

**SAINT
AUGUSTINE
THE CITY OF GOD AGAINST
THE PAGANS**

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VII

BOOKS XXI-XXII

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

WILLIAM M. GREEN

**PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT CHRISTIAN LITERATURE
PEPPERDINE COLLEGE**

AND AN INDEX TO CITY OF GOD BY

WILLIAM M. GREEN



LONDON

WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

MCMXXII

© *The President and Fellows of Harvard College 1972*

American ISBN 0-674-99459-0
British ISBN 0 434 99417 0



BR
65
A64
1957
Y-7

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	vii
BOOK XXI	I
BOOK XXII	171
INDEX	387

SAINT AUGUSTINE
THE CITY OF GOD AGAINST THE
PAGANS

S. AURELII AUGUSTINI

DE CIVITATE DEI CONTRA
PAGANOS

LIBER XXI

I

*De ordine disputationis, qua prius disserendum est de
perpetuo supplicio damnatorum cum diabolo quam
de aeterna felicitate sanctorum.*

CUM per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, iudicem vivorum atque mortuorum, ad debitos fines ambae pervenerint civitates, quarum est una Dei, altera diaboli, cuius modi supplicium sit futurum diaboli et omnium ad eum pertinentium, in hoc libro nobis, quantum ope divina valebimus, diligentius disputandum est. Ideo autem hunc tenere ordinem malui ut postea disseram de felicitate sanctorum, quoniam utrumque cum corporibus erit et incredibile videtur esse in aeternis corpora durare cruciatibus quam sine dolore ullo in aeterna beatitudine permanere; ac per hoc cum illam poenam non debere esse incredibilem demonstravero, adiuvabit me plurimum, ut multo facilius omni carens molestia inmor-

SAINT AURELIUS AUGUSTINE

THE CITY OF GOD AGAINST THE
PAGANS

BOOK XXI

I

*On the order of my argument, which requires me to
discuss the perpetual punishment of those con-
demned with the devil before the eternal
happiness of the saints.*

In this book, with the help of God, we must discuss more carefully the kind of punishment that the devil will suffer with all who belong to him, after the two cities—the one of God, the other of the devil—by command of Christ our Lord, the Judge of the living and the dead, have come to their destined ends. My reason for this arrangement, that is, leaving till later what I have to say about the happiness of the saints, is this. Since in both cases there will be bodies, and it seems harder to believe that bodies last on in eternal torment than that they continue to exist in eternal happiness without any pain, it follows that, once I have proved that such punishment is not incredible, my task will be much lightened in that the future corporeal immortality of the saints, in a life

talitas corporis in sanctis futura credatur. Nec a divinis ordo iste abhorret eloquiis ubi aliquando quidem bonorum beatitudo prius ponitur, ut est illud: *Qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem vitae, qui autem mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii*. Sed aliquando et posterius, ut est: *Mittet filius hominis angelos suos, et colligent de regno eius omnia scandala et mittent in caminum ignis ardentem; illic erit fletus et stridor dentium*. Tunc iusti fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris sui, et illud: *Sic ibunt isti in supplicium aeternum, iusti autem in vitam aeternam*; et in prophetis, quod commemorare longum est, nunc ille, nunc iste ordo, si quis inspiciat invenitur. Sed ego istum qua causa elegerim, dixi.

II

An possint corpora in ustione ignis esse perpetua.

QUID igitur ostendam unde convincantur increduli posse humana corpora animata atque viventia non solum numquam morte dissolvi, sed in aeternorum quoque ignium durare tormentis? Nolunt enim hoc

¹ John 5.29.

² Matthew 13.41-43.

³ Matthew 25.46.

⁴ Augustine frequently refers to animals which were supposed to live and thrive in fire, especially the salamander. See 12.4 (vol. IV, 21) and 21.4, p. 15 below. Aristotle declares such life to be impossible (*Meteorologica* 4.4, 282^a7; *Generation of Animals* 2.3, 757^a; compare Ovid, *Fasti* 6.292: nataque de flamma corpora nulla vides.) Elsewhere (*History of Animals* 5.19, 552^b) Aristotle repeats, with reservations, the story of the salamander. Compare Pliny, *Natural History*

free from every vexation, will much more easily win assent. Nor is this order at variance with the Scriptures. For there the blessed state of the good is sometimes placed first, as in the passage, "Those who have done good, to the resurrection of life, and those who have done evil, to the resurrection of judgement."¹ But there are also passages where it is placed second, as in this one: "The Son of man will send his angels and they will gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and will cast them into the burning furnace of fire, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then the just shall shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father."² And again: "So these shall go into eternal punishment, but the just into eternal life."³ In the prophets, too, first one order, then the other is found. This would be tedious to set forth, but if you look it up, you will find it to be so. As for me, I have given my reason for choosing the second order, and will say no more.

II

*Whether bodies can survive in a burning fire.*⁴

WHAT proof then can I offer to convince unbelievers that it is possible for human bodies, endowed with soul and life, not merely never to be decomposed by death, but also to outlast the torments of eternal flames? They refuse to accept from us an appeal to

11.42.119; 29.33.74-76. The so-called "fire-salamander" of Mediterranean lands is a lizard-shaped black and yellow creature which lives only in moist places in woods, under logs, or in basements of houses.

ad Omnipotentis nos referre potentiam, sed aliquo exemplo persuaderi sibi flagitant. Quibus si respondebimus esse animalia profecto corruptibilia, quia mortalia, quae tamen in mediis ignibus vivant, nonnullum etiam genus vermium in aquarum calidarum scaturigine reperiri quarum fervorem nemo inpune contrectat, illos autem non solum sine ulla sui laesione ibi esse, sed extra esse non posse, aut nolunt credere, si ostendere non valemus, aut si valuerimus sive oculis demonstrare res ipsas sive per testes idoneos edocere, non satis esse hoc ad exemplum rei de qua quaestio est eadem infidelitate contentent, quia haec animalia nec semper vivunt et in illis fervoribus sine doloribus vivunt; suae quippe naturae convenientibus vegetantur illis, non cruciantur elementis; quasi non incredibilius sit vegetari quam cruciari talibus rebus. Mirabile est enim dolere in ignibus et tamen vivere, sed mirabilius vivere in ignibus nec dolere. Si autem hoc creditur, cur non et illud?

III

*An consequens sit ut corporeum dolorem sequatur
carnis interitus.*

SED nullum est, inquit, corpus, quod dolere possit nec possit mori. Et hoc unde scimus? Nam de corporibus quis certus est daemonum, utrum in eis

the power of the Almighty, but press us to cite a precedent by way of argument. We can reply that there are animals, which are certainly liable to destruction, since they are mortal, but still survive in the midst of flames. Further, there is a kind of worm found in the gushing flow of hot springs, whose heat no one can touch with impunity. The worms, however, not only live there without any harm, but cannot live elsewhere. Here our adversaries either refuse assent unless we can display the evidence, or, if we have found means either to produce it before their eyes, or to document the fact by competent witnesses, they will argue with the same disbelief as before that this instance does not suffice to prove the matter in dispute. For these animals do not live for ever, and they live in such hot places without pain; in fact, such an environment suits them naturally, so that they thrive in it, and are not in agony. As if it were not still more incredible that anything should thrive in such a plight, rather than be in agony! It is a marvellous thing to suffer amid flames and still live, but more marvellous to live amid flames and not suffer. If we assent to the latter, why not also to the former?

III

*Whether bodily pain leads inevitably to
destruction of the flesh.*

BUT there is no body, they say, which can suffer pain, yet cannot die. How do we know this? Who is sure that demons do not suffer in their bodies when

doleant, quando se affligi magnis cruciatibus confitentur? Quod si respondetur terrenum corpus solidum scilicet atque conspicuum nullum esse, atque, ut uno potius nomine id explicem, nullam esse carnem quae dolere possit morique non possit, quid aliud dicitur nisi quod sensu corporis homines et experientia collegerunt? Nullam namque carnem nisi mortalem sciunt, et haec est eorum tota ratio, ut quod experti non sunt nequaquam esse posse arbitrentur. Nam cuius rationis est dolorem facere mortis argumentum, cum vitae potius sit indicium? Etsi enim quaerimus utrum semper possit vivere, certum tamen est vivere omne quod dolet doloremque omnem nisi in re vivente esse non posse. Necesses est ergo ut vivat dolens, non est necesse ut occidat dolor, quia nec corpora ista mortalia et utique moritura/omnis dolor occidit. Et ut dolor aliquis possit occidere, illa causa est, quoniam sic est anima conexas huic corpori ut summis doloribus cedat atque discedat, quoniam et ipsa compago membrorum atque vitalium sic infirma est ut eam vim quae magnum vel summum dolorem facit, non valeat sustinere. Tunc autem tali corpori anima et eo conectetur modo ut illud vinculum, sicut nulla temporis longitudine solvetur, ita nullo dolore rumpatur. Proinde etiamsi caro nunc talis nulla est quae sensum doloris perpeti possit mortemque non possit, erit tamen tunc talis caro qualis nunc non est, sicut talis erit et mors qualis nunc non est. Non enim nulla, sed sempiterna mors erit, quando nec vivere anima poterit Deum non habendo nec doloribus corporis carere moriendo. Prima mors animam

they confess that they are afflicted with great tortures? Suppose they answer that there is no earthly body—solid, that is, and visible—or, to put it in a single word, no flesh that can suffer yet cannot die. Here they affirm only what men have gathered from bodily perception and experience. For they know no flesh except mortal flesh, and the whole of their reasoning amounts to thinking that what they have not experienced is impossible. What sort of reasoning is it to make pain a proof of death, when it is rather a sign of life? Even though we question the possibility of everlasting life, still it is certain that whatever suffers is alive, and that there can be no pain except in something alive. Therefore, one who suffers must necessarily be alive, but pain does not necessarily kill, for even our bodies that are liable to die and will surely die later are not killed by each and every attack of pain. The reason why some attacks of pain cause death is this: the soul is so bound to the body that it retreats before extreme pain and departs, for the very texture of limbs and vital organs is so flimsy that it cannot resist the shock of great, or extreme, pain. But at that time the soul will be knit to such a body, and with such a knot, that the bond will be no more broken by pain than it will be loosened by any lapse of time. Hence although there is now no flesh which can suffer pain and cannot die, nevertheless there will then be flesh of a sort that does not exist now, just as there will also be a death that does not exist now. For what will be is not no death, but an eternal death, in which the soul will neither live, for it will have no God, nor be free from pain, for it will suffer no death. The first death thrusts the soul

nolentem pellit e corpore, secunda mors animam nolentem tenet in corpore; ab utraque morte communiter id habetur, ut quod non vult anima de suo corpore patiatur.

Adtendunt autem isti contradictores nullam esse nunc carnem quae dolorem pati possit mortemque non possit, et non adtendunt esse tamen aliquid tale quod corpore maius sit. Ipse quippe animus, cuius praesentia corpus vivit et regitur, et dolorem pati potest et mori non potest. Ecce inventa res est quae, cum sensum doloris habeat, immortalis est. Hoc igitur erit tunc etiam in corporibus damnatorum quod nunc esse scimus in animis omnium.

