deum autem colendum, in quo aeterna bona speranda sunt, omnibus domus suae membris pari dilectione consulerent. Quod naturalis ordo ita praescribit ut nomen patrum familias hinc exortum sit et tam late vulgatum ut etiam inique dominantes hoc se gaudeant appellari. Qui autem veri patres familias sunt, omnibus in familia sua tamquam filiis ad colendum et promerendum Deum consulunt, desiderantes atque optantes venire ad caelestem domum ubi necessarium non sit officium imperandi mortalibus, quia necessarium non erit officium consulendi iam in illa immortalitate felicibus; quo donec veniatur, magis debent patres quod dominantur quam servi tolerare quod serviunt.

Si quis autem in domo per inoboedientiam dome-

¹ Ephesians 6.5; 1 Corinthians 15.24, 28.

² The Roman *familia* included not only the members of the "family" (in the modern sense) but also all the dependent

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will, so that if they cannot be freed by their masters they may themselves make their very slavery in some sense free, by serving not in crafty fear but in faithful affection, until all wickedness pass away and all lordship and human authority be done away with and God be all in all.¹

XVI

About equitable rule of masters over slaves.

THEREFORE even if our righteous fathers had slaves, they so administered domestic peace as to distinguish the lot of children from the condition of slaves in regard to these temporal goods; yet in regard to the worship of God, in whom we should find our hope of everlasting goods, they took thought with an equal affection for all the members of their households. And this the order of nature prescribes, so that from it the name of *paterfamilias*² arose, and has been so widely used that even those who rule unjustly are glad to be called by it. But those who are true fathers of their households take thought for all in their households just as for their children, to see that they worship and win God's favour, desiring and praying that they may reach the heavenly home where the duty of commanding men will not be necessary, because there will be no duty of taking thought for those who are already happy in that immortal state; but until they arrive there the fathers are more obligated to maintain their position as masters than the slaves to keep their place as servants.

So if any one in the household by disobedience members of the household, slaves as well as free men. The *paterfamilias* is therefore the head of the whole household.

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sticae paci adversatur, corripitur seu verbo seu verberare seu quolibet alio genere poenae iusto atque licito, quantum societas humana concedit, pro eius qui corripitur utilitate, ut paci unde dissiluerat coaptetur. Sicut enim non est beneficentiae adiuvando efficere ut bonum quod maius est amittatur, ita non est innocentiae parcendo sinere ut in malum gravius incidatur. Pertinet ergo ad innocentis officium, non solum nemini malum inferre, verum etiam cohibere a peccato vel punire peccatum, ut aut ipse qui plectitur corrigatur experimento, aut alii terreantur exemplo. Quia igitur hominis domus initium sive particula debet esse civitatis, omne autem initium ad aliquem sui generis finem et omnis pars ad universi, cuius pars est, integritatem refertur, satis apparet esse consequens ut ad pacem civicam pax domestica referatur, id est, ut ordinata imperandi oboediendique concordia cohabitantium referatur ad ordinatam imperandi oboediendique concordiam civium. Ita fit ut ex lege civitatis praecepta sumere patrem familias oporteat, quibus domum suam sic regat ut sit paci adcommoda civitatis.

XVII

*Unde caelestis societas cum terrena civitate pacem habeat
et unde discordiam.*

SED domus hominum qui non vivunt ex fide pacem terrenam ex huius temporalis vitae rebus commodis-

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breaks the domestic peace, he is rebuked by a word or a blow or some other kind of just and legitimate punishment, to the extent permitted by human fellowship, for the sake of the offender, so that he may be closely joined to the peace from which he broke away. For just as it is no kindness to help a man at the cost of his losing a greater good, so it is not blameless behaviour to spare a man at the cost of his falling into a graver sin. Hence blamelessness involves the obligation not only to do evil to no man but also to restrain a man from sinning or to punish him if he has sinned, so that either the man himself who is chastised may be reformed by his experience or others may be deterred by his example. Since, then, a man's house ought to be the beginning or least part of the city, and every beginning ministers to some end of its own kind and every part to the integrity of the whole of which it is a part, it follows clearly enough that domestic peace ministers to civic peace, that is, that the ordered agreement concerning command and obedience among those who dwell together in a household ministers to the ordered agreement concerning command and obedience among citizens. Thus we see that the father of a family ought to draw his precepts from the law of the city, and so rule his household that it shall be in harmony with the peace of the city.

XVII

About the origin of peace and of discord between the heavenly and the earthly societies.

BUT a household of human beings whose life is not governed by faith pursues an earthly peace by means

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que sectatur; domus autem hominum ex fide viventium expectat ea quae in futurum aeterna promissa sunt, terrenisque rebus ac temporalibus tamquam peregrina utitur, non quibus capiatur et avertatur quo tendit in Deum, sed quibus sustentetur ad facilius toleranda minimeque augenda onera corporis corruptibilis, quod adgravat animam. Idcirco rerum vitae huic mortali necessariarum utrisque hominibus et utrique domui communis est usus; sed finis utendi cuique suus proprius multumque diversus. Ita etiam terrena civitas, quae non vivit ex fide, terrenam pacem appetit in eoque defigit imperandi oboediendique concordiam civium ut sit eis de rebus ad mortalem vitam pertinentibus humanarum quaedam compositio voluntatum. Civitas autem caelestis, vel potius pars eius quae in hac mortalitate peregrinatur et vivit ex fide, etiam ista pace necesse est utatur, donec ipsa cui talis pax necessaria est mortalitas transeat; ac per hoc, dum apud terrenam civitatem velut captivam vitam suae peregrinationis agit, iam promissione redemptionis et dono spiritali tamquam pignore accepto, legibus terrenae civitatis quibus haec administrantur quae sustentandae mortali vitae adcommodata sunt obtemperare non dubitat, ut, quoniam communis est ipsa mortalitas, servetur in rebus ad eam pertinentibus inter civitatem utramque concordia.

Verum quia terrena civitas habuit quosdam suos sapientes, quos divina improbat disciplina, qui vel

¹ Wisdom 9.15.

of the good things and the conveniences of this temporal life, while a household of those who live by faith looks to the everlasting blessings that are promised for the future, using like one in a strange land any earthly and temporal things, not letting them entrap him or divert him from the path that leads to God, but making them a means to brace his efforts to ease the burden and by no means to aggravate the load imposed by the corruptible body, which weighs down the soul.¹ Therefore both kinds of human groups and of households use alike the things that are necessary for this mortal life; but each has its own very different end in using them. So, too, the earthly city, that lives not by faith, seeks an earthly peace, and its end in aiming at agreement concerning command and obedience on the part of citizens is limited to a sort of merging of human wills in regard to the things that are useful for this mortal life. Whereas the heavenly city, or rather the part of it that goes its pilgrim way in this mortal life and lives by faith, needs must make use of this peace too, though only until this mortal lot which has need of it shall pass away. Therefore, so long as it leads its life in captivity, as it were, being a stranger in the earthly city, although it has already received the promise of redemption, and the gift of the spirit as a pledge of it, it does not hesitate to obey the laws of the earthly city whereby matters that minister to the support of mortal life are administered to the end that since this mortal life is common to both, a harmony may be preserved between both cities with regard to the things that belong to it.

But because the earthly city has had certain philosophers of its own, whose doctrine is rejected by the

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suspicati vel decepti a daemonibus crederent multos deos conciliandos esse rebus humanis atque ad eorum diversa quodam modo officia diversa subdita pertinere, ad alium corpus, ad alium animum, inque ipso corpore ad alium caput, ad alium cervicem et cetera singula ad singulos, similiter in animo ad alium ingenium, ad alium doctrinam, ad alium iram, ad alium concupiscentiam, inque ipsis rebus vitae adiacentibus ad alium pecus, ad alium triticum, ad alium vinum, ad alium oleum, ad alium silvas, ad alium nummos, ad alium navigationem, ad alium bella atque victorias, ad alium coniugia, ad alium partum ac fecunditatem et ad alios alia cetera; caelestis autem civitas unum Deum solum colendum nosset eique tantum modo serviendum servitute illa quae Graece *λατρεία* dicitur et non nisi Deo debetur fideli pietate censeret, factum est ut religionis leges cum terrena civitate non posset habere communes proque his ab ea dissentire haberet necesse atque oneri esse diversa sentientibus eorumque iras et odia et persecutionum impetus sustinere, nisi cum animos adversantium aliquando terrore suae multitudinis et semper divino adiutorio propulsaret.

Haec ergo caelestis civitas dum peregrinatur in terra, ex omnibus gentibus cives evocat atque in omnibus linguis peregrinam colligit societatem, non curans quidquid in moribus legibus institutisque diversum est, quibus pax terrena vel conquiritur vel tenetur, nihil eorum rescindens vel destruens, immo etiam servans ac sequens, quod licet diversum in

¹ See above, Books 4, 6, and 7.

divine teaching, and who followed their own surmise or were deceived by demons, and so believed that there are many gods to be won over to support human interests, and that different provinces belong to different responsibilities of theirs, so that the body is the province of one, the soul of another; and in the body, one governs the head, another the neck, and so forth with each of the several members; likewise in the soul, one presides over the natural intelligence, another over education, another over anger, still another over lust; and in the adjuncts of life, one god cares for flocks, other gods severally for grain, wine, oil, woods, money, navigation, wars and victories, marriage, birth, fecundity and so forth; ¹ and because the heavenly city, on the other hand, knew only one God to be worshipped and believed with faithful piety that he is to be served with that service which in Greek is called *latreia*, and should be rendered only to God, it has come to pass that the heavenly city could not have common laws of religion with the earthly city, and on this point must dissent and become a tiresome burden to those who thought differently, and must undergo their anger and hatred and persecutions, except that at length it shook the hostile intent of its adversaries with fear of its own numbers and with evidence of the ever-present divine aid.

While this heavenly city, therefore, goes its way as a stranger on earth, it summons citizens from all peoples, and gathers an alien society of all languages, caring naught what difference may be in manners, laws and institutions, by which earthly peace is gained or maintained, abolishing and destroying nothing of the sort, nay rather preserving and following them (for however different they may be among different

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diversis nationibus, ad unum tamen eundemque finem terrenae pacis intenditur, si religionem qua unus summus et verus Deus colendus docetur non impedit. Utitur ergo etiam caelestis civitas in hac sua peregrinatione pace terrena et de rebus ad mortalem hominum naturam pertinentibus humanarum voluntatum compositionem, quantum salva pietate ac religione conceditur, tuetur atque appetit eamque terrenam pacem refert ad caelestem pacem quae vere ita pax est ut rationalis dumtaxat creaturae sola pax habenda atque dicenda sit, ordinatissima scilicet et concordissima societas fruendi Deo et invicem in Deo; quo cum ventum erit, non erit vita mortalis sed plane certeque vitalis, nec corpus animale quod, dum corrumpitur, adgravat animam, sed spiritale sine ulla indigentia ex omni parte subditum voluntati. Hanc pacem, dum peregrinatur in fide, habet atque ex hac fide iuste vivit, cum ad illam pacem adipiscendam refert quidquid bonarum actionum gerit erga Deum et proximum, quoniam vita civitatis utique socialis est.

XVIII

Quam diversa sit Academiae novae ambiguitas a constantia fidei Christianae.

Quod autem adtinet ad illam differentiam quam de Academicis novis Varro adhibuit, quibus incerta sunt omnia, omnino civitas Dei talem dubitationem tamquam dementiam detestatur, habens de rebus quas mente atque ratione comprehendit, etiamsi parvam

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nations, they aim at one and the same end, earthly peace), provided that there is no hindrance to the religion that teaches the obligation to worship one most high and true God. Even the heavenly city, therefore, in this its pilgrimage makes use of the earthly peace, and guards and seeks the merging of human wills in regard to the things that are useful for man's mortal nature, so far as sound piety and religion permit, and makes the earthly peace minister to the heavenly peace, which is so truly peace that it must be deemed and called the only peace, at least of a rational creature, being, as it is, the best ordered and most harmonious fellowship in the enjoyment of God and of one another in God. And when we arrive thither, there shall be no mortal life, but a life indeed; no animal body to burden the soul with its corruption, but a spiritual body that wants nothing and is subdued in every part to the will. This peace the heavenly city during its pilgrimage enjoys by faith, and by this faith it lives justly when it makes the attainment of that peace the goal of every good action in which it engages for the service of God and one's neighbour; for the life of a city is certainly a social life.

XVIII

How different the uncertainty of the New Academy is from the certainty of the Christian faith.

As to that peculiarity which Varro alleges to be a characteristic of the New Academy, the uncertainty of everything, the city of God utterly denounces such doubt, as madness. About matters that its mind and reason apprehend it has most certain knowledge,

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propter corpus corruptibile quod adgravat animam (quoniam, sicut dicit apostolus, *ex parte scimus*), tamen certissimam scientiam creditque sensibus in rei cuiusque evidentia quibus per corpus animus utitur, quoniam miserabilius fallitur qui numquam putat eis esse credendum; credit etiam scripturis sanctis et veteribus et novis quas canonicas appellamus, unde fides ipsa concepta est, ex qua iustus vivit, per quam sine dubitatione ambulamus, quamdiu peregrinamur a Domino; qua salva atque certa, de quibusdam rebus quas neque sensu neque ratione percepimus neque nobis per scripturam canonicam claruerunt nec per testes quibus non credere absurdum est in nostram notitiam pervenerunt, sine iusta reprehensione dubitamus.

XIX

De habitu et moribus populi Christiani.

NIHIL sane ad istam pertinet civitatem quo habitu vel more vivendi, si non est contra divina praecepta, istam fidem qua pervenitur ad Deum quisque sectetur; unde ipsos quoque philosophos, quando Christiani fiunt, non habitum vel consuetudinem victus, quae nihil impedit religionem, sed falsa dogmata mutare compellit. Unde illam quam Varro adhibuit ex Cynicis differentiam, si nihil turpiter atque intemperanter agat, omnino non curat. Ex tribus vero illis vitae generibus, otioso, actuoso et ex

¹ 1 Corinthians 13.9.

² Hebrews 2.4.

³ 2 Corinthians 5.6.

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even though it is slight because of the corruptible body that weighs down the spirit; for, as the Apostle says: "We know in part."¹ It also trusts in all matters the evidence of the senses, which the mind uses through the agency of the body; for wretchedly deceived indeed is he who supposes that they should never be trusted. It believes, too, in the holy Scriptures, old and new, that we call canonical, whence comes the very faith by which the just man lives;² by this faith we walk without doubting, so long as we are exiled from the Lord on our pilgrimage.³ Provided that this faith is sound and certain, we may without just reproach feel doubt about some matters that neither sense nor reason have perceived, and that have not been revealed to us by the canonical Scriptures, and that have not come to our knowledge through witnesses whom it is absurd not to trust.

XIX

About the dress and manner of life of the Christian people.

IT matters not to the heavenly city whether one who follows the faith that leads to God follows it in one dress or manner of life or in another, so long as these are not contrary to the divine precepts; wherefore when even philosophers become Christians, they are not compelled to change their dress or customary fare, which are no hindrance to religion, but only their false doctrines. So the peculiarity of the Cynics that Varro alleged is a matter of indifference, provided that nothing indecent or uncontrolled is done. Of those three kinds of life, to be sure, the

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utroque composito, quamvis salva fide quisque possit in quolibet eorum vitam ducere et ad sempiterna praemia pervenire, interest tamen quid amore teneat veritatis, quid officio caritatis inpendat. Nec sic esse quisque debet otiosus ut in eodem otio utilitatem non cogitet proximi, nec sic actuosus ut contemplationem non requirat Dei. In otio non iners vacatio delectare debet, sed aut inquisitio aut inventio veritatis, ut in ea quisque proficiat et quod invenerit ne alteri invidet.

In actione vero non amandus est honor in hac vita sive potentia, quoniam omnia vana sub sole, sed opus ipsum, quod per eundem honorem vel potentiam fit, si recte atque utiliter fit, id est, ut valeat ad eam salutem subditorum quae secundum Deum est; unde iam superius disputavimus. Propter quod ait apostolus: *Qui episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat.* Exponere voluit quid sit episcopatus, quia nomen est operis, non honoris. Graecum est enim atque inductum vocabulum, quod ille qui praeficitur eis quibus praeficitur superintendit, curam scilicet eorum gerens; σκοπός quippe intentio est, ergo ἐπισκοπεῖν, si velimus, Latine superintendere possumus dicere, ut intellegat non se esse episcopum qui praeesse dilexerit, non prodesse. Itaque ab studio cognoscendae veritatis nemo prohibetur quod ad laudabile pertinet otium; locus vero superior, sine quo regi populus non potest, etsi ita teneatur atque administretur ut decet,

¹ Ecclesiastes 1.23.

² Cf. 19.14.

³ 1 Timothy 3.1.

⁴ σκοπός means rather "watchman"; ἐπισκοπεῖν therefore means "watch over," "oversee."

inactive, the active and the composite, although any one might lead his life in any of them with faith unimpaired and attain to the everlasting rewards, nevertheless there is importance in what he possesses through his love of truth, and in what he pays out because of the claim of Christian love. No man ought to be so completely inactive as not to think of his neighbour's advantage, nor so active as to neglect the contemplation of God. Inactivity should not mean delight in dull vacancy of mind, but investigation or discovery of truth, so conducted that each man makes some contribution and does not withhold from his fellow what he has discovered.

And in action it is not honour or power in this life that should be prized, since all things under the sun are vanity,¹ but the task itself that is accomplished through that same honour and power, if rightly and helpfully performed; that is, if it contributes to the welfare of those who are set below us. This is according to God's law, with which we have already dealt.² So the Apostle says: "He that desires the episcopate desires a good work."³ He wished to show what the word episcopate means: a task, not an honour. In fact, it is a Greek word, derived from the fact that he who is set over others superintends or cares for them; for *skopos* means attention, and therefore we may if we wish translate *episkopein* into Latin as "superintend."⁴ Thus a bishop who loves pre-eminence, not good works, should understand that he is no bishop. No man, therefore, is barred from devotion to the investigation of truth, for that is bound up with a praiseworthy use of leisure; but it is unseemly to seek high position, without which a people cannot be ruled, even though the position be held and

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tamen indecenter appetitur. Quam ob rem otium sanctum quaerit caritas veritatis; negotium iustum suscipit necessitas caritatis. Quam sarcinam si nullus inponit, percipiendae atque intuendae vacandum est veritati; si autem inponitur, suscipienda est propter caritatis necessitatem; sed nec sic omni modo veritatis delectatio deserenda est, ne subtrahatur illa suavitas et opprimat ista necessitas.

XX

*Quod cives sanctorum in huius vitae tempore spe
beati sint.*

QUAM ob rem summum bonum civitatis Dei cum sit pax aeterna atque perfecta, non per quam mortales transeant nascendo atque moriendo, sed in qua immortales maneant nihil adversi omnino patiando, quis est qui illam vitam vel beatissimam neget vel in eius comparatione istam quae hic agitur, quantislibet animi et corporis externarumque rerum bonis plena sit, non miserrimam iudicet? Quam tamen quicumque sic habet ut eius usum referat ad illius finem quam diligit ardentissime ac fidelissime sperat, non absurde dici etiam nunc beatus potest, spe illa potius quam re ista. Res ista vero sine spe illa beatitudo falsa et magna miseria est; non enim veris animi bonis utitur, quoniam non est vera sapientia quae intentionem suam in his quae prudenter discernit,

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administered in a seemly manner. Wherefore it is love of truth that prompts the search for holy leisure, while it is the compulsion of love that makes men undertake a righteous activity in affairs. If this burden is not placed upon us, we should use our freedom to discern and contemplate truth; but if it is placed upon us it must be accepted because of this compulsion of love. But even so, delight in truth is not to be wholly abandoned, lest when that satisfaction is denied, the compulsion in question may crush us.

XX

That the fellow citizens of the saints are in this present life blessed through hope.

SINCE, therefore, the supreme good of the city of God is everlasting and perfect peace, not the peace through which men pass as mortals, by being born and by dying, but that in which they continue as immortals, wherein is no contrariety at all, who can deny that this is the most blessed life, or that in comparison with it the present life, however great may be the goods of soul and body and external things with which it is replete, is most wretched? Yet whoever lives the present life on such terms that he employs it always to serve the end of that other life, which he loves most ardently and most confidently hopes for, may without absurdity even now be called blessed, albeit more by the distant hope than by present reality. Present reality is, indeed, without that hope, a false happiness, nay, a great misery; for it does not avail itself of the true goods of the mind, since no wisdom is true wisdom that does not guide the mind in

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gerit fortiter, cohibet temperanter iusteque distribuit, non ad illum dirigit finem ubi erit Deus omnia in omnibus, aeternitate certa et pacc perfecta.

XXI

An secundum definitiones Scipionis, quae in dialogo Ciceronis sunt, umquam fuerit Romana res publica.

QUAPROPTER nunc est locus ut quam potero breviter ac dilucide expediam, quod in secundo huius operis libro me demonstraturum esse promisi, secundum definitiones quibus apud Ciceronem utitur Scipio in libris de re publica, numquam rem publicam fuisse Romanam. Breviter enim rem publicam definit esse rem populi. Quae definitio si vera est, numquam fuit Romana res publica, quia numquam fuit res populi, quam definitionem voluit esse rei publicae. Populum enim esse definivit coetum multitudinis iuris consensu et utilitatis communi sociatum. Quid autem dicat iuris consensum, disputando explicat, per hoc ostendens geri sine iustitia non posse rem publicam; ubi ergo iustitia vera non est, nec ius potest esse. Quod enim iure fit, profecto iuste fit; quod autem fit iniuste, nec iure fieri potest. Non enim iura dicenda sunt vel putanda iniqua hominum constituta, cum illud etiam ipsi ius esse dicant quod de iustitiae fonte manaverit, falsumque esse quod a quibusdam non recte sentientibus dici solet, id esse ius quod ei qui plus potest utile est.

Quocirca ubi non est vera iustitia, iuris consensu sociatus coetus hominum non potest esse et ideo nec

¹ 1 Corinthians 15.28.

² See 2.21 above; cf. Cicero, *De Rep.* 2, 42 f.

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all its prudent judgements, resolute actions, self-restraint and just dealings toward that end in which God shall be all in all ¹ in a sure eternity and in perfect peace.

XXI

Whether there ever was a Roman state such as is defined by Scipio in Cicero's dialogue.

THIS, accordingly, is the place for me to fulfil as briefly and as clearly as I can the promise that I gave in the second book of this work,² that I would show that there was never a Roman state such as is defined by Scipio in Cicero's *Republic*; for he briefly defines a state as a people's estate. Now if this definition is true, there never was a Roman state, for there never was a people's estate, which Scipio made his definition of a state. A people he defined as a numerous gathering united in fellowship by a common sense of right and a community of interest; what he means by a common sense of right he explains by arguing at length that a state cannot be administered without justice; therefore where there is no true justice there can be no right. For what is done rightly is surely done justly, while what is done unjustly cannot be done rightly. For unjust human institutions are not to be called or thought of as rights, since even their creators say that right is what flows from the spring of justice, and that it is a false conception of right, commonly maintained by certain erring thinkers, that it is the interest of the strongest.³

So where there is no true justice there can be no gathering of men united in fellowship by a common

² Cf. Thrasymachus in Plato, *Rep.* 1.

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populus iuxta illam Scipionis vel Ciceronis definitionem; et si non populus, nec res populi, sed qualiscumque multitudinis, quae populi nomine digna non est. Ac per hoc, si res publica res est populi et populus non est qui consensu non sociatus est iuris, non est autem ius ubi nulla iustitia est, procul dubio colligitur, ubi iustitia non est, non esse rem publicam. Iustitia porro ea virtus est quae sua cuique distribuit. Quae igitur iustitia est hominis quae ipsum hominem Deo vero tollit et inmundis daemonibus subdit? Hocine est sua cuique distribuere? An qui fundum aufert eius a quo emptus est, et tradit ei qui nihil habet in eo iuris, iniustus est; et qui se ipsum aufert dominanti Deo a quo factus est, et malignis servit spiritibus, iustus est?

Disputatur certe acerrime atque fortissime in eisdem ipsis de re publica libris adversus iniustitiam pro iustitia. Et quoniam, cum prius ageretur pro iniustitiae partibus contra iustitiam et diceretur nisi per iniustitiam rem publicam stare gerique non posse, hoc veluti validissimum positum erat, iniustum esse ut homines hominibus dominantibus serviant, quam tamen iniustitiam nisi sequatur imperiosa civitas, cuius est magna res publica, non eam posse provinciis imperare; responsum est a parte iustitiae ideo iustum esse quod talibus hominibus sit utilis servitus, et pro utilitate eorum fieri, cum recte fit, id est cum improbis aufertur iniuriarum licentia, et domiti

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 5, 5.2.

sense of right, and therefore no people as defined by Scipio or Cicero; and if no people, then no people's estate, but a nondescript mob unworthy of the name of people. If, then, a republic is a people's estate, and if that is not a people that is not united in fellowship by a common sense of right, and if there is no right where there is no justice, then the certain consequence is that where there is no justice there is no state. Moreover, justice is that virtue which assigns to every man his due.¹ What sort of justice is it that removes a man from the true God and subjects him to unclean demons? Is that assigning to every man his due? If we are to pronounce unjust the man who keeps back a piece of land from its purchaser and hands it over to another who has no lawful claim on it, are we also to pronounce just the man who takes himself from the Lord and God who made him and serves evil spirits?

There is certainly in that same work, the *Republic*, a very sharp and vigorous argument against injustice and on behalf of justice. And since, when an argument was put forward earlier on the side of injustice against justice and it was maintained that a state cannot exist or be administered except through injustice, this was laid down as the strongest link in the argument, that it is unjust for some men to serve other men as masters (and yet an imperial city, embracing a mighty state, cannot command provinces without pursuing such injustice); to all this argument the reply on the side of justice was that the rule over provincials is just, precisely because servitude is the interest of such men, and is established for their welfare when rightly established; that is, when licence to do wrong is taken away from wicked men; and that those

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melius se habebunt, quia indomiti deterius se habuerunt; subditumque est, ut ista ratio firmaretur, veluti a natura sumptum nobile exemplum atque dictum est: "Cur igitur Deus homini, animus imperat corpori, ratio libidini ceterisque vitiosis animi partibus?" Plane hoc exemplo satis edoctum est quibusdam esse utilem servitutem, et Deo quidem ut serviatur utile esse omnibus.

Serviens autem Deo animus recte imperat corpori, inque ipso animo ratio Deo Domino subdita recte imperat libidini vitiisque ceteris. Quapropter ubi homo Deo non servit, quid in eo putandum est esse iustitiae, quando quidem Deo non serviens nullo modo potest iuste animus corpori aut humana ratio vitiis imperare? Et si in homine tali non est ulla iustitia, procul dubio nec in hominum coetu qui ex hominibus talibus constat. Non est hic ergo iuris ille consensus qui hominum multitudinem populum facit, cuius res dicitur esse res publica. Nam de utilitate quid dicam cuius etiam communione sociatus coetus hominum, sicut sese habet ista definitio, populus nuncupatur? Quamvis enim, si diligenter attendas, nec utilitas sit ulla viventium, qui vivunt impie, sicut vivit omnis qui non servit Deo servitque daemonibus, tanto magis impiis quanto magis sibi, cum sint inmundissimi spiritus, tamquam diis sacrificari volunt; tamen quod de iuris consensu diximus satis esse arbitror unde appareat per hanc definitionem non esse populum, cuius res publica esse dicatur, in quo iustitia non est.

subdued will be better off, because when not subdued they were worse off. In support of the reasoning a striking example is introduced, as if drawn from nature, and stated as follows: Why, then, is it that God commands man, the soul commands the body, the reason commands lust and the other vicious parts of the soul? By this example it is taught clearly enough that servitude is the interest of some men, and that service, to God at any rate, is the interest of all.

For in serving God the soul rightly commands the body, and in that very soul the reason that is subject to God as master rightly commands the lusts and the other vices. Wherefore when a man does not serve God, how much justice must we suppose him to possess? For if a man does not serve God, in no wise can his soul justly command his body or his human reason command his vices. And if in such a man there is no justice, there can be no doubt that there is no justice in a gathering consisting of such men. In this case, therefore, there is not that common sense of right which transforms a multitude of men into a people, whose estate has been said to constitute a state. For why need I speak of the common profit whereby also a gathering of men, according to our definition, is called a people? Although, if you give diligent attention, there is no common profit when men live impiously, as do all who do not serve God and do serve demons,—demons that are all the more impious in that these most unclean spirits demand sacrifices to be paid to them as to gods,—nevertheless I think that what we have said concerning a common sense of right is enough to demonstrate that in terms of this definition a people in whom there is no justice cannot be described as having a state.

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Si enim dicunt non spiritibus inmundis, sed diis bonis atque sanctis in sua re publica servisse Romanos, numquid eadem totiens repetenda sunt quae iam satis, immo ultra quam satis est diximus? Quis enim ad hunc locum per superiores huius operis libros pervenit qui dubitare adhuc possit malis et impuris daemonibus servisse Romanos, nisi vel nimium stolidus vel impudentissime contentiosus? Sed ut taceam quales sint quos sacrificiis colebant: in lege veri Dei scriptum est: *Sacrificans diis eradicabitur nisi Domino tantum.* Nec bonis igitur nec malis diis sacrificari voluit qui hoc cum tanta comminatione praecepit.

XXII

An verus sit Deus, cui Christiani serviunt, cui soli debeat sacrificari.

SED responderi potest: " Quis iste Deus est aut unde dignus probatur cui deberent obtemperare Romani ut nullum deorum praeter ipsum colerent sacrificiis? " Magnae caecitatis est adhuc quaerere quis iste sit Deus. Ipse est Deus cuius prophetae praedixerunt ista quae cernimus. Ipse est Deus a quo responsum accepit Abraham: *In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes.* Quod in Christo fieri, qui secundum carnem de illo semine exortus est, idem ipsi qui remanserunt huius nominis inimici, velint nolintve, cognoscunt. Ipse est Deus cuius divinus Spiritus per eos locutus est quorum praedicta atque

¹ Exodus 22.20.

² Genesis 22.18.

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And if some say that the Romans in their state served not unclean spirits but good and holy gods, must we repeat again and again the same things that we have already said enough times, nay, more than enough? For what reader who has read the earlier books of this work and has reached this point can doubt that the Romans served evil and impure demons, unless he is either exceedingly stupid or unblushingly argumentative? To say nothing of the character of the gods whom they worshipped with sacrifices, it is written in the law of the true God: "He that sacrifices to any god, save to the Lord only, shall be uprooted."¹ It was not his will that sacrifices should be offered either to good gods, then, or to evil, who laid down this precept with so great a threat.

XXII

Whether the God whom the Christians serve is the true God, to whom only it is right to offer sacrifice.

BUT the reply may be made: "Who is this God, or how is he proved worthy, and no other god besides, of the worship and sacrifices of the Romans?" He must be very blind who still asks who this God is. He is the very God whose prophets foretold the things that we behold. He is the very God from whom Abraham received the declaration: "By your seed all people shall be blessed."² And this was fulfilled in Christ, who arose from that seed after the flesh, as even those acknowledge, whether they will or not, who have remained hostile to this name. He is the very God whose divine spirit spoke through those men whose prophecies, cited in my earlier

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completa per ecclesiam quam videmus toto orbe diffusam in libris superioribus posui. Ipse est Deus quem Varro doctissimus Romanorum Iovem putat, quamvis nesciens quid loquatur; quod tamen ideo commemorandum putavi quoniam vir tantae scientiae nec nullum istum Deum potuit existimare neovilem. Hunc enim eum esse credidit quem summum putavit deum. Postremo ipse est Deus quem doctissimus philosophorum, quamvis Christianorum acerrimus inimicus, etiam per eorum oracula quos deos putat, deum magnum Porphyrius confitetur.

XXIII

Quae Porphyrius dicat oraculis deorum responsa esse de Christo.

NAM in libris, quos ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας appellat, in quibus exequitur atque conscribit rerum ad philosophiam pertinentium velut divina responsa, ut ipsa verba eius, quem ad modum ex Graeca lingua in Latinam interpretata sunt, ponam: "Interroganti," inquit, "quem deum placando revocare possit uxorem suam a Christianismo, haec ait versibus Apollo." Deinde verba velut Apollinis ista sunt: "Forte magis poteris in aqua impressis litteris scribere aut adinflans leves pinnas per aera avis volare, quam pollutae revoces impiae uxoris sensum. Pergat quo modo vult inanibus fallaciis ¹ perseverans et lamentari fallaciis mortuum Deum cantans, quem iudicibus

¹ The Latin text here is corrupt, and the Greek text of Porphyry is lost; but the sense is sufficiently clear.

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books, are fulfilled in the church which we see spread throughout the world. He is the very God whom Varro, most learned of Romans, thought to be Jupiter, albeit knowing not what he said; a fact which I deemed worth mentioning merely because a man of such learning was unable to deny the existence of this God or to think him of no worth, inasmuch as he believed him to be the same being as his supreme god. Finally, he is the very God whom Porphyry, the most learned of philosophers, though the most bitter foe of the Christians, confesses to be a mighty god, even in accordance with the oracles of those whom he takes to be gods.

XXIII

What Porphyry says were the responses of the oracles of the gods about Christ.

FOR in the book, entitled *Oracular Philosophy*, in which he compiles and comments on responses, supposedly divine, concerning matters pertaining to philosophy, he says (to quote his very words, translated from Greek into Latin): "To one who enquired what god's favour he should seek in order to recall his wife from Christianity, Apollo replied in the following verses." Then these words follow, as those of Apollo: "You may perchance more easily write in lasting letters on water, or spread light pinions and fly like a bird through the air, than recall to her senses an impious wife who has once polluted herself. Let her continue as she pleases, persisting in her empty delusions, and lamenting in song as a god one who died for delusions, who was condemned by judges

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recta sentientibus perditum pessima in speciosis ferro vincta mors interfecit." Deinde post hos versus Apollinis, qui non stante metro Latine interpretati sunt, subiunxit atque ait: "In his quidem inremediabile sententiae eorum manifestavit, dicens quoniam Iudaei suscipiunt Deum magis quam isti." Ecce, ubi decolorans Christum Iudaeos praeposuit Christianis, confitens quod Iudaei suscipiant Deum. Sic enim exposuit versus Apollinis, ubi iudicibus recta sentientibus Christum dicit occisum, tamquam illis iuste iudicantibus merito sit ille punitus. Viderint quid de Christo vates mendax Apollinis dixerit atque iste crediderit aut fortasse vatem, quod non dixit, dixisse iste ipse confinxerit. Quam sibi constet vel ipsa oracula inter se faciat convenire, postea videbimus.

Hic tamen Iudaeos, tamquam Dei susceptores, recte dicit iudicasse de Christo, quod eum morte pessima excruciantum esse censuerint. Deus itaque Iudaeorum, cui perhibet testimonium, audiendus fuit dicens: *Sacrificans diis eradicabitur nisi Domino tantum.* Sed ad manifestiora veniamus et audiamus quam magnum Deum dicat esse Iudaeorum. Item ad ea quae interrogavit Apollinem, quid melius, verbum sive ratio an lex: "Respondit," inquit, "versibus haec dicens." Ac deinde subicit Apollinis versus, in quibus et isti sunt, ut quantum satis est inde decerpam: "In Deum vero," inquit, "generatorem et in regem ante omnia, quem tremit et caelum et

¹ Exodus 22.20.

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whose verdict was just, and executed publicly by the worst iron-bound death." Then after these verses of Apollo (here rendered into Latin prose) Porphyry remarks: "In these verses Apollo made manifest the incurable weakness of the Christian belief, saying that it is the Jews who uphold God better than the Christians. Behold how he denigrates Christ, and prefers the Jews to the Christians when he expresses his belief that they are upholders of God. For this is his exposition of the verses of Apollo, in the course of which he says that Christ was slain by judges whose verdict was correct, as if he had been deservedly condemned to punishment by just judges. What the lying seer of Apollo said and Porphyry believed, or what Porphyry possibly invented as the seer's words, are their responsibility; I shall deal later with the consistency of Porphyry with himself, that is, how consistent he makes his very oracles with one another.

In this passage, however, he says that the Jews, as God's champions, judged rightly in decreeing that Christ was to be tortured by the worst kind of death. Then he should have given heed also to these words of the God of the Jews, to whom he bears witness: "He who sacrifices to any other gods, save to the Lord alone, shall be uprooted."¹ But let us come to plainer matters, and let us hear how great a god Porphyry says that the God of the Jews is. For example, Apollo, when asked which is the better, word (that is, reason) or law, replied, he says, in these verses, which he adds (and I select of them only the following, as sufficient): "In one truly God, the creator, and the king prior to all things, before whom tremble heaven and earth and the sea and the hidden

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terra atque mare et infernorum abdita et ipsa numina perhorrescunt; quorum lex¹ est Pater, quem valde sancti honorant Hebraei." Tali oraculo dei sui Apollinis Porphyrius tam magnum Deum dixit Hebraeorum ut eum et ipsa numina perhorrescant. Cum ergo Deus iste dixerit: *Sacrificans diis eradicabitur*, miror quod ipse Porphyrius non perhorruerit et sacrificans diis eradicari non formidaverit.

Dicit etiam bona philosophus iste de Christo, quasi oblitus illius de qua paulo ante locuti sumus contumeliae suae, aut quasi in somnis dii eius maledixerint Christo et evigilantes eum bonum esse cognoverint digneque laudaverint. Denique tamquam mirabile aliquid atque incredibile prolaturus: "Praeter opinionem," inquit, "profecto quibusdam videatur esse quod dicturi sumus. Christum enim dii piissimum pronuntiaverunt et immortalem factum et cum bona praedicatione eius meminerunt; Christianos vero pollutos, inquit, et contaminatos et errore implicatos esse dicunt et multis talibus adversus eos blasphemiis utuntur." Deinde subicit velut oracula deorum blasphemantium Christianos et post haec: "De Christo autem," inquit, "interrogantibus si est Deus, ait Hecate: 'Quoniam quidem immortalis anima post corpus incedit, nosti; a sapientia autem abscisa semper errat. Viri pietate praestantissimi est illa anima; hanc colunt aliena a se veritate.'" Deinde post verba huius quasi oraculi sua ipse contexens: "Piissimum igitur virum," inquit, "eum

¹ lex *MSS.*: Rex *Welldon*.

¹ Cf. Lactantius, *De Ira Dei*, 23.12, quoting part of the passage in Greek, but not the last part.

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places beneath, and the very divinities shudder; their law is the Father whom the holy Hebrews greatly honour." ¹ In this oracle of his own god Apollo, Porphyry has cited the God of the Hebrews as being so great that the very divinities shudder before him. Since, then, that God said: "He who sacrifices to any other gods shall be uprooted," I am surprised that Porphyry himself did not shudder and fear lest he be uprooted for sacrificing to other gods.

This philosopher, however, has also some good things to say about Christ, as if he had forgotten that spiteful thrust of his about which we have just spoken, or as if his gods had uttered maledictions against Christ in their sleep, and in their waking hours recognized that he was good and paid him a deserved tribute. For he says, as if he were about to announce something wonderful and incredible: "What we are about to say must surely seem surprising to some. For the gods have declared that Christ was very pious, and has become immortal, and they refer to him in favourable terms; the Christians, however, they say are polluted and contaminated and involved in error, and they utter many such blasphemies against them." Then he adds examples, as he alleges, of oracles of the gods that blaspheme the Christians, and continues: "But to those who enquired whether Christ were God, Hecate replied: 'You know that the immortal soul advances after it leaves the body; but when it is sundered from wisdom it wanders forever. The soul in question is that of a man preëminent in piety; they worship it because they are estranged from the truth.' " Then after the words of this reputed oracle he adds his own interpretation: "So Hecate said that this was a most

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dixit et eius animam, sicut et aliorum piorum, post obitum immortalitate dignatam et hanc colere Christianos ignorantes. Interrogantibus autem," inquit: "'Cur ergo damnatus est?' oraculo respondit dea: 'Corpus quidem debilitantibus tormentis semper oppositum est; anima autem piorum caelesti sedi insidet. Illa vero anima aliis animabus fataliter dedit, quibus fata non adnuerunt deorum dona obtinere neque habere Iovis immortalis agnitionem, errore implicari. Propterea ergo diis exosi, quia, quibus fato non fuit nosse Deum nec dona ab diis accipere, his fataliter dedit iste errore implicari. Ipse vero pius et in caelum, sicut pii, concessit. Itaque hunc quidem non blasphemabis, misereberis autem hominum dementiam; ex eo in eis facile praecepsque periculum.' "

Quis ita stultus est ut non intellegat aut ab homine callido eoque Christianis inimicissimo haec oracula fuisse conficta aut consilio simili ab impuris daemonibus ista fuisse responsa, ut scilicet, quoniam laudant Christum, propterea credantur veraciter vituperare Christianos atque ita, si possint, intercludant viam salutis aeternae, in qua fit quisque Christianus? Suae quippe nocendi astutiae milleformi sentiunt non esse contrarium si credatur eis laudantibus Christum, dum tamen credatur etiam vituperantibus Christianos; ut eum qui utrumque crediderit talem Christi faciant laudatorem ne velit

¹ With this whole passage, cf. Eusebius, *Demonstr. Evang.* 3.7.

pious man, and that his soul, like that of other pious men, was invested, as it deserved, after his death with immortality, and that the Christians in their ignorance worship it. And to those who enquired why, then, he was condemned, the goddess answered in an oracle: 'The body, to be sure, is always exposed to crippling torments; but the souls of the pious have their abode in heaven. Now the soul in question gave to other souls the fatal gift of becoming involved in error; these were souls to whom the fates had not granted that they should gain the gifts of the gods or acquire knowledge of immortal Jupiter. Wherefore they were hated by the gods, because, though they were not fated to know God nor to receive the gifts of the gods, this man gave them the fatal gift of becoming involved in error. He himself, however, was pious, and like other pious men, found his way to heaven. So you must not blaspheme him, but rather pity the folly of men; from him there exists among them a risk of easy and headlong fall.' " 1

Who is so foolish as not to understand that these oracles either were invented by a shrewd man, and one most hostile to the Christians, or were the responses of impure demons with like design? Of course by praising Christ they hope to convince men that their vituperation of Christians is reliable, and so, if possible, to shut off the way to everlasting salvation, whereby the individual becomes a Christian. Of course they assume that it is no drawback to their malevolent and multifarious ingenuity if they are convincing when they praise Christ, provided that their vituperation of the Christians is also convincing. They hope that one whom they have convinced on both counts will be led to praise Christ, but with the

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esse Christianus, ac sic quamvis ab illo laudatus ab istorum tamen daemonum dominatu eum non liberet Christus; praesertim quia ita laudant Christum ut quisquis in eum talem crediderit, qualis ab eis praedicatur, Christianus verus non sit sed Photinianus haereticus, qui tantummodo hominem, non etiam Deum noverit Christum, et ideo per eum salvus esse non possit nec istorum mendaciloquorum daemonum laqueos vitare vel solvere.

Nos autem neque Apollinem vituperantem Christum neque Hecaten possumus adprobare laudantem. Ille quippe tamquam iniquum Christum vult credi, quem iudicibus recta sentientibus dicit occisum; ista hominem piissimum, sed hominem tantum. Una est tamen et illius et huius intentio, ut nolint homines esse Christianos, quia, nisi Christiani erunt, ab eorum erui potestate non poterunt. Iste vero philosophus, vel potius qui talibus adversus Christianos quasi oraculis credunt, prius faciant, si possunt, ut inter se de ipso Christo Hecate atque Apollo concordent eumque aut ambo condemnent aut ambo conlaudent. Quod si facere potuissent, nihilo minus nos et vituperatores et laudatores Christi fallaces daemones vitaremus. Cum vero eorum deus et dea inter se de Christo, ille vituperando, ista laudando dissentiant, profecto eis blasphemantibus Christianos non credunt homines, si recte ipsi sentiant.