Si autem consideremus diligentius, dolor, qui dicitur corporis, magis ad animam pertinet. Animae est enim dolere, non corporis, etiam quando ei dolendi causa existit a corpore, cum in eo loco dolet ubi laeditur corpus. Sicut ergo dicimus corpora sentientia et corpora viventia, cum ab anima sit corpori sensus et vita, ita corpora dicimus et dolentia, cum dolor corpori nisi ab anima esse non possit. Dolet itaque anima cum corpore in eo loco eius, ubi aliquid contingit ut doleat. Dolet et sola, quamvis sit in corpore, cum aliqua causa etiam invisibili tristis est ipsa corpore incolumi; dolet etiam non in corpore constituta, nam utique dolebat dives ille apud inferos quando dicebat: *Crucior in hac flamma*. Corpus autem nec exanime dolet nec animatum sine anima

from the body against its will, the second death¹ holds it fast in its body against its will. What is shared by both kinds of death is this, that the soul must have dealt to it by its body what it does not choose to suffer.

Moreover, while these gainsayers observe that there is now no flesh which can suffer pain and not suffer death, at the same time they fail to observe that there is something greater than the body. Surely the soul itself, by whose presence the body lives and is governed, can both suffer pain and be unable to die. There it is! A thing has been found which is immortal, though it has a sense of pain. There will be the same faculty, therefore, in the bodies of the damned that we know exists now in the souls of all.

But if we were to examine the matter more closely, what is said to be the body's pain belongs rather to the soul. For pain belongs to the soul, not to the body, even when the cause of its pain is derived from the body, when the soul's pain is felt in a place where the body is hurt. Just as we speak of sentient bodies and living bodies, though the body has sensation and life only through the presence of the soul, so also we speak of bodies in pain though the body can have pain only from the soul. Thus the soul feels pain with the body in the place where there happens to be a cause of pain. It also suffers alone, though it be dwelling in the body, when it is sad from some cause that may even be invisible, while the body is unharmed. It also suffers when it is not situated in the body, for certainly the rich man was suffering in hell when he said, "I am tormented in this flame."² However, a lifeless body does not suffer, nor does a living body

¹ Revelation 20.14. For a discussion of the first and second death see 13.2 (Vol. IV, 136, with note) and 21.11, p. 73 below.

² Luke 18.24.

dolet. Si ergo a dolore argumentum recte sumeretur ad mortem, ut ideo mors possit accidere quia potuit accidere et dolor, magis ad animam pertineret mori, ad quam magis pertinet et dolere. Cum vero illa quae magis dolere potest non possit mori, quid momenti affert cur illa corpora, quoniam futura sunt in doloribus, ideo etiam moritura esse credamus?

Dixerunt quidem Platonici ex terrenis corporibus moribundisque membris esse animae et metuere et cupere et dolere atque gaudere; unde Vergilius: "Hinc," inquit—id est, ex moribundis terreni corporis membris—"metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque." Sed convicimus eos in duodecimo huius operis libro, habere animas secundum ipsos ab omni etiam corporis labe purgatas diram cupiditatem, qua rursus incipiunt in corpora velle reverti. Ubi autem potest esse cupiditas, profecto etiam dolor potest. Frustrata quippe cupiditas, sive non perveniendo quo tendebat sive amittendo quo pervenerat, vertitur in dolorem. Quapropter si anima, quae vel sola vel maxime dolet, habet tamen quandam pro suo modo immortalitatem suam, non ideo mori poterunt illa corpora quia dolebunt. Postremo si corpora faciunt ut animae doleant, cur eis dolorem possunt mortem vero inferre non possunt, nisi quia non est consequens ut mortem faciat quod dolorem facit? Cur ergo incredibile est ita ignes illis cor-

suffer without a soul. Hence, if the reasoning from pain to death were true, that death can happen because pain can happen, it would rather be the soul's place to die, since pain belongs rather to it. But since the part to which rather pain belongs cannot die, what weight can we allow the argument that those bodies will die just because they will be in pain?

It has, indeed, been said by the Platonists that earthly bodies and mortal limbs are the source of the soul's fears, desires, sorrows and joys. Hence Virgil says: "From these"—that is, from earthly bodies and mortal limbs—"men fear and desire, men suffer and rejoice."¹ But we have answered their argument in the twelfth book of this work,² by citing their own statement that even souls cleansed from all contamination with body have a disastrous yearning, whereby "they begin once more to wish to return to bodies."³ But where there can be desire, surely there can also be pain; indeed, desire frustrated, either by failure to attain its goal or by the loss of what it had attained, turns into pain. Therefore, if the soul, which is the only part of man to suffer, or the chief part, has nevertheless a certain limited immortality of its own, it does not follow that those bodies will be able to die because they will suffer. Finally, if bodies cause souls to suffer, why can they inflict pain on them, but not death? It must be because the proposition is false that what brings pain brings death. Why then is it incredible that fire can bring

¹ *Aeneid* 6.733.

² Not in the twelfth book, but in 14.3 (Vol. IV, 270), where Augustine quotes *Aeneid* 6.730-734 as a Platonic account of the soul. For Plato's view see *Phaedo* 66 B-E, and for the

Platonists known to Augustine see Plotinus, *Enneads* 4.8. See also 21.13, p. 77 below.

³ Compare *Aeneid* 6.719-721, a passage cited in 14.5 (Vol. IV, 283). — *En* p. 346 : *Aen.* 6.751

poribus dolorem posse inferre, non mortem, sicut ipsa corpora dolere animas faciunt, quas tamen non ideo mori cogunt? Non est igitur necessarium futurae mortis argumentum dolor.

IV

De naturalibus exemplis quorum consideratio doceat posse inter cruciatus viventia corpora permanere.

QUAPROPTER si, ut scripserunt qui naturas animalium curiosius indagarunt, salamandra in ignibus vivit et quidam notissimi Siciliae montes, qui tanta temporis diuturnitate ac vetustate usque nunc ac deinceps flammis aestuant atque integri perseverant, satis idonei testes sunt non omne quod ardet absumi, et anima indicat non omne quod dolere potest posse etiam mori, quid adhuc a nobis rerum poscuntur exempla quibus doceamus non esse incredibile ut hominum corpora sempiterno supplicio punitorum et igne animam non amittant et sine detrimento ardeant et sine interitu doleant? Habebit enim tunc istam carnis substantia qualitatem ab illo inditam qui tam miras et varias tot rebus indidit quas videmus ut eas, quia multae sunt, non miremur. Quis enim nisi Deus creator omnium dedit carni pavonis mortui ne putesceret? Quod cum auditu incredibile vide-

pain, but not death, to those bodies, even as bodies themselves cause souls to suffer, but do not for all that compel them to die? We conclude that pain is not necessarily a proof that death will follow.

IV

Examples from nature which, if we reflect, teach that living bodies can survive under torture.

THOSE who have devoted themselves especially to the study of animals have written that the salamander lives in fire.¹ Certain well-known mountains of Sicily,² in spite of their age and their antiquity, still seethe with flames and remain intact, and thus are satisfactory witnesses that not all that burns is consumed. The case of the soul shows that not all that is subject to suffering is subject also to death. If these facts are granted, why are examples still demanded of us to make it seem credible that the bodies of men condemned to eternal punishment do not lose their soul by fire, but burn without damage and suffer without perishing? The substance of flesh will one day possess this quality, conferred by Him who has conferred such strange and varied qualities on so many things which we see that because of their number we cease to marvel at them. For who if not God, the creator of all things, has granted to the flesh of the dead peacock immunity from decay?³ Although when I heard this it seemed in-

¹ See note on Chapter II, p. 4 above.

² The reference is to Aetna, well known as an active volcano throughout antiquity.

³ This story of the preservation of peacock's flesh seems to be unique, Augustine's own contribution to the marvels of folklore.

retur, evenit ut apud Carthaginem nobis cocta apponeretur haec avis, de cuius pectore pulparum quantum visum est decerptum servari iussimus. Quod post dierum tantum spatium quanto alia caro quaecumque cocta putesceret prolatum atque oblatum nihil nostrum offendit olfactum. Itemque repositum post dies amplius quam triginta idem quod erat inventum est, idemque post annum, nisi quod aliquantum corpulentiae siccioris et contractioris fuit.

Quis paleae dedit vel tam frigidam vim ut obrutas nives servet, vel tam fervidam ut poma immatura maturet?

De ipso igne mira quis explicet, quo quaeque adusta nigrescunt, cum ipse sit lucidus, et paene omnia quae ambit et lambit colore pulcherrimus decolorat atque ex pruna fulgida carbonem taeterimum reddit? Neque id quasi regulariter definitum est, nam e contrario lapides igne candente percocti et ipsi fiunt candidi, et quamvis magis ille rubeat, illi albicent, congruit tamen luci quod album est, sicut nigrum tenebris. Cum itaque ignis in lignis ardeat ut lapides coquat, contrarios habet non in contrariis rebus effectus. Etsi enim lapides et ligna diversa sunt, contraria tamen non sunt, sicut album et nigrum, quorum in lapidibus unum facit alterum in lignis, clarus illos clarificans haec offuscans, cum in illis deficeret nisi in istis viveret. Quid, in carbonibus nonne miranda est et tanta infirmitas ut ictu levissimo frangantur pressu facillimo conterantur, et tanta

credible, it happened that at Carthage a roast peacock was served to me. I ordered as much meat as seemed good to be taken from its breast and kept. After a period of days in which any other roast meat would go bad, it was brought out and served without having the least offensive odour. It was put back again and after more than thirty days it was found as before, and again after a year it was the same except that its texture was somewhat more dry and shrunken.

Who gave straw such cooling power that it can preserve buried masses of snow, and such warming power that it ripens green fruit?

Who can explain the wonders of fire itself? Everything it burns turns black, though fire itself is bright. Though beautiful in colour it discolours nearly everything that its flame envelops or licks. It reduces glowing coals to ugliest charcoal. Yet this is not determined as by a rule, for on the other hand stones thoroughly baked in white fire become white; and even if the fire is red rather than white, while the stones are white, still what is white matches any light, just as black matches darkness. So when fire blazes in the wood to bake stones, it has opposite effects though the things are not opposite. For though stones and wood are different, yet they are not opposite like black and white, one of which fire produces in the stones, a bright thing making them bright, the other in the wood, which it darkens. Yet the fire would go out in the stones unless it were alive in the wood. Again, must we not marvel that there is in charcoal such brittleness that it is broken by the lightest blow and crumbled by the slightest pressure,

firmitas ut nullo umore corrumpantur, nulla aetate vincantur, usque adeo ut eos substernere soleant qui limites figunt ad convincendum litigatorem, quisquis post quantalibet tempora extiterit fixumque lapidem limitem non esse contenderit? Quis eos in terra umida infossos, ubi ligna putescerent, tamdiu durare incorruptibiliter posse, nisi rerum ille corruptor ignis effecit?

Intueamur etiam miraculum calcis. Excepto eo, de quo iam satis diximus, quod igne candicat quo alia taetra redduntur, etiam occultissime ab igne ignem concipit eumque iam gleba tangentibus frigida tam latenter servat ut nulli nostro sensui prorsus appareat, sed compertus experimento, etiam dum non apparet, sciatur inesse sopitus. Propter quod eam vivam calcem loquimur, velut ipse ignis latens anima sit invisibilis visibilis corporis. Iam vero quam mirum est quod cum extinguitur, tunc accenditur! Ut enim occulto igne careat aquae infunditur aquave perfunditur, et cum ante sit frigida inde fervescit unde ferventia cuncta frigescent. Velut expirante ergo illa gleba discedens ignis qui latebat apparet, ac deinde tamquam morte sic frigida est ut adiecta unda non sit arsura, et quam calcem vocabamus vivam, vocemus extinctam. Quid est quod huic miraculo addi posse videatur? Et tamen additur. Nam si non adhibeas aquam sed oleum, quod magis fomes

yet it also has such durability that no moisture will rot it and no period of time destroy it? Whence those who set up boundary stones make a practice of spreading charcoal beneath, to refute any litigant who may appear after the longest lapse of time and contend that the fixed stone is not the boundary. What enables the charcoal, buried in moist earth where wood rots, to endure so long unconsumed, except fire, the great consumer of most things?

Let us consider also the marvel of lime. Aside from the fact, on which we have already said enough, that it is whitened by fire, which blackens other things, it absorbs fire from fire in a most mysterious way, and as a lump now cold to the touch it stores the fire so secretly that it is wholly concealed from all our senses. Only by experiment can the fire be discovered persisting asleep within, even while it is invisible. Hence we call it "quicklime," that is, "living lime," as if the hidden fire were the invisible soul of a visible body. Again, how strange it is that when it is quenched, then it is kindled! For in order to release the hidden fire, the lime is poured into water, or water is poured over it, and though it was cold before, it is now made hot by the same agent by which all hot things are cooled! Thus, as the lump dies, so to speak, the departing fire which was hidden now appears, and henceforth the lump is so cold in death that it will no longer burn with the addition of water, and what we used to call "living lime" we now call "extinct," or "slaked lime." What can we imagine to increase the strangeness of this marvel? Yet there is something more. Mix it, not with water, but oil, which is, rather than water,

est ignis, nulla eius perfusione vel infusione fervescit. Hoc miraculum si de aliquo Indico lapide legeremus sive audiremus et in nostrum experimentum venire non posset, profecto aut mendacium putarem usque ad certe granditer miraremur. Quarum vero rerum ante nostros oculos cotidiana documenta versantur, non genere minus mirabili sed ipsa assiduitate vilescunt, ita ut ex ipsa India, quae remota est pars orbis a nobis, desierimus nonnulla mirari, quae ad nos potuerunt miranda perduci.

Adamantem lapidem multi apud nos habent et maxime aurifices insignitoresque gemmarum, qui lapis nec ferro nec igni nec alia vi ulla perhibetur praeter hircinum sanguinem vinci. Sed qui eum habent atque noverunt, numquid ita mirantur ut hi quibus primum potentia eius ostenditur? Quibus autem non ostenditur, fortasse nec credunt; aut si credunt, inexperta mirantur; et si contigerit experiri, adhuc quidem mirantur insolita, sed assiduitas experiendi paulatim subtrahit admirationis incitamentum.

Magnetem lapidem novimus mirabilem ferri esse raptorem. Quod cum primum vidi, vehementer inhorui. Quippe cernebam a lapide ferreum anulum raptum atque suspensum, deinde tamquam ferro quod rapuerat vim dedisset suam communemque fecisset, idem anulus alteri admotus est eundemque suspendit, atque ut ille prior lapidi, sic alter anulus

the fuel for fire; the lime will not grow hot with any amount of pouring into oil or pouring oil over it.¹ If we read, or heard, this marvel about some Indian stone and could not verify it by experiment, surely we should either think it false, or at least should marvel greatly. But when daily examples of these things occur before our eyes, though their character is no less marvellous, they seem common after frequent repetition. For example, even from India, a region far distant, there are some things that we have ceased to marvel at, because they could be brought all the way to us to arouse our wonder.

The diamond is a stone possessed by many among us, especially by goldsmiths and engravers of gems. This stone, it is said, cannot be destroyed by iron or fire or any other means except goats' blood.² But do you suppose that those who have the stone and know it well marvel like those to whom its power is shown for the first time? Those who do not see it perhaps do not believe, or, if they believe, they marvel at what is beyond their experience. And if the experience should happen to come, they still marvel at this as being unusual. But continued experience gradually removes all occasion for wonder.

We know that the loadstone picks up iron in a marvellous way. When I first saw it I was utterly aghast. For I actually saw an iron ring drawn up by a stone and held suspended; then, as if the stone had communicated its own power to the iron first caught up, this ring was brought near to another and held it up—as the first ring clung to the stone, so the second clung

¹ Pliny, *Natural History* 33.30.94, may be the source of the statement about the effect of water and oil on quicklime.

² Pliny, 37.15.59; Solinus, *Collectanea* 52.56, p. 194, ed. Mommsen.

priori anulo cohaerebat; accessit eodem modo tertius, accessit et quartus. Iamque sibi per mutua circulis nexis non implicatorum intrinsecus, sed extrinsecus adhaerentium quasi catena pependerit anulorum. Quis istam virtutem lapidis non stupeat, quae illi non solum inerat, verum etiam per tot suspensa transibat et invisibilibus ea vinculis subligabat? Sed multo est mirabilius quod a fratre et coepiscopo meo Severo Milevitano de isto lapide comperi. Se ipsum namque vidisse narravit quem ad modum Bathanarius quondam comes Africae, cum apud eum convivaretur episcopus, eundem protulerit lapidem et tenuerit sub argento ferrumque super argentum posuerit. Deinde sicut subter movebat manum qua lapidem tenebat, ita ferrum desuper movebatur, atque argento medio nihilque patiente concitatissimo cursu ac recursu infra lapis ab homine, supra ferrum rapiebatur a lapide.

Dixi quod ipse conspexi, dixi quod ab illo audivi cui tamquam ipse viderim credidi. Quid etiam de isto magnete legerim dicam. Quando iuxta eum ponitur adamans non rapit ferrum, et si iam rapuerat, ut ei propinquaverit, mox remittit. India mittit hos lapides; sed si eos nos cognitos iam desistimus admirari, quanto magis illi a quibus veniunt, si eos facillimos habent, sic forsitan habent ut nos calcem, quam miro modo aqua fervescentem qua solet ignis

to the first. In the same way a third ring was added, then a fourth. Thus a chain, as it were, had been formed of rings, not linked each with the next, but clinging by their outer surface. Who would not be astonished at the power of this stone, a power which was not only present in the stone, but which passed through so many suspended objects and bound them with invisible chains? But what I learned about this stone from my brother and fellow-bishop Severus of Mileve is much more marvellous. For he says that while he was dining at the house of Bathanarius, formerly count of Africa, he saw the count bring out a loadstone, hold it under a silver plate, and put a piece of iron upon the silver. Then as he moved the hand in which he held the stone beneath the plate, the iron moved above. And so in rapid movement, this way and that, the stone below was drawn by the man's hand, and the iron above was drawn by the stone, while the silver between was unaffected.

I have told what I have seen myself, and what I have heard from one whom I believed as surely as if I had seen it myself. I will also tell what I have read about the loadstone. When a diamond is put near it it does not attract iron, and if it has already attracted a piece it releases it at the approach of the diamond.¹ India exports these stones; but if we are already ceasing to marvel at them since we have come to know them, how much more the Indians, from whose land they come! If they have them within reach, perhaps they regard them as we do lime. We see it grow hot by the action of water, which ordinarily quenches fire, while it does not grow

¹ Pliny, 37.15.61; Solinus, 52.57, p. 194.

extingui, et oleo non fervescentem quo solet ignis accendi, quia in promptu nobis est non miramur.

V

Quanta sint quorum ratio nequeat agnosci et tamen eadem vera esse non sit ambiguum.

VERUM tamen homines infideles, qui, cum divina vel praeterita vel futura miracula praedicamus quae illis experienda non valemus ostendere, rationem a nobis earum flagitant rerum, quam quoniam non possumus reddere—excedunt enim vires mentis humanae—existimant falsa esse quae dicimus, ipsi de tot mirabilibus rebus quas vel videre possumus vel videmus debent reddere rationem. Quod si fieri ab homine non posse perviderint, fatendum est eis non ideo aliquid non fuisse vel non futurum esse, quia ratio inde non potest reddi, quando quidem sunt ista de quibus similiter non potest.

Non itaque pergo per plurima, quae mandata sunt litteris, non gesta atque transacta sed in locis quibusque manentia, quo si quisquam ire voluerit et potuerit, utrum vera sint explorabit, sed pauca commemoro. Agrigentinum Siciliae salem perhibent, cum fuerit admotus igni, velut in aqua fluescere,

¹ Most of the material of this chapter seems to be taken from Solinus, as Mommsen shows in the preface of his edition, p. xxv. Solinus drew chiefly from Pliny, but included the

hot with oil, the ordinary fuel for fire; but because it is always within reach we do not marvel.

V

How many things whose reason cannot be discovered are still undoubtedly true.¹

NEVERTHELESS, when we preach the marvellous works of God, whether past or future, and cannot show them to the unbelievers to be put to the test, they demand of us an explanation of these things, and since we cannot give it (for they are beyond the grasp of the human mind), they think that what we say is false. To be consistent, they themselves should give an explanation of the many marvellous things which we can see, or do see. If they perceive that no man can do this, they should admit that the inability to give an explanation is no proof that a thing has not been or will not be, since these admitted marvels exist, of which likewise no explanation can be given.

There are many things recorded in books, not as events of the past, but as descriptions of things which remain today, each in its place, so that anyone who is able and willing to go there will discover whether they are true. I will not go on through all of these, but will mention a few. They say that the salt of Agrigentum in Sicily melts when it is brought to a fire, as if dissolved in water, but when brought to

“apples of Sodom,” not mentioned in that author. In several cases he “improves the story,” and is closely followed by Augustine.

cum vero ipsi aquae, velut in igne crepitare. Apud Garamantas quendam fontem tam frigidum diebus ut non bibatur, tam fervidum noctibus ut non tangatur. In Epiro alium fontem in quo faces, ut in ceteris, extinguntur accensae, sed, non ut in ceteris, accenduntur extinctae. Asbeston Arcadiae lapidem propterea sic vocari quod accensus semel iam non possit extingui. Lignum cuiusdam ficus Aegyptiae, non ut ligna cetera in aquis natate, sed mergi, et quod est mirabilis, cum in imo aliquamdiu fuerit, inde ad aquae superficiem rursus emergere, quando madefactum debuit umoris pondere praegravari. Poma in terra Sodomorum gigni quidem et ad maturitatis faciem pervenire, sed morsu pressuve temptata in fumum ac favillam corio fatiscentis vanaescere. Pyriten lapidem Persicum tenentis

¹ Pliny 31.41.86; Solinus 5.18, p. 51. The passage in Pliny is brief and not very clear. W. H. Jones translates in the Loeb edition (Vol. VIII, 431): "Salt of Agrigentum submits to fire and sputters in water" (*ignium patiens ex aqua exilit*). A note suggests that this "salt" was lime, or else there is some early mistake in the manuscripts. Solinus then tried to clarify the matter by inventing the account here given by Augustine.