Sane Christum laudans vel Porphyrius vel Hecate, cum dicat eum ipsum fataliter dedisse Christianis ut implicarentur errore, causas tamen eiusdem, sicut putat, pandit erroris. Quas antequam ex verbis eius

qualification that he does not desire to be a Christian, and so is not delivered from the domination of those demons by the Christ whom he has praised. In particular, their praise of Christ is such that one who believes in him on their terms is not a true Christian but a Photinian heretic, inasmuch as he recognizes Christ only as man and not also as God, and therefore cannot be saved by him, and cannot avoid or undo the snares of those lying demons.

We, for our part, can approve neither Apollo's vituperation of Christ nor Hecate's praise: the one would have us believe that Christ was unrighteous, since he says that he was put to death by judges whose verdict was correct; the other, that he was a most pious man, yet only a man. For the intent of both is the same, to prevent men from becoming Christians; for if they are not Christians they cannot be delivered from their power. Now the philosopher, or rather those who believe such so-called oracles against the Christians, must first reconcile, if they can, Hecate and Apollo with regard to Christ himself so that either both may condemn or both may praise him. But even if they had been able to do this, none the less would we avoid such cheating demons, whether they vituperate or praise Christ. But when their god and their goddess are at odds, he vituperating, she praising Christ, surely when they blaspheme the Christians, men remain unconvinced, if their own judgement is sound.

When Porphyry or Hecate, praising Christ, declares that he gave himself as a fatal gift to the Christians, in order to involve them in error, he lays bare, as he supposes, the causes of this same error. But before I quote his words to this effect, I first ask whether it

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exponam, prius quaero, si fataliter dedit Christus Christianis erroris implicationem, utrum volens an nolens dederit. Si volens, quo modo iustus? Si nolens, quo modo beatus? Sed iam causas ipsius audiamus erroris. "Sunt," inquit, "spiritus terreni minimi loco quodam malorum daemonum potestati subiecti. Ab his sapientes Hebraeorum (quorum unus iste etiam Iesus fuit, sicut audisti divina Apollinis, quae superius dicta sunt), ab his ergo Hebraei daemonibus pessimis et minoribus spiritibus vetabant religiosos et ipsis vacare prohibebant; venerari autem magis caelestes deos, amplius autem venerari Deum Patrem. Hoc autem," inquit, "et dii praecipunt et in superioribus ostendimus, quem ad modum animum advertere ad Deum monent et illum colere ubique imperant. Verum indocti et impiae naturae, quibus vere fatum non concessit ab diis dona obtinere neque habere Iovis immortalis notionem, non audientes et deos et divinos viros, deos quidem omnes recusaverunt, prohibitos autem daemones et hos non odisse, sed revereri.¹ Deum autem simulantes colere, ea sola per quae Deus adoratur non agunt. Nam Deus quidem, utpote omnium Pater, nullius indiget; sed nobis est bene, cum eum per iustitiam et castitatem aliasque virtutes adoramus, ipsam vitam precem ad ipsum facientes per imitationem et inquisitionem de ipso. Inquisitio enim purgat," inquit; "imitatio deificat affectionem ad ipsum operando."

Bene quidem praedicavit Deum Patrem, et quibus sit colendus moribus dixit; quibus praeceptis pro-

¹ *The grammar of the Latin here requires the restoration of some expression such as studuerunt novisse: "but have been eager to know the forbidden demons, and instead of hating them to revere them."*

was voluntarily or involuntarily that Christ gave the Christians this fatal gift of involvement in error. If voluntarily, how could he be just? If involuntarily, how could he be blessed? But now let us hear the causes of this error. "There are in a certain region," he says, "very small earthly spirits, subject to the power of evil demons. The wise men of the Hebrews, among whom was also this Jesus, as you have heard from the oracles of Apollo, quoted above, barred religious men from these very evil demons and lesser spirits and forbade them to pay them any heed. They were, however, to worship the gods of heaven, above all God the father. But this," he says, "the gods also teach; and we have shown above how they admonish men to turn their minds to God and command them to worship him everywhere. But unenlightened and impious natures, to which fate has not vouchsafed the gifts of the gods and a conception of immortal Jupiter, shutting their ears to the gods and to inspired men, have rejected all the gods, and instead of hating the forbidden demons have revered them. Though pretending to worship God, they do not do those things by which alone God is adored. For God, being the father of all, is in need of nothing; but it is well with us when we adore him by means of justice, chastity and other virtues, and so make our life itself a prayer to him by imitating him and seeking knowledge of him. For seeking to know him purifies," he says, "while imitation deifies us by producing in us an assimilation to him."

He has done well in proclaiming God the Father, and in speaking of the conduct by which he should be worshipped; of such precepts the prophetic books of

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pheticum libri pleni sunt Hebraeorum, quando sanctorum vita sive imperatur sive laudatur. Sed in Christianis tantum errat aut tantum calumniatur quantum volunt daemones, quos opinatur deos; quasi cuiquam difficile sit recolere quae turpia, quae dedecora erga deorum obsequium in theatris agebantur et templis, et adtendere quae legantur dicantur audiantur in ecclesiis, vel Deo vero quid offeratur, et hinc intellegere ubi aedificium, et ubi ruina sit morum. Quis autem huic dixit vel inspiravit, nisi diabolicus spiritus, tam vanum apertumque mendacium, quod daemones ab Hebraeis coli prohibitos vereantur potius quam oderint Christiani? Sed Deus ille quem coluerunt sapientes Hebraeorum, etiam caelestibus sanctis angelis et virtutibus Dei, quos beatissimos tamquam cives in hac nostra peregrinatione mortali veneramus et amamus, sacrificari vetat intonans in lege sua quam dedit Hebraeo populo suo et valde minaciter dicens: *Sacrificans diis eradicabitur*. Et ne quisquam putaret daemonibus pessimis terrenisque spiritibus, quos iste dicit minimos vel minores, ne sacrificetur esse praeceptum (quia et ipsi in scripturis sanctis dicti sunt dii, non Hebraeorum, sed gentium; quod evidenter in psalmo septuaginta interpretes posuerunt, dicentes: *Quoniam omnes dii gentium daemonia*), ne quis ergo putaret istis quidem daemoniis prohibitum, caelestibus autem vel omnibus vel aliquibus sacrificari esse permissum, mox addidit: *Nisi Domino soli*, id est nisi Domino tantum; ne forte

¹ Exodus 22.20.

² Psalms 96.5.

³ Exodus 22.20.

the Hebrews are full, when the life of the saints is made the subject of command or approval. But in dealing with the Christians his errors,—his slanders,—are as great as the demons, whom he takes for gods, desire; as if it were difficult for any one to recall the base and unseemly acts that were performed in theatres and temples in honour of the gods, and to note what is read, said and heard in our churches and what is offered to the true God, and so to understand where there is edification, and where downfall, of character. Who but a diabolical spirit has told him or suggested to him such a foolish and manifest lie as that the Christians revered rather than hated the demons whose worship was forbidden by the Hebrews? But that God whom the wise men of the Hebrews worshipped forbids sacrifices to be offered even to the holy angels and powers of heaven, whom we venerate and love, in this mortal pilgrimage of ours, as our most blessed fellow citizens; with the voice of thunder he speaks in his law, which he gave to his Hebrew people, and puts it in very threatening words: “He who sacrifices to any other gods shall be uprooted.”¹ And lest any should suppose that this command forbids sacrifice only to those very evil demons and earthly spirits that Porphyry calls least or lesser (for even these are called gods in the sacred scriptures, not of the Hebrews but of the Gentiles, as the seventy translators put it clearly in the psalm when they say: “For all the gods of the nations are demons”²), lest any should suppose, I say, that sacrifice was indeed forbidden to these demons, but that it was permitted to some or all of the heavenly beings, the words are added next: “Save to the Lord only,”³ that is, save to the Lord alone. (If any one

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in eo quod ait: *Domino soli*, Dominum solem credat esse quispiam, cui sacrificandum putet; quod non ita esse intellegendum in scripturis Graecis facillime reperitur.

Deus igitur Hebraeorum, cui tam magnum tantus etiam iste philosophus perhibet testimonium, legem dedit Hebraeo populo suo, Hebraeo sermone conscriptam, non obscuram et incognitam, sed omnibus iam gentibus diffamatam, in qua lege scriptum est: *Sacrificans diis eradicabitur nisi Domino tantum*. Quid opus est in hac eius lege eiusque prophetis de hac re multa perquirere; immo non perquirere, non enim abstrusa vel rara sunt, sed aperta et crebra colligere et in hac disputatione mea ponere, quibus luce clarius apparet nulli omnino nisi tantum sibi Deum verum et summum voluisse sacrificari? Ecce hoc unum breviter, immo granditer, minaciter, sed veraciter dictum ab illo Deo, quem tam excellenter eorum doctissimi praedicant, audiatur timeatur impleatur, ne inoboedientes eradicatio consequatur. *Sacrificans*, inquit, *diis eradicabitur nisi Domino tantum*; non quo rei egeat alicuius, sed quia nobis expedit ut res eius simus. Huic enim canitur in sacris litteris Hebraeorum: *Dixi Domino: Deus meus es tu, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges*.

Huius autem praeclarissimum atque optimum sacrificium nos ipsi sumus, hoc est civitas eius, cuius rei mysterium celebramus oblationibus nostris, quae fidelibus notae sunt, sicut in libris praecedentibus

¹ St. Augustine is warning against confusing *soli* ("only") with *solis* ("sun"): the confusion, of course, does not exist in the Greek (or in the Hebrew) text.

² Psalms 16.2.

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supposes that the words *Domino soli* mean "to our Lord the sun," to whom sacrifice should be offered, a glance at the Greek scriptures will show that this is not the meaning.¹⁾

The God of the Hebrews, then, to whom this distinguished philosopher bears this weighty testimony, gave to his Hebrew people the law, written in the Hebrew language, and not obscure or unknown, but now celebrated among all peoples, in which it is written: "He who sacrifices to other gods, save to the Lord only, shall be uprooted." What need is there to engage in lengthy enquiry into his law and prophets about this matter? The need is indeed not for enquiry, for the passages are not obscure or scarce, but rather for gathering and setting forth in this argument of mine the obvious and frequent passages in which it appears clearer than daylight that the true and most high God chose to have sacrifice offered to no being whatsoever save to himself only. Here is one utterance, a little one, or rather a great one, as veritable as menacing, of the God whom the most learned of the Gentiles so excellently extol; let it be heard, feared and lived up to, lest the disobedient be in consequence uprooted. "He who sacrifices to other gods," he says, "save to the Lord only, shall be uprooted," not because God has need of something, but because it is our gain to be something of his. To him the psalmist sings, in the holy scriptures of the Hebrews: "I have said to the Lord: thou art my God, for thou needest not my goods."²

Now we ourselves who are his city are his most splendid and best sacrifice; such is the mystery that we celebrate in our offerings, which are well known to the faithful, as we have maintained in the preceding

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disputavimus. Cessaturas enim victimas quas in umbra futuri offerebant Iudaei, et unum sacrificium gentes a solis ortu usque ad occasum, sicut iam fieri cernimus, oblaturas per prophetas Hebraeos oracula increpuere divina; ex quibus quantum satis visum est nonnulla protulimus et huic iam operi adpersimus. Quapropter ubi non est ista iustitia ut secundum suam gratiam civitati oboedienti Deus imperet unus et summus, ne cuiquam sacrificet nisi tantum sibi, et per hoc in omnibus hominibus ad eandem civitatem pertinentibus atque oboedientibus Deo animus etiam corpori atque ratio vitiis ordine legitimo fideliter imperet, ut, quem ad modum iustus unus, ita coetus populusque iustorum vivat ex fide quae operatur per dilectionem, qua homo diligit Deum sicut diligendus est Deus, et proximum sicut semet ipsum, ubi ergo non est ista iustitia, profecto non est coetus hominum iuris consensu et utilitatis communionem sociatus. Quo si non est, utique populus non est, si vera est haec populi definitio. Ergo nec res publica est, quia res populi non est, ubi ipse populus non est.

XXIV

Qua definitione constet populi et rei publicae nuncupationem recte sibi non solum Romanos, sed etiam regna alia vindicare.

Si autem populus non isto sed alio definiatur modo, velut si dicatur: "Populus est coetus multitudinis

¹ Hebrews 2.4; Romans 1.17; Galatians 3.11; Hebrews 10.38. Cf. 19.4 above.

² Galatians 5.6.

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books. For that the sacrificial victims which the Jews offered as a shadow of what was to come should cease, and that the peoples from the rising to the setting of the sun should offer one sacrifice, as we see it happening now, was declared by the divine oracles in tones of thunder through the prophets; and of these oracles we have selected as many as seemed sufficient and have already scattered them throughout this work. Therefore where there is no justice whereby the one and most high God rules an obedient city according to his grace, so that it sacrifices to none other save to him only, and consequently in all men who belong to this city and who obey God the soul commands the body and the reason faithfully commands the vices in a system of law, so that as one just man lives by faith,¹ which works by love, even so a gathering or people of just men lives by faith, which works by love,² the love whereby a man loves God as he should be loved, and his neighbour as himself,—where there is no such justice, I say, assuredly there is no gathering of men united in fellowship by a common sense of right and by a community of interest. And if this be lacking, there certainly is not a people, if this definition of a people is true, and so there is no state; for where there is no people, there is no people's estate.

XXIV

What definition of a people and of a state must be accepted if not only the Romans but other kingdoms are to claim these titles.

BUT if a people be defined not in this but in some other manner, for example, in this way: "A people

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rationalis rerum quas diligit concordi communione sociatus," profecto, ut videatur qualis quisque populus sit, illa sunt intuenda quae diligit. Quaecumque tamen diligat, si coetus est multitudinis non pecorum sed rationalium creaturarum et eorum quae diligit concordi communione sociatus est, non absurde populus nuncupatur; tanto utique melior quanto in melioribus, tantoque deterior quanto est in deterioribus concors. Secundum istam definitionem nostram Romanus populus populus est et res eius sine dubitatione res publica. Quid autem primis temporibus suis quidve sequentibus populus ille dilexerit et quibus moribus ad cruentissimas seditiones atque inde ad socialia atque civilia bella perveniens ipsam concordiam, quae salus est quodam modo populi, ruperit atque corruperit, testatur historia; de qua in praecedentibus libris multa posuimus. Nec ideo tamen vel ipsum non esse populum vel eius rem dixerim non esse rem publicam, quamdiu manet qualiscumque rationalis multitudinis coetus, rerum quas diligit concordi communione sociatus. Quod autem de isto populo et de ista re publica dixi, hoc de Atheniensium vel quorumcumque Graecorum, hoc de Aegyptiorum, hoc de illa priore Babylone Assyriorum, quando in rebus publicis suis imperia vel parva vel magna tenuerunt, et de alia quacumque aliarum gentium intellegar dixisse atque sensisse. Generaliter quippe civitas impiorum, cui non imperat Deus

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is a large gathering of rational beings united in fellowship by their agreement about the objects of their love," then surely, in order to perceive the character of each people, we must inspect the objects of its love. Yet whatever it loves, if it is a large gathering, not of cattle but of rational beings, and is united in fellowship by common agreement about the objects of its love, then there is no absurdity in using the term "people" of it; and surely the better the objects of its united love, the better the people, and the worse the objects of its love, the worse the people. According to this definition of ours, the Roman people is a people, and its estate is without doubt a state. But what this people loved in its early and in subsequent times, and by what moral decline it passed into bloody sedition and then into social and civil warfare, and disrupted and corrupted that very unity of heart, which is, so to speak, the health of a people, history bears witness, and I have dealt with it at length in the preceding books. And yet I shall not on this account say either that there is no people or that the people's estate is not a state, so long as there remains, however slight, a gathering of rational beings united in fellowship by a common agreement about the objects of its love. But what I have said about this people and about this state let me be understood to have said and meant about those of the Athenians, those of any other Greeks, of the Egyptians, of that earlier Babylon of the Assyrians and of any other nation whatsoever, when they maintained in their states an imperial sway, whether small or great. For in general a city of the impious, not governed by God, since it is disobedient to the command of God that sacrifice be not offered save to

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oboedienti sibi ut sacrificium non offerat nisi tantummodo sibi, et per hoc in illa et animus corpori ratioque vitiis recte ac fideliter imperet, caret iustitiae veritate.

XXV

Quod non possint ibi verae esse virtutes, ubi non est vera religio.

QUAMLIBET enim videatur animus corpori et ratio vitiis laudabiliter imperare, si Deo animus et ratio ipsa non servit sicut sibi esse serviendum ipse Deus praecepit, nullo modo corpori vitiisque recte imperat. Nam qualis corporis atque vitiorum potest esse mens domina veri Dei nescia nec eius imperio subiugata, sed vitiosissimis daemonibus corrumpentibus prostituta? Proinde virtutes quas habere sibi videtur, per quas imperat corpori et vitiis, ad quodlibet adipiscendum vel tenendum rettulerit nisi ad Deum, etiam ipsae vitia sunt potius quam virtutes. Nam licet a quibusdam tunc verae atque honestae putentur esse virtutes, cum referuntur ad se ipsas nec propter aliud expetuntur, etiam tunc inflatae ac superbae sunt, ideo non virtutes, sed vitia iudicanda sunt. Sicut enim non est a carne sed super carnem, quod carnem facit vivere, sic non est ab homine sed super hominem, quod hominem facit beate vivere, nec solum hominem, sed etiam quamlibet potestatem virtutemque caelestem.

BOOK XIX. XXIV-XXV

himself only, whereby in that city the soul should exercise righteous and faithful rule over the body and reason over the vices, has no true justice.

XXV

That there can be no true virtues where there is no true religion.

FOR however praiseworthy may seem to be the rule of the soul over the body and of the reason over the vices, if the soul and the reason do not serve God as God has commanded that he should be served, then in no wise do they rightly rule the body and the vices. For what kind of mistress over the body and the vices can a mind be that knows not the true God, and that instead of being subject to his command is prostituted to the corrupting power of the most vicious demons? Accordingly, the very virtues that it thinks it possesses, and by means of which it rules the body and the vices in order to obtain or keep any object whatsoever, if it does not subordinate them to God, are themselves vices rather than virtues. For although some suppose that virtues are true and honourable when they are made subject to themselves and are sought for no further end, even then they are puffed up and proud, and so must be reckoned as vices rather than as virtues. For as it is not something that comes from the flesh that makes the flesh live, but something above it, so it is not something that comes from man but something above man that makes him live a blessed life; and this is true not only of man but of every heavenly domination and power.

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XXVI

*De pace populi alienati a Deo, qua utitur ad pietatem
populus Dei, dum in hoc peregrinus est mundo.*

QUOCIRCA ut vita carnis anima est, ita beata vita hominis Deus est, de quo dicunt sacrae litterae Hebraeorum: *Beatus populus, cuius est Dominus Deus ipsius.* Miser igitur populus ab isto alienatus Deo. Diligit tamen etiam ipse quandam pacem suam non improbandam, quam quidem non habebit in fine, quia non ea bene utitur ante finem. Hanc autem ut interim habeat in hac vita, etiam nostri interest, quoniam, quamdiu permixtae sunt ambae civitates, utimur et nos pace Babylonis; ex qua ita per fidem populus Dei liberatur ut apud hanc interim peregrinetur. Propter quod et apostolus admonuit ecclesiam ut oraret pro regibus eius atque sublimibus, addens et dicens: *Ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus cum omni pietate et caritate,* et propheta Hieremias, cum populo Dei veteri praenuntiaret captivitatem et divinitus imperaret ut oboedienter irent in Babyloniam Deo suo etiam ista patientia servientes, monuit et ipse ut oraretur pro illa dicens: *Quia in eius est pace pax vestra,* utique interim temporalis, quae bonis malisque communis est.

XXVI

About the peace of a people that is alienated from God, and the use made of it for pious ends by the people of God during their pilgrimage in the world.

WHEREFORE, as the life of the flesh is the soul, so the blessed life of man is God, of whom the sacred scriptures of the Hebrews declare: "Blessed is the people whose God is the Lord."¹ Wretched, therefore, is the people that is alienated from that God. Yet even this people loves a peace of its own, which must not be rejected; but it will not possess it in the end, because it does not make good use of it before the end. But that it should possess this peace meanwhile in this life is important for us, too, since so long as the two cities are intermingled we also profit by the peace of Babylon; and the people of God is by faith so freed from it as meanwhile to be but strangers passing through. For this reason the Apostle too admonished the church to pray for its kings and other high persons, adding these words: "That we may live a quiet and tranquil life with all piety and love."² And the prophet Jeremiah, in predicting the captivity that was to befall the ancient people of God, and in bidding them by divine inspiration to go obediently to Babylon and by their very patience to do God service, added his own admonition that they should pray for Babylon, saying: "Because in her peace is your peace";³ that is, of course, the temporal peace of the present that is common to the good and the evil alike.

¹ Psalms 144.15.

² 1 Timothy 2.2.

³ Jeremiah 29.7.

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XXVII

*De pace servientium Deo, cuius perfecta tranquillitas
in hac temporalis vita non potest adprehendi.*

PAX autem nostra propria et hic est cum Deo per fidem et in aeternum erit cum illo per speciem. Sed hic sive illa communis sive nostra propria talis est pax ut solacium miseriae sit potius quam beatitudinis gaudium. Ipsa quoque nostra iustitia, quamvis vera sit propter verum boni finem ad quem refertur, tamen tanta est in hac vita ut potius remissione peccatorum constet quam perfectione virtutum. Testis est oratio totius civitatis Dei quae peregrinatur in terris. Per omnia quippe membra sua clamat ad Deum: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.* Nec pro eis est efficax haec oratio quorum fides sine operibus mortua est sed pro eis quorum fides per dilectionem operatur. Quia enim Deo quidem subdita, in hac tamen conditione mortali et corpore corruptibili quod adgravat animam, non perfecte vitiis imperat ratio, ideo necessaria est iustis talis oratio. Nam profecto quamquam imperetur, nequaquam sine conflictu vitiis imperatur; et utique subrepat aliquid in hoc loco infirmitatis etiam bene confligenti sive hostibus talibus victis subditisque dominanti, unde si non facili operatione, certe labili locutione aut volatili cogitatione peccetur.

¹ Cf. 1 Corinthians 5.7.

³ James 2.17.

² Matthew 6.12.

⁴ Galatians 5.6.

⁵ Wisdom 9.15.

XXVII

About the peace of the servants of God, a peace whose perfect tranquillity can not be apprehended in this temporal life.

BUT the peace that is ours we even now enjoy with God by faith, and we shall enjoy it with him forever by sight.¹ But peace in this life, whether that common to all men or our own special possession, is such as must be called rather a solace of our wretchedness than a positive enjoyment of blessedness. Our very justice, too, though true, thanks to the true final good to which it is subordinated, is nevertheless in this life only such as consists rather in the remission of sins than in the perfection of virtues. Witness the prayer of the whole city of God that is exiled on earth, when it cries out to God through all its members: "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors."² And this prayer is not efficacious for those whose faith is without works, and dead,³ but only for those whose faith brings forth works through love.⁴ It is because the reason, though subjected to God, in this mortal condition and in the corruptible body, which weighs down the soul,⁵ does not perfectly rule the vices, that just men need such a prayer. For even though the reason exercises command over the vices, surely it is not without a struggle on their part. And even if we fight the good fight or rule as master, after foes of that sort have been defeated and subdued, still in this realm of weakness something creeps in, so that sin is found, if not in quick-acting performance, at least in some tripping utterance or some flitting dalliance of thought.

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Et ideo, quamdiu vitiis imperatur, plena pax non est, quia et illa quae resistunt periculoso debellantur proelio, et illa quae victa sunt nondum securo triumphantur otio, sed adhuc sollicito premuntur imperio. In his ergo temptationibus, de quibus omnibus in divinis eloquiis breviter dictum est: *Numquid non temptatio est vita humana super terram?* quis ita vivere se praesumat ut dicere Deo: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra* necesse non habeat nisi homo elatus, nec vero magnus, sed inflatus ac tumidus, cui per iustitiam resistit qui gratiam largitur humilibus? Propter quod scriptum est: *Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam.* Hic itaque in unoquoque iustitia est ut oboedienti Deus homini, animus corpori, ratio autem vitiis etiam repugnantibus imperet, vel subigendo vel resistendo, atque ut ab ipso Deo petatur et meritorum gratia et venia delictorum ac de acceptis bonis gratiarum actio persolvatur. In illa vero pace finali, quo referenda et cuius adipiscendae causa habenda est ista iustitia, quoniam sanata immortalitate atque incorruptione natura vitia non habebit nec unicuique nostrum vel ab alio vel a se ipso quippiam repugnabit, non opus erit ut ratio vitiis, quae nulla erunt, imperet; sed imperabit Deus homini, animus corpori, tantaque ibi erit oboediendi suavitas et facilitas quanta vivendi regnandique felicitas. Et hoc illic in omnibus atque

¹ Job 7.1. Cf. 19.8 above, and note on page 154.

² James 4.6; 1 Peter 5.5.

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Hence there is no complete peace so long as mastery is exercised over the vices, because on the one hand the battle is precarious as long as the war continues against such vices as resist, while those that have been defeated do not yet permit a triumph of carefree ease, but are held down under a sway that is still full of anxiety. Among all these temptations, therefore, about which it has been briefly said in the divine oracles: "Is man's life on earth anything but temptation?",¹ who will dare assume that his life is such that he need not say to God: "Forgive us our debts," unless it be a proud man, one not truly great, but puffed up and bloated, who is justly resisted by him who gives grace in abundance to the humble? Wherefore it is written: "God resists the proud, but to the humble he gives grace."² In this life, accordingly, justice for the individual means that God rules and man obeys, the soul rules over the body and reason rules over the vices even when they are rebellious, whether by subjugating or by withstanding them, and that from God himself we seek to obtain favour for our well-deserving deeds and forgiveness for our sins, and that we offer our service of thanksgiving for the benefits received. But in that final peace to which this justice should be subordinated and for the sake of winning which it should be maintained, since our nature will be healed of its sickness by immortality and incorruption and will have no vices, and since nothing either in ourselves or in another will be at war with any one of us, the reason will not need to rule the vices, since they will be no more; but God will rule man, and soul the body, and we shall find in obeying a pleasure and facility as great as the felicity of our living and reigning. And there, for all

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in singulis aeternum erit aeternumque esse certum erit, et ideo pax beatitudinis huius vel beatitudo pacis huius summum bonum erit.

XXVIII

In quem finem venturus sit exitus impiorum.

EORUM autem qui non pertinent ad istam civitatem Dei erit e contrario miseria sempiterna, quae mors etiam secunda dicitur, quia nec anima ibi vivere dicenda est quae a vita Dei alienata erit, nec corpus quod aeternis doloribus subiacebit; ac per hoc ideo durior ista secunda mors erit quia finiri morte non poterit. Sed quoniam sicut miseria beatitudini et mors vitae, ita bellum paci videtur esse contrarium, merito quaeritur, sicut pax in bonorum finibus praedicata est atque laudata, quod vel quale bellum e contrario in finibus malorum possit intellegi. Verum qui hoc quaerit attendat quid in bello noxium perniciosumque sit, et videbit nihil aliud quam rerum esse inter se adversitatem atque conflictum. Quod igitur bellum gravius et amarius cogitari potest quam ubi voluntas sic adversa est passioni et passio voluntati ut nullius earum victoria tales inimicitiae finiantur, et ubi sic confligit cum ipsa natura corporis vis doloris ut neutrum alteri cedat? Hic enim quando contingit iste conflictus, aut dolor vincit et sensum mors adimit, aut natura vincit et dolorem sanitas tollit.

¹ Revelation 2.11; 20.6, 14; 21.8.

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and for every one, this state will be everlasting, and its everlastingness will be certain; and therefore the peace of this blessedness, and the blessedness of this peace, will be the highest good.

XXVIII

What end awaits the wicked.

BUT, on the other hand, those who do not belong to that city of God will receive everlasting wretchedness, which is called also the second death,¹ because neither the soul that is alienated from God's life can be said to live there, nor the body, which will be subjected to everlasting torments; and this second death will be all the harder to bear in that it cannot find an end in death. But since, just as wretchedness is the opposite of blessedness, and death of life, so war is the opposite of peace, the question is properly raised what or what sort of war can be understood as present in the final state of the wicked, to correspond to the peace that is heralded and lauded in the final state of the righteous. But let the questioner note what is harmful or destructive in warfare, and he will see that it is nothing but the mutual opposition and conflict of things. Now what war can he imagine more grievous and bitter than one in which the will is so opposed to passion and passion to the will that their enmities can be ended by the victory of neither, and in which the power of pain so contends with the very nature of the body that neither yields to the other? For in this life, when such a conflict arises, either pain conquers, and death takes away feeling, or nature conquers, and health removes the pain.

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Ibi autem et dolor permanet ut affligat, et natura perdurat ut sentiat; quia utrumque ideo non deficit, ne poena deficiat.

Ad hos autem fines bonorum et malorum, illos expetendos, istos cavendos, quoniam per iudicium transibunt ad illos boni, ad istos mali, de hoc iudicio, quantum Deus donaverit, in consequenti volumine disputabo.

BOOK XIX. XXVIII

But in the life beyond, pain remains, on the one hand, to torment, and nature lasts, on the other, to feel it; neither ceases to be, lest the punishment also should cease.

But since these are the ultimate limits of good and evil, of which we should seek to win the former and escape the latter, and since there is a judgement through which good men will pass to the former and bad men to the latter, I will, so far as God may grant, deal with this judgement in the following book.

BOOK XX

LIBER XX

I

Quod, quamvis omni tempore Deus iudicet, in hoc tamen libro de novissimo eius iudicio sit proprie disputandum.

DE die ultimi iudicii Dei quod ipse donaverit locuturi eumque adserturi adversus impios et incredulos tamquam in aedificii fundamento prius ponere testimonia divina debemus; quibus qui nolunt credere, humanis ratiunculis falsis atque fallacibus contravenire conantur, ad hoc ut aut aliud significare contendant quod adhibetur testimonium de litteris sacris, aut omnino divinitus esse dictum negent. Nam nullum existimo esse mortalium qui cum ea, sicut dicta sunt, intellexerit et a summo ac vero Deo per animas sanctas dicta esse crediderit, non eis cedat atque consentiat, sive id etiam ore fateatur sive aliquo vitio fateri erubescat aut metuat, vel etiam pervicacia simillima insaniae id quod falsum esse novit aut credit, contra id quod verum esse novit aut credit, etiam contentiosissime defendere moliatur.

Quod ergo in confessione ac professione tenet omnis ecclesia Dei veri Christum de caelo esse venturum ad vivos ac mortuos iudicandos, hunc

BOOK XX

I

That although God judges at all times, nevertheless in this book the fitting subject for discussion is his last judgement.

SINCE we are about to speak concerning God's final judgement day, as he may allow, and to affirm its truth in face of the impious and the unbelievers, we ought first to lay down as the foundation of our edifice the evidence of God's word. Those who are unwilling to believe that evidence strive to contravene it with false and fallacious quibbles of man's devising, arguing either that some evidence adduced from the sacred Scriptures has a different meaning or that such evidence is not God's word in the first place. For I suppose that no man who understands these utterances and believes that they were spoken by the most high and true God through holy souls fails to yield and agree with them, whether he expressly confesses his agreement, or because of some fault is ashamed or afraid to do so, or even with a stubbornness akin to madness sets himself to defend most strenuously what he knows or believes to be false against what he knows or believes to be true.

Now it is a belief that the universal church of the true God maintains, both in private confession and in public profession, that Christ shall come from heaven

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divini iudicii ultimum diem dicimus, id est novissimum tempus. Nam per quot dies hoc iudicium tendatur, incertum est; sed scripturarum more sanctarum diem poni solere pro tempore nemo qui illas litteras quamlibet neglegenter legerit nescit. Idco autem, cum diem iudicii Dei dicimus, addimus ultimum vel novissimum, quia et nunc iudicat et ab humani generis initio iudicavit dimittens de paradiso et a ligno vitae separans primos homines peccati magni perpetratores; immo etiam quando angelis peccantibus non pepercit, quorum princeps homines a se ipso subversus invidendo subvertit, procul dubio iudicavit; nec sine illius alto iustoque iudicio et in hoc aereo caelo et in terris et daemonum et hominum miserrima est vita, erroribus aerumnisque plenissima. Verum etsi nemo peccasset, non sine bono rectoque iudicio universam rationalem creaturam perseverantissime sibi suo Domino cohaerentem in aeterna beatitudine retineret.

Iudicat etiam non solum universaliter de genere daemonum atque hominum, ut miseri sint propter primorum meritum peccatorum, sed etiam de singulorum operibus propriis quae gerunt arbitrio voluntatis. Nam et daemones ne torqueantur precantur, nec utique iniuste vel parcitur eis vel pro sua quique inprobitate torquentur; et homines plerumque aperte, semper occulte, luunt pro suis factis divinitus

¹ Genesis 3.23.

² 2 Peter 2.4.

³ Matthew 8.29.

BOOK XX. I

to judge the living and the dead, and this is what we mean when we speak of the last day and the day of divine judgement, that is, the last period of time. For it is not known how many days this judgement will last; but no one who reads the sacred Scriptures, however negligently, is unaware that in them "day" is ordinarily used for "time." That is why, when we speak of the day of God's judgement, we add the word "last" or "final," for God is giving judgement in our day too, and has been doing so from the beginning of the human race, for he drove from paradise the first man and woman and exiled them from the tree of life when they had been guilty of a great sin.¹ Even before that beyond doubt he judged the angels, too, when they sinned and he did not spare them; it was their prince, self-seduced, who through envy led men astray.² Nor does it happen apart from his lofty and just judgement that the life of the demons in our heaven of air and the life of men on earth is most wretched, abounding as it does in mistakes and anxieties. Nevertheless, even if no one had sinned, it could not be except by his good and right judgement that he should preserve the whole rational creation with the greatest firmness as it holds fast to him its Lord in everlasting blessedness.

Moreover, he not only gives judgement wholesale on demons and men after their kind, condemning them to wretchedness as a punishment for the sin of their forebears, but also passes judgement on the acts that individuals engage in by a decision of will. For the demons on their part pray that they may not suffer torment;³ and surely justice is not lacking when they are spared or tormented according to their several deserts. Men, too, are punished by God for

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poenas sive in hac vita sive post mortem, quamvis nullus hominum agat recte, nisi divino adiuvetur auxilio, nullus daemonum aut hominum agat inique, nisi divino eodemque iustissimo iudicio permittatur. Sicut enim ait apostolus, *non est iniquitas apud Deum*; etiam sicut ipse alibi dicit, *inscrutabilia sunt iudicia eius et investigabiles viae eius*.

Non igitur in hoc libro de illis primis nec de istis mediis Dei iudiciis, sed de ipso novissimo, quantum ipse tribuerit, disputabo, quando Christus de caelo venturus est vivos iudicaturus et mortuos. Iste quippe dies iudicii proprie iam vocatur, eo quod nullus ibi erit inperitae querellae locus cur iniustus ille sit felix et cur ille iustus infelix. Omnium namque tunc nonnisi bonorum vera et plena felicitas et omnium nonnisi malorum digna et summa infelicitas apparebit.

II

De varietate rerum humanarum, cui non potest dici deesse iudicium Dei, quamvis nequeat vestigari.

NUNC autem et mala aequo animo ferre discimus quae patiuntur et boni, et bona non magnipendere quae adipiscuntur et mali; ac per hoc etiam in his rebus in quibus non apparet divina iustitia, salutaris est divina doctrina. Nescimus enim quo iudicio Dei

¹ Romans 9.14.

² Romans 11.33.

BOOK XX. I-II

their sins, often openly but always secretly, either in this life or after death, although no man acts rightly unless he is supported by divine assistance, and no demon or man acts unrighteously except by the permission of the same divine and altogether righteous judgement. For as the Apostle says: "There is no unrighteousness in God"¹; and as he says elsewhere: "His judgements are inscrutable, and his ways past finding out."²

In this book, then, I shall discuss, as God may grant me the power, not those first judgements, nor these intervening ones, but precisely the last judgement when Christ is to come from heaven to judge the living and the dead. There is, of course, a special sense that makes us now call that the day of judgement, for on that day no room will be left for the ignorant complaint of those who ask why this unjust man is happy and that just man unhappy. It will be plain enough then that only the good enjoy true and complete happiness, and that only the wicked enjoy deserved and utter misery.

II

On the vicissitudes of human existence, in which it cannot be said that God's judgement has no part, although it cannot be explored.

MEANWHILE, however, we are learning both to bear with equanimity the evils that good men also suffer and not to make much of the good things that wicked men also acquire. Therefore even in cases where divine justice is hidden from us, there is divine instruction for our benefit. For we know not by

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bonus ille sit pauper, malus ille sit dives; iste gaudeat quem pro suis perditis moribus cruciari debuisse maeroribus arbitramur, contristetur ille quem vita laudabilis gaudere debuisse persuadet; exeat de iudicio non solum inultus, verum etiam damnatus innocens, aut iniquitate iudicis pressus aut falsis obrutus testimoniis, e contrario scelestus adversarius eius non solum impunitus, verum etiam vindicatus insultet; impius optime valeat, pius languore tabescat; latrocinentur sanissimi iuvenes, et qui nec verbo quemquam laedere potuerunt diversa morborum atrocitate affligantur infantes; utilis rebus humanis inmatura morte rapiatur, et qui videtur nec nasci debuisse diutissime insuper vivat; plenus criminibus sublimetur honoribus, et hominem sine querella tenebrae ignobilitatis abscondant, et cetera huius modi, quae quis colligit, quis enumerat?

Quae si haberent in ipsa velut absurditate constantiam, ut in hac vita, in qua *homo*, sicut sacer psalmus eloquitur, *vanitati similis factus est et dies eius velut umbra praetereunt*, non nisi mali adipiscerentur transitoria bona ista atque terrena, nec nisi boni talia paterentur mala, posset hoc referri ad iudicium iustum Dei sive etiam benignum, ut qui non erant adsecuturi bona aeterna quae faciunt beatos tem-

¹ Psalms 144.4.

what judgement of God this good man is poor and that wicked man is rich; why a man whose abandoned character seems to us to deserve the torment of grief is merry, while another whose praiseworthy life seems to us to deserve a merry life is full of gloom; why an innocent man leaves the courtroom not merely unavenged but actually condemned, whether he succumbs to the injustice of the judge or to a mass of false evidence, while conversely his guilty adversary goes not merely unpunished but even adds insult to injury by his vindication; why the irreligious man is in the best of health, while the religious man pines away; why young adults engage in robbery, yet enjoy perfect health, while those who could not have hurt any one even with a word are afflicted while mere infants with many dire diseases; why one man who is useful to society is carried off by premature death, while another who ought never, as we think, to have been so much as born, lives on and on beyond measure; why one who is a mere roster of crimes is exalted by honours, while another who is without reproach is hidden in the shadows of obscurity. And who can gather or count the many other examples of this kind?

Now if in these matters we found some consistency even in being illogical during this life, in which, as the sacred psalmist says, "Man is like to vanity, and his days pass like a shadow,"¹ so that only the wicked won the transitory good things of this world, and only the good suffered the same kind of ill, this could be referred to the just or even benign judgement of God. For in that case it would appear that those who were not to gain the everlasting benefits that make men blessed were either cheated by temporal

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poralibus vel deciperentur pro malitia sua vel pro Dei misericordia consolarentur bonis, et qui non erant passuri aeterna tormenta temporalibus vel pro suis quibuscumque et quantuliscumque peccatis affligerentur vel propter implendas virtutes exercerentur malis. Nunc vero, quando non solum in malo sunt boni et in bono mali, quod videtur iniustum, verum etiam plerumque et malis mala eveniunt et bonis bona proveniunt, magis inscrutabilia fiunt iudicia Dei et investigabiles viae eius.

Quamvis ergo nesciamus quo iudicio Deus ista vel faciat vel fieri sinat, apud quem summa virtus est, summa sapientia, summa iustitia, nulla infirmitas, nulla temeritas, nulla iniquitas, salubriter tamen discimus non magnipendere seu bona seu mala, quae videmus esse bonis malisque communia, et illa bona quaerere, quae bonorum, atque illa mala maxime fugere, quae propria sunt malorum. Cum vero ad illud Dei iudicium venerimus, cuius tempus iam proprie dies iudicii et aliquando dies Domini nuncupatur, non solum quaecumque tunc iudicabuntur, verum etiam quaecumque ab initio iudicata et quaecumque usque ad illud tempus adhuc iudicanda sunt, apparebunt esse iustissima. Ubi hoc quoque manifestabitur quam iusto iudicio Dei fiat ut nunc tam multa ac

¹ Romans 11.33.

goods in compensation for their ill will or consoled by them, thanks to God's mercy, while those who were not to suffer everlasting torments were either afflicted by temporal evils as an offset for whatever sins, however small, they had committed or were given practice by them in the perfecting of their virtues. But as it is, since not only are some good men in evil plight and some bad men in prosperity, which seems unjust, yet it is also true as a rule that bad men come to a bad end and good men are visited by good results, we have the more reason to find God's judgements "inscrutable and his ways past finding out." ¹

Therefore, although we know not by what judgement all these things are brought to pass or permitted to come to pass by God, in whom there is the highest virtue, the highest wisdom, the highest justice, no weakness, no rashness, no injustice, nevertheless it is salutary for us to learn not to esteem highly those things, whether good or evil, that we see are common to both good and evil men, but rather to seek those good things that belong only to good men and to shun those evils above all that are peculiar to evil men. But when we shall have arrived at that judgement of God the time of which is in a special sense called the day of judgement, and sometimes the day of the Lord, then it will be seen that God's judgements are utterly righteous, not only such judgements as shall then be pronounced, but also such judgements as have been pronounced from the beginning or are hereafter to be pronounced from now till doomsday. Then, too, it will become manifest by what righteous judgement of God it is determined that so many, in fact almost all, of the righteous judgements of God

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paene omnia iusta iudicia Dei lateant sensus mentesque mortalium, cum tamen in hac re piorum fidem non lateat iustum esse quod latet.

III

Quid in libro Ecclesiaste Salomon de his quae in hac vita et bonis et malis sunt communia disputarit.

NEMPE Salomon, sapientissimus rex Israel qui regnavit in Hierusalem, librum qui vocatur Ecclesiastes et a Iudaeis quoque habetur in sacrarum canone litterarum sic exorsus est: *Vanitas vanitatum,¹ dixit ecclesiastes; vanitas vanitatum,¹ omnia vanitas. Quae abundantia homini in omni labore suo, quo laborat sub sole?* Et cum ex hac sententia conecteret cetera, commemorans aerumnas erroresque vitae huius et vanescentes interea temporum lapsus, ubi nihil solidum, nihil stabile retinetur, in ea rerum vanitate sub sole illud etiam deplorat quodam modo quod, cum sit abundantia sapientiae super insipientiam sicut abundantia lucis super tenebras, sapientisque oculi sint in capite ipsius et stultus in tenebris ambulet, unus tamen incursus incurrat omnibus, utique in hac vita quae sub sole agitur, significans videlicet ea mala quae bonis et malis videmus esse communia. Dicit etiam illud quod et boni patiantur mala, tamquam mali sint, et mali, tamquam boni sint, adipiscantur bona, ita loquens: *Est, inquit, vanitas, quae facta est*

¹ vanitatum some MSS.: vanitantium other MSS.