² The spring among the Garamantes is mentioned by Pliny 5.5.36 and Solinus 29.1, p. 128. The report of contrasting temperatures by night and by day may easily be exaggerated. The spring in Epirus is in Pliny 2.106.228 and Solinus 7.2, p. 55. How a torch might be lit at such a spring is explained by Augustine, p. 45 below.

³ By a curious transference of meaning the word *asbestos*, "unquenchable" in Greek, came to signify "incombustible," hence was applied to minerals like our asbestos, which were used to make fire-proof fabrics. Pliny 37.54.146 speaks of iron-coloured asbestos from Arcadia. Solinus, doubtless thinking of the first meaning of the word, says that this iron-coloured stone, if once set on fire, could never be extinguished.

water it crackles, as if in fire.¹ They say that there is a spring among the Garamantes whose water is so cold in the daytime that it cannot be drunk, and so hot at night that it cannot be touched. In Epirus there is another spring in which lighted torches are extinguished, as in other springs, but extinguished torches are lit in the spring, a thing not found elsewhere.² They say that a stone of Arcadia is called *asbestos* ("unquenchable") because when once set on fire it cannot be extinguished.³ The wood of a certain fig tree in Egypt does not float in water like other wood, but sinks. And, what is more marvelous, when it has been at the bottom for some time it rises again to the surface of the water, although when water-soaked it ought to be heavier from the weight of liquid.⁴ Apples in the land of Sodom grow and come to the appearance of maturity, but when they are bitten or squeezed the skin bursts in pieces and they vanish in smoke and ashes.⁵ Pyrites, a Persian

⁴ Pliny 13.14.57; Solinus 32.34-35.

⁵ The earliest account of the "apples of Sodom" is in Josephus, *Jewish War* 4.484, where he describes the vestiges of the fiery destruction which the Lord brought on Sodom and Gomorrah: "Still one may see ashes reproduced in the fruits, which from their outward appearance would be thought edible, but on being plucked with the hand dissolve into smoke and ashes." Solinus 35.8, p. 155, gives a similar account.

Modern travellers have sometimes identified this "apple" with the *Solanum sodomium*, a shrub with purplish blossoms and bright-yellow berries about the size of a plum. Others choose the *Calotropis procera*, called *osher* by the Arabs, and found by Edward Robinson growing near the Dead Sea. The trees were ten to fifteen feet high, with smooth yellow fruit the size of a large apple, or orange (see M'Clintock and Strong, *Cyclopaedia* I (1895), 325 f., with illustrations of the fruit and flowers).

manum, si vehementius prematur, adurere, propter quod ab igne nomen accepit. In eadem Perside gignit etiam lapidem seleniten, cuius interiorem candorem cum luna crescere atque deficere. In Cappadocia etiam vento equas concipere, eosdemque fetus non amplius triennio vivere. Tylon Indiae insulam eo praeferrunt ceteris terris quod omnis arbor quae in ea gignitur numquam nudatur tegmine foliorum.

De his atque aliis innumerabilibus mirabilibus quae historia non factorum et transactorum sed manentium locorum tenet, mihi autem aliud agenti ea persequi nimis longum est, reddant rationem, si possunt, infideles isti qui nolunt divinis litteris credere; quid aliud quam non putantes eas esse divinas, eo quod res habeant incredibiles, sicuti hoc est unde nunc agimus? Non enim admittit, inquit, ulla ratio, ut caro ardeat neque absumatur, doleat neque moriatur—ratiocinatores videlicet magni, qui de omnibus rebus quas esse mirabiles constat possint reddere rationem. Reddant ergo de his quae pauca posuimus, quae procul dubio, si esse nescirent et ea futura

¹ Pliny 36.10.138; Solinus 37.16, p. 159. The name of *pyrites* comes from Greek *pyr*, "fire," and denotes a stone that will strike fire. Pliny describes several varieties as "having much fire" (*plurimum ignis habentis*). Solinus, apparently, took this to mean that there was heat in the stone.

² Pliny 37.87.181; Solinus 37.21, p. 160. Selenite, or moon-stone, was so named from the suggestion of the moon in the gem's lustre. Both Pliny and Solinus repeat the notion that the lustre waxes and wanes with the moon.

³ The fable of mares impregnated by the wind is as old as Homer (*Iliad* 20.223). Varro, *On Agriculture* 2.19, Pliny

stone, burns the hand which holds it if it is pressed too hard, and hence derives its name from the Greek word for fire (*pyr*).¹ In the same land of Persia is found the stone selenite, whose inner lustre waxes and wanes with the moon (*selēnē*).² In Cappadocia the mares are also impregnated by the wind, and their offspring do not live more than three years.³ Tylos, an island of India, is preferred to all other lands because no tree which grows there is ever stripped of its covering of leaves.⁴

The account of these and countless other marvels belongs not to the history of past events, but to the description of places which remain; but as my interest is in other matters I cannot take time to continue the subject. Now let those unbelievers who refuse to accept the divine writings give an explanation of these marvels, if they can. Their only excuse for not thinking the writings divine is that they state supposedly incredible things, like this subject that we are now discussing. For no kind of reasoning, they say, will grant that flesh is burned and not consumed, or suffers and does not die. Great reasoners they must be, who can explain all things which are agreed to be marvels. Then let them explain these few things which I have mentioned. If they were ignorant of them and we

8.67.166, and Solinus 23.7, p. 104, tell of mares in Lisbon, Portugal, that conceived by the wind, then bore foals that lived no more than three years. Why Augustine mentions Cappadocia, departing from his usual source, is not clear.

⁴ Pliny 12.21.38; Solinus 52.49, p. 192. Tylos, called Bahrein today, is described as a well-watered island of the Persian gulf, growing dates, olives, grapes and other fruits. None of the trees dropped their leaves.

esse diceremus, multo minus crederent quam quod nunc dicentibus nobis nolunt credere aliquando venturum. Quis enim eorum nobis crederet si, quem ad modum dicimus futura hominum viva corpora quae semper arsura atque dolitura nec tamen aliquando moritura sint, ita diceremus in futuro saeculo futurum salem quem faceret ignis velut in aqua fluescere, eundemque faceret aqua velut in igne crepitare; aut futurum fontem cuius aqua in refrigerio noctis sic ardeat ut non possit tangi, in aestibus vero diei sic algeat ut non possit bibi; aut futurum lapidem, vel eum qui suo calore manum constringentis aduret, vel eum qui undecumque accensus extingui omnino non posset, et cetera quae praetermissis aliis innumeris commemoranda interim duxi?

Haec ergo in illo saeculo quod futurum est, si diceremus futura nobisque increduli responderent: "Si vultis ut ea credamus, de singulis reddite rationem," nos non posse confiteremur, eo quod istis et similibus Dei miris operibus infirma mortalium ratiocinatio vinceretur. Fixam tamen apud nos esse rationem non sine ratione Omnipotentem facere unde animus humanus infirmus rationem non potest reddere; et in multis quidem rebus incertum nobis esse quid velit, illud tamen esse certissimum, nihil eorum illi esse impossibile, quaecumque voluerit; eique nos credere praedicenti, quem neque inpotentem neque mentientem possumus credere. Hi

announced that they would come to pass, doubtless they would be even less inclined to believe than they are now to believe what we say will come. We say that there will be living human bodies which will always burn and suffer, yet will never die. If, instead, we should say that in the world to come there will be a kind of salt which fire would cause to melt, as our salt does in water, and which water would cause to crackle, as our salt does in fire, which of them would believe us? Or if we should say that there will be a spring whose water is so hot in the coolness of night that it cannot be touched, and in the heat of day so cold that it cannot be drunk? Or a stone which burns the hand of him who squeezes it, or one which can never be extinguished when once it has caught fire from any source? And which of them would believe the other examples which I have thought worth a passing mention, while I was omitting countless others?

Therefore, if we were to say that these things will be in that world which is to come, and they were to reply in unbelief, "If you wish us to believe these things, give us the explanation of each one," we should admit that we could not, for the reason that the feeble reasoning of men is surpassed by these marvellous works of God, and others like them. However, among us the reasonable view is firmly fixed that it is with good reason that the Almighty does those things concerning which the feeble human mind can give no reason. In many things it is unclear to us what His will is. This, however, is very certain, that none of the things which He has willed is impossible, and we believe His predictions since we cannot question either his strength or his truth.

tamen fidei reprehensores exactoresque rationis quid ad ista respondent, de quibus ratio reddi ab homine non potest et tamen sunt et ipsi rationi naturae videntur esse contraria? Quae si futura esse diceremus, similiter a nobis, sicut eorum quae futura esse dicimus, ab infidelibus ratio posceretur. Ac per hoc, cum in talibus operibus Dei deficiat ratio cordis et sermonis humani, sicut ista non ideo non sunt, sic non ideo etiam illa non erunt, quoniam ratio de utrisque ab homine non potest reddi.

VI

Quod non omnia miracula naturalia sint, sed pleraque humano ingenio modificata, pleraque autem daemonum arte composita.

Hic forte respondeant: "Prorsus nec ista sunt nec ista credimus; falsa de his dicta, falsa conscripta sunt"; et adiciant ratiocinantes atque dicentes: "Si talia credenda sunt, credite et vos quod in easdem litteras est relatum, fuisse vel esse quoddam Veneris fanum atque ibi candelabrum et in eo lucernam sub divo sic ardentem, ut eam nulla tempestas, nullus imber extingueret, unde sicut ille lapis, ita ista *λύχνος ἄσβεστος*, id est lucerna inextinguibilis, nominata est." Quod propterea po-

¹ Pliny 2.96.210 says that Paphos had an altar of Venus on which rain did not fall, but speaks of no unquenchable lamp. However, at Athens, Athena had a lamp with a fireproof wick; when the lamp was filled with oil it then burned for a year, day and night, without refilling or relighting (Pausanias 1.26.7; W. H. S. Jones in the Loeb edition says that the fireproof wick of "Carpasian flax" is probably asbestos).

But these hostile critics of the faith who require explanations, what do they reply about those things that cannot be explained by man, but for all that do exist, and seem contrary to the very laws of nature? If we said that they were going to happen in the next world, the unbelievers would demand an explanation from us, just as they do of those things which we say are going to happen. In such works of God the power of human reasoning and discourse fail. But just as these admitted marvels are not for that reason untrue, so neither will those predictions fail for the reason that an explanation cannot be given by man in either case.

VI

That not all miracles are natural, but that many are controlled by human ingenuity, many contrived by the art of demons.