¹ If the reading *vanitantium* is accepted, instead of *vanitatum*, the meaning becomes "vanity of men of vanity."

² Ecclesiastes 2.13, 14.

are concealed from human perception and understanding; nevertheless, in this matter it is not hidden from the sight of religious faith that what is hidden is righteous.

III

What Solomon says in the book of Ecclesiastes about the things that in this life are common to good and wicked men alike.

SOLOMON, the wisest king of Israel, who reigned in Jerusalem, thus begins the book called Ecclesiastes, which the Jews also include in the canon of their sacred Scriptures: "Vanity of vanities,¹ said the Preacher, vanity of vanities, all is vanity. What profit has a man from all his labour that he does under the sun?" And to this thought he joins others, calling to mind the anxieties and mistakes of this life and the evanescent accompaniment of passing seasons, in which there is nothing firm and stable that remains in our grasp; and amid this vanity of things under the sun he laments in particular the fact that although wisdom excels folly as light excels darkness, and the wise man's eyes are in his head while the fool walks in darkness, nevertheless one event happens to them all² (at least in this life under the sun), by which he obviously means those evils which, we see, are common to good men and to wicked alike. Moreover, he also remarks, as we did, that good men suffer evils, just as if they were themselves evil, and wicked men acquire good things, just as if they were themselves good: "There is a vanity," he says, "that has been created upon the earth, that

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super terram, quia sunt iusti super quos venit sicut factum impiorum, et sunt impii super quos venit sicut factum iustorum. Dixi quoniam hoc quoque vanitas.

In hac vanitate, cui quantum satis visum est intimandae totum istum librum vir sapientissimus deputavit (non utique ob aliud nisi ut eam vitam desideremus quae vanitatem non habet sub hoc sole, sed veritatem sub illo qui fecit hunc solem), in hac ergo vanitate numquid nisi iusto Dei rectoque iudicio similis eidem vanitati factus vanesceret homo? In diebus tamen vanitatis suae interest plurimum utrum resistat an obtemperet veritati, et utrum sit expers verae pietatis an particeps, non propter vitae huius vel bona acquirenda vel mala vitanda vanescendo transeuntia, sed propter futurum iudicium, per quod erunt et bonis bona et malis mala sine fine mansura. Denique iste sapiens hunc librum sic conclusit ut diceret: *Deum time et mandata eius custodi, quia hoc est omnis homo; quia omne hoc opus Deus adducet in iudicium in omni despecto, sive bonum sive malum.* Quid brevius, verius, salubrius dici potuit? *Deum, inquit, time et mandata eius custodi, quia hoc est omnis homo.* Quicumque enim est, hoc est, custos utique mandatorum Dei, quoniam qui hoc non est, nihil est, non enim ad veritatis imaginem reformatur, remanens in similitudine vanitatis. *Quia omne hoc opus, id est,*

¹ Ecclesiastes 8.14.

² Ecclesiastes 12.13, 14.

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there are righteous men whose lot is as if they were ungodly, and there are ungodly men whose lot is as if they were righteous. I said that this, too, is vanity." ¹

This very wise man devoted his whole book to the exposition of this vanity at such length as he found adequate, doubtless with the sole purpose that we should long for that life wherein there is no vanity under the sun but verity under him who made the sun. Now in this vanity could it be except by a just and righteous judgement of God that man, wrought in the likeness of this same vanity, should pass into nothingness? But in the days of his vanity it is a matter of great importance whether he resists or whether he yields to the truth, and whether he has no part in true religion or participates in it; and its importance has nothing to do with the winning of the good things of this life or the shunning of its evils, which vanish and are gone, but derives rather from the judgement to come, through which the good shall have good things and the evil evil things that will be permanent forever. Finally, this wise man concluded his book by saying: "Fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the whole man; for every work done here shall be taken into account by God in every case that has been disregarded, whether it is good or bad." ² What could he have said that would have been shorter, truer or more helpful than this? "Fear God," he says, "and keep his commandments, for this is the whole man." For whoever is anything, is this in any case, a keeper of God's commandments, since he who is not this, is nothing, for he who remains in the likeness of vanity is not remade after the pattern of truth. "For every work done

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quod ab homine fit in hac vita, *sive bonum sive malum, Deus adducet in iudicium in omni despecto*, id est in omni etiam qui contemptibilis hic videtur et ideo nec videtur; quoniam Deus et ipsum videt nec eum despicit nec cum iudicat praeterit.

IV

Quod ad disserendum de novissimo iudicio Dei novi primum testamenti ac deinde veteris testimonia prolaturus sit.

Huius itaque ultimi iudicii Dei testimonia de scripturis sanctis, quae ponere institui, prius eligenda sunt de libris instrumenti novi, postea de veteris. Quamvis enim vetera priora sint tempore, nova tamen anteponenda sunt dignitate, quoniam illa vetera praeconia sunt novorum. Nova igitur ponentur prius, quae ut firmiter probemus adsumuntur et vetera. In veteribus habentur lex et prophetae, in novis evangelium et apostolicae litterae. Ait autem apostolus: *Per legem enim cognitio peccati. Nunc autem sine lege iustitia Dei manifestata est, testificata per legem et prophetas; iustitia autem Dei per fidem Iesu Christi in omnes qui credunt.* Haec iustitia Dei ad novum pertinet testamentum et testimonium habet a veteribus libris, hoc est lege ac prophetis. Prius igitur ipsa causa ponenda est, et postea testes introducendi.

¹ Romans 3.20-22.

here " (that is, whatever a man does in this life) " whether good or evil, God will take into account in every case that has been disregarded," that is, in the case of every man who here is contemptible to the eye and is therefore not even seen; for God sees even him and does not disregard him, nor does he leave him out when he gives judgement.

IV

That it is intended to bring forward proofs of the last judgement of God, first from the New Testament and then from the Old.

So the proofs of this last judgement of God that I have determined to set forth are to be chosen first from the New Testament and then from the Old. For although the Old Testament is prior in point of time, nevertheless the New Testament must be preferred to it in worth, since the Old is the herald of the New. The New, therefore, shall be cited first, and then the Old will be added also in order to confirm it. The Old Testament contains the law and the prophets, the New Testament the gospels and the apostolic documents. Now the Apostle says: " By the law comes knowledge of sin. But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested to which the law and the prophets bore witness, even the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ to all who believe." ¹ This righteousness of God belongs to the New Testament, and witness to it is borne by the old books, that is, by the law and the prophets. First, then, the case must be stated and then the witnesses introduced. This is the order

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Hunc et ipse Christus Iesus ordinem servandum esse demonstrans: *Scriba, inquit, eruditus in regno Dei similis est viro patri familias proferenti de thesauro suo nova et vetera.* Non dixit: "Vetera et nova," quod utique dixisset nisi maluisset meritorum ordinem servare quam temporum.

V

Quibus sententiis Domini Salvatoris divinum iudicium futurum in fine saeculi declaretur.

ERGO ipse Salvator cum obiurgaret civitates in quibus virtutes magnas fecerat neque crediderant, et eis alienigenas anteponeret: *Verum tamen, inquit, dico vobis, Tyro et Sidoni remissius erit in die iudicii quam vobis;* et paulo post alteri civitati: *Amen, inquit, dico vobis, quia terrae Sodomorum remissius erit in die iudicii quam tibi* (hic evidentissime praedicat diem iudicii esse venturum); et alio loco: *Viri Ninevitae, inquit, surgent in iudicio cum generatione ista et condemnabunt eam; quia paenitentiam egerunt in praedicatione Ioniae, et ecce plus quam Iona hic. Regina Austri surget in iudicio cum generatione ista et condemnabit eam; quia venit a finibus terrae audire sapientiam Salomonis, et ecce plus quam Salomon hic.* Duas res hoc loco disci-

¹ Matthew 13.52.

³ Matthew 11.24.

² Matthew 11.22.

⁴ Matthew 12.41, 42.

that Jesus Christ himself shows us should be observed, when he says: "The scribe who is learned in the Kingdom of God is like the man who is father of a family, and who brings forth from his treasure things new and old." ¹ He did not say "old and new," as he surely would have said had he not preferred to uphold a priority of value rather than the priority of time.

V

The passages in which the Lord and Saviour declares that there shall be a divine judgement at the end of the world.

THE Saviour himself, when he reproved the cities which, though he had done great works in them, had not accepted him, and when he rated foreign cities above them, says: "Verily, I say unto you, there shall be more forgiveness for Tyre and Sidon than for you on the day of judgement." ² And a little later, to another city: "Verily, I say unto you, there shall be more forgiveness for the land of Sodom on the day of judgement than for you." ³ Here he most clearly predicts that a day of judgement is to come. And in another place he says: "The men of Nineveh shall rise in the judgement with this generation and shall condemn it, because they repented at the preaching of Jonah, and, behold, a greater than Jonah is here. The Queen of the South shall rise in the judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it, because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and, behold, a greater than Solomon is here." ⁴ We learn two things from this

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mus, et venturum esse iudicium et cum mortuorum resurrectione venturum. De Ninevitis enim et regina Austri quando ista dicebat, de mortuis sine dubio loquebatur, quos tamen in die iudicii surrecturos esse praedixit. Nec ideo dixit "condemnantur" quia ipsi iudicabunt sed quia ex ipsorum comparatione isti merito damnabuntur.

Rursus alio loco, cum de hominum bonorum et malorum nunc permixtione, postea separatione, quae utique die iudicii futura est, loqueretur, adhibuit similitudinem de tritico seminato et superseminatis zizaniis, eamque suis exponens discipulis: *Qui seminat, inquit, bonum semen, est filius hominis; ager autem est mundus; bonum vero semen hi sunt filii regni; zizania autem filii sunt nequam; inimicus autem, qui seminavit ea, est diabolus; messis vero consummatio saeculi est, messorum autem angeli sunt. Sicut ergo colliguntur zizania et igni comburuntur, sic erit in consummatione saeculi. Mittet filius hominis angelos suos, et colligunt de regno eius omnia scandala et eos qui faciunt iniquitatem, et mittunt eos in caminum ignis; ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium. Tunc iusti fulgebunt sicut sol in regno patris eorum. Qui habet aures, audiat. Hic iudicium quidem vel diem iudicii non nominavit, sed eum multo clarius ipsis rebus expressit et in fine saeculi futurum esse praedixit.*

¹ Matthew 13.37-43.

passage: that there is a judgement to come, and that it is to come together with the resurrection of the dead. For when he spoke of the men of Nineveh and of the Queen of the South, he spoke beyond a doubt of dead persons; and yet he foretold that they should rise up on the day of judgement. Nor did he mean that they should themselves judge, when he said that they should "condemn"; but he meant that comparison of others with them would bring deserved condemnation upon the others.

Again in another passage, in speaking of the present intermingling of good men and wicked men, and of their separation hereafter, which will certainly take place on the day of judgement, he made use of a comparison with the sown wheat and the tares sown afterward, and in explaining it to his disciples he said: "He who sows the good seed is the Son of Man; the field is the world; the good seed are the sons of the kingdom; but the tares are the sons of the wicked one; the enemy who sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the consummation of the age, and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire, so shall it be at the consummation of the age. The Son of Man shall send his angels, and they shall gather from his kingdom all stumbling-blocks and all those who do what is wicked, and shall cast them into the fiery furnace; there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the just shine bright as the sun in the kingdom of their father. Who has ears to hear, let him hear."¹ Here, to be sure, he did not name the judgement or the day of judgement; but he gave a far clearer account of it in a vivid depiction, and foretold that it should be at the end of this age.

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Item discipulis suis: *Amen, inquit, dico vobis, quod vos, qui secuti estis me, in regeneratione, cum sederit filius hominis in sede maiestatis suae, sedebitis et vos super sedes duodecim iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel.* Hic discimus cum suis discipulis iudicaturum Iesum. Unde et alibi Iudaeis dixit: *Si ego in Beelzebub eicio daemonia, filii vestri in quo eiciunt? Ideo ipsi iudices erunt vestri.* Nec quoniam super duodecim sedes sessuros esse ait, duodecim solos homines cum illo iudicaturos putare debemus. Duodenario quippe numero universa quaedam significata est iudicantium multitudo propter duas partes numeri septenarii, quo significatur plerumque universitas; quae duae partes, id est tria et quattuor, altera per alteram multiplicatae duodecim faciunt, nam et quattuor ter et tria quater duodecim sunt, et si qua alia huius duodenarii numeri, quae ad hoc valeat, ratio reperitur. Alioquin, quoniam in locum Iudae traditoris apostolum Matthiam legimus ordinatum, apostolus Paulus, qui plus omnibus illis laboravit, ubi ad iudicandum sedeat non habebit; qui profecto cum aliis sanctis ad numerum iudicum se pertinere demonstrat, cum dicit: *Nescitis quia angelos iudicabimus?* De ipsis quoque iudicandis in hoc numero duodenario similis causa est. Non enim quia dictum est: *Iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel,* tribus Levi, quae tertia decima est, ab eis iudicanda non erit, aut solum illum populum, non etiam gentes ceteras iudicabunt. Quod autem ait: *In regeneratione,* procul dubio mortuorum resurrectionem nomine voluit regenerationis intellegi. Sic

¹ Matthew 19.28.

² Matthew 12.27.

³ Acts 1.25, 26.

⁴ 1 Corinthians 15.10.

⁵ 1 Corinthians 6.2, 3.

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In like manner he said to his disciples: " Verily I say to you that have followed me, in the rebirth, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, you shall also sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." ¹ Here we learn that Jesus shall judge with his disciples. Wherefore he said elsewhere to the Jews: " If I cast out demons by Beelzebub, by whom do your sons cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges." ² Nor should we suppose that only twelve men shall judge with him, because he says that they shall sit on twelve thrones. For the number twelve is a symbol of the total number of the multitude of those who shall judge. For the two parts, three and four, of the number seven, by which totality is generally signified, when multiplied into one another, give twelve. For thrice four, or four times three, are twelve, not to mention any other analyses of this number twelve that support this interpretation. Otherwise, since we read that Matthias was ordained an apostle in the place of the traitor Judas, ³ the apostle Paul, who laboured more than them all, ⁴ will have no throne of judgement; yet he certainly shows that he belongs with the other saints in the number of the judges when he says: " Know you not that we shall judge angels? " ⁵ A like principle holds in the application of the number twelve to those who are to be judged. For although it was said, " judging the twelve tribes of Israel," the tribe of Levi, which is the thirteenth tribe, is not therefore exempt from judgement by them, nor will they judge only that people, and not the other nations as well. And when he said, " in the rebirth " he meant, beyond doubt, that word to be understood as meaning the resurrection of the dead;

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enim caro nostra regenerabitur per incorruptionem, quem ad modum est anima nostra regenerata per fidem.

Multa praetereo quae de ultimo iudicio ita dici videntur, ut diligenter considerata reperiantur ambigua vel magis ad aliud pertinentia; sive scilicet ad eum Salvatoris adventum, quo per totum hoc tempus in ecclesia sua venit, hoc est in membris suis, particulatim atque paulatim, quoniam tota corpus est eius; sive ad excidium terrenae Hierusalem, quia et de illo cum loquitur plerumque sic loquitur tamquam de fine saeculi atque illo die iudicii novissimo et magno loquatur, ita ut dinosci non possit omnino, nisi ea quae apud tres evangelistas Matthaeum, Marcum et Lucam de hac re similiter dicta sunt, inter se omnia conferantur. Quaedam quippe alter obscurius, alter explicat planius, ut ea quae ad unam rem pertinentia dicuntur, appareat unde dicantur. Quod facere utcumque curavi in quadam epistula quam rescripsi ad beatae memoriae virum Hesychium, Salonitanae urbis episcopum, cuius epistulae titulus est: De fine saeculi.

Proinde iam illud hic dicam quod in evangelio secundum Matthaeum de separatione bonorum et malorum legitur per iudicium praesentissimum atque novissimum Christi. *Cum autem venerit, inquit, filius hominis in maiestate sua, et omnes angeli cum eo, tunc sedebit super sedem maiestatis suae, et congregabuntur ante eum omnes gentes, et separabit eos ab invicem, sicut pastor segregat oves ab haedis, et statuet oves quidem a*

¹ Epistle 199.

for our flesh shall be born again by exemption from decay, just as our soul is born again by faith.

Many passages I pass over that seem to refer to the last judgement but that on careful consideration are found to be ambiguous or to bear rather on some other matter: for example, to that coming of the Saviour which occurs throughout our age in his church, that is, in his members, piece by piece and little by little, since the whole church is his body; or, again, to the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem. For when he speaks of the latter, he usually speaks in such terms as he would use in speaking of the end of the world and of the last great day of judgement, so that these events cannot in any way be distinguished except by comparing the corresponding accounts of these matters in the three evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke. For one of them explains certain matters more obscurely, another of them more plainly, so that it becomes clear at what point passages referring to a single matter begin. This I have tried my best to do in a letter that I wrote to a man of blessed memory, Hesychius, bishop of Salona, entitled, "On the end of the world." ¹

From this point I shall cite what is said in the gospel according to Matthew about the separation of the good and the wicked by the most immediate and final judgement of Christ. "When the Son of Man shall come in his glory," he says, "and all the angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory, and before him shall be gathered all nations, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divides the sheep from the goats, and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats

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dextris suis, haedos autem a sinistris. Tunc dicet rex his, qui a dextris eius erunt: Venite, benedicti patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi. Esurivi enim, et dedistis mihi manducare; sitivi, et dedistis mihi bibere; hospes eram, et collegistis me; nudus, et operuistis me; infirmus, et visitastis me;¹ in carcere eram, et venistis ad me. Tunc respondebunt ei iusti dicentes: Domine, quando te vidimus esurientem, et pavimus; sitientem, et dedimus potum? Quando autem te vidimus hospitem, et collegimus te; aut nudum, et cooperuimus te? Aut quando te vidimus infirmum aut in carcere, et venimus ad te? Et respondens rex dicet illis: Amen dico vobis, quamdiu fecistis uni de his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis. Tunc dicet, inquit, et his qui a sinistris erunt: Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est zabulo et angelis eius. Deinde similiter etiam his enumerat quod illa non fecerint quae dextros fecisse memoravit. Similiterque interrogantibus quando eum viderint in horum indigentia constitutum, quod minimis suis non factum est sibi factum non fuisse respondet, sermonemque concludens: Et ibunt, inquit, hi in supplicium aeternum, iusti autem in vitam aeternam.

Iohannes vero evangelista apertissime narrat eum in resurrectione mortuorum futurum praedixisse iudicium. Cum enim dixisset: *Neque enim Pater iudicat quemquam, sed iudicium omne dedit Filio, ut omnes honorificent Filium sicut honorificant Patrem;*

¹ infirmus, et visitastis me omitted by the MSS., but implied by infirmum a few lines below.

¹ Matthew 25.34-41.

² Cf. Matthew 25.42-45.

³ Matthew 25.46.

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on his left hand. Then shall the king say to those on his right hand: Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye did clothe me; sick, and ye did visit me; I was in prison, and ye did come to me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying: Lord, when did we see thee hungry, and fed thee; thirsty, and gave thee drink? When did we see thee a stranger, and took thee in, or naked, and clothed thee? Or when did we see thee sick, or in prison, and came to thee? And the King shall answer and say to them: Verily I say to you, inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it to me. Then shall he say also to those on his left hand," he says, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels." ¹ Then in like manner he states one by one that they have not done the things that those on his right hand have done. And when in like manner they ask when they have seen him in need of these things, he replies that what was not done to the least of his brethren was not done to him.² And he concludes his discourse with the words: "And these shall go into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into everlasting life." ³

Now the evangelist John most clearly relates that Jesus predicted that the judgement would be at the resurrection of the dead. For after saying: "For the Father does not judge any man, but has given all judgement to the Son, so that all men may honour the Son even as they honour the Father; he who

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qui non honorificat Filium, non honorificat Patrem qui misit illum, protinus addidit: Amen, amen dico vobis quia qui verbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me habet vitam aeternam, et in iudicium non venit, sed transit a morte in vitam. Ecce hic dixit fideles suos in iudicium non venire. Quo modo ergo per iudicium separabuntur a malis et ad eius dexteram stabunt, nisi quia hoc loco iudicium pro damnatione posuit? In tale quippe iudicium non venient qui audiunt verbum eius et credunt ei qui misit illum.

VI

Quae sit prima resurrectio, quae secunda.

DEINDE adiungit et dicit: *Amen, amen dico vobis quia venit hora et nunc est, quando mortui audient vocem filii Dei, et qui audierint vivent. Sicut enim Pater habet vitam in semet ipso, sic dedit et Filio habere vitam in semet ipso.* Nondum de secunda resurrectione, id est corporum, loquitur, quae in fine futura est, sed de prima, quae nunc est. Hanc quippe ut distingueret, ait: *Venit hora, et nunc est.* Non autem ista corporum, sed animarum est. Habent enim et animae mortem suam in impietate atque peccatis, secundum quam mortem mortui sunt de quibus idem Dominus ait: *Sine mortui mortuos suos sepeliant, ut scilicet in anima mortui in corpore mortuos sepelirent.* Propter istos

¹ John 5.22-24.

² John 5.25, 26.

³ Matthew 8.22.

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does not honour the Son does not honour the Father who sent him," he added immediately: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, that he who hears my word and believes on him who sent me has everlasting life, and shall not come into judgement, but has passed from death into life." ¹ Note that he said here that his faithful shall not come into judgement. Now how are they to be separated from the wicked by judgement, and stand on his right hand, unless in this passage he used "judgement" in the sense of "condemnation"? For it is judgement in that sense into which they shall not come who hear his word and believe the one who sent him.

VI

What is the first resurrection, and what the second.

NEXT he adds the following words: "Verily, verily, I say unto you that the hour is coming and now is when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they who hear it shall live. For even as the Father has life in himself, so he has given also to the Son to have life in himself." ² He is not yet speaking of the second resurrection, that is, of the body, which is to be in the end, but of the first, which now is. In fact, it is in order to make this distinction that he says: "The hour is coming and now is." Moreover, this resurrection is not that of the body, but of the soul. For souls, too, have their own death, in irreligion and sin, and it is with this death that those are dead of whom the same Lord says: "Let the dead bury their dead" ³; that is, let those who are dead in soul bury those who are dead in body.

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ergo impietate et iniquitate in anima mortuos: *Venit, inquit, hora, et nunc est, quando mortui audient vocem filii Dei, et qui audierint vivent. Qui audierint dixit "qui oboedierint, qui crediderint et usque in finem perseveraverint."* Nec fecit hic ullam differentiam bonorum et malorum. Omnibus enim bonum est audire vocem eius et vivere ad vitam pietatis ex impietatis morte transeundo.

De qua morte ait apostolus Paulus: *Ergo omnes mortui sunt, et pro omnibus mortuus est, ut qui vivunt iam non sibi vivant, sed ei qui pro ipsis mortuus est et resurrexit.* Omnes itaque mortui sunt in peccatis, nemine prorsus excepto, sive originalibus sive etiam voluntate additis, vel ignorando vel sciendo nec faciendo quod iustum est; et pro omnibus mortuis vivus mortuus est unus, id est nullum habens omnino peccatum, ut qui per remissionem peccatorum vivunt iam non sibi vivant, sed ei qui pro omnibus mortuus est propter peccata nostra et resurrexit propter iustificationem nostram, ut credentes in eum qui iustificat impium, ex impietate iustificati tamquam ex morte vivificati, ad primam resurrectionem, quae nunc est, pertinere possemus. Ad hanc enim primam non pertinent nisi qui beati erunt in aeternum; ad secundam vero, de qua mox locuturus est, et beatos pertinere docebit et miseros. Ista est misericordiae, illa iudicii. Propter quod in psalmo scriptum est: *Misericordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi, Domine.*

¹ 2 Corinthians 5.14, 15.

² Psalms 101.1.

So it is of those who are dead in soul, because of impiety and wickedness, that he says: "The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they who hear it shall live." By "who hear it" he means "who obey and believe and persevere to the end." Nor has he made here any difference between the good and the bad; for it is good for all men to hear his voice and to live by passing from the death of irreligion to the life of religion.

And it is of this death that the apostle Paul speaks: "Therefore all men are dead and he died for all, that those who live should not live henceforth for themselves but for him who died for them and rose again."¹ So all men, without exception, are dead in sin, whether original or voluntary sin, whether sin committed in ignorance or sin committed in wanton defiance of what was known to be right; and for all these dead, there died the only living man, that is, the only one who had no sin whatever, in order that those who live through the remission of sin should now live not for themselves but for him who died for all, for our sins, and rose again, for our justification, so that we, believing in him who makes the irreligious righteous and, being brought to righteousness from irreligion, just as if we were brought to life from death, might be able to attain to the first resurrection, which now is. For in this first resurrection only those take part who are to be blessed forever; but in the second, about which he will presently speak, he will show that both the blessed and the wretched take part. One is the resurrection of mercy, the other of judgement. Wherefore it is written in the psalm: "Of mercy and judgement I will sing to thee, O Lord."²

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De quo iudicio consequenter adiunxit atque ait: *Et potestatem dedit ei iudicium facere, quia filius hominis est.* Hic ostendit quod in ea carne veniet iudicaturus in qua venerat iudicandus. Ad hoc enim ait: *Quoniam filius hominis est.* Ac deinde subiungens unde agimus: *Nolite, inquit, mirari hoc, quia veniet hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient vocem eius et procedent, qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem vitae, qui vero mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii.* Hoc est illud iudicium quod paulo ante, sicut nunc, pro damnatione posuerat dicens: *Qui verbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me habet vitam aeternam et in iudicium non venit, sed transiit a morte in vitam,* id est, pertinendo ad primam resurrectionem, qua nunc transitur a morte ad vitam, in damnationem non veniet, quam significavit appellatione iudicii, sicut etiam hoc loco ubi ait: *Qui mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii,* id est damnationis. Resurgat ergo in prima qui non vult in secunda resurrectione damnari. *Venit enim hora, et nunc est, quando mortui audient vocem filii Dei, et qui audierint vivent,* id est, in damnationem non venient, quae secunda mors dicitur; in quam mortem post secundam, quae corporum futura est, resurrectionem praecipitabuntur qui in prima, quae animarum est, non resurgunt. *Veniet enim hora* (ubi non ait: *Et nunc est,* quia in fine erit saeculi, hoc

¹ John 5.27.

² John 5.28, 29.

³ Cited above, Chap. 5.

Of this judgement he said, in what follows: "And I have given him power to execute judgement, because he is the Son of Man." ¹ Here he shows that he shall come to judge in that flesh in which he came to be judged; for it is to show this that he says: "Because he is the Son of man." And then he adds the words with which we are concerned: "Wonder not that the hour is to come in which all who are in the graves shall hear his voice and shall come forth, they who have done good deeds, to the resurrection of life, but they who have done evil deeds, to the resurrection of judgement." ² This is that judgement which he referred to a little before, just as now, in the sense of condemnation: "He who hears my word and believes on him who sent me has everlasting life, and shall not come into judgement, but has passed from death into life," ³ that is, by sharing in the first resurrection, by which even now one passes from death to life, he shall not come into condemnation, which he means when he uses the term "judgement," just as in this further passage, where he says: "And they who have done evil deeds to the resurrection of judgement," that is, of condemnation. Let him, then, rise up in the first resurrection who does not wish to be condemned in the second. For "the hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they who have heard it shall live," that is, shall not come into condemnation, which is called the second death. And into this death, after the second resurrection, which is a future resurrection of bodies, they shall be cast who do not rise up in the first resurrection, which is a resurrection of souls. For "the hour shall come" (and here he does not say "and now is," because it is to be at the end of the

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est in ultimo et maximo iudicio Dei), *quando omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient vocem eius et procedent.* Non dixit quem ad modum in prima: *Et qui audierint vivent.* Non enim omnes vivent, ea vita scilicet quae, quoniam beata est, sola vita dicenda est. Nam utique non sine qualicumque vita possent audire et de monumentis resurgente carne procedere.

Quare autem non omnes vivent, in eo quod sequitur docet; *qui bona, inquit, fecerunt, in resurrectionem vitae, hi sunt qui vivent; qui vero mala egerunt, in resurrectionem iudicii, hi sunt qui non vivent, quia secunda morte morientur.* Mala quippe egerunt, quoniam male vixerunt; male autem vixerunt, quia in prima, quae nunc est, animarum resurrectione non revixerunt, aut in eo quod revixerant non in finem usque manserunt. Sicut ergo duae sunt regenerationes, de quibus iam supra locutus sum, una secundum fidem, quae nunc fit per baptismum, alia secundum carnem, quae fiet in eius incorruptione atque immortalitate per iudicium magnum atque novissimum, ita sunt et resurrectiones duae, una prima, quae et nunc est et animarum est, quae venire non permittit in mortem secundam, alia secunda, quae non nunc sed in saeculi fine futura est, nec animarum sed corporum est, quae per ultimum iudicium alios mittit in secundam mortem, alios in eam vitam quae non habet mortem.

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world, that is, at the last and supreme judgement of God), "when all who are in the graves shall hear his voice and shall come forth." He does not say, as in the case of the first resurrection, "and they who shall hear it shall live"; for not all shall live, that is, not all shall live that life which, because it is blessed, is the only life that should be so called; for of course they could not without some sort of life hear and come forth from the tombs in the resurrection of the flesh.

Moreover, he instructs us in the next verse why they shall not all live. He says: "They who have done good deeds, to the resurrection of life"; these are they who are to live; "but they who have done evil deeds, to the resurrection of judgement"; these are they who are not to live, because they are to die the second death. In fact, they have done evil deeds because their life has been evil; and their life has been evil because in the first resurrection, the resurrection of the soul which now is, they have not lived a new life, or they have not persevered to the end in newness of life. Since, then, there are two regenerations, of which I have already spoken above: one after the faith, which even now comes about through baptism; the other after the flesh, which is to come about in its exemption from decay and death through the great and last judgement, so there are two resurrections: one, the first, of the soul, which now is, and which prevents us from coming into the second death; the other, the second, which is not now, but is to be at the end of the world, and is not of the soul but of the body, and which by the last judgement will send some into the second death and others into that life which has no death.

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VII

De duabus resurrectionibus et de mille annis quid in apocalypsi Iohannis scriptum sit et quid de eis rationabiliter sentiatur.

DE his duabus resurrectionibus idem Iohannes evangelista in libro qui dicitur apocalypsis eo modo locutus est ut earum prima a quibusdam nostris non intellecta insuper etiam in quasdam ridiculas fabulas verteretur. Ait quippe in libro memorato Iohannes apostolus: *Et vidi angelum descendentem de caelo, habentem clavem abyssi et catenam in manu sua. Et tenuit draconem illum serpentem antiquum, qui cognominatus est diabolus et satanas, et alligavit illum mille annis et misit illum in abyssum, et clusit et signavit super eum ut non seduceret iam gentes donec finiantur mille anni; post haec oportet eum solvi brevi tempore. Et vidi sedes et sedentes super eas, et iudicium datum est. Et animae occisorum propter testimonium Iesu et propter verbum Dei, et si qui non adoraverunt bestiam nec imaginem eius neque acceperunt inscriptionem in fronte aut in manu sua, et regnaverunt cum Iesu mille annis; reliqui eorum non vixerunt donec finiantur mille anni. Haec resurrectio prima est. Beatus et sanctus est qui habet in hac prima resurrectione partem. In istis secunda mors non habet potestatem; sed erunt sacerdotes Dei et Christi et regnabunt cum eo mille annis. Qui propter haec huius libri verba primam resurrectionem futuram suspicati sunt*

¹ Revelation 20.1-6.

VII

About the two resurrections, and the thousand years, dealt with by John in his Apocalypse, and what opinion we may rationally hold about them.

THE same evangelist John has spoken of these two resurrections in the book entitled the Apocalypse, but in such a manner that the first of them, not being understood by some Christians, has in addition even been turned into absurd fables. Here is what the apostle John says in the book just mentioned: "And I beheld an angel descending from heaven, having in his hand the key of the pit and a chain. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, known also by the names of the devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years and cast him into the pit, and shut him up, and put a seal upon him, so that he could no longer seduce the nations until the thousand years should be ended; after this he must needs be set free for a little time. And I beheld thrones and those who sat upon them, and judgement was given. And the souls of them who were slain for their witness to Jesus and to the word of God, and any who had not worshipped the beast or his image or received his mark on their foreheads or in their hands, reigned with Jesus for a thousand years; but the rest of them did not come to life until the thousand years were ended. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he who has a part in this first resurrection. Over them the second death has no power; but they shall be priests of God and of Christ and shall reign with him for a thousand years." ¹ Those who, on the strength of this passage, have made a guess that the

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corporalem, inter cetera maxime numero annorum mille permoti sunt, tamquam oporteret in sanctis eo modo velut tanti temporis fieri sabbatismum, vacatione scilicet sancta post labores annorum sex milium ex quo creatus est homo et magni illius peccati merito in huius mortalitatis aerumnas de paradisi felicitate dimissus est, ut, quoniam scriptum est: *Unus dies apud Dominum sicut mille anni, et mille anni sicut dies unus*, sex annorum milibus tamquam sex diebus impletis, sequatur velut septimus sabbati in annis mille postremis, ad hoc scilicet sabbatum celebrandum resurgentibus sanctis.

Quae opinio esset utcumque tolerabilis, si aliquae deliciae spirituales in illo sabbato adfuturæ sanctis per Domini praesentiam crederentur. Nam etiam nos hoc opinati fuimus aliquando. Sed cum eos qui tunc resurrexerint dicant inmoderatissimis carnalibus epulis vacaturos, in quibus cibus sit tantus ac potus ut non solum nullam modestiam teneant sed modum quoque ipsius incredulitatis excedant, nullo modo ista possunt nisi a carnalibus credi. Hi autem qui spirituales sunt istos ista credentes *χιλιαστὰς* appellant Graeco vocabulo, quos verbum e verbo exprimentes nos possemus miliarios noncupare. Eos autem longum est refellere ad singula; sed potius quem ad modum scriptura haec accipienda sit iam debemus ostendere.

Ait ipse Dominus Iesus Christus: *Nemo potest introire in domum fortis et vasa eius eripere, nisi prius alligaverit fortem*, diabolum volens intellegi fortem

¹ 2 Peter 3.8.

² Cf. Augustine, *Sermons* 259.

³ Mark 3.27; Matthew 12.29.

first resurrection is to be bodily, have been moved, among other considerations, chiefly by the number of the thousand years, as if it were fitting for the saints to enjoy a sabbath during all this time, as a sort of holy rest after the labours of the six thousand years since the creation of man and his expulsion, deserved by his great sin, from the felicity of paradise into the hardships of this mortal life, so that, since Scripture says, "One day with the Lord is like a thousand years, and a thousand years like one day,"¹ there should follow after the completion of the six thousand years, which are like six days, a kind of seventh-day sabbath during the succeeding thousand years, and the saints were to rise again precisely to celebrate this sabbath.

Now this opinion would be tolerable up to a certain point, if it were believed that in that sabbath some few spiritual delights were to fall to the lot of the saints through the presence of the Lord; I, too, was once of this opinion.² But since they say that those who are to rise again will enjoy a holiday of most immoderate carnal feasts, in which food and drink will be so plentiful that not only will they observe no limits of moderation but will also exceed all bounds even of incredulity, all this can be believed only by the carnally minded. Those who are spiritually minded call those who believe these things, in Greek, chiliasts, and we may in Latin translate the term literally as "millenarians." It would be tedious to refute them in detail; we ought rather to show now how this passage of Scripture is to be understood.

Our Lord Jesus Christ himself says: "No man can enter into the house of a strong man and take his goods unless he first bind the strong man."³ By the

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quia ipse genus humanum potuit tenere captivum; vasa vero eius quae fuerat erepturus fideles suos futuros, quos ille in diversis peccatis atque impietatibus possidebat. Ut ergo alligaretur hic fortis, propterea vidit iste apostolus in apocalypsi *angelum descendentem de caelo, habentem clavem abyssi et catenam in manu sua. Et tenuit, inquit, draconem illum serpentem antiquum, qui cognominatus est diabolus et satanas, et alligavit illum mille annis, hoc est, eius potestatem ab eis seducendis ac possidendis qui fuerant liberandi cohibuit atque frenavit. Mille autem anni duobus modis possunt, quantum mihi occurrit, intellegi: aut quia in ultimis annis mille ista res agitur, id est sexto annorum miliario tamquam sexto die, cuius nunc spatia posteriora volvuntur, secuturo deinde sabbato quod non habet vesperam, requie scilicet sanctorum quae non habet finem, ut huius miliarii tamquam diei novissimam partem quae remanebat usque ad terminum saeculi, mille annos appellaverit eo loquendi modo quo pars significatur a toto; aut certe mille annos pro annis omnibus huius saeculi posuit, ut perfecto numero notaretur ipsa temporis plenitudo. Millenarius quippe numerus denarii numeri quadratum solidum reddit. Decem quippe deciens ducta fiunt centum, quae iam figura quadrata, sed plana est; ut autem in altitudinem surgat et solida fiat, rursus centum deciens multiplicantur, et mille sunt. Porro si centum ipsa pro universitate aliquando ponuntur, quale illud est quod Dominus*

¹ The reference is to the rhetorical figure called synecdoche.

strong man he means the devil, because he was able to take captive the human race; by his goods which he was to take, those whom the devil held in various sins and iniquities, but who were to believe in himself. And it was in order to bind this strong one that the apostle beheld in the Apocalypse "an angel descending from heaven, having in his hand the key of the pit and a chain. And he laid hold," he says, "on the dragon, that old serpent, known also by the names of the devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years": that is, he checked and put a bridle on his power to seduce and hold in his possession those who were to be freed.

Now the thousand years may be understood in two ways, so far as I can see: either because this event takes place in the last thousand years, that is, in the sixth millennium, the latter parts of which are even now passing, as if it were a sixth day, to be followed by a Sabbath without an evening, which is the rest of the saints without an end, so that by that figure of speech which speaks of the whole, meaning a part,¹ he calls the last part of the millennium, or day, which remained before the end of the world, a thousand years; or he at least used the thousand years as the equivalent of the whole period of this world's history, in order to indicate by a perfect number the fullness of time. For the number one thousand represents the cube of the number ten, inasmuch as ten times ten makes one hundred, a square, but a plane figure, while to make a solid figure the hundred is again multiplied by ten, and becomes a thousand. Furthermore, if a hundred is sometimes used as the equivalent of totality (as indeed it was when the Lord promised him who left his

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omnia sua dimittenti et eum sequenti promisit dicens: *Accipiet in hoc saeculo centuplum*, quod exponens quodam modo apostolus ait: *Quasi nihil habentes, et omnia possidentes*, quia et ante iam dictum erat: *Fidelis hominis totus mundus divitiarum est*, quanto magis mille pro universitate ponuntur, ubi est soliditas ipsius denariae quadraturae? Unde nec illud melius intellegitur quod in psalmo legitur: *Memor fuit in saeculum testamenti sui verbi quod mandavit in mille generationes*, id est in omnes.

Et misit illum, inquit, *in abyssum*; utique diabolum misit in abyssum, quo nomine significata est multitudo innumerabilis impiorum quorum in malignitate adversus ecclesiam Dei multum profunda sunt corda, non quia ibi diabolus ante non erat, sed ideo illuc dicitur missus quia exclusus a credentibus plus coepit impios possidere. Plus namque possidetur a diabolo qui non solum est alienatus a Deo verum etiam gratis odit servientes Deo. *Et clusit*, inquit, *et signavit super eum ut non seduceret iam gentes donec finiantur mille anni*. *Clausit super eum* dictum est "interdixit ei ne posset exire," id est vetitum transgredi. *Signavit* autem, quod addidit, significasse mihi videtur quod occultum esse voluit qui pertineant ad partem diaboli, et qui non pertineant. Hoc quippe in saeculo isto prorsus latet, quia et qui videtur stare, utrum sit casurus, et qui videtur iacere, utrum sit surrecturus, incertum est.

¹ Matthew 19.29.

³ Proverbs 17.6 (Septuagint).

² 2 Corinthians 6.10.

⁴ Psalms 105.8.

all and followed him: "He shall receive in this world one hundredfold,"¹ in explanation of which, as it were, the Apostle speaks of those who "seem to have nothing, yet have all things,"² and as even earlier it was said: "The wealth of a believer includes the whole world"³), how much more is a thousand the equivalent of totality, since it is the cube of ten, rather than the square! Wherefore there can be no better understanding of the words of the psalm: "He has been mindful at all times of his covenant, the word that he bestowed on a thousand generations,"⁴ than by understanding "a thousand generations" to mean "all generations."

"And he cast him into the pit," he says, meaning that he cast into the pit the devil, meaning by the pit the innumerable multitude of the irreligious, whose hearts go deep indeed in malignity against the church of God; not that the devil was not in them before, but he is said to have been cast there because when cut off from believers he gains greater possession of the irreligious. For he is more completely possessed by the devil who not merely is alienated from God but goes out of his way to hate those who serve God. "And he shut him up," he says, "and put a seal upon him, so that he could no longer seduce the nations until the thousand years should be ended." "Shut him up," that is, forbade him to go forth. And the added words, "put a seal upon him," seem to me to mean that God wished it to be unknown who belonged to the devil's party and who did not. For in this world this is indeed unknown, since it is uncertain whether he who seems to stand is about to fall, and whether he who seems to lie prone is about to rise again.

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Ab eis autem gentibus seducendis huius interdicti vinculo et clastro diabolus prohibetur atque cohibetur, quas pertinentes ad Christum seducebat antea vel tenebat. Has enim Deus elegit ante mundi constitutionem eruere de potestate tenebrarum et transferre in regnum filii caritatis suae, sicut apostolus dicit. Nam seducere illum gentes etiam nunc et secum trahere in aeternam poenam, sed non praedestinas in aeternam vitam, quis fidelis ignorat? Nec moveat quod saepe diabolus seducit etiam illos qui regenerati iam in Christo vias ingrediuntur Dei. *Novit enim Dominus qui sunt eius;* ex his in aeternam damnationem neminem ille seducit. Sic enim eos novit Dominus, ut Deus, quem nil latet etiam futurorum, non ut homo, qui hominem ad praesens videt (si tamen videt, cuius cor non videt), qualis autem postea sit futurus nec se ipsum videt. Ad hoc ergo ligatus est diabolus et inclusus in abyso ut iam non seducat gentes ex quibus constat ecclesia, quas antea seductas tenebat antequam essent ecclesia. Neque enim dictum est "ut non seduceret aliquem," sed *ut non seduceret*, inquit, *iam gentes*, in quibus ecclesiam procul dubio voluit intellegi, *donec finiantur*, inquit, *mille anni*, id est, aut quod remanet de sexto die, qui constat ex mille annis, aut omnes anni, quibus deinceps hoc saeculum peragendum est.

Nec sic accipiendum est quod ait: *Ut non seduceret*

¹ Ephesians 1.4.

² 2 Timothy 2.19.

By the bond and prison of this decree the devil is prohibited and inhibited from leading astray those nations who belonged to Christ but whom in time past he seduced or held captive. For God chose them before the founding of the world, to rescue them from the power of darkness and to bring them into the kingdom of the Son of his love, as the Apostle says.¹ For what believer knows not that the devil even now leads nations astray and carries them with him into everlasting punishment, but not those predestined for everlasting life? Nor let any one be troubled by the fact that the devil often leads astray even those who have already been born again in Christ and are walking in the ways of God. For "the Lord knows who are his";² and the devil leads none of them astray for everlasting condemnation. For the Lord knows them, with God's kind of knowledge, from whom nothing is hidden even of what is yet to be, and not with man's, who sees his fellow man at the present time (if indeed he really sees one whose heart he does not see), but sees not what manner of man even he himself is to be hereafter. For this purpose, then, the devil is bound and shut up in the pit, that he may no longer lead astray the nations of which the church is composed, whom he led astray and held captive in time past, before they were a church. For the words are not "that he may not lead anyone astray," but "that he may no longer lead the nations astray," by which beyond doubt he meant the church; "until the thousand years be ended," that is, either what remains of the sixth day, which consists of a thousand years, or all the years still to come until the end of this age.

Nor are the words "so that he could no longer lead

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gentes donec finiantur mille anni, quasi postea sit seducturus eas dumtaxat gentes, ex quibus praedestinata constat ecclesia, a quibus seducendis illo est vinculo clastroque prohibitus. Sed aut illa locutione dictum est quae in scripturis aliquotiens invenitur, qualis est in psalmo: *Sic oculi nostri ad Dominum Deum nostrum donec misereatur nostri*, neque enim, cum misertus fuerit, non erunt oculi servorum eius ad Dominum Deum suum; aut certe iste est ordo verborum: *Et clausit et signavit super eum donec finiantur mille anni*, quod vero interposuit: *Ut non seduceret iam gentes*, ita se habet ut ab huius ordinis conexione sit liberum et seorsus intellegendum, velut si post adderetur, ut sic se haberet tota sententia: *Et clausit et signavit super eum donec finiantur mille anni, ut non seduceret iam gentes*; id est, ideo clausit donec finiantur mille anni, ut non seduceret iam gentes.

VIII

De alligatione et solutione diaboli.

Post haec, inquit, oportet eum solvi brevi tempore. Si hoc est diabolo ligari et includi, ecclesiam non posse seducere, haec ergo erit solutio eius, ut possit? Absit; numquam enim ab illo ecclesia seducetur prae-

¹ Psalms 123.2.

the nations astray until the thousand years should be ended " to be interpreted as meaning that afterwards he is to lead astray only those nations of which the predestined church is composed, which before that he is prevented from leading astray by that bond and prison. On the contrary, either the words are written in accordance with that form of expression which is often found in the Scriptures, as in the psalm: " So our eyes wait on the Lord our God, until he have mercy on us," ¹ where it is not meant that, when he has had mercy, the eyes of his servants will no longer wait upon the Lord their God; or else this is surely the core of the message: " And he shut him up and put a seal upon him, until the thousand years should be ended," and the interposed words, " so that he could no longer lead the nations astray," are to be understood not in connection with the context, but separately, as if they were added at the end, and the whole passage read: " And he shut him up and put a seal upon him, until the thousand years should be ended, so that he could no longer lead the nations astray " ; that is, he shut him up until the thousand years should be ended on this account, that he should no longer lead the nations astray.

VIII

About the binding and the loosing of the devil.

" AFTER this," says John, " he must needs be set free for a little time." If the binding and shutting up of the devil means that he cannot lead the church astray, does his loosing therefore mean that he can lead it astray? God forbid, for never shall that

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destinata et electa ante mundi constitutionem, de qua dictum est: *Novit Dominus qui sunt eius*. Et tamen hic erit etiam illo tempore quo solvendus est diabolus, sicut ex quo est instituta hic fuit et erit omni tempore, in suis utique qui succedunt nascendo morientibus. Nam paulo post dicit quod solutus diabolus seductas gentes toto orbe terrarum adtrahet in bellum adversus eam, quorum hostium numerus erit ut harena maris. *Et ascenderunt, inquit, supra terrae latitudinem, et cinxerunt castra sanctorum et dilectam civitatem, et descendit ignis de caelo a Deo et comedit eos; et diabolus, qui seducebat eos, missus est in stagnum ignis et sulphuris, ubi et bestia et pseudo-propheta; et cruciabuntur die et nocte in saecula saeculorum.*

Sed hoc iam ad iudicium novissimum pertinet, quod nunc propterea commemorandum putavi ne quis existimet eo ipso parvo tempore quo solvetur diabolus in hac terra ecclesiam non futuram, illo hic eam vel non inveniēte cum fuerit solutus, vel absumente cum fuerit modis omnibus persecutus. Non itaque per totum hoc tempus quod liber iste complectitur, a primo scilicet adventu Christi usque in saeculi finem, qui erit secundus eius adventus, ita diabolus alligatur ut eius haec ipsa sit alligatio, per hoc intervallum quod mille annorum numero appellat non seducere ecclesiam, quando quidem illam nec solutus utique seducturus est. Nam profecto ei si alligari est non posse seducere sive non permitti, quid erit solvi nisi posse seducere sive permitti? Quod absit ut fiat;

¹ 2 Timothy 2.19.

² Cf. Revelation 20.8.

³ Revelation 20.9, 10.

church be led astray by him which was predestined and elect before the founding of the world, the church of which it is said: "The Lord knows who are his." ¹ And yet there shall be a church in the world at that time too when the devil is to be loosed, just as it has been in the world since it was begun and shall be at all times, surviving in its members who as they are born replace the dying. For a little later he says that after the devil has been loosed he shall lead nations astray in the whole world and draw them into warfare against it, and that the number of its enemies shall be as the sand of the sea.² "And they went up," he says, "over the breadth of the earth, and encompassed the camp of the saints and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them. And the devil, who led them astray, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever."³

This refers to the last judgement; but I thought it should be called to mind now lest any one should suppose that during that short time when the devil shall be loose there shall be no church on earth, either because he is to find none here when he is unbound or because he is to exhaust it by all manner of persecutions. So during the whole time that the Apocalypse embraces, that is, from the first coming of Christ to the end of the age, which shall be his second coming, the devil is not bound in the sense that during this interval, called the thousand years, he does not lead the church astray, since not even when loosed is he to lead it astray. For surely if his binding means that he is unable or is not permitted to lead it astray, what does his loosing mean if not

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sed alligatio diaboli est non permitti exserere totam temptationem quam potest vel vi vel dolo ad seducendos homines in partem suam cogendo violenter fraudulenterve fallendo. Quod si permetteretur in tam longo tempore et tanta infirmitate multorum, plurimos tales quales Deus id perpeti non vult et fideles deiceret et ne crederent impediret; quod ne faceret, alligatus est.

Tunc autem solvetur quando et breve tempus erit (nam tribus annis et sex mensibus legitur totis suis suorumque viribus saeviturus); et tales erunt cum quibus ei belligerandum est ut vinci tanto eius impetu insidiisque non possint. Si autem numquam solveretur, minus appareret eius maligna potentia, minus sanctae civitatis fidelissima patientia probaretur, minus denique perspiceretur quam magno eius malo tam bene fuerit usus Omnipotens, qui cum nec omnino abstulit a temptatione sanctorum, quamvis ab eorum interioribus hominibus, ubi in Deum creditur, foras missum, ut eius forinsecus oppugnatione proficerent; et in eis qui sunt ex parte ipsius alligavit, ne quantam posset effundendo et exercendo malitiam innumerabiles infirmos, ex quibus ecclesiam multiplicari et impleri oportebat, alios credituros, alios iam credentes, a fide pietatis hos deterreret, hos frangeret; et solvet in fine, ut quam fortem adversarium Dei civitas superaverit cum ingenti gloria sui redemptoris adiutoris liberatoris aspiciat. In eorum

¹ Cf. Revelation 11.2; 13.5.

that he is able or permitted to lead it astray? But God forbid this should be; rather, the binding of the devil means that he is not permitted to exert his whole power to draw men off to his party by forcibly compelling or guilefully deluding them. Now if he were permitted to do so during so long a time and where many are so unstable, he would overthrow the faith or prevent the belief of very many of the kind to whom by God's will that is not to happen; and it was to prevent his doing so that he was bound.

But when the short time comes he shall be loosed; for one may read in the Scriptures ¹ that he will rage with all his powers and those of his allies for three years and six months, yet they with whom he must wage war shall be of a kind that cannot be vanquished by his mighty assault and ambuscades. But if he were never loosed his malignant power would be less manifest, and the all-faithful patience of the holy city would the less be put to proof; in a word, it would be less evident what good use the Omnipotent was to make of his great wickedness. For he is not altogether removed by the Omnipotent from the tempting of the saints; he is merely cast out from their inner man, where faith in God dwells, so that they may profit by his outward assaults. And he has bound him fast among his followers, lest by exercising his malice to the utmost he should hinder or destroy the faith of countless weak persons, some already believing and others ready to believe, from whom the numbers of the church were to be filled up and increased. And in the end he will loose him, so that the City of God may perceive how strong an adversary it has vanquished, to the great glory of its Redeemer, Helper, Deliverer. What, indeed, are

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sane qui tunc futuri sunt sanctorum atque fidelium comparatione quid sumus, quando quidem ad illos probandos tantus solvetur inimicus, cum quo nos ligato tantis periculis dimicamus? Quamvis et hoc temporis intervallo quosdam milites Christi tam prudentes et fortes fuisse atque esse non dubium est ut, etiamsi tunc in ista mortalitate viverent quando ille solvetur, omnes insidias eius atque impetus et caverent sapientissime et patientissime sustinerent.

Haec autem alligatio diaboli non solum facta est ex quo coepit ecclesia praeter Iudaeam terram in nationes alias atque alias dilatari, sed etiam nunc fit et fiet usque ad terminum saeculi, quo solvendus est, quia et nunc homines ab infidelitate, in qua eos ipse possidebat, convertuntur ad fidem et usque in illum finem sine dubio convertentur; et utique unicuique iste fortis tunc alligatur quando ab illo tamquam vas eius eripitur; et abyssus, ubi inclusus est, non in eis consumpta est quando sunt mortui qui tunc erant quando esse coepit inclusus, sed successerunt eis alii nascendo atque succedunt donec finiatur hoc saeculum, qui oderint Christianos, in quorum cotidie, velut in abyso, caecis et profundis cordibus includatur. Utrum autem etiam illis ultimis tribus annis et mensibus sex, quando solutus totis viribus saeviturus est, aliquis in qua non fuerat sit accessurus ad fidem, nonnulla quaestio est. Quo modo enim stabit quod dictum est: *Quis intrat in domum fortis, ut vasa eius eripiat, nisi prius alligaverit fortem*, si etiam soluto

¹ Cf. Mark 12.29.

we, in comparison with the saints and believers yet to be, inasmuch as they will be tested by the loosing of an enemy against whom we battle only with the greatest peril although he is bound? Nevertheless, it is certain that even in this period of time there have been and are now some soldiers of Christ so wise and strong that even if they were to be alive in this mortal state at the time when he is to be loosed they would both guard most wisely against all his ambuscades and assaults and most patiently endure them.

Now this binding of the devil took place not only at the time when the church began to spread beyond the land of Judaea into one nation after another, but it is taking place even now and will continue to the end of the age, when he is to be loosed, because even now men are being converted from the unbelief in which he held them into faith, and beyond doubt men will go on being converted to the end of the age. And that strong one is bound in every instance for any man who is taken from him, being, as it were, a piece of his goods; and the pit in which he is shut up is not exhausted with the death of those who were alive when he was first shut up, but others have been born and replaced them, and this goes on to the end of the age, men who hate the Christians, and in the blind depth of whose hearts he is every day shut up as in a pit. But whether during those last three years and six months, when he is to be loose and raging with all his might, any man not previously of the faith will be converted to it, there is some question. For how will the words be justified: "Who enters into the house of a strong man, to take his goods, unless he first bind the strong man?"¹ if the goods are taken even when the strong man is

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eripiuntur? Ac per hoc ad hoc cogere videtur ista sententia, ut credamus illo licet exiguo tempore neminem accessurum esse populo Christiano, sed cum eis qui iam Christiani reperti fuerint diabolum pugnatum; ex quibus etiamsi aliqui victi secuti eum fuerint, non eos ad praedestinatum filiorum Dei numerum pertinere. Neque enim frustra idem Iohannes apostolus qui et hanc apocalypsin scripsit in epistula sua de quibusdam dicit: *Ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis; nam si fuissent ex nobis, mansissent utique nobiscum.*

Sed quid fit de parvulis? Nimium quippe incredibile est nullos iam natos et nondum baptizatos praecipari Christianorum filios illo tempore infantes, nullos etiam ipsis nasci iam diebus; aut si erunt, non eos a parentibus suis ad lavacrum regenerationis modo quocumque perducere. Quod si fiet, quo pacto soluto iam diabolo vasa ista eripientur, in cuius domum nemo intrat, ut vasa eius eripiat, nisi prius alligaverit eum? Immo vero id potius est credendum, nec qui cadant de ecclesia nec qui accedant ecclesiae illo tempore defuturos; sed profecto tam fortes erunt et parentes pro baptizandis parvulis sui et hi qui tunc primitus credituri sunt ut illum fortem vincant etiam non ligatum, id est omnibus qualibus antea numquam vel artibus insidiantem vel urgentem viribus et vigilanter intellegant et toleranter ferant, ac sic illi etiam non ligato eripiantur.

¹ 1 John 2.19.

² Titus 3.5.

loose? So the words seem to compel us to believe that in that time, admittedly brief, no one will be added to the Christian community, but that the devil will fight with those who have been already known as Christians, and that although some of them will be vanquished and will follow him, these do not belong to the predestined number of the sons of God. For not in vain does the same apostle John who wrote this Apocalypse say in his epistle, concerning certain persons: "They went forth from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they surely would have remained with us." ¹

But what is to become of the little ones? For it is past belief that at that time there will be found no infants born but not yet baptized, children of Christians, or that none will be born during those very days, or that, if there are such, their parents will not somehow bring them to the washing of regeneration.² But if so, how can those goods be taken from the devil, when he is now loosed, since no man enters his house to take his goods unless he first bind him? No, no! We must rather believe that at that time there will be lacking neither some who will fall away from the church nor others who will be added to the church; but surely there will be such courage both on the part of parents in seeking baptism for their little ones and on the part of those who will then for the first time believe, that they will vanquish that strong one, even though he will be unbound, that is, even though he plots with all his wiles and struggles with all his powers, being such as they never were before, yet these will both vigilantly outwit and patiently outlast him, and so his goods will be taken from him even though he will not be bound.

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Nec ideo falsa erit evangelica illa sententia: *Quis intrat in domum fortis, ut vasa eius eripiat, nisi prius alligaverit fortem?* Secundum eius enim sententiae veritatem ordo iste servatus est, ut prius alligaretur fortis ereptisque vasis eius longe lateque in omnibus gentibus ex firmis et infirmis ita multiplicaretur ecclesia ut ex ipsa rerum divinitus praedictarum et impletarum robustissima fide etiam soluto vasa posset auferre. Sicut enim fatendum est multorum refrigerare caritatem, cum abundat iniquitas, et inusitatis maximisque persecutionibus atque fallaciis diaboli iam soluti eos qui in libro vitae scripti non sunt multos esse cessuros, ita cogitandum est non solum quos bonos fideles illud tempus inveniet, sed nonnullos etiam qui foris adhuc erunt, adjuvante Dei gratia per considerationem scripturarum, in quibus et alia et finis ipse praenuntiatus est quem venire iam sentiunt, ad credendum quod non credebant futuros esse firmiores et ad vincendum etiam non ligatum diabolum fortiores. Quod si ita erit, propterea praecessisse dicenda est eius alligatio ut et ligati et soluti expoliatio sequeretur, quoniam de hac re dictum est: *Quis intrabit in domum fortis, ut vasa eius eripiat, nisi prius alligaverit fortem?*

Nor will that saying of the gospel be thereby falsified: "Who enters into the house of a strong man, to take his goods, unless he first bind the strong man?" For in accordance with the truth of that saying the order is preserved: first the binding of the strong one, and then the taking of his goods, and finally the increase of the church among all peoples far and wide, from the strong and the weak, till by its most robust faith in things divinely predicted and fulfilled it shall have power to carry off the goods of the devil even though he has been loosed. For just as it must be admitted that "when iniquity abounds the love of many waxes cold,"¹ and that those who are not enrolled in the book of life will yield in large numbers to the unprecedented and mighty persecutions and deceptions of the devil, now loosed, so we must think that not only the good whom that time shall find faithful but also some who till then will be outside the church, with the help of God's grace and by the study of the Scriptures in which there is foretold, among other things, that very end whose approach they perceive, will become firmer in the faith that they hitherto did not hold and strong enough to vanquish the devil even when he is unbound. And if this shall be so, his binding must be spoken of as coming first, so that there may follow a spoiling of him both bound and loosed; for it is this to which the words refer: "Who shall enter into the house of a strong man, to take his goods, unless he first bind the strong man?"

¹ Cf. Matthew 24.12; also 19.8 above.

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IX

*Quod sit regnum sanctorum cum Christo per mille annos,
et in quo discernatur a regno aeterno.*

INTEREA dum mille annis ligatus est diabolus, sancti regnant cum Christo etiam ipsi mille annis, eisdem sine dubio et eodem modo intellegendis, id est isto iam tempore prioris eius adventus. Excepto quippe illo regno de quo in fine dicturus est: *Venite, benedicti patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum*, nisi alio aliquo modo, longe quidem impari, iam nunc regnarent cum illo sancti eius quibus ait: *Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque in consummationem saeculi*: profecto non etiam nunc diceretur ecclesia regnum eius regnumve caelorum. Nam utique isto tempore in regno Dei eruditur scriba ille qui profert de thensauro suo nova et vetera, de quo supra locuti sumus; et de ecclesia collecturi sunt zizania messorum illi quae permisit cum tritico simul crescere usque ad messem, quod exponens ait: *Messis est finis saeculi, messorum autem angeli sunt. Sicut ergo colliguntur zizania et igni comburuntur, sic erit in consummatione saeculi; mittet filius hominis angelos suos, et colligent de regno eius omnia*

¹ Matthew 25.34.

² Matthew 28.20.

³ Matthew 13.52; cf. 20.4 above.

IX

What is the kingdom of the saints, together with Christ, for a thousand years, and in what does it differ from the everlasting kingdom?

WHILE the devil is bound for a thousand years, the saints reign, together with Christ, also for a thousand years, which are doubtless to be understood as the same period, that is, as that between the first and the second comings of Christ. We must, of course, leave out of account that kingdom about which he is to say in the end: "Come, blessed of my father, take possession of the kingdom that is prepared for you."¹ Hence it must be in some other and far inferior sense that his saints, to whom he says: "Behold, I am with you even to the end of the world,"² must now be reigning with him; for surely the church could not otherwise now be called his kingdom, or the kingdom of heaven. In any case it is in this period that the scribe of whom we have spoken above, and who brings forth from his treasure things new and old,³ is learned in the kingdom of God. And from the church those reapers are to gather the tares which he permitted to grow together with the wheat until the harvest, as he explains, saying: "The harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire, so shall it be at the consummation of the age. The Son of Man shall send his angels, and they shall gather from his kingdom all stumbling-blocks."⁴ Can he refer to that kingdom where there are no

⁴ Matthew 13.39-41; cf. 20.5 above.

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scandala. Numquid de regno illo ubi nulla sunt scandala? De isto ergo regno eius, quod est hic ecclesia, colligentur.

Item dicit: *Qui solverit unum de mandatis istis minimis et docuerit sic homines, minimus vocabitur in regno caelorum; qui autem fecerit et sic docuerit, magnus vocabitur in regno caelorum.* Utrumque dicit in regno caelorum, et qui non facit mandata quae docet (hoc est enim solvere, non servare, non facere), et illum qui facit et sic docet; sed istum minimum, illum magnum. Et continuo secutus adiungit: *Dico enim vobis quia nisi abundaverit iustitia vestra super scribarum et Pharisaeorum, id est super eos qui solvunt quod docent (de scribis enim et Pharisaeis dicit alio loco: Quoniam dicunt, et non faciunt), nisi ergo super hos abundaverit iustitia vestra, id est, ut vos non solvatis sed faciatis potius quod docetis, non intrabitis, inquit, in regnum caelorum.* Alio modo igitur intellegendum est regnum caelorum ubi ambo sunt, et ille scilicet qui solvit quod docet et ille qui facit, sed ille minimus, ille magnus; alio modo autem regnum caelorum dicitur quo non intrat nisi ille qui facit. Ac per hoc ubi utrumque genus est, ecclesia est qualis nunc est; ubi autem illud solum erit, ecclesia est qualis tunc erit quando malus in ea non erit. Ergo et nunc

¹ Matthew 5.19.

² Matthew 23.3.

³ Matthew 5.20.

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stumbling-blocks? If not, then it must be that it is from this kingdom, the church that is in this world, that they are to be gathered.

Likewise he says: "Whosoever shall break one of the least of these my commandments and shall teach men so to do shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven; but he who shall keep my commandments and shall teach men to keep them, shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven."¹ He speaks of both men as being in the kingdom of heaven, both the man who does not perform the commandments which he teaches (for that is the meaning of "break," not to keep, not to perform), and the man who performs them and who teaches others so to do; but he calls the one "least," the other "great." And immediately he adds: "For I say to you that unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and the Pharisees," that is, of those who break what they teach (for of the scribes and Pharisees he says in another place: "For they say, but do not perform"²), unless then your righteousness exceeds theirs, that is, unless you do not break, but rather perform, what you teach, "you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."³

So we must understand in one sense the kingdom of heaven in which both are present, he who breaks what he teaches and he who performs it (but one is least and the other is great), and in another sense the kingdom of heaven into which only he enters who performs what he teaches. Therefore it is the church, as it now is, wherein both kinds are to be found; but where only the one kind shall be found, there is the church as it shall be when no evil person shall be found in it. Accordingly, the church even

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ecclesia regnum Christi est regnumque caelorum. Regnant itaque cum illo etiam nunc sancti eius, aliter quidem quam tunc regnabunt; nec tamen cum illo regnant zizania, quamvis in ecclesia cum tritico crescant. Regnant enim cum illo qui faciunt quod ait apostolus: *Si resurrexistis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt sapite, ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens; quae sursum sunt quaerite, non quae super terram;* de quibus item dicit quod eorum conversatio sit in caelis. Postremo regnant cum illo qui eo modo sunt in regno eius ut sint etiam ipsi regnum eius. Quo modo autem sunt regnum Christi qui, ut alia taceam, quamvis ibi sint donec colligantur in fine saeculi de regno eius omnia scandala, tamen illic sua quaerunt, non quae Iesu Christi?

De hoc ergo regno militiae, in quo adhuc cum hoste configitur et aliquando repugnatur pugnantibus vitiis, aliquando cedentibus imperatur, donec veniatur ad illud pacatissimum regnum ubi sine hoste regnabitur, et de hac prima resurrectione, quae nunc est, liber iste sic loquitur. Cum enim dixisset alligari diabolum mille annis, et postea solvi brevi tempore, tum recapitulando quid in istis mille annis agat ecclesia vel agatur in ea: *Et vidi, inquit, sedes et sedentes super eas, et iudicium datum est.* Non hoc putandum est de ultimo iudicio dici; sed sedes prae-

¹ Colossians 3.1, 2.

³ Philippians 2.21.

² Cf. Philippians 3.20.

⁴ Revelation 20.4; cf. 20.7 above.

now is the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of heaven. And so even now his saints reign with him, though otherwise than they shall then reign; and yet the tares do not reign with him, although they grow in the church along with the wheat. For they reign with him who do what the Apostle declares: "If you are risen again with Christ, be seasoned with the higher wisdom, where Christ sits on the right hand of God; seek the things that are above, not the things that are on the earth."¹ And of such he says also that their conversation is in heaven.² Finally, they reign with him who are such in his kingdom as to be themselves his kingdom. But how can they be the kingdom of Christ who, to mention nothing else, although they are in it until all stumbling-blocks are gathered up from his kingdom at the end of the world, seek there nevertheless their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's?³

It is therefore about this kingdom militant, in which there is still conflict with the foe, and battles must sometimes be fought against vices that make war on us, though at other times they submit and are mastered, until that most peaceful kingdom is attained where our King shall reign without a foe, and it is about that first resurrection which exists even now, that the Apocalypse speaks in the words that I have quoted. For after saying that the devil must be bound for a thousand years and afterwards loosed for a brief time, then in giving a summary of what the church is to do during those thousand years, or what is to be done in it, it says: "And I beheld thrones and those who sat upon them, and judgement was given."⁴ It is not to be supposed that this is said of the last judgement; it must be taken to mean the

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positorum et ipsi praepositi intellegendi sunt, per quos nunc ecclesia gubernatur. Iudicium autem datum nullum melius accipiendum videtur quam id quod dictum est: *Quae ligaveritis in terra, ligata erunt et in caelo; et quae solveritis in terra, soluta erunt et in caelo.* Unde apostolus: *Quid enim mihi est, inquit, de his qui foris sunt iudicare? Nonne de his qui intus sunt vos iudicatis? Et animae, inquit, occisorum propter testimonium Iesu et propter verbum Dei; subauditur quod postea dicturus est: Regnaverunt cum Iesu mille annis; animae scilicet martyrum nondum sibi corporibus suis redditis.*

Neque enim piorum animae mortuorum separantur ab ecclesia, quae nunc etiam est regnum Christi. Alioquin nec ad altare Dei fieret eorum memoria in communicatione corporis Christi; nec aliquid prodesset ad eius baptismum in periculis currere, ne sine illo finiatur haec vita; nec ad reconciliationem, si forte per paenitentiam malamve conscientiam quisque ab eodem corpore separatus est. Cur enim fiunt ista, nisi quia fideles etiam defuncti membra sunt eius? Quamvis ergo cum suis corporibus nondum, iam tamen eorum animae regnant cum illo, dum isti anni mille decurrunt. Unde in hoc eodem libro et alibi legitur: *Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur. A modo etiam dicit Spiritus, ut requiescant a laboribus suis; nam opera eorum sequuntur eos.* Regnat itaque

¹ Matthew 18.18.

² 1 Corinthians 5.12.

³ Revelation 20.4; cf. 20.7 above.

⁴ Augustine refers to the commemoration of the dead in the Eucharist, *Conf.* 9.13.

⁵ Revelation 14.13.

sees of the administrators and the administrators themselves by whom the church is now directed. And no better interpretation of the judgement given is apparent than that found in the words: "Whatsoever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." ¹ Wherefore the Apostle says: "What have I to do with judging them that are without? Do not you judge them that are within?" ² And, says the Apocalypse: "The souls of those who were slain for their witness to Jesus and to the word of God" (words to be understood in the light of the following: "reigned with Jesus for a thousand years," ³ that is, the souls of the martyrs not yet restored to their bodies).

For the souls of the religious dead are not separated from the church, which is even now the kingdom of Christ. Otherwise they would not be commemorated at the altar of God in partaking of the body of Christ; ⁴ nor would it avail in peril to resort to Christian baptism, for fear that this life might come to an end without baptism; nor to resort to reconciliation, if perchance any one has been separated from this same body as a penance or by bad conscience. For why are these things done, unless because the faithful, even though dead, are its members? Therefore their souls, though not yet restored to their bodies, already reign with him while those thousand years run their course. Therefore in another part of the same book one may read: "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, even from this time forth, says the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; for their works follow them." ⁵ So the church now begins its reign with

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cum Christo nunc primum ecclesia in vivis et mortuis. *Propterea* enim, sicut dicit apostolus, *mortuus est Christus, ut et vivorum et mortuorum dominetur*. Sed ideo tantummodo martyrum animas commemoravit quia ipsi praecipue regnant mortui qui usque ad mortem pro veritate certarunt. Sed a parte totum etiam ceteros mortuos intellegimus pertinentes ad ecclesiam, quod est regnum Christi.

Quod vero sequitur: *Et si qui non adoraverunt bestiam nec imaginem eius neque acceperunt inscriptionem in fronte aut in manu sua*, simul de vivis et mortuis debemus accipere. Quae sit porro ista bestia, quamvis sit diligentius requirendum, non tamen abhorret a fide recta ut ipsa impia civitas intellegatur et populus infidelium contrarius populo fideli et civitati Dei. Imago vero eius simulatio eius mihi videtur, in eis videlicet hominibus qui velut fidem profitentur et infideliter vivunt. Fingunt enim se esse quod non sunt, vocanturque non veraci effigie sed fallaci imagine Christiani. Ad eandem namque bestiam pertinent non solum aperte inimici nominis Christi et eius gloriosissimae civitatis sed etiam zizania quae de regno eius, quod est ecclesia, in fine saeculi colligenda sunt. Et qui sunt qui non adorant bestiam nec imaginem eius nisi qui faciunt quod ait apostolus: *Ne sitis iugum ducentes cum infidelibus?* "Non adorant" enim est non consentiunt, non subiciuntur; "neque

¹ Romans 14.9.

² Revelation 20.4.

³ 2 Corinthians 6.14.

Christ among the living and the dead. "For," as the Apostle says, "to this end Christ died, that he might be Lord both of the living and of the dead." ¹ But the Apocalypse spoke of the souls of the martyrs only because it is especially those who fought for the truth even unto death who reign after death; while we, taking the part for the whole, understand that all the other dead also belong to the church, which is the kingdom of Christ.

The words that follow: "And any who had not worshipped the beast or his image or received his mark on their foreheads or in their hands," ² we ought to take as referring to the living and the dead alike. The further question, what this beast is, should be investigated more strenuously; still we may, without violating the true faith, understand it to be the irreligious city itself and its populace of unbelievers who are the counterpart of the believing people and the City of God. "His image," moreover, seems to me to mean the dissimulation of those who profess belief but live as unbelievers. For they make an artful pretence of being what they are not, and they get the name of Christians, not by their veracious resemblance to Christ but by the fallacious semblance that they present. For to the same beast belong not only those who are frankly the enemies of Christ and of his most glorious city but also the tares that are to be gathered at the end of the world from his kingdom, that is, from the church. And who are they who do not worship the beast or his image, if not those who do what the Apostle refers to when he says: "Be not yoked together with unbelievers." ³ For "do not worship" means "do not agree with, are not subordinate to"; and "do not receive his

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accipiunt inscriptionem," notam scilicet criminis, "in fronte" propter professionem, "in manu" propter operationem. Ab his igitur malis alieni, sive adhuc in ista mortali carne viventes sive defuncti, regnant cum Christo iam nunc modo quodam huic tempori congruo per totum hoc intervallum quod numero mille significatur annorum.

Reliqui eorum, inquit, non vixerunt. Hora enim nunc est cum mortui audiunt vocem filii Dei, et qui audierint vivent; reliqui ergo eorum non vivent. Quod vero subdidit: Donec finiantur mille anni, intellegendum est quod eo tempore non vixerunt quo vivere debuerunt, ad vitam scilicet de morte transeundo. Et ideo cum dies venerit quo fiat et corporum resurrectio, non ad vitam de monumentis procedent sed ad iudicium; ad damnationem scilicet, quae secunda mors dicitur. Donec finiantur enim mille anni, quicumque non vixerit, id est, toto isto tempore quo agitur prima resurrectio, non audierit vocem filii Dei et ad vitam de morte transierit, profecto in secunda resurrectione, quae carnis est, in mortem secundam cum ipsa carne transibit. Sequitur enim et dicit: Haec resurrectio prima est. Beatus et sanctus qui habet in hac prima resurrectione partem, id est particeps eius est. Ipse est autem particeps eius qui non solum a morte, quae in peccatis est, revivescit, verum etiam in eo quod revixerit permanebit. In istis, inquit, secunda mors non habet potestatem. Habet ergo in

¹ Revelation 20.5.

² Revelation 20.6.

³ John 5.25; cf. 20.6 above.

⁴ *Ibid.*

mark " refers to that which shows their guilt, " on their foreheads " referring to their profession, " in their hands " to their actions. Therefore those who are free from these evils, whether they are still living in this mortal flesh, or are dead, are even now reigning with Christ in some manner that befits the period during all the intervening time that is symbolized by the number of years, one thousand.

" The rest of them," he says, " did not come to life." ¹ For " the hour now is when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live "; ² the rest of them therefore shall not live. By the words that follow, " until the thousand years are ended," we must understand that they did not become alive at the time when they should have, that is, by passing from death to life. And therefore when the day shall come on which the resurrection of the body as well shall come to pass, they shall come forth from their tombs, not to life but to judgement, that is, to the condemnation which is called the second death. For whoever has not lived until the thousand years are ended, that is, has not during that whole time in which the first resurrection is in operation heard the voice of the Son of God and passed from death into life, he surely shall in the second resurrection, that of the flesh, pass, flesh and all, into the second death. For he goes on to say: " This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he who has a part in this first resurrection," ³ that is, who participates in it. Now he participates in it who not only comes to life again out of the death of sin but continues in this newness of life. " Over them," he says, " the second death has no power." ⁴ Then it must have power over the rest, about whom he says

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reliquis, de quibus superius ait: *Reliqui eorum non vixerunt donec finiantur mille anni*; quoniam toto isto temporis intervallo, quod mille annos vocat, quantumcumque in eo quisque eorum vixit in corpore, non revixit a morte, in qua eum tenebat impietas, ut sic revivescendo primae resurrectionis particeps fieret atque in eo potestatem secunda mors non haberet.

X

Quid respondendum sit eis qui putant resurrectionem ad sola corpora, non etiam ad animas pertinere.

SUNT qui putant resurrectionem dici non posse nisi corporum ideoque istam quoque primam in corporibus futuram esse contendunt. Quorum enim est, inquiunt, cadere, eorum est resurgere. Cadunt autem corpora moriendo, nam et a cadendo cadavera nuncupantur. Non ergo animarum, inquiunt, resurrectio potest esse, sed corporum. Sed quid contra apostolum dicunt, qui eam resurrectionem appellat? Nam secundum interiorem, non secundum exteriorem hominem utique resurrexerant, quibus ait: *Si resurrexistis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt sapite*. Quem sensum verbis aliis alibi posuit dicens: *Ut, quem ad modum Christus resurrexit a mortuis per gloriam Patris, sic et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus*. Hinc est et illud: *Surge qui dormis et exurge a mortuis, et inluminabit te Christus*.

Quod autem dicunt non posse resurgere nisi qui

¹ Revelation 20.5.

² Cf. also 20.21 below.

³ Colossians 3.1, 2; cf. 20.9 above. ⁴ Romans 6.4.

⁵ Ephesians 5.14.

above: "The rest of them did not come to life until the thousand years were ended";¹ for in that whole period of time, which he calls a thousand years, however long any individual lived in the body, he did not come to life again out of the death in which his irreligion held him, so that by this coming to life he might participate in the first resurrection, and that the second death might thus have no power over him.

X

What answer should be made to those who suppose that resurrection belongs only to bodies, and not also to souls.

THERE are some who suppose that resurrection can be spoken of only as regards the body, and who therefore maintain that this first resurrection also will be of the body. For, they say, only what falls can rise again. Now bodies fall in death; for it is from their falling that they are called "cadavera."² Therefore, they say, there can be no resurrection of souls, but only of bodies. But what do they say in reply to the Apostle who speaks of the resurrection of souls? For certainly it was in the inner man, not the outer, that those had risen again to whom he says: "If you are risen again with Christ, be seasoned with the higher wisdom."³ And this meaning he has expressed elsewhere in other words, saying: "That, as Christ rose again from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life."⁴ And again: "Awake, sleeper, and rise up from the dead, and Christ shall bestow light upon you."⁵

Now as to their saying that none can rise save

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cadunt, et ideo putant resurrectionem ad corpora, non ad animas pertinere, quia corporum est cadere, cur non audiunt: *Non recedatis ab illo, ne cadatis, et: Suo Domino stat aut cadit; et: Qui se putat stare, caveat ne cadat?* Puto enim quod in anima, non in corpore, casus iste cavendus est. Si igitur cadentium est resurrectio, cadunt autem et animae, profecto et animas resurgere confitendum est. Quod autem, cum dixisset: *In istis secunda mors non habet potestatem*, adiunxit atque ait: *Sed erunt sacerdotes Dei et Christi et regnabunt cum eo mille annis*, non utique de solis episcopis et presbyteris dictum est, qui proprie iam vocantur in ecclesia sacerdotes; sed sicut omnes christos dicimus propter mysticum chrisma, sic omnes sacerdotes, quoniam membra sunt unius sacerdotis; de quibus apostolus Petrus: *Plebs, inquit, sancta, regale sacerdotium*. Sane, licet breviter atque transeunter, insinuavit esse Deum Christum dicendo: *Sacerdotes Dei et Christi*, hoc est Patris et Filii; quamvis propter formam servi sicut hominis filius, ita etiam sacerdos Christus effectus sit in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech. De qua re in hoc opere non semel diximus.

¹ Ecclesiastes 2.7.

² Romans, 14.4.

³ I Corinthians 10.12.

⁴ Revelation 20.6; cf. 20.7 above.

⁵ Christos, "the Anointed," corresponds to the Hebrew "Messiah." St. Augustine implies that candidates for

those who fall, and their supposing therefore that resurrection belongs to bodies, not to souls, because it is the property of bodies to fall, why do they not heed the words: "Depart not from him, lest you fall,"¹ and: "In relation to his own Lord he stands or falls,"² and: "He that thinks that he stands, let him take heed lest he fall"³? For I think that the fall that we need to take heed against is of the soul, not of the body. If, then, resurrection is of things that fall, and souls also fall, surely it must be admitted that souls also rise again. And after the words: "Over them the second death has no power," there is added: "but they shall be priests of God and of Christ and shall reign with him for a thousand years."⁴ And this surely is said not only of bishops and presbyters, who are now called in the church by the special name of priests; but just as we call all Christians "christs," because of the ritual anointing,⁵ so we call all Christians "priests" because they are members of one priest. Of them the apostle Peter says: "A holy people, a royal priesthood."⁶ Certainly the Apocalypse hints, though briefly and only in passing, that Christ is God, by saying: "Priests of God and Christ," that is, of the Father and the Son, although it was thanks to his taking the form of a servant and as the Son of Man that Christ was made a priest forever after the order of Melchisedech.⁷ This matter we have discussed in this work more than once.⁸

baptism were anointed; and so Cyril of Jerusalem states (c. 340).

⁶ 1 Peter 2.9.

⁷ Cf. Psalms 110.4; Hebrews 7.17-21.

⁸ Above, 16.22; 17.17-20.

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XI

De Gog et Magog, quos ad persecuendam ecclesiam Dei solutus prope finem saeculi diabolus incitabit.

*Et cum finiti fuerint, inquit, mille anni, solvetur satanas de custodia sua, et exhibit ad seducendas nationes quae sunt in quattuor angulis terrae, Gog et Magog, et trahet eos in bellum, quorum numerus est ut harena maris. Ad hoc ergo tunc seducet ut in hoc bellum trahat. Nam et antea modis quibus poterat per mala multa et varia seducebat. Exhibit autem dictum est "in apertam persecutionem de latebris erumpet odiorum." Haec enim erit novissima persecutio, novissimo imminente iudicio, quam sancta ecclesia toto terrarum orbe patietur, universa scilicet civitas Christi ab universa diaboli civitate, quantacumque erit utraque super terram. Gentes quippe istae quas appellat Gog et Magog non sic sunt accipiendae tamquam sint aliqui in aliqua parte terrarum barbari constituti, sive quos quidam suspicantur Getas et Massagetas propter litteras horum nominum primas, sive aliquos alios alienigenas et a Romano iure seiunctos. Toto namque orbe terrarum significati sunt isti esse, cum dictum est *nationes quae sunt in quattuor angulis terrae*, easque subiecit esse *Gog et Magog*. Quorum inter-*

¹ Revelation 20.7, 8.

XI

About Gog and Magog, whom the devil, loosed toward the end of the world, will incite to persecute the church of God.

“AND when the thousand years are ended,” the Apocalypse continues, “Satan shall be loosed from his imprisonment and shall go forth to lead astray the nations that are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, and shall draw them into war, and their number is as the sands of the sea.”¹ It is in order to draw them into this war, therefore, that he will then lead them astray. For he has also previously been leading them astray by whatever means he could, using many varied forms of evil. But “shall go forth” means “shall burst out from the ambush where hates lurk hidden into open persecution.” For this is to be the last persecution, when the last judgement will be at hand, a persecution which will be visited throughout the whole earth upon the holy church, that comprehensive City of Christ, at the hands of the comprehensive city of the devil, each in the full greatness that it shall have on the earth. For those nations, called Gog and Magog, are not to be understood as being some barbarian peoples dwelling in some part of the earth, whether the Getae and Massagetae, as some guess because of the initial letters of their names, or some other peoples, not of our stock and remote from the rule of Rome; for it is indicated that they exist throughout the whole earth, when to the words “the nations that are in the four corners of the earth” it is added that these are Gog and Magog. Now we understand that these

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pretationem nominum esse comperimus Gog tectum, Magog de tecto, tamquam domus et ipse qui procedit de domo.

Gentes ergo sunt in quibus diabolum velut in abyssu superius intellegebamus inclusum, et ipse de illis quodam modo sese efferens et procedens; ut illae sint tectum, ipse de tecto. Si autem utrumque referamus ad gentes, non unum horum ad illas, alterum ad diabolum, et tectum ipsae sunt, quia in eis nunc includitur et quodam modo tegitur inimicus antiquus, et de tecto ipsae erunt, quando in apertum odium de operto erupturae sunt. Quod vero ait: *Et ascenderunt supra terrae latitudinem et cinxerunt castra sanctorum et dilectam civitatem*, non utique ad unum locum venisse vel venturi esse significati sunt, quasi uno aliquo loco futura sint castra sanctorum et dilecta civitas, cum haec non sit nisi Christi ecclesia toto terrarum orbe diffusa; ac per hoc ubicumque tunc erit quae in omnibus gentibus erit, quod significatum est nomine latitudinis terrae, ibi erunt castra sanctorum, ibi erit dilecta Deo civitas eius, ibi ab omnibus inimicis suis, quia et ipsi in omnibus cum illa gentibus erunt, persecutionis illius inmanitate cingetur, hoc est, in angustias tribulationis artabitur urguebitur concludetur, nec militiam suam deseret quae vocabulo est appellata castrorum.

names mean: Gog, "roof"; Magog, "from the roof"; or, as it were, the house and he who goes forth from the house.

They are therefore the nations in which, as we understood above,¹ the devil is shut up as in a pit, and the devil himself is somehow one who comes out and goes forth from them; as they are "the roof," so he is the one who goes "from the roof." If, however, we refer both terms to the nations, and not one of them to the nations and the other to the devil, then they are the roof or covering because the ancient enemy is now shut up in them and somehow covered up; and they will be also from the roof when they burst out from covert into uncovered hatred. And the words: "And they went up over the breadth of the earth, and encompassed the camp of the saints and the beloved city"² surely do not mean that they have come or are to come to a single place, as if the camp of the saints and the beloved city were to be in some single place; for these are nothing else than the church of Christ spread throughout the whole world. Therefore wherever the church shall then be, which is to be among all nations (this is the meaning of the words "over the breadth of the earth"), there shall be the camp of the saints, there shall be God's beloved city, there it shall be encompassed by all its enemies (for they, too, will be present with it among all nations) in the cruelty of that persecution; that is, it shall be hemmed in, hard pressed, and shut up tight in the straits of tribulation, yet shall not abandon its warfare, of which the word "camp" is here used.

¹ Above, 20.7.

² Revelation 20.9; cf. 20.8 above.

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XII

An ad ultimum supplicium pertineat impiorum, quod descendisse ignis de caelo et eosdem comedisse memoratur.