At this point perhaps they will answer: "These things are absolutely false, and we do not believe them. What has been said and what has been written about them is fiction." They may add, putting thoughts into words: "If such tales are worthy of belief, then believe what is related in the same work on natural history, that there was, or still is, a certain shrine of Venus with a lampstand and a large lamp on it burning under the open sky in such a way that no great wind or rain storm could extinguish it. Like the stone called *asbestos*, so this has the Greek name *λύχνος asbestos* that is, 'the unquenchable lamp.'"¹ They may say this to pre-

terunt dicere, ut respondendi nobis angustias ingerant; quia si dixerimus non esse credendum, scripta illa miraculorum infirmabimus; si autem credendum esse concesserimus, firmabimus numina paganorum. Sed nos, sicut iam in libro duodevicensimo huius operis dixi, non habemus necesse omnia credere quae historia continet gentium, cum et ipsi inter se historici, sicut ait Varro, quasi data opera et quasi ex industria per multa dissentiant. Sed ea, si volumus, credimus, quae non adversantur libris quibus non dubitamus oportere nos credere. De his autem miraculorum locis nobis ad ea quae futura persuadere incredulis volumus satis illa sufficiant¹ quae nos quoque possumus experiri, et eorum testes idoneos non difficile est invenire.

De isto autem fano Veneris et lucerna inextinguibili non solum in nullas coartamur angustias, verum etiam latitudinis nobis campus aperitur. Addimus enim ad istam lucernam inextinguibilem et humanarum et magicarum id est per homines daemoniarum artium, et ipsorum per se ipsos daemonum multa miracula. Quae si negare voluerimus, eidem ipsi cui credimus sacrarum litterarum adversabimur veritati. Aut ergo in lucerna illa mechanicum aliquid de lapide asbesto ars humana molita est aut arte magica factum est quod homines illo mirarentur in templo, aut daemon quispiam sub nomine Veneris

sent us with a dilemma. For if we say that the story should not be accepted, we shall weaken the force of recorded miracles, while if we grant that it should be accepted, we shall give support to the gods of the pagans. But, as I have already said in the eighteenth book of this work,¹ we do not think it necessary to believe everything related in the history of the heathen nations, since the historians themselves, as Varro says, disagree on many points, as if they were taking pains to do it and working hard at the task. We do believe, if we like, such items as do not contradict the books that we have no doubt we are bound to believe. But as examples to support the points on which we wish to persuade unbelievers that they will come to pass, let those passages suffice that relate marvels which we ourselves can verify, and of which we can easily find competent witnesses.

As for that shrine of Venus and its unquenchable lamp, however, not only are we not squeezed in a dilemma, but a broad field for reply is open to us. For to this unquenchable lamp we add many miracles wrought by human and magic arts, that is, demonic arts performed through human agency, along with miracles wrought by the demons themselves. If we seek to deny such miracles we shall our own selves be contradicting the truth of the sacred writings in which we believe. So in that lamp, either human skill contrived some mechanism to use the asbestos stone, or it was made by magic art for men to marvel at in that temple, or some demon in the name of

¹ 18.18 (Vol. V, p. 423). The statement of Varro may be from his work *On the Race of the Roman People* cited frequently in Book 18, and again 21.8, p. 49 below.

¹ *Many manuscripts read sufficiunt.*

tanta se efficacia praesentavit ut hoc ibi prodigium et appareret hominibus et diutius permaneret. Inliciantur autem daemones ad inhabitandum per creaturas quas non ipsi sed Deus condidit, delectabilibus pro sua diversitate diversis, non ut animalia cibus, sed ut spiritus signis, quae cuiusque delectationi congruunt, per varia genera lapidum herbarum lignorum animalium carminum rituum. Ut autem inliciantur ab hominibus, prius eos ipsi astutissima calliditate seducunt, vel inspirando eorum cordibus virus occultum vel etiam fallacibus amicitiiis apparendo, eorumque paucos discipulos suos faciunt plurimorumque doctores. Neque enim potuit, nisi primum ipsis docentibus, disci quid quisque illorum appetat, quid exhorreat, quo invitetur nomine, quo cogatur—unde magicae artes earumque artifices extiterunt. Maxime autem possident corda mortalium, qua potissimum possessione gloriantur, cum se transfigurant in angelos lucis. Sunt ergo facta eorum plurima quae quanto magis mirabilia confitemur, tanto cautius vitare debemus; sed ad hoc unde nunc agimus, nobis etiam ipsa proficiunt. Si enim haec inmundi daemones possunt, quanto potentiores sunt sancti angeli, quanto potentior his omnibus Deus, qui tantorum miraculorum effectores etiam ipsos angelos fecit!

Quam ob rem si tot et tanta mirifica, quae *μηχανήματα* appellant, Dei creatura utentibus humanis

¹ 2 Corinthians 11.14.

Venus manifested himself there so powerfully that this prodigy appeared to men's eyes and has long remained in that place. Now demons are drawn to dwell among objects created not by the demons, but by God, by different enticements suited to different demons. They are drawn, not as animals are, by food, but as spirits are, by emblems suited to each one's taste, that is, by varied kinds of stones, herbs, wood, animals, songs and rites. But in order to be drawn by men they first seduce the men with the shrewdest ingenuity, either instilling into their minds a hidden poison, or even putting on a false appearance of friendship. They make a few such men their disciples, and these teach the multitude. For unless the demons had first taught men, no one could have learned what each of them craves or loathes, or by what name each might be summoned or coerced; and these things were the origin of magic arts and their practitioners. They are especially successful in gaining the hearts of men—and it is their proudest boast to have gained them—when they transform themselves into angels of light.¹ Hence there are many accomplishments of theirs that we must shun the more carefully, the more marvellous we admit them to be, but for the topic that we are now discussing even these marvels are useful to us. For if unclean demons can do these things, how much more powerful are the holy angels, and how much more powerful than all these is God, who made even the angels themselves, the workers of such miracles!

Many notable marvels which they call *mēchanēmata* (mechanical devices) are accomplished by human skill making use of something that God created, so

artibus fiunt, ut ea qui nesciunt opinentur esse divina—unde factum est, ut in quodam templo lapidibus magnetibus in solo et camera proportionem magnitudinis positus simulacrum ferreum aeris illius medio inter utrumque lapidem ignorantibus quid sursum esset ac deorsum, quasi numinis potestate penderet, quale aliquid etiam in illa lucerna Veneris de lapide asbesto ab artifice fieri potuisse iam diximus—si magorum opera, quos nostra scriptura veneficos et incantatores vocat, in tantum daemones extollere potuerunt ut congruere hominum sensibus sibi nobilis poeta videretur, de quadam femina quae tali arte polleret dicens:

Haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentes
 Quas velit, ast aliis duras inmittere curas,
 Sistere aquam fluviis et vertere sidera retro;
 Nocturnosque ciet manes: mugire videbis
 Sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos:

quanto magis Deus potens est facere quae infidelibus sunt incredibilia, sed illius facilia potestati; quando quidem ipse lapidum aliarumque vim rerum et hominum ingenia, qui ea miris utuntur modis, angelicasque naturas omnibus terrenis potentiores animantibus condidit, universa mirabilia mirabili vincente virtute et operandi iubendi sinendique sapientia, utens omnibus tam mirabiliter quam creavit.

that those who are uninformed suppose them to be divine. For example, in a certain temple loadstones of proper size were placed in the floor and in the vault above, and an iron image was caused to hang in mid air between the two stones, and to those who did not know what was above and below it seemed to be supported by the power of the god.¹ Something like this, as we have said, may have been brought to pass in that unquenchable lamp of Venus, by a craftsman who made use of the asbestos stone. To such renown were the demons able to exalt the works of the magicians, whom our Scripture calls sorcerers and enchanters, that a noble poet seemed to express the sense of mankind when he said of a certain woman skilled in such arts: "She professes with her charms to free the hearts of those whom she chooses, and in others to implant heavy cares; to stop the water in flowing streams and turn back the stars; she rouses the ghosts of night; you will see the earth rumbling beneath your feet and ash trees coming down from the mountains."² How much more is God able to do things which are incredible to unbelievers, but easy for His power! It is He who created the power inherent in stones and other objects, as well as the ingenuity of the men who use that power in marvellous ways; angelic beings also He created, more powerful than all the living things of earth. All marvels are surpassed by His marvellous power and by His wisdom in working, in commanding, and permitting; his use of all things is as marvellous as was his creation of them.

¹ Pliny 34.14.148.

² Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.487-491.

VII

*Quod in rebus miris summa credendi ratio sit
omnipotentia Creatoris.*

CUR itaque facere non possit Deus ut et resurgant corpora mortuorum et igne aeterno crucientur corpora damnatorum, qui fecit mundum in caelo in terra, in aere in aquis innumerabilibus miraculis plenum, cum sit omnibus quibus plenus est procul dubio maius et excellentius etiam mundus ipse miraculum? Sed isti cum quibus vel contra quos agimus, qui et Deum esse credunt a quo factus est mundus, et deos ab illo factos per quos ab illo administratur mundus, et miraculorum effectrices sive spontaneorum sive cultu et ritu quolibet impetratorum¹ sive etiam magicorum mundanas vel non negant vel insuper et praedicant potestates, quando eis rerum vim mirabilem proponimus aliarum, quae nec animalia sunt rationalia nec ulla ratione praediti spiritus, sicut sunt ea quorum pauca commemoravimus, respondere adsolent: "Vis est ista naturae, natura eorum sic sese habet, propriarum sunt istae efficaciae naturarum." Tota itaque ratio est cur Agrigentinum salem flamma fluere faciat, aqua crepitare, quia haec est natura eius. At hoc esse potius contra naturam videtur, quae non igni sed aquae dedit salem solvere, torrere autem igni non aquae. Sed ista, inquiunt, salis huius naturalis est vis ut his contraria patiat. Haec igitur ratio

¹ *Some MSS. have imperitorum, others imperatorum.*

VII

*The final reason for believing in miracles is the
omnipotence of the Creator.*

WHY, then, cannot God cause the bodies of the dead to rise, and the bodies of the lost to be tortured in eternal fire—God who made a universe full of countless marvels in heaven, in earth, in air, in sea? For the universe itself is beyond doubt a greater and more surpassing marvel than all the things of which it is full. Those men with whom, or against whom, we are arguing believe that there is a God by whom the world was made, and that other gods were made by him, through whom He governs the world. They either do not deny, or may even go on to assert that there are powers of this world that are workers of miracles, some performed without prompting, others procured by worship and ritual, others by magic. But when we point out to them the marvellous power of other things, which are neither rational animals nor spirits endowed with any reasoning power, like those of which we mentioned a few, they reply: "That is the power of nature—it is their nature to be like that—those are the results of their peculiar natural qualities." And so the whole explanation why flame makes Agrigentine salt melt, while water makes it crackle, is that this is its nature. But all this rather seems contrary to nature, for nature has given water, not fire, the power to dissolve salt, and has given fire, not water, the power to scorch it. But the nature of this salt, they say, is to be affected in the opposite way. The same explanation is

redditur et de illo fonte Garamantico ubi una vena friget diebus noctibus fervet, vi utraque molesta tangentibus; haec et de illo alio qui cum sit contrectantibus frigidus et facem sicut alii fontes extinguat accensam, dissimiliter tamen atque mirabiliter idem ipse accendit extinctam; haec et de lapide asbesto, qui cum ignem nullum habeat proprium, accepto tamen sic ardet alieno ut non possit extingui; haec de ceteris, quae piget retextere, quibus licet vis insolita contra naturam inesse videatur, alia tamen de illis non redditur ratio nisi ut dicatur hanc eorum esse naturam.