QUOD VERO ait: *Et descendit ignis de caelo et comedit eos*, non extremum putandum est id esse supplicium quod erit cum dicetur: *Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum*. Tunc quippe in ignem mittentur ipsi, non ignis de caelo veniet in ipsos. Hic autem bene intellegitur *ignis de caelo* de ipsa firmitate sanctorum qua non cessuri sunt saevientibus ut eorum faciant voluntatem. Firmamentum est enim caelum cuius firmitate illi cruciabuntur ardentissimo zelo, quoniam non poterunt adtrahere in partes Antichristi sanctos Christi. Et ipse erit ignis qui comedet eos, et hoc *a Deo*, quia Dei munere insuperabiles fiunt sancti unde excruciantur inimici. Sicut enim in bono positum est: *Zelus domus tuae comedit me*, ita e contrario: *Zelus occupavit plebem ineruditam, et nunc ignis contrarios comedet*. Et nunc utique, excepto scilicet ultimi illius igne iudicii. Aut si eam plagam qua percutiendi sunt ecclesiae persecutores veniente iam Christo, quos viventes inveniet super terram, quando interficiet Antichristum spiritu oris sui, ignem appellavit descendentem de caelo eosque

¹ Revelation 20.9.

² Matthew 25.41.

³ Revelation 20.9 (omitted in the quotation at the beginning of this chapter).

⁴ Psalms 69.9.

⁵ Isaiah 26.11.

⁶ 2 Thessalonians 2.8.

XII

Whether the fire that is said to have come down from heaven and devoured Gog and Magog refers to the last punishment of the impious.

THE words: "And fire descended from heaven and devoured them" ¹ must not be supposed to refer to the last punishment which is to take place when the words are spoken, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire." ² For then they are themselves to be cast into the fire, not to have fire from heaven come upon them. But this fire from heaven is properly understood to mean the firmness of the saints, by reason of which they are not to yield to their raging assailants to do their bidding. For the heaven is the "firmament," through whose "firmness" these assailants will be tormented with burning zeal, since they will be powerless to draw the saints of Christ to the party of Antichrist. And the zeal itself will be the fire that is to devour them, and that too "from God," ³ for it is by the gift of God that the saints become unconquerable and so bring torment on their enemies. For as it is said in a good sense: "The zeal of your house has devoured me," ⁴ so in a bad sense it is said: "Zeal has taken possession of the uninstructed people, and now fire shall consume those who oppose." ⁵ "And now" surely excludes the fire of that last judgement. Or if the Apocalypse means by the fire coming down from heaven and devouring them, the blow that the persecutors of the church will receive when Christ comes and finds them alive upon the earth, and kills Antichrist by the breath of his mouth, ⁶ neither will that blow be the

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comedentem, neque hoc ultimum supplicium erit impiorum, sed illud quod facta corporum resurrectione passuri sunt.

XIII

An tempus persecutionis Antichristi mille annis adnumerandum sit.

HAEC persecutio novissima quae futura est ab Antichristo (sicut iam diximus, quia et in hoc libro superius et apud Danielelem prophetam positum est) tribus annis et sex mensibus erit. Quod tempus, quamvis exiguum, utrum ad mille annos pertineat, quibus et diabolum ligatum dicit et sanctos regnare cum Christo, an eisdem annis hoc parvum spatium superaddatur atque extra sit, merito ambigitur; quia, si dixerimus ad eosdem annos hoc pertinere, non tanto tempore sed prolixiore cum Christo regnum sanctorum reperietur extendi quam diabolus alligari. Profecto enim sancti cum suo rege etiam in ipsa praecipue persecutione regnabunt mala tanta vincentes, quando diabolus iam non erit alligatus ut eos persequi omnibus viribus possit. Quo modo ergo ista scriptura eisdem mille annis utrumque determinat, diaboli scilicet alligationem regnumque sanctorum, cum trium annorum et sex mensum intervallo prius desinat alligatio diaboli quam regnum sanctorum in his annis mille cum Christo?

Si autem dixerimus parvum persecutionis huius hoc spatium non computandum in mille annis, sed eis impletis potius adiciendum, ut proprie possit intellegi

¹ Above, 20.8.

² Daniel 12.7.

last punishment of the impious, but the last punishment will be the one that they are to suffer when the resurrection of the body has taken place.

XIII

Whether the time of the persecution of Antichrist is to be counted in the thousand years.

THIS last persecution by Antichrist will last for three years and six months, as we have already said,¹ and as is stated both in the Apocalypse and by the prophet Daniel.² Though this time is brief, it is rightly debated whether it belongs to the thousand years during which it is said that the devil is bound and the saints reign with Christ, or whether this short span is to be added to those years and is over and above them. For if we say that it belongs to the thousand years, then it will be found that the reign of the saints with Christ extends not for the same length of time as the binding of the devil, but for a longer time. For the saints shall surely reign with their king even in that chief persecution, overcoming all its great evils, when the devil shall be no longer bound, so that he can persecute them with all his powers. How, then, does Scripture include in the same limit of a thousand years both the binding of the devil and the reign of the saints, if the binding of the devil is to cease three years and six months before the reign of a thousand years of the saints with Christ?

But if we say that the brief span of this persecution is not to be reckoned in the thousand years, but is rather to be added to them, then the words of the

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quod cum dixisset: *Sacerdotes Dei et Christi regnabunt cum eo mille annis*, adiecit: *Et cum finiti fuerint mille anni, solvetur satanas de custodia sua*, isto enim modo et regnum sanctorum et vinculum diaboli simul cessatura esse significat ut deinde persecutionis illius tempus nec ad sanctorum regnum nec ad custodiam satanae, quorum utrumque in mille annis est, pertinere, sed superadditum et extra computandum esse credatur, cogemur fateri sanctos in illa persecutione regnatos non esse cum Christo. Sed quis audeat dicere¹ tunc cum illo non regnatura sua membra quando ei maxime atque fortissime cohaerebunt, et quo tempore quanto erit acrior impetus belli tanto maior gloria non cedendi, tanto densior corona martyrii?

Aut si propter tribulationes quas passuri sunt non dicendi sunt regnaturi, consequens erit ut etiam superioribus diebus in eisdem mille annis, quicumque tribulabantur sanctorum eo ipso tempore tribulationis suae cum Christo non regnasse dicantur; ac per hoc et illi quorum animas auctor libri huius vidisse se scribit occisorum propter testimonium Iesu et propter verbum Dei non regnabant cum Christo quando patiebantur persecutionem, et ipsi regnum Christi non erant quos Christus excellentius possidebat. Absurdissimum id quidem et omni modo aversandum. Sed certe animae victrices gloriosis-

¹ audeat dicere *some MSS.*: *others read* audiat.

¹ Revelation 20.6.

² Revelation 20.7.

³ Cf. Revelation 6.9.

Apocalypse: "The priests of God and of Christ shall reign with him for a thousand years,"¹ followed by the words: "And when the thousand years are ended, Satan shall be loosed from his imprisonment,"² may be understood in their natural sense; for in that case the meaning is that the reign of the saints and the bondage of the devil are to cease at the same time, so that the time of that persecution belongs neither to the reign of the saints nor to the imprisonment of Satan (both of which last a thousand years), but should be reckoned as an additional period that must be made a separate item in the calculation. But then we shall be compelled to admit that the saints will not reign with Christ during that persecution. But who would dare say that his members will not reign with him at that time above all others when they will cling to him most closely and strongly, and when the fiercer the onset of war, the greater will be the glory of not yielding and the more jewels there will be in the crown of martyrdom?

Or if they must not be spoken of as destined to reign, because of the tribulations that they are to suffer, it follows that in earlier times as well, during those same thousand years, whoever of the saints have suffered tribulation must not be spoken of as having reigned with Christ in the moment of their tribulation; and accordingly, those whose souls the author of the Apocalypse writes that he beheld, slain for their witness to Jesus and for the word of God,³ did not reign with Christ when they suffered persecution, and they were not themselves the kingdom of Christ whom Christ possessed in the highest sense. Now this is very absurd and to be utterly rejected. But certainly the victorious souls of the most glorious

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simorum martyrum omnibus doloribus ac laboribus superatis atque finitis, postea quam mortalia membra posuerunt, cum Christo utique regnaverunt et regnant, donec finiantur mille anni, ut postea receptis etiam corporibus iam immortalibus regnent.

Proinde tribus illis annis atque dimidio animae occisorum pro eius martyrio, et quae antea de corporibus exierunt et quae ipsa novissima persecutione sunt exiturae, regnabunt cum illo donec finiatur mortale saeculum et ad illud regnum ubi mors non erit transeatur. Quocirca cum Christo regnantium sanctorum plures anni erunt quam vinculi diaboli atque custodiae, quia illi cum suo rege Dei filio iam diabolo non ligato etiam per tres illos annos ac semissem regnabunt. Remanet igitur ut cum audimus: *Sacerdotes Dei et Christi regnabunt cum eo mille annis, et cum finiti fuerint mille anni, solvetur satanas de custodia sua*, aut non regni huius sanctorum intellegamus annos mille finiri, sed vinculi diaboli atque custodiae, ut annos mille, id est annos omnes suos, quaeque pars habeat diversis ac propriis prolixitatibus finiendos, ampliore sanctorum regno, brevioris diaboli vinculo, aut certe, quoniam trium annorum et sex mensum brevissimum spatium est, computari noluisse credatur, sive quod minus satanae vinculum sive quod amplius videtur regnum habere sanctorum, sicut de quadringentis annis in sexto

¹ Above, 16.24.

martyrs, after surmounting all their pains and ending all their labours, when they laid down their mortal members, did reign with Christ, and do reign, and shall, until the thousand years are ended, so that they may continue to reign when they shall have received their bodies now become immortal.

So during those three years and a half the souls of those who were slain as his witnesses, both those that formerly left their bodies and those that are still to leave them in the last persecution, will reign with him until this mortal age is ended and we pass to that kingdom where there shall be no more death. Wherefore the reign of the saints with Christ shall last more years than the bonds and imprisonment of the devil, because they shall reign with their king, the Son of God, during those three years and a half when the devil is no longer bound. The upshot is, therefore, that when we hear the words: "The priests of God and of Christ shall reign with him for a thousand years, and when the thousand years are ended Satan shall be loosed from his imprisonment," we are to understand either that the thousand years of the reign of the saints are not ended, but that the bonds and the imprisonment of the devil are ended (so that both parties have their thousand years, that is, all their years, but with their several and appropriate lengths, the reign of the saints being longer, and the bonds of the devil being shorter); or else, since three years and six months is a very brief period, that it is not to be taken into account, either as diminishing the devil's period of bondage or as increasing the period of the saints' reign, just as in the case of the four hundred years which I have discussed in the sixteenth book of this work¹: though they

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decimo huius operis volumine disputavi; quoniam plus aliquid erant, et tamen quadringenti sunt nuncupati; et talia saepe reperiuntur in litteris sacris, si quis advertat.

XIV

De damnatione diaboli cum suis et per recapitulationem de resurrectione corporea omnium mortuorum et de iudicio ultimae retributionis.

Post hanc autem commemorationem novissimae persecutionis breviter complectitur totum quod ultimo iam iudicio diabolus et cum suo principe civitas inimica passura est. Dicit enim: *Et diabolus, qui seducebat eos, missus est in stagnum ignis et sulphuris, quo et bestia et pseudopropheta; et cruciabuntur die et nocte in saecula saeculorum.* Bestiam bene intellegi ipsam impiam civitatem supra diximus. Pseudopropheta vero eius aut Antichristus est aut imago illa, id est figmentum, de quo ibi locuti sumus. Post haec ipsum novissimum iudicium, quod erit in secunda resurrectione mortuorum, quae corporum est, recapitulando narrans quo modo sibi fuerit revelatum: *Et vidi, inquit, thronum magnum et candidum et sedentem super eum, cuius a facie fugit caelum et terra, et locus eorum inventus non est.* Non ait: "Vidi thronum magnum et candidum et sedentem super eum, et ab eius facie fugit caelum et terra," quoniam non tunc factum est, id est, antequam esset de vivis et mortuis iudicatum; sed eum se vidisse dixit in throno seden-

¹ Revelation 20.10; cf. 20.8 above.

² Above, 20.9.

³ Revelation 20.11.

were somewhat more, nevertheless they were given in round numbers as four hundred; and such turns of speech are often found in the sacred writings, if one takes note of them.

XIV

About the condemnation of the devil and his followers, and, in outline, about the bodily resurrection of all the dead and the final retributive judgement.

AFTER this mention of the last persecution there is a brief summary of all that the devil and that the hostile city along with its chieftain are still to suffer by the last judgement. For it is said: "And the devil, who led them astray, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever."¹ By "the beast," as we have said above,² is rightly understood the impious city itself; and by "the false prophet" either Antichrist or that disguise or feigning which we there discussed. Thereafter the writer tells in outline of the last judgement itself, which is to be at the second resurrection of the dead (the resurrection of the body), and of the way in which it was revealed to him: "And I saw a great white throne, and one who sat upon it, from before whose face the heaven and the earth fled, and their place was not found."³ He does not say, "I saw a great white throne and one who sat upon it, and from before his face the heaven and the earth fled," because this had not occurred then, that is, before judgement had been passed on the living and the dead; but he said that he saw

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tem, a cuius facie fugit caelum et terra, sed postea. Peracto quippe iudicio, tunc esse desinet hoc caelum et haec terra quando incipiet esse caelum novum et terra nova. Mutatione namque rerum, non omni modo interitu, transibit hic mundus. Unde et apostolus dicit: *Praeterit enim figura huius mundi, volo vos sine sollicitudine esse.* Figura ergo praeterit, non natura.

Cum ergo se Iohannes vidisse dixisset sedentem super thronum, cuius a facie, quod postea futurum est, fugit caelum et terra: *Et vidi, inquit, mortuos magnos et pusillos, et aperti sunt libri; et alius liber apertus est, qui est vitae uniuscuiusque; et iudicati sunt mortui ex ipsis scripturis librorum secundum facta sua.* Libros dixit esse apertos et librum; sed librum cuius modi non tacuit: *Qui est, inquit, vitae uniuscuiusque.* Ergo illi libri quos priore loco posuit intellegendi sunt sancti, et veteres et novi, ut in illis ostenderetur quae Deus fieri sua mandata iussisset; in illo autem qui est vitae uniuscuiusque, quid horum quisque non fecisset sive fecisset. Qui liber si carnaliter cogitetur, quis eius magnitudinem aut longitudinem valeat aestimare? Aut quanto tempore legi poterit liber in quo scriptae sunt universae vitae universorum? An tantus angelorum numerus aderit quantus hominum erit, et vitam suam quisque ab angelo sibi adhibito audiet recitari? Non ergo unus liber erit omnium,

¹ 1 Corinthians 7.31, 32.

² Revelation 20.12.

sitting upon the throne one from before whose face fled the heaven and the earth, but afterwards. For after the completion of the judgement this heaven and this earth will, of course, cease to be, when a new heaven and a new earth shall begin to be. For it is by a change of substance, not by its utter destruction, that this world shall pass away. Wherefore the Apostle says: "For the form of this world is passing away; I want you to be free from anxiety."¹ It is the form, then, that passes away, not the substance.

Therefore when John had said that he had seen one sitting on a throne, from before whose face fled the heaven and the earth, which will happen hereafter, he continued: "And I beheld the dead, both great and small; and the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is the book of every man's life; and the dead were judged on the very evidence written in the books, according to their deeds."² He spoke of "books opened," and also of "a book," the nature of which he did not fail to indicate, as the book "of every man's life." So the first-mentioned books must be understood to be the sacred books, old and new, whose purpose was to show what God had ordered to be done as his commandments; while in the other book, which is the book of every man's life, it was to be shown which of these commandments each man had obeyed or not obeyed. Now if this book is thought of in material terms, who could estimate its size or length, or how long it would take to read it, since in it would be recorded every act of every man? Will there be present as many angels as men, and will each man hear his own life recited by the angel assigned to him? If so, there will not be one book for all men, but one for each

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sed singuli singulorum. Scriptura vero ista unum volens intellegi: *Et alius, inquit, liber apertus est.* Quaedam igitur vis est intellegenda divina qua fiet ut cuique opera sua, vel bona vel mala, cuncta in memoriam revocentur et mentis intuitu mira celeritate cernantur ut accuset vel excuset scientia conscientiam atque ita simul et omnes et singuli iudicentur. Quae nimirum vis divina libri nomen accepit. In ea quippe quodam modo legitur quidquid ea faciente recolitur.

Ut autem ostendat qui mortui iudicandi sint, pusilli et magni, recapitulando dicit tamquam ad id rediens quod praeterierat potiusve distulerat: *Et exhibuit mortuos mare qui in eo erant, et mors et infernus reddiderunt mortuos quos in se habebant.* Hoc procul dubio prius factum est quam essent mortui iudicati, et tamen illud prius dictum est. Hoc est ergo quod dixi, recapitulando eum ad id redisse quod intermiserat. Nunc autem ordinem tenuit, atque ut explicaretur ipse ordo, commodius etiam de iudicatis mortuis quod iam dixerat suo repetivit loco. Cum enim dixisset: *Et exhibuit mortuos mare qui in eo erant, et mors et infernus reddiderunt mortuos quos in se habebant:* mox addidit quod paulo ante posuerat: *Et iudicati sunt singuli secundum facta sua.* Hoc est enim quod supra dixerat: *Et iudicati sunt mortui secundum facta sua.*

man. Yet the passage of Scripture would have us understand that there is one book, saying as it does: "And another book was opened." So we must understand that there is some divine force by which it will be brought about that all the deeds of every man, good or bad, will be called to mind and passed in review with marvellous swiftness by mental intuition, so that his knowledge will either accuse or excuse his conscience, and so each and all will be judged at the same time. And this divine force has doubtless been called "a book" because with it is read, in a way, whatever is rehearsed by its operation.

In order, moreover, to show who the dead are, great and small, who are to be judged, he says by way of outline, as if recurring to something omitted or rather postponed: "And the sea gave up the dead that were in it, and death and hell gave back the dead that were in them."¹ This doubtless took place before the dead were judged; yet the judgement is mentioned first. This is the sort of thing I meant when I said that in his outline he returned to what he had passed over. But he soon took up the order of events, and to make the order itself quite clear he repeated in its own place, and more appropriately, what he had already said about the dead who were judged. For after saying: "And the sea gave up the dead that were in it, and death and hell gave back the dead whom they possessed," he at once added what he had placed a little before: "And they were judged, each according to his deeds." For this is what he had said before: "And the dead were judged according to their deeds."

¹ Revelation 20.13.

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XV

Qui sint mortui quos ad iudicium exhibuit mare, vel quos mors et inferi reddiderunt.

SED qui sunt mortui quos exhibuit mare, qui in eo erant? Neque enim qui in mari moriuntur non sunt in inferno, aut corpora eorum servantur in mari, aut, quod est absurdus, mare habebat bonos mortuos et infernus malos. Quis hoc putaverit? Sed profecto convenienter quidam hoc loco mare pro isto saeculo positum accipiunt. Cum ergo et quos hic inveniet Christus in corpore constitutos simul significaret cum eis qui resurrecturi sunt iudicandos, etiam ipsos mortuos appellavit, et bonos, quibus dicitur: *Mortui enim estis, et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo*, et malos, de quibus dicitur: *Sine mortuos sepelire mortuos suos*. Possunt mortui etiam propter hoc dici, quod mortalia gerunt corpora; unde apostolus: *Corpus quidem, inquit, mortuum est propter peccatum; spiritus autem vita est propter iustitiam*, utrumque in homine vivente atque in hoc corpore constituto esse demonstrans, et corpus mortuum et spiritum vitam. Nec tamen dixit corpus mortale, sed mortuum, quamvis eadem paulo post etiam mortalia corpora, sicut usitatus vocantur, appellet. Hos ergo mortuos exhibuit mare qui in eo erant, id est, exhibuit homines hoc saeculum quicumque in eo erant quia nondum obierant.

Et mors et infernus, inquit, reddiderunt mortuos, quos in se habebant. Mare exhibuit, quia, sicut inventi

¹ Colossians 3.3.

³ Romans 8.10.

² Matthew 8.22.

⁴ Revelation 20.13.

XV

*Who the dead are, whom the sea gave up to judgement,
or whom death and hell gave back.*

BUT who are the dead who were in the sea, and whom the sea gave up? It cannot be that those who die in the sea are not in hell, or that their bodies are preserved in the sea, or, still more absurd, that the sea kept the good who were dead, and hell the wicked. Who could believe this? But some quite reasonably suppose that in this passage the sea stands for this age. When, then, our author wished to indicate that those whom Christ will find here still united with the body are to be judged at the same time as those who are to rise again, he called them dead, both the good, to whom it is said: "For you are dead, and your life is hidden with Christ in God,"¹ and the wicked, of whom it is said: "Let the dead bury their dead."² They may be called dead for the reason, also, that they wear mortal bodies; wherefore the Apostle says: "The body is indeed dead because of sin; but the spirit is life because of righteousness,"³ thus showing that in a living man who is united with the body there exist both, a body which is dead and a spirit which is life. Yet he did not say that the body is "mortal," but that it is "dead," although he refers to the same bodies a little later as "mortal," as they are more usually called. The sea, then, gave up those who were in it, men who were dead in this sense; that is, the age gave up whoever were in it, because they had not yet died.

"And death and hell gave back the dead whom they possessed."⁴ The sea "gave them up,"

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sunt, adfuerunt; mors vero et infernus reddiderunt, quoniam vitae de qua iam exierant revocarunt. Nec frustra fortasse non satis fuit ut diceret *mors* aut *infernus*, sed utrumque dictum est: mors propter bonos, qui tantummodo mortem perpeti potuerunt, non et infernum; infernus autem propter malos, qui etiam poenas apud inferos pendunt. Si enim non absurde credi videtur antiquos etiam sanctos, qui venturi Christi tenuerunt fidem, locis quidem a tormentis impiorum remotissimis, sed apud inferos fuisse, donec eos inde Christi sanguis et ad ea loca descensus erueret, profecto deinceps boni fideles effuso illo pretio iam redempti prorsus inferos nesciunt, donec etiam receptis corporibus bona recipiant quae merentur.

Cum autem dixisset: *Et iudicati sunt singuli secundum facta sua*, breviter subiecit quem ad modum fuerint iudicati: *Et mors et infernus*, inquit, *missi sunt in stagnum ignis*, his nominibus significans diabolum, quoniam mortis est auctor infernarumque poenarum, universamque simul daemonum societatem. Hoc est enim quod supra evidentius praeoccupando iam dixerat: *Et diabolus, qui seducebat eos, missus est in stagnum ignis et sulphuris*. Quod vero ibi obscurius adiunxerat dicens: *Quo et bestia et pseudopropheta*, hic apertius: *Et qui non sunt*, inquit, *inventi in libro vitae scripti, missi sunt in stagnum ignis*. Non Deum liber

¹ Revelation 20.13.

³ Revelation 20.10; cf. 20.8 above.

² Revelation 20.14.

⁴ Revelation 20.15.

because they were present in the form in which they were found; whereas death and hell "gave them back," because they restored them to the life whence they had departed. And perhaps it was not without reason that it seemed insufficient to say either "death" or "hell," and both were mentioned: death, because of the good, who could suffer only death, and not hell also; hell, because of the wicked, who suffer punishment also in hell. For if it seems not absurd to believe that the ancient saints who held a faith in Christ when his coming was still in the future dwelt in regions very remote from the torments of the wicked, yet nevertheless in the lower world, until Christ's blood and his descent into these regions should deliver them from it, then surely the good and the faithful, now redeemed by the shedding of that ransoming blood, know nothing at all of that lower world, as they wait for restoration to the body and the good things that they deserve.

After the words: "And they were judged, every man according to his deeds,"¹ there follows a brief indication of the manner of their judgement: "And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire,"² by which terms are signified the devil and with him all his company of demons, since he is the author of death and of the pains of hell. This indeed is what was said before in anticipation, and more clearly: "And the devil, who led them astray, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone."³ And what was there added, in rather obscure terms: "Where the beast and the false prophet are," is here stated clearly: "And those who were not found written in the book of life were cast into the lake of fire."⁴ This book is not intended to refresh God's memory

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iste commemorat ne oblivione fallatur; sed praedestinationem significat eorum quibus aeterna dabitur vita. Neque enim nescit eos Deus et in hoc libro legit,¹ ut sciat; sed potius ipsa eius praescientia de illis, quae falli non potest, liber est vitae, in quo sunt scripti, id est ante praecogniti.

XVI

De caelo novo et terra nova.

FINITO autem iudicio quo praenuntiavit iudicandos malos, restat ut etiam de bonis dicat. Iam enim explicavit quod breviter a Domino dictum est: *Sic ibunt isti in supplicium aeternum*; sequitur ut explicet quod etiam ibi conecitur: *Iusti autem in vitam aeternam. Et vidi, inquit, caelum novum et terram novam. Nam primum caelum et terra recesserunt, et mare iam non est.* Isto fiet ordine quod superius praecoccupando iam dixit, vidisse se super thronum sedentem, cuius a facie fugit caelum et terra. Iudicatis quippe his qui scripti non sunt in libro vitae, et in aeternum ignem missis (qui ignis cuius modi et in qua mundi vel rerum parte futurus sit, hominem scire arbitror neminem nisi forte cui Spiritus divinus ostendit), tunc figura huius mundi mundanorum ignium conflagratione praeteribit, sicut factum est mundanarum aquarum inundatione diluvium. Illa itaque, ut dixi, conflagratione mundana elementorum

¹ legit some MSS.: others read legitur.

¹ Matthew 25.46.

² *Ibid.*

³ Revelation 21.1.

⁴ Revelation 20.11; of. 20.14 above.

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and to save him from forgetfulness; rather it signifies the predestination of those to whom eternal life is to be given. For God is not ignorant of them, nor does he have to read in this book to learn about them; but rather his foreknowledge concerning them, which is infallible, is itself the book of life, in which they are written, that is, known beforehand.

XVI

About the new heaven and the new earth.

AFTER completing the prophecy of the judgement of the wicked, it remained for the writer of the Apocalypse to speak also of the good. For having briefly explained the Lord's words: "So shall these go into everlasting punishment,"¹ he goes on to explain what immediately follows: "But the righteous into everlasting life."² And I saw," he says, "a new heaven and a new earth. For the first heaven and the first earth have passed away, and there is no more sea."³ This is to take place in the order already described in anticipation, when he said that he had seen one sitting upon a throne, from before whose face the heaven and the earth fled.⁴ For after those have been judged whose names are not written in the book of life, and have been cast into the everlasting fire (a fire whose nature and whose place in the world or the universe, I suppose, is known to no man, unless perchance the divine Spirit reveals it to some one), then the form of this world shall pass away in a general conflagration of mundane fires, as there was once a general flood of mundane waters. So, as I have said, in that general

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corruptibilium qualitates quae corporibus nostris corruptibilibus congruebant ardendo penitus interibunt, atque ipsa substantia eas qualitates habebit quae corporibus immortalibus mirabili mutatione conveniant, ut scilicet mundus in melius innovatus apte adcommodetur hominibus etiam carne in melius innovatis.

Quod autem ait: *Et mare iam non est*: utrum maximo illo ardore siccetur an et ipsum vertatur in melius, non facile dixerim. Caelum quippe novum et terram novam futuram legimus, de mari autem novo aliquid me usquam legisse non recolo, nisi quod in hoc eodem libro reperitur: *Tamquam mare vitreum simile crystallo*. Sed tunc non de isto fine saeculi loquebatur, nec proprie dixisse videtur mare, sed *tamquam mare*. Quamvis et nunc, sicut amat prophetica locutio propriis verbis translata miscere ac sic quodam modo velare quod dicitur, potuit de illo mari dicere: *Et mare iam non est*, de quo supra dixerat: *Et exhibuit mortuos mare qui in eo erant*. Iam enim tunc non erit hoc saeculum vitae ¹ mortalium turbulentum et procellosum, quod maris nomine figuravit.

¹ vitae (dative) Ms. e: the other MSS. read vita.

conflagration the qualities of the corruptible elements that were suited to our corruptible bodies shall utterly pass away in the blaze, and our very substance shall acquire such qualities as shall, by a miraculous change, be suited to our immortal bodies, with the object, clearly, that the world, renewed for the better, may be fitly furnished with men who have been renewed even in the flesh for the better.

Now when he says: "And there is no more sea," I cannot easily say whether it is to be dried up by that intense heat, or whether it is itself to be transformed for the better. For although we read that there is to be a new heaven and a new earth, I do not recall that I have read anything anywhere about a new sea, unless what is to be found in the same book: "A sea as it were of glass, like unto crystal."¹ But it was not of the end of the age that he was then speaking, nor does it appear that he meant the sea in the literal sense, but "a sea as it were." But just as prophetic expression is fond of mingling figurative with literal language, and thus of somehow veiling the meaning, so in this instance the words: "And there is no more sea" may have been meant of the sea of which he had just said: "And the sea gave up the dead that were in it."² For from that moment the roughness and stormy weather of human life³ in this age shall be no more; and he used the word "sea" as a symbol of that.

¹ Revelation 15.2.

² Revelation 20.13; cf. 20.14 above.

³ Reading *vitae* (dat.).

XVII

De ecclesiae glorificatione sine fine post finem.

Et civitatem, inquit, magnam Hierusalem novam vidi descendentem de caelo a Deo, aptatam quasi novam nuptam ornatam marito suo. Et audivi vocem magnam de throno dicentem: Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus, et habitabit cum eis, et erunt ipsi populus eius, et ipse Deus erit cum eis. Et absterget omnem lacrimam ab oculis eorum; et mors iam non erit neque luctus neque clamor, sed nec dolor ullus, quia priora abierunt. Et dixit sedens in throno: Ecce nova facio omnia. De caelo descendere ista civitas dicitur, quoniam caelestis est gratia qua Deus eam fecit. Propter quod ei dicit etiam per Esaiam: Ego sum Dominus faciens te. Et de caelo quidem ab initio sui descendit, ex quo per huius saeculi tempus gratia Dei desuper veniente per lavacrum regenerationis in Spiritu sancto misso de caelo subinde cives eius ad crescunt. Sed per iudicium Dei quod erit novissimum, per eius filium Iesum Christum, tanta eius et tam nova de Dei munere claritas apparebit ut nulla remaneant vestigia vetustatis, quando quidem et corpora ad incorruptionem atque immortalitatem novam ex vetere corruptione ac mortalitate transibunt.

Nam hoc de isto tempore accipere quo regnat cum rege suo mille annis, impudentiae nimiae mihi videtur, cum apertissime dicat: *Absterget omnem lacrimam ab*

¹ Revelation 20.2-5.

² Isaiah 45.8 (Septuagint).

XVII

About the unending glory of the church after the end.

“AND I saw,” he says, “a great city, the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a young bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice from the throne, saying: Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them. And he shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, nor shall there be any pain, for the former things have passed away. And he who sat upon the throne said: Behold, I make all things new.”¹ This city is said to come down out of heaven because the grace by which God made it is heavenly. That is why he says to it, through Isaiah: “I am the Lord who make thee.”² And it has been coming down from heaven from its beginning, since its citizens grow in number continually to the end of the present age by the grace of God which comes down from above through the new birth of baptism with the Holy Spirit sent down from heaven. But by the judgement of God, which will be the last judgement, through his son Jesus Christ, its splendour will appear by God’s grace in such strength and newness that no traces of age will remain; since even our bodies will pass from their old decay and mortality into exemption from decay and death.

But to understand this as referring to the age in which the city reigns with its King for a thousand years seems to me to be too shameless, since he says

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oculis eorum; et mors iam non erit neque luctus neque clamor, sed nec dolor ullus. Quis vero tam sit absurdus et obstinatissima contentione vesanus qui audeat affirmare in huius mortalitatis aerumnis, non dico populum sanctum, sed unumquemque sanctorum qui hanc vel ducat vel ducturus sit vel duxerit vitam, nullas habentem lacrimas et dolores, cum potius quanto est quisque sanctior et desiderii sancti plenior tanto sit eius in orando fletus uberior? An non est vox civis supernae Hierusalem: *Factae sunt mihi lacrimae meae panis die ac nocte, et: Lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum, in lacrimis meis stratum meum rigabo, et: Gemitus meus non est absconditus a te, et: Dolor meus renovatus est?* Aut vero non eius filii sunt qui ingemescunt gravati, in quo nolunt spoliari, sed supervestiri, ut absorbeatur mortale hoc a vita? Nonne ipsi sunt qui primitias habentes Spiritus in semet ipsis ingemescunt, adoptionem expectantes, redemptionem corporis sui? An ipse apostolus Paulus non erat supernus Hierosolymitanus, vel non multo magis hoc erat quando pro Israelitis carnalibus fratribus suis tristitia illi erat magna et continuus dolor cordi eius?

Quando autem mors non erit in ista civitate nisi quando dicetur: *Ubi est, mors, contentio tua? Ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus? Aculeus autem mortis est peccatum.*

¹ Psalms 42.3.

² Psalms 6.6.

³ Psalms 38.9.

⁴ Psalms 39.2.

⁵ Cf. 2 Corinthians 5.2-4.

quite plainly: "He shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, nor shall there be any pain." For who could be so absurd, so mad in obstinate polemic, as to dare maintain amid the woes of this mortal life that not only the holy people but every one of the saints who lives this life or will live it or has ever lived it does so without tears or sorrows, although it would be truer to say that the more saintly any man is, and the greater his yearning for saintliness, the more copious are his tears in prayer? Are not these the utterances of a citizen of the Jerusalem above: "My tears have been my bread day and night,"¹ and: "Every night shall I wash my bed and water my couch with tears,"² and: "My groaning is not hidden from thee,"³ and: "My sorrow was renewed"⁴? Or are not they God's children who "groan, heavy laden, not that they wish to be stripped; they want to be clothed with the new clothing, so that this mortality may be swallowed up by life"⁵? Or are not they who, having the first fruits of the Spirit, groan within themselves, waiting for the adoption, the redemption of their body?⁶ Was not the apostle Paul himself a citizen of the Jerusalem above, or was he not much the more so when he felt great sadness and constant grief of heart for the Israelites, his brothers in the flesh?⁷

But when shall there be no more death in that city, unless when it shall be said: "Death, where is thy strife?"⁸ Death, where is thy sting? The sting of

⁶ Cf. Romans 8.23.

⁷ Cf. Romans 9.2-4.

⁸ Augustine's text implies *νεῖκος* (not *νίκος*) in the Greek; that is, "strife," not "victory."

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Quod tunc utique non erit quando dicetur: *Ubi est?* Nunc vero non quilibet infirmus civis illius civitatis, sed idem ipse Iohannes in epistula sua clamat: *Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus et veritas in nobis non est.* Et in hoc quidem libro cuius nomen est apocalypsis obscure multa dicuntur, ut mentem legentis exerceant, et pauca in eo sunt, ex quorum manifestatione indagentur cetera cum labore, maxime quia sic eadem multis modis repetit ut alia atque alia dicere videatur, cum aliter atque aliter haec ipsa dicere vestigetur. Verum in his verbis ubi ait: *Absterget omnem lacrimam ab oculis eorum, et mors iam non erit neque luctus neque clamor, sed nec dolor ullus,* tanta luce dicta sunt de saeculo futuro et de immortalitate atque aeternitate sanctorum (tunc enim solum atque ibi solum ista non erunt) ut nulla debeamus in litteris sacris quaerere vel legere manifesta, si haec putaverimus obscura.

XVIII

*Quid apostolus Petrus de novissimo Dei iudicio
praedicarit.*

NUNC iam videamus quid etiam apostolus Petrus de hoc iudicio scripserit: *Venient, inquit, in novissimo dierum inlusione inludentes, secundum proprias concupiscentias suas euntes et dicentes: Ubi est promissum praesentiae ipsius? Ex quo enim patres dormierunt, sic*

¹ 1 Corinthians 15.55–56.

² 1 John 1.8.

death is sin." ¹ Surely there will be no sin when it shall be said: "Where is?" In the present case it is not some feeble citizen of that city but the same John himself who cries, in an epistle of his: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." ² And in the book entitled the Apocalypse there are, to be sure, many obscure sayings, to exercise the mind of the reader; and there are few clear enough to throw light on the meaning of others, even at the cost of effort. This is chiefly because the writer repeats the same things in such different ways as to seem to be dealing with different matters, whereas he is found on investigation to be dealing with these same matters in different ways. But in the words: "He shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, nor shall there be any pain," he is so clearly speaking of the world to come and of immortality and of the everlasting life of the saints (for only then and only there shall these things be non-existent), that if we think these expressions obscure we ought not to seek clarity or read it anywhere in the sacred Scriptures.

XVIII

What the apostle Peter predicted about the last judgement of God.

Now let us see what the apostle Peter, too, has written about this judgement: "There shall come in the last days scoffers scoffing, guided in their going by their own lusts, and saying: Where is the promise of his coming? For since the fathers fell asleep, all

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omnia perseverant ab initio creaturae. Latet enim illos hoc volentes quia caeli erant olim et terra de aqua et per aquam constituta Dei verbo, per quae, qui tunc erat mundus, aqua inundatus deperiit. Qui autem nunc sunt caeli et terra eodem verbo repositi sunt, igni reservandi in diem iudicii et perditionis hominum impiorum. Hoc unum vero non lateat vos, carissimi, quia unus dies apud Dominum sicut mille anni et mille anni sicut dies unus. Non tardat Dominus promissum, sicut quidam tarditatem existimant; sed patienter fert propter vos, nolens aliquem perire, sed omnes in paenitentiam converti. Veniet autem dies Domini ut fur, in quo caeli magno impetu transcurrent, elementa autem ardentia resolventur et terra et quae in ipsa sunt opera exurentur. His ergo omnibus pereuntibus quales oportet esse vos in sanctis conversationibus expectantes et properantes ad praesentiam diei Domini, per quam caeli ardentis solventur et elementa ignis ardore decoquentur? Novos vero caelos et terram novam secundum promissa ipsius expectamus, in quibus iustitia inhabitat.

Nihil hic dixit de resurrectione mortuorum, sed sane de perditione mundi huius satis. Ubi etiam commemorans factum ante diluvium videtur admonuisse quodam modo quatenus in fine huius saeculi mundum istum perituum esse credamus. Nam et illo tempore perisse dixit qui tunc erat mundum, nec solum orbem terrae, verum etiam caelos, quos utique

¹ 2 Peter 3.3-13.

things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation. For of this they are wilfully ignorant, that by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth composed of water and with water, whereby the world that then was, flooded by water, perished. But the heavens and the earth that are now, by the same word are stored away, reserved for fire against the day of judgement and the damnation of ungodly men. But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but is long-suffering for your sakes, not wishing that any should perish, but that all should be converted and repent. But the day of the Lord shall come as a thief, and in it the heavens shall pass away in a mighty rush, and the elements shall blaze and be dissolved, and the earth and the works therein shall be burned up. Seeing then that all these things are to perish, what manner of men ought you to be in holy living, looking for and hastening toward the coming of the day of the Lord, whereby the heavens will blaze and be dissolved, and the elements will melt in the heat of fire? Yet we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, where righteousness makes her home." ¹

Here he has said nothing about the resurrection of the dead, but surely enough about the destruction of this world. And by reminding us of the deluge that was produced before, he seems to suggest to us somehow the extent to which we are to believe that the world will be destroyed at the end of this age. For he said that the world which then was had perished, and not only the circle of the earth but also

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istos aërios intellegimus quorum locum ac spatium tunc aqua crescendo superaverat. Ergo totus aut paene totus aer iste ventosus (quod caelum vel potius caelos vocat, sed utique istos imos, non illos supremos ubi sol et luna et sidera constituta sunt) conversus fuerat in umidam qualitatem atque hoc modo cum terra perierat, cuius terrae utique prior facies fuerat deleta diluvio. *Qui autem nunc sunt, inquit, caeli et terra eodem verbo repositi sunt, igni reservandi in diem iudicii et perditionis hominum impiorum.* Proinde qui caeli et quae terra, id est, qui mundus pro eo mundo qui diluvio periit, ex eadem aqua repositus est, ipse igni novissimo reservatur in diem iudicii et perditionis hominum impiorum. Nam et hominum propter magnam quandam commutationem non dubitat dicere perditionem futuram, cum tamen eorum quamvis in aeternis poenis sit mansura natura.

Quaerat forsitan aliquis, si post factum iudicium iste mundus ardebit antequam pro illo caelum novum et terra nova reponatur, eo ipso tempore conflagrationis eius ubi erunt sancti, cum eos habentes corpora in aliquo corporali loco esse necesse sit. Possumus respondere futuros eos esse in superioribus partibus quo ita non ascendet flamma illius incendii, quem ad modum nec unda diluvii. Talia quippe illis inerunt corpora ut illic sint ubi esse voluerint. Sed nec ignem conflagrationis illius pertimescent immortales

the heavens, by which we are surely to understand him to mean the regions of the air, the height and breadth of which the rising waters overwhelmed. So it is the whole, or almost the whole, of the space filled with stormy air (which he calls the heaven, or rather the heavens, but certainly meaning the lower parts of them, not the highest parts where the sun and the moon and the stars are set) that was transformed into a liquid state and therefore perished along with the earth, whose former features had been destroyed in any case by the flood. "But the heavens and the earth that are now," he says, "by the same word are stored away, reserved for fire against the day of judgement and of the damnation of ungodly men." Accordingly, the heavens and the earth, that is, the world that replaced the one destroyed in the flood, was stored away from those waters, and is itself reserved for the last fire, against the day of judgement and of the damnation of ungodly men. For he does not hesitate to say that men, too, shall be destroyed in this mighty change, although their substance shall nevertheless continue, howbeit in everlasting punishments.

Some one may perchance ask, if after the completion of the judgement the world is to be consumed before it is replaced by a new heaven and a new earth, where the saints will be during the conflagration, since they will be possessed of bodies and must needs be in some bodily place. We may reply that they will be in the higher regions to which the flame of that conflagration will not rise, just as the waters of the flood did not rise thither; for their bodies will be such that they may be in whatever place they wish. But neither will they, when they have been made

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atque incorruptibiles facti, si virorum trium corruptibilia corpora atque mortalia in camino ardenti inlaesa vivere potuerunt.

XIX

Quid apostolus Paulus Thessalonicensibus scripserit de manifestatione Antichristi, cuius tempus dies Domini subsequetur.

MULTAS evangelicas apostolicasque sententias de divino isto iudicio novissimo video mihi esse praetereundas, ne hoc volumen in nimiam longitudinem provolvatur; sed nullo modo est praetereundus apostolus Paulus, qui scribens ad Thessalonicenses: *Rogamus, inquit, vos, fratres, per adventum Domini nostri Iesu Christi et nostrae congregationis in ipsum, ut non cito moveamini mente neque terreamini neque per spiritum neque per verbum neque per epistulam tamquam per nos, quasi instet dies Domini, ne quis vos seducat ullo modo; quoniam nisi venerit refuga primum et revelatus fuerit homo peccati, filius interitus, qui adversatur et superextollitur supra omne quod dicitur Deus aut quod colitur, ita ut in templo Dei sedeat, ostentans se tamquam sit Deus. Non retinetis in memoria quod adhuc cum essem apud vos haec dicebantur vobis? et nunc quid detineat scitis ut reveletur in suo tempore. Iam enim mysterium iniquitatis operatur. Tantum qui modo tenet teneat, donec de medio fiat; et tunc revelabitur iniquus*

¹ Cf. Daniel 3.13-27.

² Augustine's *refuga*, "apostate" (Vulgate, *discessio*; Greek, ἡ ἀποστασία).

immortal and incorruptible, fear greatly the fire of that conflagration, if the corruptible and mortal bodies of the three men ¹ were able to live unharmed in the fiery furnace.