Brevis sane ista est ratio, fateor, sufficiensque responsio. Sed cum Deus auctor sit naturarum omnium, cur nolunt fortiores nos reddere rationem, quando aliquid velut impossibile nolunt credere eisque redditionem rationis poscentibus respondemus hanc esse voluntatem omnipotentis Dei? Qui certe non ob aliud vocatur omnipotens nisi quoniam quidquid vult potest, qui potuit creare tam multa quae, nisi ostenderentur aut a credendis hodieque dicerentur testibus, profecto impossibilia putarentur, non solum quae ignotissima apud nos, verum etiam quae notissima posui. Illa enim quae ¹ praeter eos quorum de his libros legimus non habent testem, et ab eis conscripta sunt qui non sunt divinitus docti atque humanitus falli forte potuerunt, licet cuique sine recta reprehensione non credere.

Nam nec ego volo temere credi cuncta quae posui, quia nec a me ipso ita creduntur tamquam nulla de

¹ *Some MSS. have quae apud nos.*

offered also for that Garamantian spring, where a single stream of water is cold by day and hot by night, in each case painful to the touch, and also for the spring in Epirus which, like others, is cold to the touch and quenches a lighted torch, yet still, in a strange and marvellous way, itself lights the quenched torch. The same explanation is given for the asbestos stone, which has no fire of its own, but catches fire from without and burns so that it cannot be extinguished; so for the other cases, irksome to rehearse, in which an unusual power seems to be present contrary to nature, yet no other explanation is given except to say that such is their nature.

No doubt their explanation is short, and still it answers well enough. But since God is the author of all natural substances, why will they not let us give a better reason, and reply that this is the will of almighty God, when they refuse to believe what they say is incredible and demand an explanation? He is assuredly called almighty for no other reason except that he can do whatever he wishes. He was able to create many things which would surely be thought impossible unless they were manifest, or were affirmed even today by credible witnesses; these include not only things unknown among us, but also the well-known facts I have mentioned. For anyone may justifiably doubt reports which have no witnesses except the authors in whose books we read about them, if these are not men divinely taught, and may have gone wrong as men do.

Neither do I wish all the marvels that I have set down to be rashly believed, for I do not accept them

illis sit in mea cogitatione dubitatio, exceptis his quae vel ipse sum expertus et cuius facile est experiri—sicut de calce quod fervet in aqua in oleo frigida est, de magnete lapide quod nescio qua sorbitione insensibili stipulam non moveat et ferrum rapiat, de carne non putesciente pavonis cum puterit et Platonis, de palea sic frigente ut fluescere nivem non sinat, sic calente ut maturescere poma compellat, de igne fulgido quod secundum suum fulgorem lapides coquendo candificet et contra eundem suum fulgorem urendo plurima offuscet. Tale est et quod nigrae maculae offunduntur ex oleo splendido, similiter nigrae lineae de candido imprimuntur argento, de carbonibus etiam, quod accendente igne sic vertantur in contrarium ut de lignis pulcherrimis taetri, fragiles de duris, inputribiles de putribilibus fiant. Haec ipse quaedam cum multis, quaedam cum omnibus novi, et alia plurima quae huic libro inserere longum fuit. De his autem quae posui non experta sed lecta—praeter de fonte illo ubi faces et extinguntur ardentes et accenduntur extinctae, et de pomis terrae Sodomorum forinsecus quasi maturis intrinsecus fumeis—nec testes aliquos idoneos a quibus utrum vera essent audirem potui reperire. Et illum quidem fontem non inveni qui in Epiro vidisse se dicerent, sed qui in Gallia similem nossent non longe a Gratianopoli civitate. De fructibus

¹ The spring in Epirus (21.5 and note 2, p. 26) was one where a torch could be quenched, as in any other spring, but could also be relit. Such a spring has been identified near Grenoble, the Fontaine-Ardente, at Saint-Barthélemy du Guâ (Isère). There are jets of escaping natural gas which support a small flame, according to Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la Fin de la Culture Antique*, 145, note 4.

myself in such a way as to exclude all doubts about them from my mind. I do believe the things that I have experienced myself and those that anyone else may easily put to the test. Such, for example, is the lime that boils in water and is cold in oil, the loadstone that draws iron by an invisible attraction but will not move a straw, the flesh of the peacock that does not decay—though even the flesh of Plato has decayed—the straw that is cold enough to prevent snow from melting and warm enough to force apples to ripen, the radiant fire that in keeping with its brightness whitens stones as it bakes them, but on the contrary darkens most things as it burns them. Similar also is the fact that black spots are made by spilling clear oil, and likewise black lines by rubbing with white silver. In making charcoal, too, the igniting fire changes everything to its opposite: from beautiful wood come ugly coals, the fragile from the solid, the unrotting from the rotting. These marvels and many others that it would be tedious to include in this book are known to me personally, some of them to many others besides, and some to all men. On the matters which I have set down without personal experience, but from reading—except the spring where burning torches are quenched and quenched torches kindled, and the apples of Sodom which look ripe on the outside but are full of smoke within—I have not been able to find any competent witnesses from whom I could learn whether the stories are true. As for the spring, I have not found any who could say that they had seen the one in Epirus, but I have found men who were acquainted with a similar spring in Gaul, not far from the city of Grenoble.¹

autem arborum Sodomitarum non tantum litterae fide dignae indicant, verum etiam tam multi se loquuntur expertos ut hinc dubitare non possim, Cetera vero sic habeo ut neque neganda neque adfirmanda decreverim, sed ideo etiam ipsa posui quoniam apud eorum contra quos agimus historicos legi, ut ostenderem qualia multa multique illorum nulla reddita ratione in suorum litteratorum scripta litteris credant, qui nobis credere, quando id quod eorum experientiam sensumque transgreditur omnipotentem Deum dicimus esse facturum, nec reddita ratione dignantur. Nam quae melior et validior ratio de rebus talibus redditur quam cum Omnipotens ea posse facere perhibetur et facturum dicitur quae praenuntiasset ibi legitur, ubi alia multa praenuntiavit quae fecisse monstratur? Ipse quippe faciet quia se facturum esse praedixit quae impossibilia putantur, qui promisit et fecit ut ab incredulis gentibus incredibilia crederentur.

VIII

Non esse contra naturam, cum in aliqua re, cuius natura innotuit, aliquid ab eo quod erat notum incipit esse diversum.

Si autem respondent propterea se non credere quae de humanis semper arsuris nec umquam morituris corporibus dicimus quia humanorum corporum

As for the fruit of the trees of Sodom, not only are they mentioned in books that deserve credit, but so many say that they have seen them that I can have no doubt of the matter. I regard the other marvels as needing no decision either in favour or against, but I have included them also, for the reason that I have read them in the historians of the pagans against whom we are arguing. Thus I can show what sort of things, many in number, many of them believe without any explanation when they are recorded in the books of their own men of letters. But when we say that Almighty God will do that which goes beyond the experience of their senses, they do not see fit to believe us, even when an explanation is given. For when we say that the Almighty can do, and assert that he will do, the things that we read he has foretold, what better or stronger reason for believing can be given than the fact that in the same writings he foretold many other things which he has manifestly accomplished? He will surely do these things, for the one who has foretold what they think impossible is the one who promised, and has brought it to pass, that unbelievable things should be believed by unbelieving nations.

VIII

It is not contrary to nature when an unexpected change appears in a well-known object.

THEY may reply, however, that they do not believe what we say about human bodies that will burn forever and never die, because we know that the natural

naturam novimus longe aliter institutam, unde nec illa ratio hinc reddi potest quae de illis naturis mirabilibus reddebatur ut dici possit: "Vis ista naturalis est, rei huius ista natura est," quoniam scimus humanae carnis istam non esse naturam. Habemus quidem quod respondeamus de litteris sacris, hanc ipsam scilicet humanam carnem aliter institutam fuisse ante peccatum, id est, ut posset numquam perpeti mortem; aliter autem post peccatum, qualis in aerumna huius mortalitatis innotuit, ut perpetem vitam tenere non possit; sic ergo aliter quam nobis nota est instituetur in resurrectione mortuorum. Sed quoniam istis non credunt litteris ubi legitur qualis in paradiso vixerit homo quantumque fuerit a necessitate mortis alienus—quibus utique si crederent, non cum illis de poena damnatorum quae futura est operosius ageremus—de litteris eorum qui doctissimi apud illos fuerunt aliquid preferendum est quo appareat posse fieri ut aliter se habeat quaeque res quam prius in rebus innotuerat suae determinatione naturae.

Est in Marci Varronis libris quorum inscriptio est De gente populi Romani, quod eisdem verbis quibus ibi legitur et hic ponam: "In caelo, inquit, mirabile extitit portentum. Nam in ¹ stella Veneris nobilissima quam Plautus Vesperuginem, Homerus Hesperon appellat pulcherrimam dicens, Castor scribit tantum portentum extitisse ut mutaret colorem magnitudinem, figuram, cursum; quod factum ita

¹ The word in is supplied by editors, but not found in the manuscripts.

constitution of human bodies is far different. Hence, they say, the explanation that was given for those natural marvels, permitting us to state, "This force is natural, such is the nature of this thing," cannot be offered in this case, for we know that such is not the nature of human flesh. For this we have indeed an answer, based on our sacred writings. Before the first sin this human flesh was of one kind, a kind that could never suffer death; after the sin it was of another kind, such as we have come to know in the tribulation of this mortal life, a kind that cannot retain life for ever. So also in the resurrection of the dead it will be constituted differently from what we have known here. But they do not believe the writings where we read what sort of life man lived in paradise and how far he was removed from the necessity of death, for certainly if they believed them we should not be laboriously discussing with them the future punishment of the damned. Hence we must produce from the writings of the most learned men among them an example to show that a thing can come to be different from what had formerly been known about its fixed nature.

There is a passage in the treatise of M. Varro entitled *The Race of the Roman People*,¹ which I shall quote in his exact words: "In the sky," he says, "appeared a marvellous portent. For in the splendid star Venus, which Plautus calls 'Vesperugo,' and Homer 'Hesperos' with the epithet 'most beautiful,'² Castor writes that a portent occurred when the star changed its colour, size, shape and course, a thing

¹ See Vol. V, p. xiv for a discussion of this work.