XIX

What the apostle Paul wrote to the Thessalonians about the appearance of Antichrist which is to precede in time the day of the Lord.

I SEE that I must pass over many statements of the gospels and the epistles about that last divine judgement, lest this volume become too long; but must on no account pass over the apostle Paul, who in writing to the Thessalonians says: "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ and our gathering together with him, that you be not soon shaken in mind or troubled, either by spirit or by word or by letter purporting to be from us, so as to believe that the day of the Lord is at hand. Let no man lead you astray by any means. For there must come first a renegade,² and that man of sin, the son of perdition, must be revealed who opposes and exalts himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped, so as to sit in the temple of God showing himself as if he were God. Do you not remember that when I was still with you these things were told you? And now you know what restrains him, so that he may be revealed at the proper moment. For the secret power of lawlessness is already at work; only let him who now restrains him restrain him until he who restrains is taken out of the way, and then shall that wicked one be revealed whom the

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quem Dominus Iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui et evacuabit inluminatione praesentiae suae eum, cuius est praesentia secundum operationem satanae, in omni virtute et signis et prodigiis mendacii et in omni seductione iniquitatis his qui pereunt, pro eo quod dilectionem veritatis non receperunt ut salvi fierent. Et ideo mittet illis Deus operationem erroris, ut credant mendacio et iudicentur omnes qui non crediderunt veritati sed consenserunt iniquitati.

Nulli dubium est eum de Antichristo ista dixisse, diemque iudicii (hunc enim appellat diem Domini) non esse venturum nisi ille prior venerit quem refugam vocat, utique a Domino Deo. Quod si de omnibus impiis merito dici potest, quanto magis de isto! Sed in quo templo Dei sit sessurus, incertum est; utrum in illa ruina templi quod a Salomone rege constructum est, an vero in ecclesia. Non enim templum alicuius idoli aut daemonis templum Dei apostolus diceret. Unde nonnulli non ipsum principem, sed universum quodam modo corpus eius, id est ad eum pertinentem hominum multitudinem simul cum ipso suo principe hoc loco intellegi Antichristum volunt; rectiusque putant etiam Latine dici, sicut in Graeco est, non *in templo Dei*, sed *in templum Dei sedeat*, tamquam ipse sit templum Dei quod est ecclesia, sicut dicimus: "Sedet in amicum," id est velut amicus, vel si quid aliud isto locutionis genere dici solet.

Quod autem ait: *Et nunc quid detineat scitis*, id est, quid sit in mora, quae causa sit dilationis eius, ut

¹ 2 Thessalonians 2.1-12.

Lord Jesus shall slay by the breath of his mouth, and shall annihilate by the brightness of his coming. But the coming of the lawless one is to proceed in Satan's way of working, with every kind of miracle and signs and lying portents and with every beguilement of wickedness for those who are perishing because they did not receive the love of truth for their salvation. And for this cause God shall send upon them a misleading influence, that they may believe a lie, and that all may be condemned who believed not the truth but consented to unrighteousness." ¹

No one can doubt that he said this about Antichrist, and that the day of judgement (here called the day of the Lord) will not come unless he shall first come whom he calls the renegade, that is, a renegade from the Lord God. And if this term may justly be used of all the ungodly, how much more of him! But in what temple of God he is to sit, is uncertain: whether in the ruins of the temple built by Solomon, or actually in a church. For the Apostle would not call the temple of any idol or demon the temple of God. Wherefore some are inclined to believe that Antichrist here means not only the prince himself but in some sense his whole body, that is, the multitude of men belonging to him as well as himself, their prince; and they think that the Greek is more correctly expressed in Latin not by "sit in the temple of God," but by "sit as the temple of God," as if he were himself the temple of God, that is, the church. So we say, "He sits as a friend," meaning "like a friend," and other expressions of the kind.

As for the words, "And now you know what restrains him" (that is, what delay or cause of delay

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reveletur in suo tempore, scitis, quoniam scire illos dixit, aperte hoc dicere noluit. Et ideo nos, qui nescimus quod illi sciebant, pervenire cum labore ad id quod sensit apostolus cupimus nec valemus, praesertim quia et illa quae addidit hunc sensum faciunt obscuriorem. Nam quid est: *Iam enim mysterium iniquitatis operatur. Tantum qui modo tenet teneat, donec de medio fiat; et tunc revelabitur iniquus?* Ego prorsus quid dixerit me fateor ignorare. Suspiciones tamen hominum quas vel audire vel legere potui non tacebo.

Quidam putant hoc de imperio dictum fuisse Romano, et propterea Paulum apostolum non id aperte scribere voluisse ne calumniam videlicet incurreret, quod Romano imperio male optaverit, cum speraretur aeternum, ut hoc quod dixit: *Iam enim mysterium iniquitatis operatur*, Neronem voluerit intellegi, cuius iam facta velut Antichristi videbantur. Unde nonnulli ipsum resurrecturum et futurum Antichristum suspicantur; alii vero nec occisum putant, sed subtractum potius ut putaretur occisus, et vivum occultari in vigore ipsius aetatis in qua fuit cum crederetur extinctus, donec suo tempore reveletur et restituatur in regnum. Sed multum mihi mira est haec opinantium tanta praesumptio.

Illud tamen quod ait apostolus: *Tantum qui modo tenet teneat, donec de medio fiat*, non absurde de ipso

¹ Cf. Suetonius, *Nero* 57; Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.8.

there is) "that he may be revealed at the proper moment," since he said that they knew, he was unwilling to speak openly. Therefore we who do not know what they knew, are eager but unable to attain, even with an effort, to the Apostle's meaning, especially since that meaning is made still more obscure by what he adds. For what does he mean by: "For the secret power of lawlessness is already at work; only let him who now restrains him restrain him until he who restrains is taken out of the way, and then shall that wicked one be revealed"? I admit that I am completely at a loss as to his meaning. Nevertheless, I will not refrain from mentioning such suggestions as I have been able to hear or to read.

Some think that these words refer to the Roman empire, and that the apostle Paul did not wish to write more explicitly, lest he should incur a charge of calumny against the Roman empire, in wishing ill to it when men hoped that it was to be everlasting. So in the words: "For the secret power of lawlessness is already at work" he referred to Nero, whose deeds already seemed to be as those of Antichrist. Wherefore some suggest that Nero himself will rise again and will become Antichrist; others think that he was not slain, but was rather withdrawn so that he might be thought to have been slain, and that he is still living in concealment in the vigour of the age that he had reached at the time when he was supposed to have died, until in his own time he shall be revealed and restored to his kingdom.¹ But I am amazed at the great audacity of those who hold these opinions.

On the other hand, the saying of the Apostle: "Only let him who now restrains him restrain him until he who restrains is taken out of the way" is

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Romano imperio creditur dictum, tamquam dictum sit: "Tantum qui modo imperat imperet, donec de medio fiat," id est de medio tollatur. *Et tunc revelabitur iniquus*, quem significari Antichristum nullus ambigit. Alii vero et quod ait: *Quid detineat scitis et mysterium operari iniquitatis* non putant dictum nisi de malis et fictis qui sunt in ecclesia, donec perveniant ad tantum numerum qui Antichristo magnum populum faciat; et hoc esse mysterium iniquitatis, quia videtur occultum; hortari autem apostolum fideles ut in fide quam tenent tenaciter perseverent, dicendo: *Tantum qui modo tenet teneat, donec de medio fiat*, hoc est, donec exeat de medio ecclesiae mysterium iniquitatis quod nunc occultum est. Ad ipsum enim mysterium pertinere arbitrantur quod ait in epistula sua Iohannes evangelista: *Pueri, novissima hora est; et sicut audistis quod Antichristus sit venturus, nunc autem Antichristi multi facti sunt; unde cognoscimus quod novissima sit hora. Ex nobis exierunt; sed non erant ex nobis. Quod si fuissent ex nobis, permansissent utique nobiscum.* Sicut ergo ante finem in hac hora, inquit, quam Iohannes novissimam dicit, exierunt multi haeretici de medio ecclesiae, quos multos dicit Antichristos, ita omnes tunc inde exhibunt qui non ad Christum sed ad illum novissimum Antichristum pertinebunt, et tunc revelabitur.

¹ The translation is intended to show how the meaning of the text of Thessalonians is twisted by this interpretation. *Detineo* and *teneo* (κατέχω) were used in the text of restraining

without absurdity believed to refer to the Roman empire, as if it were said, "Only let him who now reigns, reign until he is taken out of the way," that is, removed. "And then shall that wicked one be revealed": no one doubts that Antichrist is meant. But others think that the words, "you know what restrains him" and "the secret power of lawlessness" refer only to the wicked and the impostors who are in the church, until they become so numerous as to provide Antichrist with a great people, and this is the "secret power of lawlessness," because it seems to be concealed. Moreover, they think that the Apostle is exhorting the faithful to persevere tenaciously in the faith that they hold, when he says: "Only let him who now holds continue to hold¹ until he is taken out of the way," that is, until there departs from the church the secret power of lawlessness which is now concealed. For they think that what the evangelist John says in an epistle of his refers to this same "secret power": "Children, it is the last hour; and as you have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now are there many become antichrists, whereby we know that it is the last hour. They went forth from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would surely have remained with us."² So just as there went forth from the church many heretics, whom John calls "many antichrists," in that hour before the end which he calls "the last hour," so shall all then go forth who belong not to Christ but to that last Antichrist, and he shall then be revealed.

evil, not of holding faith. *Teneat* is an addition of the Latin to the Greek.

¹ 1 John 2.18, 19.

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Alius ergo sic, alius autem sic apostoli obscura verba coniectat; quod tamen eum dixisse non dubium est: non veniet ad vivos et mortuos iudicandos Christus nisi prius venerit ad seducendos in anima mortuos adversarius eius Antichristus, quamvis ad occultum iam iudicium Dei pertineat quod ab illo seducentur. *Praesentia* quippe *eius erit*, sicut dictum est, *secundum operationem satanae in omni virtute et signis et prodigiis mendacii et in omni seductione iniquitatis his qui pereunt*. Tunc enim solvetur satanas et per illum Antichristum in omni sua virtute mirabiliter quidem sed mendaciter operabitur. Quae solet ambigi utrum propterea dicta sint signa et prodigia mendacii, quoniam mortales sensus per phantasmata decepturus est ut quod non facit facere videatur, an quia illa ipsa, etiamsi erunt vera prodigia, ad mendacium pertrahent credituros non ea potuisse nisi divinitus fieri, virtutem diaboli nescientes, maxime quando tantam quantam numquam habuit acceperit potestatem. Non enim quando de caelo ignis cecidit et tantam familiam cum tantis gregibus pecorum sancti Iob uno impetu absumpsit et turbo inruens et domum deiciens filios eius occidit, phantasmata fuerunt; quae tamen fuerunt opera satanae, cui Deus dederat hanc potestatem.

Propter quid horum ergo dicta sint prodigia et signa mendacii, tunc potius apparebit. Sed propter quodlibet horum dictum sit, seducentur eis signis atque prodigiis qui seduci merebuntur, *pro eo quod dilectionem*, inquit, *veritatis non receperunt ut salvi*

So different men interpret differently the obscure words of the Apostle. But what he said is not doubtful: that Christ will not come to judge the living and the dead unless his adversary, Antichrist, first come to lead astray those who are dead in soul, although their being led astray depends on a judgement of God that is now secret. For, as it is said: "The coming of the lawless one is to proceed in Satan's way of working, with every kind of miracle and signs and lying portents and with every beguilement of wickedness for those who are perishing." For then shall Satan be loosed, and by means of that Antichrist he shall do his work with every kind of miracle, marvellously but mendaciously. It is common matter of dispute whether these are called "signs and lying portents" because he is to deceive human senses by illusions, so that he may seem to do what he does not actually do, or because they are to be true wonders, but such as will lead men into falsehood, since men will believe that they could have been performed only by divine agency, for they will not know the power of the devil, above all when the devil has gained such power as he never had before. For when fire fell from heaven and in one sweep destroyed the numerous household and flocks of the saintly Job, and a whirlwind descended and overthrew his house and killed his children, these were not illusions; yet they were the works of Satan, to whom God had given this power.

Why they are called "signs and lying portents" will become more clear in the event. But whatever the reason, those men will be led astray by these signs and portents who shall deserve to be led astray, "because," as the Apostle said, "they received not

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fierent. Nec dubitavit apostolus addere ac dicere: *Ideo mittet illis Deus operationem erroris ut credant mendacio.* Deus enim mittet, quia Deus diabolum facere ista permittet, iusto ipse iudicio, quamvis faciat ille iniquo malignoque consilio. *Ut iudicentur,* inquit, *omnes, qui non crediderunt veritati sed consenserunt iniquitati.* Proinde iudicati seducentur et seducti iudicabuntur. Sed iudicati seducentur illis iudiciis Dei occulte iustis, iuste occultis, quibus ab initio peccati rationalis creaturae numquam iudicare cessavit; seducti autem iudicabuntur novissimo manifestoque iudicio per Christum Iesum, iustissime iudicaturum, iniustissime iudicatum.

XX

Quid idem apostolus in prima ad eosdem epistula de resurrectione docuerit mortuorum.

SED hic apostolus tacuit de resurrectione mortuorum; ad eosdem autem scribens in epistula prima: *Nolumus, inquit, ignorare vos, fratres, de dormientibus, ut non contristemini sicut et ceteri qui spem non habent. Nam si credimus quod Iesus mortuus est et resurrexit, ita et Deus eos qui dormierunt per Iesum adducet cum illo. Hoc enim vobis dicimus in verbo Domini quia nos viventes,*

the love of truth for their salvation." And he did not hesitate to add: "And for this cause God shall send them a misleading influence, that they may believe a lie." For God shall "send," in that he will permit the devil to do these things by a just judgement on his own part, although the devil does them in accordance with a wicked and malignant purpose. "That all may be condemned," he says, "who believed not the truth but consented to unrighteousness"; so being judged they shall be led astray, and being led astray they shall be judged. But being judged they shall be led astray by those judgements of God, secretly just and justly secret, by which he has never ceased to judge ever since the first sin of rational creatures; and being led astray, they shall be judged in that last and manifest judgement by the agency of Christ Jesus, who shall judge most justly, though he was himself most unjustly judged.

XX

What the same Apostle taught in the first epistle to the Thessalonians about the resurrection of the dead.

BUT the Apostle here has said nothing about the resurrection of the dead. In writing to the same Thessalonians, however, he says in his first epistle: "We would not have you to be uninformed, brethren, about those who are asleep, so that you may not sorrow as do others who have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so, through Jesus, will God take along with him those who are asleep. For this we say to you by the word

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qui reliqui sumus in adventum Domini, non praeveniemus eos qui ante dormierunt; quoniam ipse Dominus in iussu et in voce archangeli et in tuba Dei descendet de caelo, et mortui in Christo resurgent primo; deinde nos viventes, qui reliqui sumus, simul cum illis rapiemur in nubibus in obviam Christo in aera, et ita semper cum Domino erimus. Haec verba apostolica resurrectionem mortuorum futuram, quando veniet Christus, utique ad vivos et mortuos iudicandos, praeclarissime ostendunt.

Sed quaeri solet, utrum illi quos hic viventes inventurus est Christus, quorum personam in se atque illos qui tunc secum vivebant transfigurabat apostolus, numquam omnino morituri sint, an ipso temporis puncto quo cum resurgentibus rapiemur in nubibus in obviam Christo in aera ad immortalitatem per mortem mira celeritate transibunt. Neque enim dicendum est fieri non posse ut, dum per aera in sublime portantur, in illo spatio et moriantur et revivescant. Quod enim ait: *Et ita semper cum Domino erimus*, non sic accipiendum est tamquam in aere nos dixerit semper cum Domino esse mansuros, quia nec ipse utique ibi manebit, quia veniens transiturus est; venienti quippe ibitur obviam, non manenti; sed *ita cum Domino erimus*, id est, sic erimus habentes corpora sempiterna ubicumque cum illo fuerimus. Ad hunc autem sensum, quo existimemus etiam illos quos hic vivos inventurus est Dominus in ipso parvo spatio et passuros mortem et accepturos

¹ 1 Thessalonians 4.13-17.

of the Lord, that we who are alive and are left until the coming of the Lord shall not precede those who have fallen asleep. For the Lord himself will descend from heaven with a cry of command and with the voice of the archangel and with the sound of the trumpet of God, and the dead in Christ will rise first; then we who are alive and are left shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet Christ in the air, and so we shall always be with the Lord." ¹ These words of the Apostle show most clearly that there is to be a resurrection of the dead when Christ comes; certainly his purpose will be to judge the living and the dead.

But it is commonly asked whether those whom Christ is to find living here, represented by the Apostle himself and those living in his own time, are never to die at all, or whether in that very moment of time when they are to be caught up together with those arising again in the clouds to meet Christ in the air they are to pass with marvellous swiftness through death into immortality. For it cannot be said that it is impossible for them to die and live again in that moment when they are transported aloft through the air. For the words: "And so we shall always be with the Lord," are not to be understood as meaning that we are to remain forever in the air with the Lord; for he himself will certainly not linger there, but only come and pass through. We shall go to meet him as he comes but does not linger; but "so we shall be with the Lord" in the sense that, being possessed of everlasting bodies, we shall be with him wherever he is. And that we must take the words of the Apostle in this sense, as meaning that we are to suppose that those whom the Lord shall find alive

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inmortalitatem, ipse apostolus nos videtur urgere, ubi dicit: *In Christo omnes vivificabuntur*; cum alio loco de ipsa loquens resurrectione corporum dicat: *Tu quod seminas non vivificatur, nisi moriatur*.

Quo modo igitur quos viventes hic Christus inveniet per immortalitatem in illo vivificabuntur, etsi non moriantur, cum videamus propter hoc esse dictum: *Tu quod seminas non vivificatur, nisi moriatur?* Aut si recte non dicimus seminari nisi ea corpora hominum quae moriendo quoquo modo revertuntur in terram (sicut sese habet etiam illa in transgressorem patrem generis humani divinitus prolata sententia: *Terra es et in terram ibis*), fatendum est istos quos nondum de corporibus egressos cum veniet Christus inveniet et istis verbis apostoli et illis de genesi non teneri quoniam sursum in nubibus rapti non utique seminantur, quia nec eunt in terram nec redeunt, sive nullam prorsus experiantur mortem sive paululum in aere moriantur.

Sed aliud rursus occurrit quod idem dixit apostolus, cum de resurrectione corporum ad Corinthios loqueretur: *Omnes resurgemus*, vel sicut alii codices habent: *Omnes dormiemus*. Cum ergo nec resurrectio fieri, nisi mors praecesserit, possit, nec dormitionem possimus illo loco intellegere nisi mortem, quo modo omnes vel dormient vel resurgent, si tam multi quos in corpore inventurus est Christus nec dormient nec resurgent? Si ergo sanctos qui reperientur Christo veniente viventes eique in obviam rapiuntur credi-

¹ 1 Corinthians 15.22.

² 1 Corinthians 15.36.

³ Genesis 3.19.

⁴ 1 Corinthians 15.51. Greek, *οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα*, "we shall not sleep"; Vulg., *omnes quidem resurgemus*.

here shall in that brief moment both suffer death and receive immortality, is confirmed by his words: "In Christ shall all men be made alive,"¹ and by his words in another passage, expressly about the resurrection of the body: "That which you sow does not come to life unless it dies."²

How, then, shall those whom Christ shall find alive here come to life in him by immortality, unless they die, since we see that it is for this very reason that it was said: "That which you sow does not come to life unless it dies"? Or if we may not properly speak of human bodies as "sown" unless they are somehow returned at death to the earth (this way of putting it is found in the sentence pronounced by God upon the erring father of the human race: "Earth thou art, and to earth shalt thou return"³), we must admit that those whom he shall find, on his coming, not yet departed from the body are not included in the words either of the Apostle or of Genesis; for, being caught up on high into the clouds, they surely are not sown, since they neither go to the earth nor return to it, whether they experience no death at all or die momentarily in the air.

But another saying of the same Apostle confronts us, addressed to the Corinthians, about the resurrection of the body: "We shall all rise again," or, as other manuscripts have it: "We shall all sleep."⁴ Since, then, there could be no resurrection unless death preceded it, and we could not understand sleep in this passage as meaning anything but death, how can "all" either sleep or rise again, if so many whom Christ is to find in the body shall neither sleep nor rise again? If, then, we believe that the saints who are found alive at Christ's coming and are to be

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derimus in eodem raptu de mortalibus corporibus exituros et ad eadem mox immortalia redituros, nullas in verbis apostoli patiemur angustias, sive ubi dicit: *Tu quod seminas non vivificatur, nisi moriatur*, sive ubi dicit: *Omnes resurgemus aut: Omnes dormiemus*, quia nec illi per immortalitatem vivificabuntur, nisi quamlibet paululum tamen ante moriantur, ac per hoc et a resurrectione non erunt alieni quam dormitione praecedunt, quamvis brevissima, non tamen nulla. Cur autem nobis incredibile videatur illam multitudinem corporum in aere quodam modo seminari atque ibi protinus immortaliter atque incorruptibiliter revivescere, cum credamus, quod idem ipse apostolus apertissime dicit, in ictu oculi futuram resurrectionem et in membra sine fine victura tanta facilitate tamque inaestimabili velocitate redituum antiquissimorum cadaverum pulverem?

Nec ab illa sententia qua homini dictum est: *Terra es et in terram ibis*, futuros illos sanctos arbitremur immunes, si eorum morientium in terram non recident corpora, sed, sicut in ipso raptu morientur, ita et resurgent dum feruntur in aera. *In terram* quippe *ibis* est "in hoc ibis amissa vita quod eras antequam sumeres vitam"; id est, hoc eris exanimatus quod eras antequam esses animatus (terrae quippe insufflavit Deus in faciem flatum vitae, cum factus est homo in animam vivam), tamquam diceretur: "Terra es animata, quod non eras; terra eris exanimis, sicut

¹ Cf. 1 Corinthians 15.52.

² Cf. Genesis 2.7.

caught up to meet him will in that same ascent leave their mortal bodies and immediately reënter the same bodies, now immortal, then we shall suffer no difficulty in the words of the Apostle, either when he says: "That which you sow does not come to life unless it dies," or when he says, "We shall all rise again," or, "We shall all sleep"; for they, too, will not come to life by immortality unless they first die, for however brief a moment, and so they will not be excluded from a resurrection preceded by a sleep which, however brief, is still a sleep. Indeed, why should we not believe that all those many bodies are, as it were, sown in the air, and there at once come to life exempt from death and decay, when we believe the explicit words of the same Apostle, that the resurrection will occur in the twinkling of an eye, and that the dust of ancient corpses will return with complete ease and a speed past all reckoning into limbs that are to live forever? ¹

Nor are we to suppose that those saints will be exempt from man's sentence, "Earth thou art, and to earth shalt thou return," merely because their bodies, when they die, will not fall to earth but as they are to die while they are actually being caught up, so they will also rise again while they are borne into the air. For "to earth thou shalt return" means, you shall return on dying to what you were before entering upon life; that is, after losing the breath of life you shall become what you were before receiving the breath of life (for it was into a face of earth that God breathed the breath of life when man was made a living soul ²); just as if it were said, "You are earth with a soul, which you were not before; you shall be earth without a soul, as you were before." Such is

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eras"; quod sunt et antequam putrescant omnia corpora mortuorum, quod erunt et illa, si morientur, ubicumque moriantur, cum vita carebunt, quam continuo receptura sunt. Sic ergo ibunt in terram, quia ex vivis hominibus terra erunt, quem ad modum it in cinerem quod fit cinis; it in vetustatem quod fit vetus; it in testam quod ex luto fit testa; et alia sescenta sic loquimur. Quo modo autem sit futurum, quod nunc pro nostrae ratiunculae viribus utcumque conicimus, tunc erit potius ut nosse possimus. Resurrectionem quippe mortuorum futuram et in carne, quando Christus venturus est vivos iudicaturus et mortuos, oportet, si Christiani esse volumus, ut credamus; sed non ideo de hac re inanis est fides nostra, si quem ad modum futura sit perfecte comprehendere non valemus.

Verum iam, sicut supra promisimus, de hoc iudicio Dei novissimo etiam prophetici veteres libri quid praenuntiaverint, quantum satis esse videbitur, debemus ostendere; quae, sicut arbitror, non tanta mora necesse erit tractari et exponi, si istis quae praemisimus lector curaverit adiuvari.

XXI

Quid Esaias propheta de mortuorum resurrectione et de retributione iudicii sit locutus.

PROPHETA Esaias: *Resurgent, inquit, mortui et resurgent qui erant in sepulcris, et laetabuntur omnes qui*

¹ Cf. 20.4 above.

the case with all the bodies of the dead, even before they begin to rot, and it will be so with the bodies of the saints, too, once they die and wherever they die, as soon as they are deprived of life, which they will immediately receive again. So, then, they will "go to earth," because from being living men they will be earth, just as what becomes ashes "goes to ashes," what decays "goes to decay," what becomes a jar instead of clay "goes into a jar"; and so with countless other expressions. But how this is to take place, something that we can now only imagine with the feeble power of our minds, we shall have greater power of understanding then. For it befits us to believe, if we would be Christians, that there is to be a resurrection of the dead in the flesh, when Christ comes to judge the living and the dead; but if we are unable to understand perfectly how this is to take place, our faith about this matter is not on that account vain.

Now, however, it behooves us to show, as we promised above,¹ at whatever length shall seem sufficient, what the ancient prophetic books predicted about this last judgement of God; and I think they need not be treated and explained at any great length, if the reader will take the trouble to avail himself of the help that we have already provided.

XXI

What the prophet Isaiah said about the resurrection of the dead and about retributive justice.

THE prophet Isaiah says: "The dead shall rise again, and those who were in the graves shall rise

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sunt in terra; ros enim qui abs te est, sanitas illis est; terra vero impiorum cadet. Totum illud superius ad resurrectionem pertinet beatorum. Quod autem ait: *Terra vero impiorum cadet*, bene intellegitur dictum: "Corpora vero impiorum ruina damnationis excipiet." Iam porro si de bonorum resurrectione quod dictum est diligentius et distinctius velimus intueri, ad primam referendum est quod dictum est: *Resurgent mortui*; ad secundam vero quod sequitur: *Et resurgent qui erant in sepulcris.* Iam si et illos inquiramus sanctos quos hic vivos inventurus est Dominus, eis congrue deputabitur quod adiunxit: *Et laetabuntur omnes qui sunt in terra; ros enim qui abs te est, sanitas illis est.* Sanitatem loco isto immortalitatem rectissime accipimus; ea namque est plenissima sanitas quae non reficitur alimentis tamquam cotidianis medicamentis.

Item de iudicii die spem prius dans bonis, deinde terrens malos idem propheta sic loquitur: *Haec dicit Dominus: Ecce ego declino in eos ut flumen pacis et ut torrens inundans gloriam gentium. Filii eorum super umeros portabuntur et super genua consolabuntur. Quem ad modum si quem mater consoletur, ita ego vos consolabor; et in Hierusalem consolabimini, et videbitis, et gaudebit cor vestrum et ossa vestra ut herba exorientur. Et cognoscetur manus Domini colentibus eum, et comminabitur contumacibus. Ecce enim Dominus ut ignis veniet,*

¹ Isaiah 26.19.

again, and all who are in the earth shall rejoice; for the dew which is from thee is their health, but the earth of the ungodly shall fall." ¹ All the first part of this passage refers to the resurrection of the blessed. The words, "The earth of the ungodly shall fall" are rightly understood as meaning that the downfall of damnation shall engulf the bodies of the ungodly. And now if we should proceed to examine more carefully and analytically what is said about the resurrection of the good, we may refer to the first resurrection the words: "The dead shall rise again," and to the second the words that follow: "And those who were in the graves shall rise again." And if we ask what refers to those saints whom the Lord is to find alive here, the words that come next may appropriately be put in that classification: "And all who are in the earth shall rejoice; for the dew which is from thee is their health." "Health," in this passage, we quite rightly understand as immortality; for that is health to the fullest degree that is not repaired by sustenance as by daily remedies.

Likewise, after first giving hope to the good concerning the day of judgement, the same prophet then terrifies the wicked, saying: "Thus says the Lord: Behold, I will descend upon them like a river of peace, and like a torrent that overwhelms the glory of the gentiles; their sons shall be carried on the shoulders, and shall find comfort in the lap. As one whom his mother comforts, so will I comfort you; and you shall be comforted in Jerusalem, and you shall see, and your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall rise up like grass. And the hand of the Lord shall be known to his worshippers, and he shall threaten the stubborn. For behold, the Lord shall

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et ut tempestas currus eius, reddere in indignatione vindictam et vastationem in flamma ignis. In igne enim Domini iudicabitur omnis terra et in gladio eius omnis caro; multi vulnerati erunt a Domino. In bonorum promissione flumen pacis profecto abundantiam pacis illius debemus accipere, qua maior esse non possit. Hac utique in fine rigabimur; de qua in praecedenti libro abundanter locuti sumus. Hoc flumen se in eos declinare dicit quibus tantam beatitudinem pollicetur ut intellegamus in illius felicitatis regione, quae in caelis est, hoc flumine omnia satiari; sed quia et terrenis corporibus pax incorruptionis atque immortalitatis inde influet, ideo declinare se dixit hoc flumen ut de supernis quodam modo etiam inferiora perfundat et homines aequales angelis reddat.

Hierusalem quoque, non illam quae servit cum filiis suis, sed liberam matrem nostram intellegamus secundum apostolum aeternam in caelis. Ibi post labores aerumnarum curarumque mortalium consolabimur, tamquam parvuli eius in umeris genibusque portati. Rudes enim nos et novos blandissimis adiutoriis insolita nobis beatitudo illa suscipiet. Ibi videbimus, et gaudebit cor nostrum. Nec expressit quid videbimus; sed quid nisi Deum? ut impleatur in nobis promissum evangelicum: *Beati mundicordes, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt*, et omnia illa quae nunc

¹ Isaiah 66.12-16.

² Galatians 4.26.

³ Matthew 5.8.

come as a fire, and his chariot as a whirlwind, to execute vengeance with indignation and devastation with a flame of fire. For with the fire of the Lord shall all the earth be judged, and all flesh with his sword; many shall be wounded by the Lord." ¹ We should doubtless understand, in his promise to the good, the "river of peace" as the abundance of his peace, the greatest possible peace; with this we shall in any case be refreshed in the end, as we have fully explained in the preceding book. This is the river which he says he will send down upon those to whom he promises blessedness so great that we may understand that all things in that heavenly region of felicity have all they want of this river. But because the peace of incorruption and immortality is to flow thence upon earthly bodies as well, he said that he will send down this river, so that it may somehow flow from the upper regions even to the lower and may make men equal to the angels.

By "Jerusalem," moreover, we are to understand not the one that serves as a slave, with her children, but that Jerusalem, our free mother, which according to the Apostle is everlasting in the heavens. ² There, after the labours belonging to the anxieties and cares of this life, we shall be comforted like little children carried upon her shoulders and in the lap. For we shall be lifted up, unschooled and fresh, by that bliss, so strange to us, and given the most caressing support. There we shall see, and our heart will rejoice. He did not put in words what we shall see, but what could it be but God, so that the promise of the gospel may be fulfilled in our case: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" ? ³ And what shall we see but all those things which we do not see now, but in

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non videmus, credentes autem pro modulo capacitatis humanae longe minus quam sunt atque incomparabiliter cogitamus. *Et videbitis, inquit, et gaudebit cor vestrum.* Hic creditis, ibi videbitis.

Sed quoniam dixit: *Et gaudebit cor vestrum*, ne putaremus illa bona Hierusalem ad nostrum tantummodo spiritum pertinere: *Et ossa, inquit, vestra ut herba exorientur*, ubi resurrectionem corporum strinxit, velut quod non dixerat reddens; neque enim cum viderimus fiet, sed cum fuerit facta videbimus. Nam et de caelo novo ac terra nova iam supra dixerat, dum ea quae sanctis promittuntur in fine saepe ac multiformiter diceret. *Erit, inquit, caelum novum et terra nova, et non erunt memores priorum, nec ascendet in cor ipsorum, sed laetitiam et exultationem invenient in ea. Ecce ego faciam Hierusalem exultationem et populum meum laetitiam; et exultabo in Hierusalem et laetabor in populo meo; et ultra non audietur in illa vox fletus*, et cetera quae quidam ad illos carnales mille annos referre conantur. Locutiones enim tropicae propriis prophetico more miscentur, ut ad intellectum spiritalem intentio sobria cum quodam utili ac salubri labore perveniat; pigritia vero carnalis vel ineruditae atque inexercitatae tarditas mentis contenta litterae superficie nihil putat interius requirendum. Haec de prophetis verbis, quae ante istum locum scripta sunt, satis dixerim.

In hoc autem loco, unde ad illa digressi sumus, cum

¹ Isaiah 65.17-19.

which we believe, so far as our slight human powers can grasp them, though our conception of them is incomparably less than the reality? "And you shall see," he says, "and your heart shall rejoice." Here you believe; there you shall see.

But lest we should suppose, because he said: "And your heart shall rejoice," that the blessings of that Jerusalem are only spiritual, he says: "And your bones shall rise up like grass," thus alluding to the resurrection of the body, as if supplying an omission; for it will not take place when we have seen, but we shall see when it has taken place. For he had already spoken above, repeatedly and using many figures, about the new heaven and the new earth and the things promised to the saints at the end, saying: "There shall be a new heaven and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered nor come to mind; but they shall find joy and exultation in it. Behold, I will make Jerusalem an exultation and my people a joy; and I will exult in Jerusalem and rejoice in my people, and there shall be heard no more in her any voice of lamentation,"¹ and other promises, which some attempt to refer to life in the flesh during those thousand years. For in the style of prophecy, figurative and literal expressions are mingled, so that a sober examination may by useful and salutary labour attain to the spiritual meaning, while carnal sloth or the sluggishness of an un-instructed and unexercised mind may be content with the superficial and literal meaning and think that nothing deeper need be sought. But let what I have said be enough about the words of prophecy that precede our passage of Scripture.

To return to the words from which we digressed;

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dixisset: *Et ossa vestra ut herba exorientur*, ut resurrectionem carnis quidem sed tamen bonorum se nunc commemorare monstraret, adiunxit: *Et cognoscetur manus Domini colentibus eum*. Quid est hoc nisi manus distinguentis cultores suos a contemptoribus suis? De quibus sequentia contexens: *Et comminabitur*, inquit, *contumacibus*, sive, ut ait alius interpres, *incredulis*. Nec tunc comminabitur, sed quae nunc dicuntur minaciter tunc efficaciter implebuntur. *Ecce enim Dominus*, inquit, *ut ignis veniet et ut tempestas currus eius, reddere in indignatione vindictam et vastationem in flamma ignis. In igne enim Domini iudicabitur omnis terra et in gladio eius omnis caro; multi vulnerati erunt a Domino*. Sive igne sive tempestate sive gladio poenam iudicii significat; quando quidem ipsum Dominum quasi ignem dicit esse venturum, eis profecto quibus poenalis erit eius adventus. Currus vero eius (nam pluraliter dicti sunt) angelica ministeria non inconvenienter accipimus. Quod autem ait omnem terram et omnem carnem in eius igne et gladio iudicari, non etiam hic spiritales intellegamus et sanctos, sed terrenos atque carnales, de qualibus dictum est: *Qui terrena sapiunt, et: Sapere secundum carnem mors est*; et quales omnino caro appellantur a Domino, ubi dicit: *Non permanebit spiritus meus in hominibus istis, quoniam caro sunt*.

Quod vero hic positum est: *Multi vulnerati erunt a Domino*, isto fiet vulnere mors secunda. Potest

¹ Philippians 3.19.

² Romans 8.6.

³ Genesis 6.3.

after saying: "And your bones shall rise up like grass," in order to show that it was indeed the resurrection of the good, albeit of the flesh, that he was now calling to mind, he added: "And the hand of the Lord shall be known to his worshippers." What is this but the hand of one who makes a distinction between his worshippers and those who hold him in contempt? About the latter the context continues: "And he shall threaten the stubborn" (or, as another translator has it, "the unbelievers"). He will not at that time threaten them, but the words now spoken as a warning will then be fulfilled in good earnest. "For behold," he says, "the Lord shall come as a fire, and his chariot as a whirlwind, to execute vengeance with indignation and devastation with a flame of fire. For with the fire of the Lord shall all the earth be judged, and all flesh with his sword; many shall be wounded by the Lord." By "fire," "whirlwind" and "sword," he means the punishment of judgement; for he says that the Lord himself shall come as a fire, to those, of course, for whom his coming is to be a punishment. By "chariots" (expressed in the plural) we fitly understand the angels in his service. And when he says that all the earth and all flesh is to be judged with his fire and his sword, we must understand this not of the spiritual and holy but only of the earthly and carnal, of whom it is said: "Those who have worldly wisdom,"¹ and: "To be carnally minded is death,"² and such as are called by the Lord simply "flesh," when he says: "My spirit shall not always remain in these men, for they are flesh."³

The next words: "Many shall be wounded by the Lord" refer to the wound by which the second death

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quidem et ignis et gladius et vulnus accipi in bono. Nam et ignem Dominus velle se dixit mittere in mundum, et visae sunt illis linguae divisae velut ignis, quando venit Spiritus sanctus, et: *Non veni, inquit idem Dominus, pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium*, et sermonem Dei dicit scriptura gladium bis acutum propter aciem geminam testamentorum duorum, et in cantico canticorum caritate se dicit sancta ecclesia vulneratam, velut amoris impetu sagittatam. Sed hic cum legimus vel audimus ultorem Dominum esse venturum, quem ad modum haec intellegenda sint clarum est.

Deinde breviter commemoratis eis qui per hoc iudicium consumentur, sub figura ciborum in lege vetere vetitorum, a quibus se non abstinerunt, peccatores impiosque significans recapitulat ab initio gratiam novi testamenti a primo Salvatoris adventu usque ad ultimum iudicium, de quo nunc agimus, perducens finiensque sermonem. Narrat namque Dominum dicere se venire ut congreget omnes gentes, easque venturas et visuras eius gloriam. *Omnes enim*, sicut dicit apostolus, *peccaverunt et egent gloria Dei*. Et relicturum se dicit super eos signa quae utique mirantes credant in eum; et emissurum ex illis salvatos in gentes diversas et longinquas insulas, quae non audierunt nomen eius neque viderunt eius gloriam; et adnuntiaturus gloriam eius in gentibus et adducturos fratres istorum quibus loque-

¹ Luke 12.49.

² Matthew 10.34.

³ Cf. Song of Solomon 2.5.

⁴ Isaiah 66.18.

⁵ Acts 2.3.

⁶ Cf. Hebrews 4.12.

⁷ Cf. Isaiah 66.17.

⁸ Romans 3.23.

is to come. It is possible, to be sure, to take "fire," "sword" and "wound" in a good sense. For the Lord said that he wished to send fire on the earth;¹ and the cloven tongues appeared to men as fire when the Holy Spirit came;² and: "I have not come," said the same Lord, "to send peace on earth, but a sword."³ And the Scripture says that the word of God is a two-edged sword because of its double edge, the two testaments;⁴ and in the Song of Songs the holy church says that she is wounded by love, pierced, as it were, by the arrow of love.⁵ But here, when we read or hear that the Lord is to come as an avenger, it is clear in what sense these words should be understood.

Then after brief mention of those who are to be consumed in this judgement, indicating the sinners and the ungodly under the figure of those who did not abstain from the foods forbidden by the old law,⁶ the prophet deals in outline with the grace of the new covenant from the first coming of the Saviour to the last judgement, with which we are now concerned, thus bringing his prophecy to a conclusion. For he tells how the Lord declares that he is coming to gather all peoples together, and that they are to come and behold his glory.⁷ "For," as the Apostle says, "all have sinned and stand in need of the glory of God."⁸ And he says that he will leave signs among them, that they may at least be amazed and so believe in him; and that he will send forth from them those who have been saved to various peoples and to distant islands, that have not heard his name or beheld his glory; and that they shall proclaim his glory among the peoples and shall bring new brothers of those to whom the prophet was speaking, that is,

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batur, id est in fide sub Deo Patre fratres Israelitarum electorum; adducturos autem ex omnibus gentibus munus Domino in iumentis et vehiculis (quae iumenta et vehicula bene intelleguntur adiutoria esse divina per cuiusque generis ministeria Dei, vel angelica vel humana) in sanctam civitatem Hierusalem, quae nunc in sanctis fidelibus est diffusa per terras. Ubi enim divinitus adiuvantur, ibi credunt, et ubi credunt, ibi veniunt.

Comparavit autem illos Dominus tamquam per similitudinem filiis Israel offerentibus ei suas hostias cum psalmis in domo eius, quod ubique iam facit ecclesia; et promisit ab ipsis se accepturum sibi sacerdotes et Levitas, quod nihilo minus fieri nunc videmus. Non enim ex genere carnis et sanguinis, sicut erat primum secundum ordinem Aaron, sed, sicut oportebat in testamento novo, ubi secundum ordinem Melchisedech summus sacerdos est Christus, pro cuiusque merito quod in eum gratia divina contulerit, sacerdotes et Levitas eligi nunc videmus, qui non isto nomine, quod saepe adsequuntur indigni, sed ea, quae non est bonis malisque communis, sanctitate pensandi sunt.

Haec cum de ista, quae nunc in pertinetur ecclesiae, perspicua nobisque notissima Dei miseratione dixisset, promisit et fines ad quos per ultimum iudicium facta bonorum malorumque discretione venietur, dicens per prophetam, vel de Domino dicens ipse propheta: *Quo modo enim caelum novum et terra nova manebit coram me, dicit Dominus, sic stabit semen*

¹ Isaiah 66.19-20.

² Isaiah 66.21.

³ Cf. Psalms 110.4.

brothers in the faith of the chosen Israelites under God the Father; and that they shall bring from all the peoples a gift to the Lord on beasts of burden and on waggons (which are well understood to mean the service of God by bands of either kind, whether the ministry of angels or the ministry of men), to the holy city of Jerusalem, which is now spread over the earth in the body of faithful saints.¹ For where there is divine help, that is where men believe; and where they believe, that is where they come.

And the Lord compared them in a figure with the children of Israel offering him sacrifices in his house with psalms, which is what the church now does everywhere; and he promised that he would take from them for himself priests and Levites, of which we now see equally the fulfilment.² For we now see priests and Levites chosen not from a certain family and blood, as was the case formerly according to the order of Aaron; but, as was proper under the new covenant, wherein the chief priest is Christ, after the order of Melchisedech,³ each man is chosen in accordance with the merit that the divine grace has bestowed on him. But they are not to be esteemed merely for their title, which the unworthy often attain to, but for that holiness which is not common to good men and bad.

When he had spoken thus about that clear and well-known mercy of God which is even now vouchsafed to the church, he also uttered a promise of the final states that await the good and the wicked when they have been separated through the last judgement, speaking through the prophet, or we may say that the prophet himself spoke for the Lord: "For as the new heaven and the new earth shall remain before me,

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vestrum et nomen vestrum, et erit mensis ex mense et sabbatum ex sabbato. Veniet omnis caro in conspectu meo adorare in Hierusalem, dixit Dominus; et egredientur et videbunt membra hominum qui praevaricati sunt in me. Vermis eorum non morietur, et ignis eorum non exlinguetur, et erunt visui omni carni.