² Plautus, *Amphitryo* 275; Homer, *Iliad* 22.318.

neque antea nec postea sit. Hoc factum Ogygo rege dicebant Adrastos Cyzicenos et Dion Neapolites, mathematici nobiles." Hoc certe Varro tantus auctor portentum non appellaret nisi esse contra naturam videretur. Omnia quippe portenta contra naturam dicimus esse, sed non sunt. Quo modo est enim contra naturam quod Dei fit voluntate, cum voluntas tanti utique conditoris conditae rei cuiusque natura sit? Portentum ergo fit non contra naturam, sed contra quam est nota natura. Quis autem portentorum numerat multitudinem quae historia gentium continetur? Sed nunc in hoc uno attendamus, quod ad rem de qua agimus pertinet.

Quid ita dispositum est ab auctore naturae caeli et terrae quem ad modum cursus ordinatissimus siderum? Quid tam ratis legibus fixisque firmatum? Et tamen, quando ille voluit qui summo regit imperio ac potestate quod condidit, stella prae ceteris magnitudine ac splendore notissima colorem, magnitudinem, figuram et (quod est mirabilius) sui cursus ordinem legemque mutavit. Turbavit profecto tunc, si ulli iam fuerunt, canones astrologorum quos velut inerrabili computatione de praeteritis ac futuris astrorum motibus conscriptos habent, quos canones sequendo ausi sunt dicere hoc quod de Lucifero contigit nec antea nec postea contigisse. Nos autem in divinis libris legimus etiam solem ipsum et stetisse, cum hoc a Domino Deo petivisset vir sanctus Iesus

which has never happened before or since. The well-known astronomers Adrastus of Cyzicus and Dion of Naples said that this happened in the reign of Ogygus."¹ As great a writer as Varro would surely not call this a portent unless it seemed contrary to nature. We commonly say, of course, that all portents are contrary to nature, but in fact they are not. For how can anything done by the will of God be contrary to nature, when the will of so great a creator constitutes the nature of each created thing? A portent therefore happens not contrary to nature, but contrary to what is known of nature. Now who can count the number of portents that the history of the pagans records? But now let us notice this one case, so far as it concerns the point that we are now discussing.

What is so exactly determined by the creator of heaven and earth as the perfectly ordered course of the stars? What is established upon such firm and immutable laws? Yet God rules what He created by his supreme command and power; hence when he so willed, a star conspicuous beyond all the rest for size and brightness changed its colour, size, shape and, what is even more marvellous, its regular and ordained course. Surely God then upset the tables of the astronomers, if there were any then, tables which they have drawn up from a supposedly unerring reckoning of the past and future motions of the stars. Following these tables they dared to assert that what happened then to Venus has never happened before or since. We read, moreover, in the Scriptures both that even the sun itself once stood still, when the holy man Joshua, the son of Nun, had

¹ See 18.8 (Vol. V, 389).

Nave, donec coeptum proelium victoria terminaret, et retrorsum redisse, ut regi Ezechiae quindecim anni ad vivendum additi hoc etiam prodigio promissioni Dei significarentur adiuncto. Sed ista quoque miracula quae meritis sunt concessa sanctorum, quando credunt isti facta, magicis artibus tribuunt. Unde illud est quod superius commemoravi dixisse Vergilium:

Sistere aquam fluviis et vertere sidera retro.

Nam et fluvium stetisse superius inferiusque fluxisse cum populus Dei ductore supra memorato Iesu Nave viam carperet, et Helia propheta transeunte ac postea discipulo eius Helisaeo id esse factum in sacris litteris legimus, et retro versum fuisse maximum sidus regnante Ezechia modo commemoravimus. Quod vero de Lucifero Varro scripsit, non est illic dictum alicui petenti homini id fuisse concessum.

Non ergo de notitia naturarum caliginem sibi faciant infideles, quasi non possit in aliqua re divinitus fieri aliud quam in eius natura per humanam suam experientiam cognoverunt; quamvis et ipsa quae in rerum natura omnibus nota sunt non minus mira sint, essentque stupenda considerantibus cunctis si solerent homines mirari mira nisi rara. Quis enim consulta ratione non videat in hominum innumerabili numerositate et tanta naturae similitudine valde mirabiliter sic habere singulos singulas facies ut, nisi

asked this of the Lord God, until he should crown with victory the battle that he had begun,¹ and that it also turned back, to indicate to King Hezekiah the addition of fifteen years to his life, the prodigy being added to confirm the promise of God.² But these miracles too, which were granted to the saints as a reward for their merits, when they are accepted as facts by the pagans, are ascribed to magic arts. Of these Virgil was speaking in the words which I quoted above: "To stop the water in flowing streams and turn back the heavenly bodies."³ For, as we read in the sacred writings, a river stopped above and flowed away below when the people of God, led by Joshua, were advancing.⁴ This happened also, we read in the Scriptures, when Elijah the prophet crossed, and later when his disciple Elisha did so.⁵ And we have just now mentioned that in the reign of Hezekiah the greatest of the heavenly bodies was turned back. But in what Varro wrote about Venus, he does not state that the miracle was granted as an answer to someone's prayer.

Therefore unbelievers are not to create a mental fog for themselves out of their knowledge of natural objects, as if in any matter God could bring nothing to pass different from what they have come to know in their human experience. Even everyday matters, known to all, are equally marvellous, and would be a great wonder to all who consider them, if men marvelled at any marvels except the uncommon. For who, after reflecting on the matter, would not observe that among the countless number of men naturally so much alike, each individual, strangely enough, has his individual appearance? If men were not

¹ Joshua 10.13.

² Isaiah 38.8.

³ *Aeneid* 4.489.

⁴ Joshua 3.16.

⁵ 2 Kings 2.8, 14.

inter se similes essent, non discerneretur species eorum ab animalibus ceteris, et rursus nisi inter se dissimiles essent, non discernerentur singuli ab hominibus ceteris? Quos ergo similes confitemur, eosdem dissimiles invenimus. Sed mirabilior est consideratio dissimilitudinis quoniam similitudinem iustius videtur exposcere natura communis. Et tamen quoniam quae sunt rara ipsa sunt mira, multo amplius admiramur quando duos ita similes reperimus ut in eis discernendis aut semper aut frequenter erremus.

Sed quod dixi scriptum a Varrone, licet eorum sit historicus idemque doctissimus, fortasse vere factum esse non credunt. Aut quia non diu mansit alius eiusdem sideris cursus, sed reditum est ad solitum, minus isto moventur exemplo. Habent ergo aliud quod etiam nunc possit ostendi eisque puto debere sufficere quo commoneantur, cum aliquid adverterint in aliqua institutione naturae eamque sibi notissimam fecerint, non se inde Deo debere praescribere, quasi eam non possit in longe aliud quam eis cognita est vertere atque mutare. Terra Sodomorum non fuit utique ut nunc est, sed iacebat simili ceteris facie eademque vel etiam uberiore fecunditate pollebat, nam Dei paradiso in divinis eloquiis comparata est. Haec postea quam tacta de caelo est, sicut illorum quoque adtestatur historia et nunc ab eis qui veniunt ad loca illa conspicitur, prodigiosa fuligine horrori est

alike, their species would not be distinguished from other animals, and again, if they were not different, individuals would not be distinguished from each other. Hence we find that the same men that we admit are alike, are also unlike. But the consideration of their dissimilarity is more marvellous, since a common nature seems more properly to require similarity. However, since what is uncommon is also marvellous, we marvel much more when we find two men so much alike that we always, or frequently, go wrong in trying to tell them apart.

But perhaps they do not believe that the event which I have cited from Varro's writings really took place, though he is a pagan historian, as well as their most learned authority. Or perhaps they are less moved by this case because the altered course of Venus did not long continue, but the usual course was resumed. Well, then, they have another case, a marvel which can be displayed even today, and I think that it ought to be enough to teach them that although they may have observed something somewhere in the order of nature and have become very familiar with it, they should not lay down a rule for God in the matter, as if he could not change and alter it into something far different from what they have known. The land of Sodom certainly was not always as it is today, but presented the same features as other lands, and enjoyed the same or even greater fertility, for in the sacred writings it is compared to the paradise of God. This land was destroyed by fire from heaven, as pagan history also affirms, and as visitors there can observe. Since that event the land is a fearsome sight with its unnatural soot, and be-

et poma eius interiorem favillam mendaci superficie maturitatis includunt. Ecce non erat talis, et talis est. Ecce a conditore naturarum natura eius in hanc foedissimam diversitatem mirabili mutatione conversa est, et quod post tam longum accidit tempus tam longo tempore perseverat.

Sicut ergo non fuit impossibile Deo quas voluit instituere, sic ei non est impossibile in quidquid voluerit quas instituit mutare naturas. Unde illorum quoque miraculorum multitudo silvescit, quae monstra ostenta portenta prodigia nuncupantur. Quae recollere et commemorare si velim, huius operis quis erit finis? Monstra sane dicta perhibent a monstrando quod aliquid significando demonstrant, et ostenta ab ostendendo, et portenta a portendendo, id est, praecostendendo, et prodigia quod porro dicant, id est, futura praedicant. Sed viderint eorum coniectores quo modo ex eis sive fallantur, sive instinctu spirituum quibus cura est tali poena dignos animos hominum noxiae curiositatis retibus implicare etiam vera praedicant, sive multa dicendo aliquando in aliquid veritatis incurrant. Nobis tamen ista quae velut contra naturam fiunt et contra naturam fieri dicuntur—quo more hominum locutus est et apostolus dicendo contra naturam in olea insitum oleastrum factum esse participem pinguedinis oleae—et monstra ostenta portenta prodigia nuncupantur, hoc monstrare debent, hoc ostendere vel praecosten-

neath the deceitful appearance of ripeness its apples enclose ashes within.¹ Behold, it was not thus, now thus it is. Behold, the Creator of every nature altered its nature by a miraculous change into something disgustingly different, and the change that came after so long a lapse of time maintains itself still so long after.

Therefore, just as it was possible for God to make such natural kinds as He wished, so it is possible for him to change those natural kinds into whatever he wishes. From this power comes the wild profusion of those marvels which are called omens, signs, portents, prodigies. If I should try to recall and enumerate these, where would this treatise end? The various names *monstra*, *ostenta*, *portenta*, *prodigia* come from the verbs *monstrare* 'show,' because they show something by a sign, *ostendere* 'display,' *portendere* 'spread in front,' that is, display beforehand, and *porro dicere* 'say aforesaid,' that is, predict the future.² Let the interpreters of these signs observe how at times they are deceived by them, and at times they even speak the truth by the prompting of spirits who aim to involve men worthy of such punishment in the snares of harmful curiosity, and at times they merely stumble on some true prediction in the course of much random talk. These marvels are apparently contrary to nature, and men say that they happen "contrary to nature." Indeed, this manner of speaking is used by the Apostle when he says that the wild olive grafted into the olive becomes a partaker of the fatness of the olive contrary to nature.³ To us these marvels, these *monstra*, *ostenta*, *portenta*, *prodigia*, should demonstrate, show, portend,

¹ See Chapter V, p. 25 above, with note.

² This group of words is discussed by Cicero, *On Divination* 1.93.