Ad hoc iste propheta terminavit librum ad quod terminabitur saeculum. Quidam sane non interpretati sunt: *Membra hominum*, sed *cadavera virorum*, per *cadavera* significantes evidentem corporum poenam, quamvis cadaver nisi caro exanimis non soleat nuncupari, illa vero animata erunt corpora, alioquin nulla poterunt sentire tormenta; nisi forte, quia mortuorum erunt corpora, id est eorum qui in secundam mortem cadent, ideo non absurde etiam *cadavera* dici possunt. Unde est et illud quod ab eodem propheta dictum iam supra posui: *Terra vero impiorum cadet*. Quis autem non videat a cadendo esse appellata *cadavera*? *Virorum* autem pro eo posuisse illos interpretes quod est "hominum," manifestum est. Neque enim quisquam dicturus est *praevaricatrices feminas* in illo supplicio non futuras; sed ex potiore, praesertim de quo femina facta est, uterque sexus accipitur. Verum, quod ad rem maxime pertinet, cum et in bonis dicitur: *Veniet omnis caro*, quia ex omni genere hominum populus ille constabit (non enim omnes homines ibi erunt, quando

¹ Isaiah 66.22-24.

² So Vulg. (*cadavera*).

³ Isaiah 26.19; cf. 20.21 above, at the beginning.

⁴ Cf. above, 20.10.

⁵ Cf. Genesis 2.21-22.

says the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain, and month shall follow month, and Sabbath shall follow Sabbath. All flesh shall come in my sight to worship in Jerusalem, says the Lord; and they shall go forth and behold the bodily parts of human beings who have transgressed against me. Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be a spectacle for all flesh." ¹

At this point the prophet ended his book, the point at which the world is to end. Some, to be sure, have translated the words, not as "bodily parts of human beings" but as "corpses of men," ² meaning by "corpses" the manifest punishment of the body, although the word "corpse" is ordinarily used only of lifeless flesh, while these bodies will be alive, and could not otherwise feel any pain; unless perchance they may without absurdity be called corpses because they will be the bodies of dead men, that is, of men who will have fallen into the second death. This is the explanation of the words that I have quoted above from the same prophet: "But the earth of the ungodly shall fall." ³ For who does not see that *cadavera* are so called from "falling"? ⁴ And it is clear that translators who substituted "men" for "human beings" did so, not because any one will argue that no transgressing women will be included in that punishment; rather both sexes are indicated under the more worthy sex, especially since it is that from which woman was created.⁵ But what is of greatest importance for our subject is the fact that, since the words: "All flesh shall come" apply to the good, for God's people will be composed of men of every race (though not all men will be there, for

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in poenis plures erunt), sed, ut dicere coeperam, cum et in bonis caro et in malis membra vel cadavera nominantur, profecto post resurrectionem carnis, cuius fides his rerum vocabulis omnino firmatur, illud quo boni et mali suis finibus dirimentur futurum esse iudicium declaratur.

XXII

Qualis futura sit egressio sanctorum ad videndas poenas malorum.

SED quo modo egredientur boni ad videndas poenas malorum? Numquid corporis motu beatas illas relicturi sunt sedes et ad loca poenalia perrecturi, ut malorum tormenta conspiciant praesentia corporali? Absit; sed egredientur per scientiam. Hoc enim verbo significatum est eos qui cruciabuntur extra futuros. Propter quod et Dominus ea loca tenebras exteriores vocat, quibus contrarius est ille ingressus de quo dicitur servo bono: *Intra in gaudium Domini tui*, ne illuc mali putentur ingredi ut sciantur, sed ad illos potius velut egredi scientia qua eos cognituri sunt boni, quia id quod extra est cognituri sunt. Qui enim erunt in poenis, quid agatur intus in gaudio Domini nescient; qui vero erunt in illo gaudio, quid agatur foris in illis tenebris exterioribus scient. Ideo dictum est: *Egredientur*, quia eos etiam quae

¹ Matthew 25.30.

a great many will be in torments); to repeat, since "flesh" is used of the good, and "members" or "corpses" of the wicked, surely it is made clear that the judgement by which the good and the wicked are to be separated for their several ends will take place after the resurrection of the body, our faith in which is absolutely confirmed by the use of these terms.

XXII

What is meant by the saints going forth to see the punishment of the wicked.

BUT in what way are the good to "go forth" to see the punishment of the wicked? Are they to leave their blessed abodes by a movement of their bodies and so to reach the place of punishment in order to behold in bodily presence the torments of the wicked? God forbid; but by their knowledge they will "go forth." For by this expression it is indicated that they who are punished will be outside. That is why the Lord also calls that region "outer darkness," in contrast to which is the "way in," with regard to which it is said to the good servant: "Enter into the joy of your Lord,"¹ in order that it might not be supposed that the wicked can enter in so as to be known, but rather that the good go out to them by means of the knowledge with which they are to know them, because they are to know what is without. For those who are in the place of punishment will not know what is going on within, in the joy of the Lord; but those who are then in that joy will know what is going on without, in that outer darkness. So it is said: "They shall go forth," because those who are

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foris ab eis erunt utique non latebunt. Si enim haec prophetae nondum facta nosse potuerunt per hoc quod erat Deus, quantulumcumque erat, in eorum mortalium mentibus, quo modo immortales sancti iam facta tunc nescient, cum Deus erit omnia in omnibus?

Stabit ergo in illa beatitudine sanctorum semen et nomen; semen scilicet de quo Iohannes ait: *Et semen eius in ipso manet*; nomen vero de quo per hunc Esaiam dictum est: *Nomen aeternum dabo eis. Erit eis mensis ex mense et sabbatum ex sabbato*, tamquam luna ex luna et requies ex requie, quorum utrumque ipsi erunt cum ex his umbris veteribus et temporalibus in illa lumina nova ac sempiterna transibunt. In poenis autem malorum et inextinguibilis ignis et vivacissimus vermis ab aliis atque aliis aliter atque aliter est expositus. Alii quippe utrumque ad corpus, alii utrumque ad animum rettulerunt; alii proprie ad corpus ignem, tropice ad animum vermem, quod esse credibilius videtur. Sed nunc de hac differentia non est temporis disputare. De iudicio namque ultimo quo fiet diremptio bonorum et malorum, hoc volumen implere suscepimus; de ipsis vero praemiis et poenis alias diligentius disserendum est.

outside with respect to them will certainly not be unknown to them. For if the prophets had the power to know these things when they had not yet occurred through the presence, to however slight a degree, of God in their mortal minds, how shall the immortal saints fail to know these things after they have already occurred, when God shall be all in all? ¹

The seed, then, and the name of the saints will remain in that blessedness, the seed, that is, about which John says: "And his seed remains in him," ² and the name about which it was said through Isaiah himself: "I will give them an everlasting name." "For them month shall follow month, and Sabbath shall follow Sabbath," ³ as if he said "moon after moon and rest after rest." They will themselves be both seed and name when they pass from these old shadows of time into those new lights of eternity. In the punishment of the wicked the unquenchable fire and the ever-living worm are differently explained by different persons. In fact, some refer both to the body, others refer both to the soul; still others refer the fire to the body in the literal sense, and the worm to the soul in the figurative sense, an interpretation which seems more plausible. But there is no time now to discuss this difference; for we have undertaken to deal in this book only with the last judgment by which the good and the wicked are to be separated; their actual rewards and punishments must be more carefully discussed elsewhere.

¹ 1 Corinthians 15.28.

² 1 John 3.9.

³ Isaiah 56.5; 66.23.

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XXIII

Quid prophetaverit Daniel de persecutione Antichristi et de iudicio Dei regnoque sanctorum.

DANIEL de hoc ultimo iudicio sic prophetat ut Antichristum quoque prius venturum esse praenuntiet atque ad aeternum regnum sanctorum perducatur narrationem suam. Cum enim visione prophetica quattuor bestias significantes quattuor regna vidisset, ipsumque quartum a quodam rege superatum, qui Antichristus agnoscitur, et post haec aeternum regnum filii hominis, qui intellegitur Christus: *Horruit, inquit, spiritus meus, ego Daniel, in habitudine mea, et visus capitis mei conturbabant me. Et accessi, inquit, ad unum de stantibus, et veritatem quaerebam ab eo de omnibus his, et dixit mihi veritatem.*

Deinde quid audierit ab illo a quo de omnibus his quaesivit, tamquam eo sibi exponente sic loquitur: *Hae bestiae magnae quattuor quattuor regna surgent in terra, quae auferentur, et accipient regnum sancti Altissimi et obtinebunt illud usque in saeculum et usque in saeculum saeculorum. Et quaerebam, inquit, diligenter de bestia quarta, quae erat differens prae omni bestia, terribilis amplius (dentes eius ferrei et ungues eius aerei, manducans et comminuens et reliqua pedibus suis concalcans), et de cornibus eius decem, quae erant in capite eius, et de altero, quod ascendit et excussit de prioribus*

¹ Daniel 7.15-16.

XXIII

What Daniel prophesied about the persecution of Antichrist and the judgement of God and the reign of the saints.

DANIEL prophesies about this last judgement in such a way as to foretell also the prior coming of Antichrist, and to continue his narrative to the everlasting reign of the saints. For when he had seen in his prophetic vision four beasts, signifying four kingdoms, and the fourth of them overcome by a certain king who is recognized as Antichrist, and thereafter the everlasting reign of the Son of man, who is understood to be Christ, he says: "The spirit of me, Daniel, was terrified in my abode, and the visions of my head disturbed me. And I drew near," he says, "to one of those who stood by, and asked of him the truth about all these things, and he told me the truth." ¹

Then he tells what he heard from him of whom he asked about all these things, just as if it were the latter explaining them to him, as follows: "These four great beasts are four kingdoms, which shall arise upon the earth, and shall be swept away, and the saints of the Most High shall receive the kingdom and possess it for ever, even for ever and ever. And I asked with care," he says, "about the fourth beast, which was different from every other beast, and far more terrible; his teeth were of iron, and his nails of bronze, and he devoured and ground to bits all the rest, and trod them under foot. And I asked about his ten horns, that were upon his head, and about that other horn, which rose up and struck down three

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tria; cornu illud in quo erant oculi et os loquens magna, et visus eius maior ceteris. Videbam, et cornu illud faciebat bellum cum sanctis, et praevalebat ad ipsos, donec venit vetustus dierum, et regnum dedit sanctis Altissimi; et tempus pervenit, et regnum obtinuerunt sancti. Haec Daniel quaesisse se dixit. Deinde quid audierit continuo subiungens: Et dixit, inquit (id est ille a quo quaesierat respondit et dixit): Bestia quarta quartum regnum erit in terra, quod praevalebit omnibus regnis; et manducabit omnem terram, et conculcabit eam et concidet. Et decem cornua eius decem reges surgent; et post eos surget alius, qui superabit malis omnes qui ante eum fuerunt; et tres reges humiliabit et verba adversus Altissimum loquetur et sanctos Altissimi conteret et suspicabitur mutare tempora et legem; et dabitur in manu eius usque ad tempus et tempora et dimidium tempus. Et iudicium sedebit, et principatum removebunt ad exterminandum et perdendum usque in finem; et regnum et potestas et magnitudo regum qui sub omni caelo sunt data est sanctis Altissimi. Et regnum eius regnum sempiternum; et omnes principatus ipsi servient et obaudient. Hoc usque, inquit, finis sermonis. Ego Daniel; multum cogitationes meae conturbabant me, et forma mea inmutata est super me, et verbum in corde meo conservavi.

Quattuor illa regna exposuerunt quidam Assyriorum, Persarum, Macedonum et Romanorum. Quam

¹ Daniel 7.17-22.

² Daniel 7.23-28.

of the former; in this horn there were eyes and a mouth that spoke mighty things, and its visage was larger than the rest. I looked, and this horn made war on the saints, and prevailed over them, until the ancient of days came and gave the kingdom to the saints of the Most High; and the time came, and the saints took possession of the kingdom." ¹

This, then, is what Daniel says he asked; and then he continues, telling what he heard. "And he said" (that is, he from whom Daniel had asked replied, saying): "The fourth beast is the fourth kingdom which shall be upon the earth, and which shall prevail over all kingdoms; and it shall devour the whole earth and tread it under foot and destroy it. And its horns are ten kings who shall arise; and after them shall arise another who shall surpass in wickedness all who were before him. And he shall humble three kings, and shall utter words against the Most High, and shall wear down the saints of the Most High, and shall think to change times and laws; and power shall be given into his hand for a time and times and half a time. And the judgement shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion to be destroyed and finally brought to naught; and the kingdom and the power and the might of the kings under the whole heaven shall be given to the saints of the Most High. And his kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him. So far," says Daniel, "his speech continued. As for me, Daniel, my thoughts disturbed me much, and my countenance was changed; but I kept these words in my heart." ²

Now some have interpreted those four kingdoms as meaning those of the Assyrians, the Persians, the

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vero convenienter id fecerint qui nosse desiderant, legant presbyteri Hieronymi librum in Daniele satis erudite diligenterque conscriptum. Antichristi tamen adversus ecclesiam saevissimum regnum licet exiguo spatio temporis sustinendum, donec Dei ultimo iudicio regnum sancti accipiant sempiternum, qui vel dormitans haec legit, dubitare non sinitur. Tempus quippe et tempora et dimidium temporis unum annum esse et duo et dimidium ac per hoc tres annos et semissem etiam numero dierum posterius posito dilucescit, aliquando in scripturis et mensum numero declaratur. Videntur enim tempora indefinite hic dicta lingua Latina; sed per dualem numerum dicta sunt, quem Latini non habent. Sicut autem Graeci, ita hunc dicuntur habere et Hebraei. Sic ergo dicta sunt tempora tamquam dicerentur duo tempora. Vereri me sane fateor ne in decem regibus, quos tamquam decem homines videtur inventurus Antichristus, forte fallamur, atque ita ille inopinatus adveniat, non existentibus tot regibus in orbe Romano. Quid si enim numero isto denario universitas regum significata est post quos ille venturus est, sicut millenario, centenario, septenario significatur plerumque universitas, et aliis atque aliis numeris quos nunc commemorare non est necesse?

Alio loco idem Daniel: *Et erit, inquit, tempus tribulationis qualis non fuit ex quo nata est gens super terram usque ad tempus illud. Et in tempore illo salvabitur populus tuus omnis qui inventus fuerit scriptus in libro.*

¹ Daniel 12.11.

Macedonians and the Romans. Those who wish to know how fitting this interpretation is may read the book of the presbyter Jerome on Daniel, which is written with abundant learning and care. But even he who reads these words only half awake cannot doubt that the kingdom of Antichrist must be suffered in all its cruelty against the church, albeit for only a brief space of time, before the saints shall receive, through the last judgement of God, their everlasting reign. From the enumeration of days in a later passage ¹ it is clear that "a time and times and half a time" means a year and two years and half a year, or three years and a half, although sometimes in Scripture this idea is expressed in months. For, though "times" in Latin seems to be an inexact expression, the word so rendered is dual in number. The dual is not found in Latin, but it is said to exist in Hebrew, as it does in Greek. Hence "times" here has the meaning "two times." I admit that I am afraid that we may be mistaken about the ten kings whom Antichrist is to find, it seems, as if they were so many living men, and hence he may come unexpectedly, since there are not so many kings alive in the Roman world. For what if that number ten indicates the whole number of kings after whom he is to come, just as the idea of totality is often expressed by a thousand, or a hundred, or seven, or by sundry other numbers which I need not now specify?

In another passage the same Daniel says: "And there shall be a time of distress such as there never was since there was born a race upon the earth until that time. And in that time shall be preserved all thy people who shall be found written in the book.

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Et multi dormientium in terrae aggere exurgent, hi in vitam aeternam, et hi in opprobrium et in confusionem aeternam. Et intelligentes fulgebunt sicut claritas firmamenti, et ex iustis multi sicut stellae in saecula et adhuc. Sententiae illi evangelicae est locus iste simillimus de resurrectione dumtaxat corporum mortuorum. Nam qui illic dicti sunt esse *in monumentis*, ipsi hic *dormientes in terrae aggere*, vel, sicut alii interpretati sunt, *in terrae pulvere*; et sicut ibi *procedent* dictum est, ita hic *exurgent*; sicut ibi *qui bona fecerunt, in resurrectionem vitae*; *qui autem mala egerunt, in resurrectionem iudicii*, ita et isto loco *hi in vitam aeternam, et hi in opprobrium et in confusionem aeternam*. Non autem diversum putetur quod, cum ibi positum sit *omnes qui sunt in monumentis*, hic non ait propheta omnes, sed *multi dormientium in terrae aggere*. Ponit enim aliquando scriptura pro omnibus multos. Propterea et Abrahae dictum est: *Patrem multarum gentium posui te, cui tamen alio loco: In semine, inquit, tuo benedicentur omnes gentes*. De tali autem resurrectione huic quoque ipsi prophetae Danieli paulo post dicitur: *Et tu veni et requiesce; adhuc enim dies in completionem consummationis, et requiesces et resurges in sorte tua in fine dierum*.

And many of those who sleep in the mound of earth shall arise, some to life everlasting, and some to shame and confusion everlasting. And the wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and many of the just as the stars for ever and ever."¹ This passage is very similar to that already quoted from the gospel,² at least as regards the resurrection of dead bodies. For those who are there described as being "in the graves" are here said to be "sleeping in the mound of earth," or, as others translate, "in the dust of earth"; and just as it is there said that they "shall come forth," so here they "shall arise"; and just as there "they who have done good deeds, to the resurrection of life, but they who have done evil deeds, to the resurrection of judgement," so in this passage, "some to life everlasting, and some to shame and confusion everlasting." Nor should it be supposed that there is a difference in that, whereas the gospel refers to "all who are in the graves," the prophet does not speak of all but of "many of them who sleep in the mound of earth." For Scripture sometimes uses "many" for "all." Thus it was said to Abraham: "I have made you the father of many nations,"³ but in another passage: "By your seed shall all nations be blessed."⁴ Of such a resurrection it is said a little later, also, to this prophet Daniel himself: "You, too, come and rest; for there is still a day before the completion of the consummation, and you shall rest and rise again at your allotted time at the end of days."⁵

¹ Daniel 12.1-3.² John 5.28-29; cf. 20.6 above.³ Genesis 17.5.⁴ Genesis 22.18.⁵ Daniel 12.13.

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XXIV

In psalmis Davidicis, quae de fine saeculi huius et novissimo Dei iudicio prophetentur.

MULTA de iudicio novissimo dicuntur in psalmis, sed eorum plura transeunter et strictim. Hoc tamen quod de fine huius saeculi apertissime ibi dictum est, nequaquam silentio praeteribo. *Principio terram tu fundasti, Domine, et opera manuum tuarum sunt caeli. Ipsi peribunt, tu autem permanes; et omnes sicut vestimentum veterescent, et sicut opertorium mutabis eos, et mutabuntur; tu autem idem ipse es, et anni tui non deficient.* Quid est quod Porphyrius, cum pietatem laudet Hebraeorum qua magnus et verus et ipsis numinibus terribilis ab eis colitur Deus, Christianos ob hoc arguit maximae stultitiae etiam ex oraculis deorum suorum quod istum mundum dicunt esse perituum? Ecce in litteris pietatis Hebraeorum dicitur Deo, quem confitente tanto philosopho etiam ipsa numina perhorrescunt: *Opera manuum tuarum sunt caeli, ipsi peribunt.*

Numquid quando caeli peribunt, mundus, cuius idem caeli superior pars est et tutior, non peribit? Si haec sententia Iovi displicet, cuius, ut scribit iste philosophus, velut gravioris auctoritatis oraculo in Christianorum credulitate culpatur, cur non similiter sapientiam tamquam stultitiam culpatur Hebraeorum, in quorum libris piissimis invenitur? Porro si in

¹ Psalms 102.25–27.

² Cf. 19.23 above.

XXIV

What is prophesied in the Psalms of David about the end of this world and the last judgement of God.

THERE are many references in the Psalms to the last judgement, but most of them only casual and brief. But I shall by no means pass over in silence the passages that most explicitly speak of the end of this world. "In the beginning thou didst lay the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou endurest; and they shall all grow old like a garment, and like a vesture thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail."¹ Why is it that Porphyry, though he praises the piety of the Hebrews for worshipping a God who is great and true and terrible to the divinities themselves, uses the oracles of his own gods as evidence in accusing the Christians of the height of folly because they say that this world is to perish?² Here in the sacred Scriptures of the Hebrews it is said to that God whom, as so great a philosopher admits, even the divinities themselves dread: "The heavens are the work of thy hands; they shall perish."

Now, when the heavens, the higher and more secure part of the world, shall perish, shall not the world perish? If this thought is displeasing to Jupiter, on the authority of whose oracle, as if it were higher, this philosopher attacks the credulity of the Christians, why does he not likewise attack, as folly, the wisdom of the Hebrews, in whose most sacred books it is found? Furthermore, if in this Hebrew

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illa sapientia, quae Porphyrio tam multum placet ut eam deorum quoque suorum vocibus praedicet, legitur caelos esse perituros, cur usque adeo vana est ista fallacia, ut in fide Christianorum vel inter cetera vel prae ceteris hoc detestentur, quod in ea periturus creditur mundus, quo utique nisi pereunte caeli perire non possunt? Et in litteris quidem sacris quae proprie nostrae sunt, non Hebraeis nobisque communes, id est in evangelicis et apostolicis libris legitur: *Praeterit figura huius mundi*; legitur: *Mundus transit*; legitur: *Caelum et terra transibunt*. Sed puto quod *praeterit*, *transit*, *transibunt* aliquanto mitius dicta sunt quam *peribunt*.

In epistula quoque apostoli Petri, ubi aqua inundatus qui tunc erat perisse dictus est mundus, satis clarum est et quae pars mundi a toto significata et quatenus perisse sit dicta et qui caeli repositi igni reservandi in diem iudicii et perditionis hominum impiorum; et in eo quod paulo post ait: *Veniet dies Domini ut fur, in quo caeli magno impetu transcurrent, elementa autem ardentia resolventur, et terra et quae in ipsa sunt opera exurentur*; ac deinde subiecit: *His omnibus pereuntibus quales oportet esse vos?* possunt illi caeli intellegi perituri quos dixit repositos igni reservandos, et ea elementa accipi arsura quae in hac ima mundi parte subsistunt procellosa et turbulenta,

¹ 1 Corinthians 7.31.

² 1 John 2.17.

³ Matthew 24.35.

⁴ 2 Peter 3.6, 7; cf. above, 20.18.

⁵ 2 Peter 3.10, 11.

wisdom, which pleases Porphyry so much that he proclaims it by the speech of his own gods too, the statement is found that the heavens are to perish, why does the futility of such a false faith go so far as to protest against this article of the Christian faith along with the rest or even above the rest, the article that contains the belief that the world is to perish, an event without which the heavens surely cannot perish? And in the sacred Scriptures which belong to us and are not common to the Hebrews and to us, that is, in the gospels and the apostolic books, one may read: "The form of this world is transient";¹ "The world passes away";² "Heaven and earth shall pass away."³ But I fancy that "transient" and "pass away" are milder expressions than "perish."

In the epistle of the apostle Peter, too, in which the world that then was is said to have perished through a flood of water, it is clear enough what part of the world is indicated by the whole, and how far it is said to have "perished," and what heavens were stored away, to be reserved for fire against the day of judgement and the damnation of ungodly men.⁴ And when he says, a little later: "The day of the Lord shall come as a thief, and in it the heavens shall pass away in a mighty rush, and the elements shall blaze and be dissolved, and the earth and the works therein shall be burned up," and then adds: "Seeing, then, that all these things are to perish, what manner of men ought you to be?"⁵ the heavens that are to perish may be understood to be those which he said were to be stored away and reserved for fire, and the elements that are to blaze may be taken as those that are full of storm and turbulence in this lowest

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in qua eosdem caelos dixit esse repositos, salvis illis superioribus et in sua integritate manentibus, in quorum firmamento sunt sidera constituta. Nam et illud quod scriptum est, stellas de caelo esse casuras, praeter quod potest multo probabilius et aliter intellegi, magis ostendit mansuros esse illos caelos, si tamen stellae inde casurae sunt; cum vel tropica sit locutio, quod est credibilius, vel in isto imo caelo futurum sit, utique mirabilius quam nunc fit. Unde et illa stella Vergiliana

facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit,

et Idaea se condidit silva. Hoc autem quod de psalmo commemoravi nullum caelorum videtur relinquere quod perituum esse non dixerit. Ubi enim dicitur: *Opera manuum tuarum sunt caeli, ipsi peribunt*, quam nullum eorum ab opere Dei, tam nullum eorum a perditione secernitur. Non enim dignabuntur de Petri apostoli locutione, quem vehementer oderunt, Hebraeorum defendere pietatem, deorum suorum oraculis adprobatam, ut saltem, ne totus mundus periturus esse credatur, sic a toto pars accipiatur in eo quod dictum est: *Ipsi peribunt*, cum soli caeli infimi perituri sint, quem ad modum in apostolica illa epistula a toto pars accipitur, quod diluvio perisse dictus est mundus, quamvis sola eius cum suis caelis pars ima perierit. Sed quia hoc, ut dixi, non dignabuntur ne vel apostoli Petri adprobennt sensum, vel

¹ Matthew 24.29.

² Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.694, 696.

part of the world in which he said that these same heavens were kept in store, while the higher heavens, in whose firmament the stars are set, are safe and abide in their own perfection. For even the saying of Scripture, that "the stars are to fall from heaven,"¹ apart from the fact that it may with far greater probability be understood in another sense, shows rather that those heavens are to remain, if the stars are really to fall from them. The expression, then, either is figurative, as is more credible, or refers to something that will certainly be more astounding than anything in our day and will take place in this lowest heaven, like that star in Virgil that "coursed, trailing bright light in a tail behind, and hid itself in the wood of Ida."² But what I have quoted from the psalm seems to leave none of the heavens out of the future destruction. For it says: "The heavens are the work of thy hands; they shall perish," and just as none of them is left out of the works of God, so none of them is left out of the destruction. Nor will our adversaries deign to defend the piety of the Hebrews, which has been approved by the oracles of their gods, by means of the expressions of the apostle Peter, whom they vehemently hate; at least they will not do so to the extent of believing that the whole world is not to perish on the ground that the part is taken for the whole in the saying of the Psalmist, "They shall perish," because only the lowest heavens are to perish, in the same manner that the apostle in his epistle takes the part for the whole, in saying that the world perished in a flood, whereas only the lowest part of it, together with its special part of the heavens, perished. But since, as I have said, they will not deign to approve the view of the apostle

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tantum concedant conflagrationi novissimae quantum dicimus valuisse diluvium, qui nullis aquis nullis flammis totum genus humanum perire posse contendunt, restat ut dicant quod propterea dii eorum Hebraeam sapientiam laudaverint quia istum psalmum non legerant.

In psalmo etiam quadragensimo nono de iudicio Dei novissimo intellegitur dictum: *Deus manifestus veniet, Deus noster, et non silebit. Ignis in conspectu eius ardebit, et in circuitu eius tempestas valida. Advocabit caelum sursum et terram discernere populum suum. Congregate illi iustos eius, qui disponunt testamentum eius super sacrificia.* Hoc nos de Domino Iesu Christo intellegimus, quem speramus de caelo esse venturum ad vivos et mortuos iudicandos. Manifestus enim veniet inter iustos et iniustos iudicaturus iuste, qui prius venit occultus ab iniustis iudicandus iniuste. Ipse, inquam, *manifestus veniet et non silebit*, id est, in voce iudicis evidens apparebit qui prius cum venisset occultus ante iudicem siluit, quando *sicut ovis ad immolandum ductus est et sicut agnus coram ton-dente fuit sine voce*, quem ad modum de illo per Esaiam legimus prophetatum et in evangelio videmus impletum. De igne vero et tempestate, cum in Esariae prophetia tale aliquid tractarem, quo modo essent haec intellegenda, iam diximus. Quod vero dictum est: *Advocabit caelum sursum*, quoniam sancti

¹ Augustine writes "forty-ninth," but this psalm is 50 in Protestant versions.

² Psalms 50.3-5. The translation "set above" is justified by the last part of this chapter; the psalmist meant, however, "make a covenant over sacrifices" (cf. Exodus 24.5 ff.).

³ Cf. Isaiah 53.7.

Peter or to attribute to the final conflagration so much scope as we attribute to the flood, inasmuch as they still maintain that no waters or flames can destroy the whole human race, it remains for them to admit that the reason why their gods praised the wisdom of the Hebrews is that they had not read that psalm.

In the fiftieth¹ psalm, too, the reference to the last judgement of God is to be understood in the words: "God shall come manifestly, our God, and shall not keep silence; fire shall burn in his sight, and about him there shall be a mighty tempest. He shall summon the heaven above, and the earth, to judge between his people. Gather together before him his righteous ones, who set his covenant above sacrifices."² This we understand of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose coming from heaven, to judge the living and the dead, we expect. For he shall come manifestly, to judge justly the just and the unjust, who first came secretly, to be judged unjustly by the unjust. He, I say, "shall come manifestly, and shall not keep silence"; that is, he shall make clear his presence by the voice of his judgement, who, when he first came secretly kept silence before his judge, when he "was brought like a sheep for the slaughter and like a lamb before the shearer was voiceless," as we read that it was prophesied of him by Isaiah,³ and as we see the prophecy fulfilled in the gospel.⁴ As to the fire and the tempest, we have already stated how they are to be understood, in treating a similar matter in the prophecy of Isaiah.⁵ And as to the words, "He shall summon the heaven above," inasmuch as the saints and the righteous

¹ Matthew 26.63.

⁵ Cf. 20.21 above.

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et iusti recte caelum appellantur, nimirum hoc est quod ait apostolus: *Simul cum illis rapiemur in nubibus in obviam Christo in aera*. Nam secundum litterae superficiem, quo modo advocatur caelum sursum, quasi possit esse nisi sursum? Quod autem adiunctum est: *Et terram discernere populum suum*, si tantummodo subaudiatur *advocabit*, id est *advocabit et terram*, nec subaudiatur *sursum*, hunc videtur habere sensum secundum rectam fidem, ut caelum intellegatur in eis qui cum illo iudicaturi sunt, et terra in eis qui iudicandi sunt, ut *advocabit caelum sursum* non hic intellegamus "rapiet in aera," sed "in iudiciarias eriget sedes." Potest et illud intellegi *advocabit caelum sursum* "advocabit angelos in supernis et excelsis locis, cum quibus descendat ad faciendum iudicium"; *advocabit et terram*, id est homines in terra utique iudicandos. Si autem utrumque subaudiendum est, cum dicitur *et terram*, id est *et advocabit et sursum*, ut iste sit sensus, "Advocabit caelum sursum, et terram advocabit sursum," nihil melius intellegi existimo quam omnes qui rapiuntur in obviam Christo in aera, sed caelum dictum propter animas, terram propter corpora.

Discernere porro *populum suum*, quid est nisi per iudicium separare bonos a malis, tamquam oves ab haedis? Deinde conversio sermonis ad angelos facta est: *Congregate illi iustos eius*; profecto enim per

¹ 1 Thessalonians 4.17.

are rightly called "heaven," doubtless this is what the Apostle means by saying: "We shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet Christ in the air." ¹ For, to press the literal meaning, why should heaven be summoned "above," as if it could be anywhere else than above? And what follows: "And the earth, to judge between his people," if taken only with "shall summon," that is, he "shall summon the earth also," and not also with "above," seems to make good sense in accordance with sound doctrine, namely that "heaven" is to be understood of those who are to judge with him, and "earth" of those who are to be judged; so that by "shall summon the heaven above" we are not to understand "shall carry up into the air" but "shall lift up to the seats of judgement." It is possible also to understand "he shall summon the heaven above" as meaning "he shall summon the angels in the high and lofty places, with whom he shall descend to do judgement"; and "he shall summon also the earth" will mean in that case "he shall summon the men on earth to be judged." But if we must take "and the earth" both with "he shall summon" and with "above," so as to give the meaning as "he shall summon the heaven above, and he shall summon the earth above," then I think this is best understood of all who are to be caught up to meet Christ in the air, but that "heaven" refers to their souls, and "earth" to their bodies.

Then as to "judge between his people," what can that mean if not to separate by judgement the good from the wicked, as the sheep from the goats? Next he turns to address the angels: "Gather together before him his righteous ones," for surely a matter

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angelicum ministerium res tanta peragenda est. Si autem quaerimus quos iustos ei congregaturi sint angeli: *Qui disponunt, inquit, testamentum eius super sacrificia.* Haec est omnis vita iustorum: disponere testamentum Dei super sacrificia. Aut enim opera misericordiae sunt *super sacrificia*, id est sacrificiis praeponenda, iuxta sententiam Dei dicentis: *Misericordiam volo quam sacrificium*; aut si *super sacrificia* “ in sacrificiis ” intellegitur dictum, quo modo super terram fieri dicitur quod fit utique in terra, profecto ipsa opera misericordiae sunt sacrificia quibus placeatur Deo, sicut in libro huius operis decimo me disse-ruisse reminiscor, in quibus operibus disponunt iusti testamentum Dei quia propter promissiones quae novo eius testamento continentur haec faciunt. Unde congregatis sibi iustis suis et ad suam dexteram constitutis novissimo utique iudicio dicturus est Christus: *Venite, benedicti patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi. Esurivi enim, et dedistis mihi manducare, et cetera quae ibi proferuntur de bonorum operibus bonis et eorum praemiis sempiternis per ultimam sententiam iudicantis.*

of such importance must be accomplished through the service of angels. Now if we ask who are the "righteous ones" whom the angels are to gather, the answer is, "they who set his covenant above sacrifices." This is the whole life of the righteous: to set the covenant of God above sacrifices. For either it is the works of mercy that are "above sacrifices," that is, are preferable to sacrifices, in accordance with the declaration of God, who says: "I desire mercy more than sacrifice";¹ or else, if "above sacrifices" means "in sacrifices," just as what is certainly done "on earth" may be said to be done "above the earth," then surely these very works of mercy are the sacrifices that are pleasing to God, as I remember that I have maintained in the tenth book of this work;² and in these works the righteous "set up God's covenant" because they do them for the sake of the promises that are contained in his new covenant. Therefore, when his righteous ones have been gathered and placed on his right hand in the last judgement, Christ shall certainly say: "Come, blessed of my Father, take possession of the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat,"³ and so forth, mentioning the good works of the good and their everlasting rewards to be given by the last sentence of the Judge.

¹ Hosea 6.6.

² Cf. 10.6 above.

³ Matthew 25.34.

XXV

De prophetia Malachielis, qua Dei iudicium ultimum declaratur et quorundam dicitur per purificatorias poenas facienda mundatio.

PROPHETA Malachiel sive Malachi, qui et angelus dictus est, qui etiam Esdras sacerdos, cuius alia in canonem scripta recepta sunt, ab aliquibus creditur (nam de illo hanc esse Hebraeorum opinionem dicit Hieronymus), iudicium novissimum prophetat dicens: *Ecce venit, dicit Dominus omnipotens; et quis sustinebit diem introitus eius, aut quis ferre poterit ut aspiciat eum? Quia ipse ingreditur quasi ignis conflatorii et quasi herba lavantium; et sedebit conflans et mundans sicut argentum et sicut aurum, et mundabit filios Levi, et fundet eos sicut aurum et argentum; et erunt Domino offerentes hostias in iustitia, et placebit Domino sacrificium Iudae et Hierusalem, sicut diebus pristinis et sicut annis prioribus. Et accedam ad vos in iudicio, et ero testis velox super maleficos et super adulteros et super eos qui iurant in nomine meo mendaciter, et qui fraudant mercedem mercennarios et opprimunt per potentiam viduas et percutiunt pupillos et pervertunt iudicium advenae, et qui non timent me, dicit Dominus omnipotens; quoniam ego Dominus Deus vester, et non mutor.*

Ex his quae dicta sunt videtur evidentius apparere in illo iudicio quasdam quorundam purgatorias poenas futuras. Ubi enim dicitur: *Quis sustinebit diem introitus eius, aut quis ferre poterit, ut aspiciat eum?*

¹ Jerome, *Proem. ad Mal.*

² Malachi 3.1-6.

XXV

The prophecy of Malachi, declaring the last judgement and the cleansing which some persons are to undergo by means of purifying punishments.

THE prophet Malachiel or Malachi, who is also called "Angel," and is by some (as Jerome ¹ says the Hebrews think) believed to be Ezra the priest, others of whose writings have been received into the canon, prophesies the last judgement, saying: "Behold, he comes, says the Lord almighty, and who shall withstand the day of his coming, or who can endure to look upon him? For he comes as a refiner's fire and as a fuller's herb; and he shall sit, refining and purifying as it were silver and gold, and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and shall pour them forth like gold and silver. And they shall offer to the Lord sacrifices in righteousness, and the sacrifice of Judah and Jerusalem shall be pleasing to the Lord, as in the days of old, and as in former years. And I will come to you in judgement, and I will be a swift witness against sorcerers and against adulterers and against those who swear falsely by my name, and against those who cheat hirelings of their wages and those who by their power oppress widows and afflict orphans and pervert judgement against the stranger, and who fear me not, says the Lord almighty; for I am the Lord your God, and I change not." ²

From these words it appears quite clearly that in that judgement there are to be some who shall suffer purgatorial punishments; for what else is the meaning of the words: "Who shall withstand the day of his coming, or who can endure to look upon him?"

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Quia ipse ingreditur quasi ignis conflatorii et quasi herba lavantium; et sedebit conflans et mundans sicut argentum et sicut aurum et mundabit filios Levi et fundet eos sicut aurum et argentum: quid aliud intellegendum est? Dicit tale aliquid et Esaias: Lavabit Dominus sordes filiorum et filiarum Sion, et sanguinem emundabit de medio eorum spiritu iudicii et spiritu combustionis. Nisi forte sic eos dicendum est emundari a sordibus et eliquari quodam modo, cum ab eis mali per poenale iudicium separantur, ut illorum segregatio atque damnatio purgatio sit istorum, quia sine talium de cetero permixtione victuri sunt. Sed cum dicit: Et emundabit filios Levi et fundet eos sicut aurum et argentum; et erunt Domino offerentes hostias in iustitia, et placebit Domino sacrificium Iudae et Hierusalem, utique ostendit eos ipsos qui emundabuntur deinceps in sacrificiis iustitiae Domino esse placituros, ac per hoc ipsi a sua iniustitia mundabuntur in qua Domino displicebant. Hostiae porro in plena perfectaue iustitia, cum mundati fuerint, ipsi erunt. Quid enim acceptius Deo tales offerunt quam se ipsos? Verum ista quaestio de purgatoriis poenis, ut diligentius pertractetur, in tempus aliud differenda est.

Filios autem Levi et Iudam et Hierusalem ipsam Dei ecclesiam debemus accipere, non ex Hebraeis

¹ Isaiah 4.4.

For he comes as a refiner's fire and as a fuller's herb; and he shall sit, refining and purifying as it were silver and gold, and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and shall pour them forth like gold and silver"? Isaiah, too, says something of the kind: "The Lord shall wash the uncleanness of the sons and daughters of Zion, and shall cleanse the blood from their midst by the breath of judgement and by the breath of burning." ¹ Unless perhaps we should say that they are cleansed of their uncleanness and somehow purged only in the sense that the wicked are separated from them by that penal judgement, so that the separation and condemnation of the wicked is the cleansing of the rest, because henceforth they are to live without any contamination from such men. But when he says: "And he shall purify the sons of Levi, and shall pour them forth like gold and silver, and they shall offer to the Lord sacrifices in righteousness, and the sacrifice of Judah and Jerusalem shall be pleasing to the Lord," he certainly shows that those who shall be cleansed will then please the Lord with sacrifices of righteousness, and that thus they will themselves be cleansed of their own unrighteousness whereby they were hitherto displeasing to God. Now they themselves, when they have been cleansed, will be sacrificial offerings of a complete and perfect righteousness; for what offering more acceptable to God do such persons make than themselves? But the more careful consideration of the question of purgatorial punishments must be postponed to another time.

By the "sons of Levi" and "Judah" and "Jerusalem" we ought to understand the church of God itself, gathered together not only from the Hebrews

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tantum sed ex aliis etiam gentibus congregatam; nec talem qualis nunc est, ubi, *si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est*, sed qualis tunc erit, velut area per ventilationem, ita per iudicium purgata novissimum, eis quoque igne mundatis quibus talis mundatio necessaria est, ita ut nullus omnino sit qui offerat sacrificium pro peccatis suis. Omnes enim qui sic offerunt profecto in peccatis sunt, pro quibus dimittendis offerunt ut, cum obtulerint acceptumque Deo fuerit, tunc dimittantur.

XXVI

*De sacrificiis quae sancti offerent Deo sic placitura
quo modo in diebus pristinis et annis prioribus
placuerunt.*

VOLENS autem Deus ostendere civitatem suam tunc in ista consuetudine non futuram dixit filios Levi oblaturus hostias in iustitia; non ergo in peccato ac per hoc non pro peccato. Unde intellegi potest in eo quod secutus adiunxit atque ait: *Et placebit Domino sacrificium Iudae et Hierusalem, sicut diebus pristinis et sicut annis prioribus*, frustra sibi Iudaeos secundum legem veteris testamenti sacrificiorum suorum praeterita tempora polliceri. Non enim tunc in iustitia sed in peccatis hostias offerebant, quando pro peccatis praecipue ac primitus offerebant, usque adeo ut

¹ 1 John 1.8.

² Malachi 3.4.

but from other nations as well; and not such as it now is, wherein "if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us,"¹ but such as it shall then be, purged by the last judgement, as a threshing-floor by the wind of winnowing; and those who need such cleansing will have been so cleansed by fire that there will be no one at all who need offer sacrifice for his sins. For all who do so offer sacrifice are surely in their sins, for the remission of which they make their offerings, to the end that when God has accepted their offerings their sins may then be remitted.

XXVI

About the sacrifices to be offered to God by the saints, which will be pleasing to him as in the days of old and in former years.

Now it was because God wished to show that his city will not then continue in that custom that he said that the sons of Levi would offer sacrifices in righteousness; not, therefore, in sin, and accordingly not for sin. So we may understand that the words that follow: "And the sacrifice of Judah and Jerusalem shall be pleasing to the Lord, as in the days of old, and as in former years,"² are vainly invoked by the Jews when they promise themselves a return of the past times of sacrifices according to the law of the old covenant. For then it was not in righteousness but in sin that they offered sacrifices, since it was chiefly and in the first instance for their sins that they offered them, so much so that the priest himself, whom we must certainly suppose to have been more

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sacerdos ipse, quem debemus utique credere ceteris fuisse iustiozem, secundum Dei mandatum soleret pro suis primum offerre peccatis, deinde pro populi. Quapropter exponere nos oportet quo modo sit accipiendum quod dictum est: *Sicut diebus pristinis et sicut annis prioribus*. Fortassis enim tempus illud commemorat quo primi homines in paradiso fuerunt. Tunc enim puri atque integri ab omni sorde ac labe peccati se ipsos Deo mundissimas hostias offerebant; ceterum ex quo commissae praevaricationis causa inde dimissi sunt atque humana in eis natura damnata est, excepto uno Mediatore et post lavacrum regenerationis quibusque adhuc parvulis *nemo mundus a sorde*, sicut scriptum est, *nec infans cuius est unius diei vita super terram*.

Quod si respondetur etiam eos merito dici posse offerre hostias in iustitia qui offerunt in fide (*iustus enim ex fide vivit*; quamvis se ipsum seducat si dixerit se non habere peccatum, et ideo non dicat quia ex fide vivit), numquid dicturus est quispiam hoc fidei tempus illi fini esse coaequandum quando igne iudicii novissimi mundabuntur qui offerant hostias in iustitia? Ac per hoc quoniam post talem mundationem nullum peccatum iustos habituros esse credendum est, profecto illud tempus, quantum adtinet ad non habere peccatum, nulli tempori comparandum est, nisi quando primi homines in paradiso ante praevaricationem innocentissima felicitate vixerunt. Recte itaque intellegitur hoc significatum esse, cum dictum est: *Sicut diebus pristinis et sicut annis prioribus*.

Nam et per Esaiam postea quam caelum novum et

¹ Cf. Job 14.4.

² Romans 1.17.

³ Cf. 1 John 1.8.

righteous than the rest, was accustomed to make offering, according to God's commandment, first for his own sins, and then for those of the people. It is therefore necessary for us to explain how we should understand the words: "As in the days of old, and as in former years." For perhaps this is a reference to the time when the first human beings were in paradise. For then, pure and untainted by any uncleanness or taint of sin, they offered themselves to God as the purest sacrifices; but after they were banished thence because of their transgression and the human race was condemned in them, no one, except the one Mediator and any still tiny children who have received the baptism of rebirth, "no one," as it is written, "is free from uncleanness, not even the infant who has lived but a day upon the earth." ¹

But if it be replied that those may properly be said to offer sacrifices in righteousness who offer them in faith, since "the righteous lives by faith" ² (though he deceives himself if he says that he has no sin,³ and therefore he does not say so, because he lives by faith), will any one say that this time of faith should be set on the same level with that consummation when they who offer sacrifices in righteousness are to be cleansed by the fire of the last judgement? And so, since we must believe that after such a cleansing the righteous will have no sin, surely that time, so far as the absence of sin is concerned, should be compared with no other time save that when the first human beings lived in paradise, before their transgression, in utter innocence and happiness. This, then, is the proper interpretation of the words "as in the days of old, and as in former years."

Isaiah, too, after the promise of a new heaven and

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terra nova promissa est, inter cetera quae ibi de sanctorum beatitudine per allegorias et aenigmata exequitur, quibus expositionem congruam reddere nos prohibuit vitandae longitudinis cura: *Secundum dies, inquit, ligni vitae erunt dies populi mei.* Quis autem sacras litteras adtigit et ignorat ubi Deus plantaverit lignum vitae, a cuius cibo separatis illis hominibus, quando eos sua de paradiso ciecit iniquitas, eidem ligno circumposita est ignea terribilisque custodia?

Quod si quisquam illos dies ligni vitae quos commemoravit propheta Esaias istos qui nunc aguntur ecclesiae Christi dies esse contendit ipsumque Christum lignum vitae propheticè dictum, quia ipse est sapientia Dei, de qua Salomon ait: *Lignum vitae est omnibus amplectentibus eam;* nec annos egisse aliquos in paradiso illos primos homines, unde tam cito eiecti sunt ut nullum ibi gignerent filium, et ideo non posse illud tempus intellegi in eo quod dictum est: *Sicut diebus pristinis et sicut annis prioribus,* istam praetereo quaestionem, ne cogar, quod prolixum est, cuncta discutere, ut aliquid horum veritas manifestata confirmet.

Video quippe alterum sensum, ne dies pristinos et annos priores carnalium sacrificiorum nobis pro magno munere per prophetam promissos fuisse credamus. Hostiae namque illae veteris legis in quibusque pecoribus immacolatae ac sine ullo prorsus vitio iuebantur offerri, et significabant homines sanctos, qualis solus inventus est Christus, sine ullo omnino

¹ Isaiah 65.22.

² Proverbs 3.18.

a new earth, among other allegorical and enigmatic sayings about the blessedness of the saints, from the adequate explanation of which I am held back by my desire to avoid prolixity, says: "As the days of the tree of life shall be the days of my people."¹ Now who is there who has any acquaintance with sacred Scripture and yet does not know where God planted the tree of life, from whose fruit those first human beings were cut off when their own iniquity cast them out of paradise, and about which was placed a fiery and terrible guard?

But if any one maintains that those "days of the tree of life," mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, are the present days of the church of Christ, and that Christ himself is prophetically called "the tree of life," because he is himself the wisdom of God, of which Solomon says: "She is a tree of life to them that embrace her";² and if one maintains that those first human beings did not spend "years" in the paradise from which they were so soon cast forth that they brought forth no child there, and that therefore that time cannot be meant in the words "as in the days of old, and as in former years," I pass over that question, lest I become involved in a prolix discussion of every detail. My object is to support certain points only, by the obvious truth of my argument.

For I perceive another meaning, which should prevent us from supposing that it was the return to "days of old and former years" of carnal sacrifices that was promised us by the prophet as a great boon. For the sacrificial victims of the old law were required to be animals of certain kinds, immaculate and without any blemish at all, and symbolized holy men without any sin whatsoever, such as only Christ has ever been.

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peccato. Proinde quia post iudicium, cum fuerint etiam igne mundati qui eius modi mundatione sunt digni, in omnibus sanctis nullum invenietur omnino peccatum, atque ita se ipsos offerent in iustitia ut tales hostiae omni modo immacolatae ac sine ullo vitio sint futurae, erunt profecto sicut pristinis diebus et sicut annis prioribus, quando in umbra huius rei futurae mundissimae offerebantur hostiae. Haec erit namque munditia tunc in immortali carne ac mente sanctorum quae figurabatur in illarum corporibus hostiarum.

Deinde propter eos qui non mundatione sed damnatione sunt digni: *Et accedam, inquit, ad vos in iudicium, et ero testis velox super maleficos et super adulteros, et cetera, quibus damnabilibus enumeratis criminibus addidit: Quoniam ego Dominus Deus vester, et non mutor, tamquam diceret: "Cum vos mutaverit et in deterius culpa vestra et in melius gratia mea, ego non mutor."* Testem vero se dicit futurum, quia in iudicio suo non indiget testibus, eumque velocem, sive quia repente venturus est eritque iudicium ipso inopinato eius adventu celerrimum, quod tardissimum videbatur, sive quia ipsas convincet sine ulla sermonis prolixitate conscientias. *In cogitationibus enim, sicut scriptum est, impii interrogatio erit; et apostolus: Cogitationibus, inquit, accusantibus vel etiam excusantibus in die qua iudicabit Deus occulta hominum, secundum evangelium meum per Iesum Chris-*

¹ Malachi 3.5, 6.

² Wisdom 1.9.

³ Romans 2.15, 16.

Since, therefore, after the judgement, those who are worthy of such cleansing, are to be cleansed even by fire, there shall be found among all the saints no sin whatsoever; and in this state they are to offer themselves in righteousness, so that such sacrificial victims will be immaculate and without any blemish, surely they shall be "as in the days of old, and as in former years," when the purest sacrificial victims were offered as a foreshadowing of this consummation. For then there shall be in the immortal mind and flesh of the saints the very purity that was symbolized in the bodies of those victims.

Then, as to those who are worthy not of cleansing but of condemnation, Malachi says: "And I will come to you in judgement, and I will be a swift witness against sorcerers and against adulterers"; and, after enumerating other damnable crimes, he adds: "For I am the Lord your God, and I change not,"¹ as if he were to say, "Although your fault has changed you, and for the worse, and though my grace has changed you, and for the better, I change not." And he says that he himself shall be a "witness," because in giving judgement he needs no witnesses; and that he shall be "swift," whether because he is to come suddenly, and his judgement, which seemed very slow in coming, will be most speedy because of the very unexpectedness of his coming, or because he is to carry conviction to men's own consciences without any long speech of accusation. "For in the thoughts of the wicked," as it is written, "shall enquiry be made";² and the Apostle says: "Their thoughts accusing them, or else excusing, on the day when God shall judge the hidden things of men, according to my gospel in Jesus Christ."³ In

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tum. Etiam sic ergo Dominus futurus testis intelligendus est velox, cum sine mora revocaturus est in memoriam unde convincat puniatque conscientiam.

XXVII

De separatione bonorum et malorum per quam novissimi iudicii discretio declaratur.

ILLUD etiam, quod aliud agens in octavo decimo libro ex isto propheta posui, ad iudicium novissimum pertinet, ubi ait: *Erunt mihi, dicit Dominus omnipotens, in die qua ego facio in acquisitionem, et eligam eos sicut eligit homo filium suum qui servit ei; et convertar et videbitis quid sit inter iustum et iniquum, et inter servientem Deo et eum qui non servit. Quia ecce dies venit ardens sicut clibanus et comburet eos, et erunt omnes alienigenae et universi qui faciunt iniquitatem stipula, et succendet eos dies veniens, dicit Dominus omnipotens, et non relinquetur in eis radix neque ramus. Et orietur vobis qui timetis nomen meum sol iustitiae, et sanitas in pinnis eius, et egrediemini et salietis sicut vituli de vinculis relaxati; et conculcabit iniquos, et erunt cinis sub pedibus vestris, dicit Dominus omnipotens.* Haec distantia praemiorum atque poenarum iustos dirimens ab iniustis, quae sub isto sole in huius vitae vanitate non

¹ Cf. 18.35 above.

² "I shall turn"; so Augustine here, whereas the Hebrew, followed by Septuagint and Vulgate, has "You shall turn," as also Augustine in 18.35 above.

³ Malachi 3.17-4.3.

this way too we must understand that the Lord will be a "swift witness," since he will without delay call back to memory the evidence to carry conviction and punish the conscience.

XXVII

The separation of the good and the bad that makes clear the discrimination of the last judgement.

ANOTHER passage from this prophet, which I have quoted in the eighteenth book ¹ while dealing with another matter, also refers to the last judgement: "They shall be mine, says the Lord almighty, on the day in which I make up my gains, and I will choose them as a man chooses his son who serves him; and I shall turn myself about,² and you shall see what a difference there is between the righteous and the unrighteous, and between him who serves God and him who serves him not. For behold, the day comes, burning like an oven, and shall consume them, and all strangers and all who do wickedness shall become stubble, and the day that comes shall set them on fire, says the Lord almighty, and there shall not be left among them a root or a branch. And there shall arise for you who fear my name the sun of righteousness, and health shall be in its wings; and you shall go forth and leap like calves let loose from bonds, and you shall tread down the wicked, and they shall be ashes under your feet, says the Lord almighty."³ When this wide gap between rewards and punishments, that cuts off the righteous from the unrighteous, and which we do not observe beneath this sun amid the vanity of this life, shall become glaring

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cernitur, quando sub illo sole iustitiae in illius vitae manifestatione clarebit, tunc profecto erit iudicium quale numquam fuit.

XXVIII

De lege Moysi spiritaliter intellegenda, ne in damnabilia murmura carnalis sensus incurrat.

Quod vero subiungit idem propheta: *Mementote legis Moysi servi mei, quam mandavi ei in Choreb ad omnem Israel*, praecepta et iudicia oportune commemorat post declaratum futurum tam magnum inter observatores legis contemptoresque discrimen; simul etiam ut discant legem spiritaliter intellegere et inveniant in ea Christum, per quem iudicem facienda est inter bonos et malos ipsa discretio. Non enim frustra idem Dominus ait Iudaeis: *Si crederetis Moysi, crederetis et mihi; de me enim ille scripsit*. Carnaliter quippe accipiendo legem et eius promissa terrena rerum caelestium figuras esse nescientes in illa murmura conruerunt, ut dicere auderent: *Vanus est qui servit Deo, et quid amplius quia custodivimus mandata eius et quia ambulavimus supplices ante faciem Domini omnipotentis? Et nunc nos beatos dicimus alienos, et aedificantur omnes qui faciunt iniquitatem*.

Quibus eorum verbis quodam modo propheta compulsus est novissimum praenuntiare iudicium, ubi

¹ Malachi 4.4.

² John 5.46.

³ Malachi 3.14, 15.

beneath that sun of righteousness in the revelation of that life, then surely shall there be such a judgement as there has never been.

XXVIII

The law of Moses, which must be spiritually understood, lest there be a recourse to the damnable complaints of a carnal interpretation.

WHAT the same prophet adds next: "You shall remember the law of my servant Moses, which I delivered to him in Horeb for all Israel,"¹ opportunely calls to mind precepts and judgements, after proclaiming that a great distinction will be made between those who observe the law and those who despise it; his purpose is also that they shall learn to understand the law in its spiritual sense, and shall find in it Christ, who is by his judgement to make the distinction between those who are good and those who are bad. For not in vain does the same Lord say to the Jews: "If you believed in Moses, you would believe also in me: for it was of me that he wrote."² Now it was by taking the law in a carnal sense and not knowing that its earthly promises are figures of heavenly things that they were stampeded into their complaints, daring to say, "Vain is he who serves God, and what avails it that we have kept his commandments and that we have walked as suppliants before the face of the Lord almighty? And now we call blessed the strangers, and all those who do unrighteousness are built up."³

It was because of these words of theirs that the prophet was in a way compelled to announce the last

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mali nec saltem falso sint beati sed apertissime miserimi appareant, et boni nulla temporali saltem miseria laborent sed clara ac sempiterna beatitudine perfuantur. Dixerat quippe istorum talia quaedam verba etiam superius dicentium: *Omnis qui facit malum bonus est in conspectu Domini, et tales ei placent.* Ad haec, inquam, contra Deum murmura pervenerunt legem Moysi accipiendo carnaliter. Unde et ille in psalmo septuagensimo secundo paene commotos dicit fuisse pedes suos et effusos gressus suos, utique in lapsum, quia zelavit in peccatoribus, pacem peccatorum intuens, ita ut inter cetera diceret: *Quomodo scivit Deus, et si est scientia in Altissimo?* diceret etiam: *Numquid vano iustificavi cor meum et lavi in innocentibus manus meas?* Ut autem solveret hanc difficillimam quaestionem, quae fit cum videntur boni esse miseri et felices mali: *Hoc, inquit, labor est ante me, donec introeam in sanctuarium Dei et intellegam in novissima.* Iudicio quippe novissimo non sic erit; sed in aperta iniquorum miseria et aperta felicitate iustorum longe quam nunc est aliud apparebit.

judgement, in which the wicked shall not enjoy bliss even though it be illusory, but shall be exhibited naked as utterly wretched, while the good shall not suffer the hardships of wretchedness, though they are but temporal, but shall enjoy a conspicuous and everlasting blessedness. He had in fact also quoted previously some similar complaints of theirs: "Every man who does evil is good in the sight of the Lord, and such men are pleasing to him."¹ To these complaints against God, I say, they were brought by taking the law of Moses in a carnal sense. And so, too, the writer of the seventy-third² psalm says that his feet were almost shaken and his steps had staggered,—that is, so as to slip,—because he was envious of sinners, beholding them at peace; so that he said, among other things, "How can God have known, and is there knowledge in the Most High?" and again, "Have I in vain got me an honest mind, and washed my hands among the guiltless?" But in his attempt to solve this most difficult question, which arises when the good seem to be wretched and the wicked happy, he says: "My struggle is too much for me, until I enter the sanctuary of God and understand the last things."³ For in the last judgement these things shall not be so, but in the manifest wretchedness of the wicked and the manifest happiness of the righteous something very different from the present state of things will be seen.

¹ Malachi 2.17.

² Augustine writes "seventy-second"; but this psalm is 73 in Protestant versions.

³ Psalms 73.2, 3, 11, 13, 16, 17.

XXIX

De adventu Heliae ante iudicium, cuius praedicatione scripturarum secreta reserante Iudaei convertentur ad Christum.

CUM autem admonuisset ut meminissent legis Moysi (quoniam praevidebat eos multo adhuc tempore non eam spiritaliter, sicut oportuerat, accepturos), continuo subiecit: *Et ecce ego mittam vobis Helian Thesbiten, antequam veniat dies Domini magnus et inlustris, qui convertet cor patris ad filium et cor hominis ad proximum suum, ne forte veniens percutiam terram penitus.* Per hunc Heliam magnum mirabilemque prophetam exposita sibi lege ultimo tempore ante iudicium Iudaeos in Christum verum, id est in Christum nostrum, esse credituros, celeberrimum est in sermonibus cordibusque fidelium. Ipse quippe ante adventum iudicis Salvatoris non inmerito speratur esse venturus qui etiam nunc vivere non inmerito creditur. Curru namque igneo raptus est de rebus humanis, quod evidentissime sancta scriptura testatur. Cum venerit ergo, exponendo legem spiritaliter, quam nunc Iudaei carnaliter sapiunt, *convertet cor patris ad filium*, id est cor patrum ad filios; singularem quippe pro numero plurali interpretes septuaginta posuerunt; et est sensus ut etiam filii sic intellegant legem, id est Iudaei, quem ad modum eam patres

¹ Malachi 4.5, 6.

² 2 Kings 2.11.

XXIX

The coming of Elijah before the judgement, by whose preaching and revelation of the secrets of the Scriptures the Jews are to be converted to Christ.

AFTER admonishing them to remember the law of Moses (for he foresaw that for a long time to come they would not take it, as they should have, in a spiritual sense), the prophet continued: "And behold, I will send you Elijah the Tishbite, before the great and shining day of the Lord shall come, and he shall turn the heart of the father toward the son and the heart of a man toward his neighbour, lest perchance in my coming I utterly shake the earth."¹ That in the last days before the judgement, by means of this great and wonderful prophet Elijah and his explanation to them of the law, the Jews are to believe in the true Christ, that is, in our Christ, is a frequent topic on the lips and in the thought of believers. For not without reason is it expected that he will come before the Saviour when He comes as judge, since there is reason to believe that he is living even now; for, as holy Scripture most clearly bears witness, he was carried up from the world of men in a fiery chariot.² When, then, he shall come, by explaining in a spiritual sense the law which the Jews now understand in a carnal sense, "he shall turn the heart of the father toward his son," that is, the hearts of the fathers toward their children (for the Septuagint translators have used the singular for the plural number). And the meaning is that the sons, that is, the Jews, shall understand the law as their

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intellexerunt, id est prophetae, in quibus erat et ipse Moyses; sic enim cor patrum convertetur ad filios, cum intelligentia patrum perducetur ad intelligentiam filiorum; *et cor filiorum ad patres eorum*, dum in id quod senserunt illi consentiunt et isti; ubi Septuaginta dixerunt: *Et cor hominis ad proximum suum*. Sunt enim inter se valde proximi patres et filii.

Quamquam in verbis septuaginta interpretum, qui propheticè interpretati sunt, potest alius sensus idemque lectior inveniri, ut intellegatur Helias cor Dei Patris conversurus ad Filium; non utique agendo ut Pater diligat Filium, sed docendo quod Pater diligat Filium; ut et Iudaei, quem prius oderant, diligant eundem, qui noster est, Christum. Iudaeis enim nunc aversum cor habet Deus a Christo nostro, quia hoc putant. Eis ergo tunc cor eius convertetur ad Filium, cum ipsi converso corde didicerint dilectionem Patris in Filium. Quod vero sequitur: *Et cor hominis ad proximum suum*, id est, convertet Helias et cor hominis ad proximum suum, quid melius intellegitur quam cor hominis ad hominem Christum? Cum enim sit in forma Dei Deus noster, formam servi accipiens esse dignatus est etiam proximus noster. Hoc ergo faciet Helias. *Ne forte, inquit, veniam et percutiam terram penitus*. Terra sunt enim qui terrena sapiunt, sicut Iudaei carnales usque nunc; ex quo

¹ Cf. 18.43 above.

fathers, that is, the prophets including Moses himself, understood it. For the hearts of the fathers shall be turned toward their children when the understanding of the fathers is brought to the understanding of the children; and "the hearts of the children shall be turned toward their fathers" (or, as the Septuagint has it, "and the heart of a man toward his neighbour," since fathers and sons are the closest of neighbours) when children agree with the views of their fathers.

Yet another and a choicer meaning may be found in the words of the Septuagint translators, who translated in a prophetic sense: ¹ namely, that Elijah is to turn the heart of God the Father toward the Son, not of course by causing the Father to love the Son, but by teaching that the Father loves the Son, so that the Jews also, who first hated, shall love this same Son, who is our Christ. For now in the eyes of the Jews God has his heart turned away from Christ, since that is their view of the matter; so then, in their eyes his heart will be turned toward the Son when they themselves, with heart turned, learn the love of the Father for the Son. As for the following words, "and the heart of a man toward his neighbour" (that is, Elijah shall also turn the heart of a man toward his neighbour), how can they be better understood than of the heart of a man turning toward the man Christ? For although in the form of God he is our God, he deigned in taking the form of a servant to become also our neighbour. This, then, is what Elijah is to do, "lest perchance in my coming," he says, "I utterly shake the earth." For by "the earth" he means those whose wisdom is earthly, even as the Jews are carnal to this day; and

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vitio contra Deum murmura illa venerunt: *Quia mali ei placent, et: Vanus est qui servit Deo.*

XXX

Quod in libris veteris testamenti, cum Deus legitur iudicaturus, non evidenter Christi persona monstretur, sed ex quibusdam testimoniis, ubi Dominus Deus loquitur, appareat non dubie quod ipse sit Christus.

MULTA alia sunt scripturarum testimonia divinarum de novissimo iudicio Dei, quae si omnia colligam nimis longum erit. Satis ergo sit quod et novis et veteribus litteris sacris hoc praenuntiatum esse probavimus. Sed veteribus per Christum futurum esse iudicium, id est iudicem Christum de caelo esse venturum, non tam quam novis evidenter expressum est, propterea quia cum ibi dicit Dominus Deus se esse venturum vel Dominum Deum dicitur esse venturum, non consequenter intellegitur Christus. Dominus enim Deus et Pater est et Filius et Spiritus sanctus; neque hoc tamen intestatum relinquere nos oportet. Primo itaque demonstrandum est quem ad modum Iesus Christus tamquam Dominus Deus loquatur in prophetis libris, et tamen Iesus Christus evidenter appareat, ut et quando non sic apparet et tamen ad illud ultimum iudicium Dominus Deus dicitur esse venturus, possit Iesus Christus intellegi.

Est locus apud Esaiam prophetam qui hoc quod

¹ Malachi 2.17; 3.14; cf. 20.28 above.

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from this fault have come those complaints against God: "The wicked are pleasing to him," and "vain is he who serves God." ¹

XXX

That in the books of the Old Testament, when it is said that God shall judge, the person of Christ is not explicitly mentioned; yet from certain passages in which the Lord God speaks it becomes clear beyond doubt that Christ himself is meant.

THERE are many other passages of holy Scripture about the last judgement of God, of which a complete collection would be too long. Let it suffice for me to have proved that it is proclaimed by both the Old and the New Testaments. But that the judgement is to take place through Christ, that is, that Christ is to come from heaven as judge, is not so explicitly stated in the Old Testament as in the New Testament; for where in the Old Testament the Lord God, or his prophet, says that the Lord God shall come, it does not follow that this is to be understood of Christ. For the Lord God means both the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; nor is this a matter that can be left unconfirmed. In the first place we must show how Jesus Christ speaks in the prophetic books under the name of the Lord God, although it is clear that he is Jesus Christ, so that elsewhere also, when this is not clear and when nevertheless it is said that the Lord God is to come for that last judgement, we may understand that Jesus Christ is meant.

There is a passage in the prophet Isaiah that makes

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dico evidenter ostendit. Deus enim per prophetam: *Audi me, inquit, Iacob et Israel quem ego voco. Ego sum primus et ego in sempiternum, et manus mea fundavit terram et dextera mea firmavit caelum. Vocabo eos, et stabunt simul, et congregabuntur omnes et audient. Quis ei nuntiavit haec? Diligens te feci voluntatem tuam super Babylonem ut auferrem semen Chaldaeorum. Et locutus sum et ego vocavi; adduxi eum et prosperam feci viam eius. Accedite ad me et audite haec. Non a principio in abscondito locutus sum; quando fiebant, ibi eram. Et nunc Dominus Deus misit me et Spiritus eius. Nempe ipse est, qui loquebatur sicut Dominus Deus; nec tamen intellexeretur Iesus Christus, nisi addidisset: *Et nunc Dominus Deus misit me et Spiritus eius.* Dixit hoc enim secundum formam servi, de re futura utens praeteriti temporis verbo, quem ad modum apud eundem prophetam legitur: *Sicut ovis ad immolandum ductus est.* Non enim ait: "ducetur," sed pro eo quod futurum erat praeteriti temporis verbum posuit. Et assidue prophetia sic loquitur.*

Est alius locus apud Zachariam qui hoc evidenter ostendit quod omnipotentem misit omnipotens; quis quom, nisi Deus Pater Deum Filium? Nam ita scriptum est: *Haec dicit Dominus omnipotens: Post gloriam misit me super gentes quae spoliaverunt vos; quia qui tetigerit vos quasi tangat pupillam oculi eius. Ecce ego inferam manum meam super eos, et erunt spolia his*

¹ Isaiah 48.12-16.

² So Augustine and Septuagint, but not the Hebrew, where the present tense is indicated.

quite clear the point that I mention. For God says, by the prophet: "Hear me, Jacob and Israel, whom I call. I am the first, and I am for ever, and my hand has laid the foundations of the earth, and my right hand has established the heaven. I will call them, and they shall stand together, and they shall be gathered together and shall hear. Who has proclaimed these things to them? In love of you I have done your will upon Babylon, that I might remove the seed of the Chaldeans. And I have spoken, and I have called; I have brought him hither and have made his way prosperous. Draw near to me, and hear these words. From the beginning I have not spoken from a hidden place; when these things were done, I was there. And now the Lord God has sent me, and his Spirit has sent me." ¹ It was he who was speaking, as the Lord God; yet it would not be understood that it was Jesus Christ, had he not added: "And now the Lord God has sent me, and his Spirit has sent me." For this he said in the form of a servant, using of a future event a past tense, just as we read in the same prophet: "He was led ² as a sheep to the slaughter," not "he shall be led," but with the past tense used for a future event. And prophecy constantly speaks in this way.

There is another passage, in Zechariah, which clearly shows that the Almighty sent the Almighty; and who can these be, unless God the Father and God the Son? For so it is written: "Thus says the Lord almighty: After the glory he has sent me unto the nations that spoiled you; for whoever has touched you is as if he should touch the pupil of his eye. Behold, I will lift my hand over them, and they shall be the spoil of those who had been their servants, and

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qui servierant eis; et cognoscetis quia Dominus omnipotens misit me. Ecce dicit Dominus omnipotens a Domino omnipotente se missum. Quis hic audeat intellegere nisi Christum loquentem, scilicet ovibus quae perierant domus Israel? Ait namque in evangelio: *Non sum missus nisi ad oves quae perierunt domus Israel;* quas hic comparavit pupillae oculi Dei propter excellentissimum dilectionis affectum, ex quo genere ovium etiam ipsi apostoli fuerunt. Sed post gloriam resurrectionis utique suae (quae antequam fieret, ait evangelista: *Jesus nondum erat glorificatus*) etiam super gentes missus est in apostolis suis, ac sic impletum est quod in psalmo legitur: *Erues me de contradictionibus populi, constitues me in caput gentium,* ut qui spoliaverant Israelitas quibusque Israelitae servierant, quando sunt gentibus subditi, non vicissim eodem modo spoliarentur, sed ipsi spolia fierent Israelitarum (hoc enim apostolis promiserat dicens: *Faciam vos piscatores hominum,* et uni eorum: *Ex hoc iam, inquit, homines eris capiens*); spolia ergo fierent, sed in bonum, tamquam erepta vasa illi forti, sed fortius alligato.

Item per eundem prophetam Dominus loquens: *Et erit, inquit, in die illa quaeram auferre omnes gentes quae veniunt contra Hierusalem, et effundam super domum David et super habitatores Hierusalem spiritum gratiae et misericordiae; et aspicient ad me pro eo quod insulta-*

¹ Zechariah 2.8, 9.

² Matthew 15.24.

³ John 7.39.

⁴ Psalms 18.43.

⁵ Matthew 4.19.

⁶ Luke 5.10.

⁷ Matthew 12.29; Mark 3.27; cf. 20.7 above.

you shall know that the Lord almighty has sent me." ¹ Now behold: the Lord almighty says that he was sent by the Lord almighty. Who dare understand these words save of Christ speaking to the lost sheep of the house of Israel? For he says in the gospel: "I am not sent save to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," ² which he has compared here to the pupil of God's eye to show his outstanding feeling of affection, for the apostles themselves were sheep of this kind. But after the glory (that is, after his resurrection, for before it, says the evangelist, "Jesus was not yet glorified" ³), he was sent also among the nations in the persons of his apostles, and so was fulfilled the saying of the psalm: "Thou shalt deliver me from the disputings of the people, thou shalt set me at the head of the nations." ⁴ So those who had despoiled the Israelites and those whom the Israelites had served, when they were subject to the gentiles, were not in turn to be despoiled in the same manner, but were to become themselves the spoil of the Israelites. For this is the meaning of his promise to the apostles, saying: "I will make you fishers of men," ⁵ and to one of them: "From henceforth you shall catch men." ⁶ Spoil, then, they were to become, but in a good sense, as goods stolen from "that strong man," yes, but he had been bound with greater strength. ⁷

Likewise, speaking through the same prophet, the Lord says: "And it shall be in that day that I shall seek to do away with all the nations that come against Jerusalem, and I will pour over the house of David and over the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace and mercy; and they shall look upon me because they have insulted me, and they shall

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verunt, et plangent super eo planctum quasi super carissimum, et dolebunt dolore quasi super unigenitum. Numquid nisi Dei est auferre omnes gentes inimicas sanctae civitatis Hierusalem quae *veniunt contra* eam, id est, contrariae sunt ei, vel, sicut alii sunt interpretati, *veniunt super* eam, id est, ut eam sibi subiciant, aut effundere super domum David et super habitatores eiusdem civitatis spiritum gratiae et misericordiae? Hoc utique Dei est, et ex persona Dei dicitur per prophetam; et tamen hunc Deum haec tam magna et tam divina facientem se Christus ostendit adiungendo atque dicendo: *Et aspicient ad me pro eo quod insultaverunt, et plangent super eo planctum quasi super carissimum (sive dilectum), et dolebunt dolore quasi super unigenitum.*

Paenitebit quippe Iudaeos in die illa, etiam eos qui accepturi sunt spiritum gratiae et misericordiae, quod in eius passione insultaverint Christo, cum ad eum aspexerint in sua maiestate venientem eumque esse cognoverint quem prius humilem in suis parentibus inluserunt; quamvis et ipsi parentes eorum tantae illius impietatis auctores resurgentes videbunt eum, sed puniendi iam, non adhuc corrigendi. Non itaque hoc loco ipsi intellegendi sunt, ubi dictum est: *Et effundam super domum David et super habitatores Hierusalem spiritum gratiae et misericordiae; et aspicient ad me pro eo quod insultaverunt;* sed tamen de illorum stirpe venientes, qui per Heliam illo tempore credituri sunt. Sed sicut dicimus Iudaeis: “ Vos occi-

¹ Zechariah 12.9, 10.

mourn for him as for one most dear, and shall sorrow as for an only-begotten son." ¹ Now is it the act of any one save God to do away with all nations that are enemies of the holy city Jerusalem, and that "come against" her, that is, are opposed to her, or, as others translate, "come upon her," that is, to subdue her to themselves? Or is it the act of any one else to pour forth over the house of David and over the inhabitants of that city the spirit of grace and mercy? This is surely the act of God, and it is in the person of God that the prophet speaks; yet Christ shows that he is the God who performs these great and divine acts, by going on to say: "And they shall look upon me because they have insulted me, and they shall mourn for him as for one most dear (or beloved), and shall sorrow as for an only-begotten son."

For in that day even those Jews who are to receive the spirit of grace and mercy will repent that they insulted Christ in his suffering, when they behold him coming in his majesty and recognize him as the one who formerly came in his humility and whom they, in the persons of their parents, then mocked; however, their parents themselves, who committed that great impiety, will rise again and see him, but only to be punished, not any longer to be corrected. So it is not they themselves who are meant in this passage, when it is said: "And I will pour forth over the house of David and over the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace and mercy; and they shall look upon me because they have insulted me"; it is rather those who are to come from their stock, who in that time are to believe through Elijah. But just as we say to the Jews: "You killed Christ," although

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distis Christum," quamvis hoc parentes eorum fecerint, sic et isti se dolebunt fecisse quodam modo quod fecerunt illi ex quorum stirpe descendunt. Quamvis ergo accepto spiritu gratiae et misericordiae iam fideles non damnabuntur cum impiis parentibus suis, dolebunt tamen tamquam ipsi fecerint quod ab illis factum est. Non igitur dolebunt reatu criminis, sed pietatis affectu.

Sane ubi dixerunt septuaginta interpretes: *Et aspicient ad me pro eo quod insultaverunt*, sic interpretatum est ex Hebraeo: *Et aspicient ad me quem confixerunt*; quo quidem verbo evidentius Christus crucifixus apparet. Sed illa insultatio quam septuaginta ponere maluerunt, eius universae non defuit passioni. Nam et detento et alligato et adiudicato et opprobrio ignominiosae vestis induto et spinis coronato et calamo in capite percusso et inridenter fixis genibus adorato et crucem suam portanti et in ligno iam pendenti utique insultaverunt. Proinde interpretationem non sequentes unam, sed utramque iungentes, cum et *insultaverunt* et *confixerunt* legimus, plenius veritatem dominicae passionis agnoscimus.

Cum ergo in propheticis litteris ad novissimum iudicium faciendum Deus legitur esse venturus, etsi eius alia distinctio non ponatur, tantummodo propter ipsum iudicium Christus debet intellegi, quia etsi

¹ So also Vulgate.

it was their parents who did so, even so they will grieve for having in a sense done themselves what those from whose stock they are descended actually did. Therefore although they will have received the spirit of grace and mercy and, now believers, will not be condemned along with their impious parents, nevertheless they will grieve as if they themselves had done what was done by their parents. They will grieve, then, not as guilty of a crime, but as moved by religious feeling.

The words, to be sure, translated in the Septuagint as, "And they shall look upon me because they have insulted me," are translated from the Hebrew:¹ "And they shall look upon me whom they have pierced," language which more plainly points to the crucified Christ. But the insult which the Septuagint translators preferred to stress was present throughout his suffering. For Christ was in fact insulted both when he was arrested and when he was bound, and when he was judged, and clad in dishonourable garments to cast shame upon him, and crowned with thorns, and struck on the head with a reed, and given mocking homage on bended knee, and when he carried his own cross, and finally when he hung upon the tree. So it is not by following a single translation, but by joining both, and by reading both "insulted" and "pierced," that we arrive at a fuller knowledge of the truth of the Lord's passion.

When, therefore, we read in the prophetic books that God is to come to carry out the last judgement, we ought to understand that Christ is meant from the mere mention of the judgement itself, even though there is no other indication of him, because, although the Father will judge, he will judge by the

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Pater iudicabit, per adventum filii hominis iudicabit. Nam ipse per suae praesentiae manifestationem *non iudicat quemquam, sed omne iudicium dedit Filio*, qui manifestabitur homo iudicaturus, sicut homo est iudicatus. Quis est enim alius de quo item Deus loquitur per Esaiam sub nomine Iacob et Israel, de cuius semine corpus accepit? quod ita scriptum est: *Iacob puer meus, suscipiam illum; Israel electus meus, adsumpsit eum anima mea. Dedi Spiritum meum in illum, iudicium gentibus proferet. Non clamabit neque cessabit neque audietur foris vox eius. Calamum quasatum non conteret et linum fumans non extinguet; sed in veritate proferet iudicium. Refulgebit et non confringetur, donec ponat in terra iudicium; et in nomine eius gentes sperabunt.* In Hebraeo non legitur *Iacob* et *Israel*; sed quod ibi legitur *servus meus*, nimirum septuaginta interpretes volentes admonere quatenus id accipiendum sit, quia scilicet propter formam servi dictum est, in qua se Altissimus humillimum praebuit, ipsius hominis nomen ad eum significandum posuerunt de cuius genere eadem servi forma suscepta est.

Datus est in eum Spiritus sanctus, quod et columbae specie evangelio teste monstratum est; iudicium gentibus protulit, quia praenuntiavit futurum quod gentibus erat occultum; mansuetudine non clamavit, nec tamen in praedicanda veritate cessavit; sed non

¹ John 5.22.

² Isaiah 42.1-4.

³ Matthew 3.16.

coming of the Son of Man. For he himself in his own person manifestly present "judges no one, but he has given all judgement to the Son,"¹ who will be made manifest as a man for his giving of judgement, even as he was a man when he was judged. For of whom else does God speak likewise through Isaiah, naming him under the name of Jacob and Israel, from whose seed he received his body? Here is the Scripture: "Jacob is my servant; I will lift him up. Israel is my chosen one; my Spirit has taken him to himself. I have given my Spirit to him; he shall bring forth judgement to the nations. He shall not cry out, nor shall he withhold utterance, nor shall his voice be heard abroad. A bruised reed he shall not break, and the smoking flax he shall not quench; but in truth shall he bring forth judgement. He shall shine, and shall not be broken, until he sets judgement upon the earth; and in his name the nations shall have their hope."² The words "Jacob" and "Israel" are not found in the Hebrew; but the Septuagint translators, wishing to give an intimation of the weight to be put upon the words "my servant," which are found there, and which refer to the form of a servant in which the Most High brought himself utterly low, inserted to indicate him the name of the very man from whose line of descent he took that selfsame form of a servant.

The Holy Spirit was given to him, and was made manifest, as the evangelist bears witness, in the likeness of a dove.³ He gave forth judgement to the nations, because he showed them future judgement, which was hidden from them. In his meekness he did not cry out, and yet he did not withhold utterance

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est audita foris vox eius nec auditur, quando quidem ab eis qui foris ab eius corpore praecisi sunt non illi oboeditur; ipsosque suos persecutores Iudaeos, qui calamo quassato perdita integritate, lino fumanti amisso lumine comparati sunt, non contrivit, non extinxit, quia pepercit eis qui nondum venerat eos iudicare, sed iudicari ab eis. In veritate sane protulit iudicium praedicens eis, quando puniendi essent, si in sua malignitate persisterent. Refulsit in monte facies eius, in orbe fama eius; nec confractus sive contritus est, quia neque in se neque in ecclesia sua, ut esse desisteret, persecutoribus cessit; et ideo non est factum nec fiet quod inimici eius dixerunt vel dicunt: *Quando morietur et peribit nomen eius?—donec ponat in terra iudicium.*

Ecce manifestatum est quod absconditum quaerebamus; hoc enim est novissimum iudicium, quod ponet in terra cum venerit ipse de caelo, de quo iam videmus impletum quod hic ultimum positum est: *Et in nomine eius gentes sperabunt.* Per hoc certe quod negari non potest etiam illud credatur quod impudenter negatur. Quis enim speraret, quod etiam hi qui nolunt adhuc credere in Christum iam nobiscum vident et, quoniam negare non possunt, dentibus suis frendent et tabescunt? Quis, inquam, speraret gentes in Christi nomine speraturas, quando tene-

¹ Matthew 17.1, 2.

² Psalms 41.5.

³ Isaiah 42.4.

in proclaiming the truth; but his voice was not heard, and is not heard, abroad, because he is not obeyed by those who are abroad and are cut off from his body. And the Jews themselves, his persecutors, who have been likened to a bruised reed which has lost its perfect soundness and smoking flax which has lost its light, he did not break, he did not quench, because he spared them, he who had not yet come to judge them but only to be judged by them. He did indeed bring forth judgement in truth, by proclaiming the time when they must be punished if they persisted in their wickedness. His face shone on the mount,¹ his fame in the world. He is not broken or overwhelmed, because neither in his own person nor in his church has he yielded to his persecutors so as to cease to be. Therefore the thing has not happened, nor shall it happen, of which his enemies have spoken or still speak: "When shall he die and his name perish?"²—no, "not before he sets judgement upon the earth."³

Behold, here, made manifest, is the hidden thing that we sought; for this is the last judgement which he will set upon the earth when he himself comes from heaven. And in him we now see fulfilled the last words of the prophecy: "And in his name the nations shall have their hope." This is something that cannot be denied; because it is true, let that statement also be believed which is brazenly denied; for who could have hoped for the fulfilment of that which even those who are still unwilling to believe in Christ now see along with us, and because they cannot deny it gnash their teeth and waste away? Who, I say, could have hoped that the nations would have their hope in the name of Christ, when

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batur ligabatur, caedebatur inludebatur, crucifigebatur, quando et ipsi discipuli spem perdiderant quam in illo habere iam coeperant? Quod tunc vix unus latro speravit in cruce, nunc sperant gentes longe lateque diffusae, et ne in aeternum moriantur, ipsa in qua ille mortuus est cruce signantur.

Nullus igitur vel negat vel dubitat per Christum Iesum tale quale istis sacris litteris praenuntiatur, novissimum futurum esse iudicium nisi qui eisdem litteris nescio qua incredibili animositae seu caecitate non credit quae iam veritatem suam orbi demonstrare terrarum. In illo itaque iudicio vel circa illud iudicium has res didicimus esse venturas: Helian Thesbiten, fidem Iudaeorum, Antichristum persecuturum, Christum iudicaturum, mortuorum resurrectionem, bonorum malorumque diremptionem, mundi conflagrationem eiusdemque renovationem. Quae omnia quidem ventura esse credendum est; sed quibus modis et quo ordine veniant, magis tunc docebit rerum experientia quam nunc ad perfectum hominum intellegentia valet consequi. Existimo tamen eo quo a me commemorata sunt ordine esse ventura.

Duo nobis ad hoc opus pertinentes reliqui sunt libri, ut adiuvante Domino promissa compleamus; quorum erit unus de malorum supplicio, alius de felicitate iustorum; in quibus maxime, sicut Deus donaverit, argumenta refellentur humana quae contra praedicta ac promissa divina sapienter sibi miseri

he was arrested, bound, scourged, mocked, crucified, when even his disciples themselves had lost the hope in him that they had now begun to have? The hope that then was cherished scarcely by the one thief on the cross is now held by nations spread far and wide, who are marked with the sign of the very cross on which he died, that they may not die the everlasting death.

There is no one, then, who denies or doubts that the last judgement is to be carried out by Christ Jesus in the manner foretold by these sacred writings, unless it be one who through some incredible animosity or blindness does not believe in these same writings, which have now proved their truth to the whole world. And so in that judgement, or in connection with it, we have learned that the following events are to occur: Elijah the Tishbite will come; the Jews will believe; Antichrist will persecute; Christ will judge; the dead will rise again; the good and the wicked will be sorted out; the world will be burned in flames and will be renewed. Now all these events, we must believe, will come to pass; but how, or in what order, the experience of the future will teach us with a completeness that our human understanding cannot now attain. Yet I think that they will occur in the order in which I have just listed them.

There remain two books, pertaining to this task, to complete, with the Lord's help, what I have promised. One of them will be about the punishment of the wicked, the other about the happiness of the righteous. In them, so far as God may grant, I shall in particular refute those human arguments by which some wretched men, wise in their own eyes, think that they weaken the divine prophecies and

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rodere videntur et salubris fidei nutrimenta velut falsa et ridenda contemnunt. Qui vero secundum Deum sapiunt, omnium quae incredibilia videntur hominibus et tamen scripturis sanctis, quarum iam veritas multis modis adserta est, continentur, maximum argumentum tenent veracem Dei omnipotentiam, quem certum habent nullo modo in eis potuisse mentiri et posse facere quod impossibile est infideli.

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promises, and hold in contempt, as false and ridiculous, the nutriment of our salutary faith. But those who are wise according to God hold that the strongest argument in favour of all things that seem incredible to men, yet are found in the holy Scriptures, whose truth has already been upheld in many ways, is the reliable omnipotence of God; they are sure that he could in no way have lied in the Scriptures, and that he can do what to the unbeliever is impossible.



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