³ Romans 11.17-24.

dere, hoc praedicere, quod facturus sit Deus quae de corporibus hominum se praenuntiavit esse facturum, nulla impediende difficultate, nulla praescribente lege naturae. Quo modo autem praenuntiaverit, satis in libro superiore docuisse me existimo, decerpando de scripturis sanctis et novis et veteribus non quidem omnia ad hoc pertinentia, sed quae sufficere huic operi iudicavi.

IX

De gehenna et aeternarum qualitate poenarum.

QUOD igitur de sempiterno supplicio damnatorum per suum prophetam Deus dixit fiet, omnino fiet: *Vermis eorum non morietur et ignis eorum non extinguetur.* Ad hoc enim vehementius commendandum etiam Dominus Iesus, cum membra quae hominem scandalizant pro his hominibus poneret quos ut sua membra dextra quis diligit, eaque praeciperet amputari: *Bonum est tibi, inquit, debilem introire in vitam quam duas manus habentem ire in gehennam, in ignem inextinguibilem, ubi vermis eorum non moritur et ignis non extinguitur.* Similiter de pede: *Bonum est tibi, inquit, claudum introire in vitam aeternam quam duos pedes habentem mitti in gehennam ignis inextinguibilis, ubi vermis eorum non moritur et ignis non extinguitur.* Non aliter ait et de oculo: *Bonum est tibi luscum introire in regnum Dei quam duos oculos*

¹ Isaiah 66.24.

predict that God will do what he has declared he will do with the bodies of men, and that no difficulty will detain him, no law of nature circumscribe him. The way in which he has foretold this has been adequately set forth in the preceding book, where I gathered from the Old and New Testaments, not all the passages indeed which relate to the matter, but such as I judged sufficient for the present purpose.

IX

Gehenna, and the Nature of Eternal Punishment.

THEREFORE what God through his prophet said concerning the everlasting punishment of the lost will come to pass, yea, it will certainly come to pass: "Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched."¹ For our Lord Jesus also, to press this point more strongly, used these words repeatedly. When he spoke of members that cause a man to stumble, letting 'members' stand for such persons as anyone loves as much as his own right hand and foot, and advises that they should be cut off, the words are: "It is better for you to enter into life maimed than having two hands to go into gehenna, into unquenchable fire, where their worm does not die and their fire is not quenched." Likewise he says of the foot: "It is better for you to enter into eternal life lame than having two feet to be sent into the gehenna of unquenchable fire, where their worm does not die and their fire is not quenched." And not otherwise does he speak of the eye: "It is better for you to enter the kingdom of God with one eye

habentem mitti in gehennam ignis, ubi vermis eorum non moritur et ignis non extinguitur. Non eum piguit uno loco eadem verba ter dicere. Quem non terreat ista repetitio et illius poenae commendatio tam vehemens ore divino?

Utrumque autem horum, ignem scilicet atque vermem, qui volunt ad animi poenas non ad corporis pertinere, dicunt etiam uri dolore animi sero atque infructuose paenitentes eos qui fuerint a regno Dei separati, et ideo ignem pro isto dolore urente non incongrue poni potuisse contendunt. Unde illud apostoli est: *Quis scandalizatur, et non ego uror?* Eundem etiam vermem putant intellegendum esse. Nam scriptum est, inquit: *Sicut tinea vestimentum et vermis lignum, sic maeror excruciat cor viri.* Qui vero poenas et animi et corporis in illo supplicio futuras esse non dubitant, igne uri corpus, animum autem rodi quodam modo verme maeroris adfirmant. Quod etsi credibilis dicitur, quia utique absurdum est ibi dolorem aut corporis aut animi defuturum, ego tamen facilius est ut ad corpus dicam utrumque pertinere quam neutrum, et ideo tacitum in illis divinae scripturae verbis animi dolorem, quoniam consequens esse intellegitur, etiamsi non dicatur, ut corpore sic dolente animus quoque sterili paenitentia crucietur. Legitur quippe et in veteribus scripturis:

¹ Mark 9.47-48.

² 2 Corinthians 11.29.

³ Proverbs 25.20 LXX, Vulgate.

than having two eyes to be thrown into the gehenna of fire where their worm does not die and their fire is not quenched.”¹ He does not scruple in one passage to repeat the same words three times. Who would not be frightened by this repetition, and by the strong statement confirming this punishment, uttered by divine lips?

Those who would make both of these, the fire and the worm, refer to punishment of the mind and not to that of the body, say that those who have been separated from the kingdom of God, repenting too late and in vain, burn with mental anguish, and hence they argue that the word “fire” may have been used fittingly for burning pain. Hence the saying of the Apostle: “Who is caused to stumble, and I do not burn?”² And they think that the worm also should be understood in the same way. For, they say, it is written: “As the moth eats the garment and the worm the wood, so does grief afflict the heart of a man.”³ But those who do not doubt that there will be in that punishment suffering both of mind and body affirm that the body is burnt with fire, and the mind somehow gnawed by the worm of grief. Although this statement is somewhat more plausible, for it is certainly absurd to say that pain either of body or of mind will be lacking there, still it is easier for me to say that both worm and fire refer to the body, rather than neither. Mental pain is omitted in those words of Scripture because it is understood, though tacitly, that when the body is in pain the mind also must logically be tortured by a fruitless repentance. For in the ancient Scriptures we also read: “The punishment of the flesh of the wicked is

Vindicta carnis impiū ignis et vermis. Potuit brevius dici: Vindicta impiū. Cur ergo dictum est: *carnis impiū*, nisi quia utrumque, id est et ignis et vermis, poena erit carnis? Aut si vindictam carnis propterea dicere voluit, quia hoc in homine vindicabitur quod secundum carnem vixerit—propter hoc enim veniet in mortem secundam, quam significavit apostolus dicens: *Si enim secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini*—eligat quisque quod placet, aut ignem tribuere corpori animo vermem, hoc proprie illud tropice, aut utrumque proprie corpori.

Iam enim satis superius disputavi posse animalia etiam in ignibus vivere, in ustione sine consumptione, in dolore sine morte, per miraculum omnipotentissimi Creatoris. Cui hoc possibile esse qui negat, a quo sit quidquid in naturis omnibus miratur ignorat. Ipse est enim Deus, qui omnia in hoc mundo magna et parva miracula quae commemoravimus, et incomparabiliter plura quae non commemoravimus, fecit eademque ipso mundo uno atque omnium maximo miraculo inclusit. Eligat ergo unum e duobus quisque quod placet, utrum et vermem ad corpus proprie an ad animum translato a corporalibus ad incorporalia vocabulo existimet pertinere. Quid autem horum verum sit res ipsa expeditius indicabit quando erit scientia tanta sanctorum ut eis cognoscendarum illarum poenarum necessaria non sit ex-

fire and worm.”¹ It could have been put more briefly, “the punishment of the wicked.” Why, then, was it said “of the flesh of the wicked” if not because both fire and worm will be the punishment of the flesh? Or perhaps the punishment of the flesh is mentioned here because that part of a man is punished that has lived according to the flesh—since that is what will bring him to the second death, which the Apostle had in mind when he said: “For if you live according to the flesh, you shall die.”² Let each one choose what he prefers, either to refer fire to the body, worm to the mind, the one literally, the other figuratively, or to refer both literally to the body.

For I have already done enough in the foregoing to prove that animals can live even amid flames, in conflagration without being consumed, and in pain without dying by the marvellous power of the almighty Creator. And he who declares that this is impossible for him does not know him from whom all marvels in nature are derived. For it is God himself who made all the marvels in this world, small and great, that I have mentioned, and an incomparably greater number that I have not mentioned, and enclosed them in the universe itself, a single miracle, and greatest of all. So let each choose, as he likes, one of the two alternatives, whether he thinks the worm pertains literally to the body or figuratively to the mind, the word being translated from corporeal to incorporeal things. But which of these is true the fact itself will one day more conveniently show. Then such will be the knowledge of the saints that they will not need experience of those punish-

¹ Ecclesiasticus 7.19 Vulgate (not LXX).

² Romans 8.13.

perientia, sed ea quae tunc erit plena atque perfecta ad hoc quoque sciendum sapientia sola sufficiat—nunc enim ex parte scimus donec veniat quod perfectum est—dum tamen nullo modo illa corpora talia futura esse credamus ut nullis ab igne afficiantur doloribus.

X

An ignis gehennae, si corporalis est, possit malignos spiritus, id est daemones incorporeos, tactu suo adurere.

Hic occurrit quaerere: Si non erit ignis incorporealis sicut est animi dolor, sed corporalis, tactu noxius ut eo possint corpora cruciari, quo modo in eo erit etiam poena spirituum malignorum? Idem quippe ignis erit supplicio scilicet hominum adtributus et daemonum, dicente Christo: *Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius.* Nisi quia sunt quaedam sua etiam daemonibus corpora, sicut doctis hominibus visum est, ex isto aere crasso atque umido cuius impulsus vento flante sentitur. Quod genus elementi si nihil igne perpeti posset, non ureret fervefactus in balneis. Ut enim urat prior uritur, facitque cum patitur. Si autem quisquam nulla habere corpora daemones adseverat, non est de hac re aut laborandum operosa inquisitione aut contentiosa disputatione certandum. Cur

¹ I Corinthians 13.9-10.

² Matthew 25.41.

ments in order to be acquainted with them, but their inspired wisdom, which will then be full and complete, will by itself suffice to know this also, for now "we know in part," until "that which is perfect is come."¹ However, we must by no means believe that those bodies will be such as to suffer no pain from fire.

X

Whether the fire of gehenna, if it is material fire, can burn by its contact the evil spirits, that is, immaterial demons.

HERE the question intrudes: If the fire is not immaterial like mental suffering, but material and harmful by contact, so that bodies can be tortured by it, how will the punishment of evil spirits also take place in it? No doubt it will be the same fire that is assigned to the punishment of men and demons, as Christ says: "Depart from me, you cursed ones, into the everlasting fire that is prepared for the devil and his angels."² But perhaps the demons have a kind of body peculiar to themselves, as some learned men have thought, formed of the thick and humid sort of air whose pressure is felt when the wind is blowing. If this kind of element were not subject to the action of fire, it would not burn when heated in the baths, for in order to burn it is first burned, and it acts when acted upon. But if anyone asserts that demons have no bodies, it is not necessary to engage in tedious inquiry or contentious discussion on the point, for why can we not say that in

enim non dicamus quamvis miris tamen veris modis etiam spiritus incorporeos posse poena corporalibus ignis affligi, si spiritus hominum etiam ipsi profecto incorporei et nunc potuerunt includi corporalibus membris et tunc poterunt corporum suorum vinculis insolubiliter alligari? Adhaerebunt ergo, si eis nulla sunt corpora, spiritus daemonum immo spiritus daemones licet incorporei, corporeis ignibus cruciandi, non ut ignes ipsi quibus adhaerebunt eorum iunctura inspirentur et animalia fiant quae constant spiritu et corpore, sed ut dixi miris et ineffabilibus modis adhaerendo, accipientes ex ignibus poenam non dantes ignibus vitam; quia et iste alius modus quo corporibus adhaerent spiritus et animalia fiunt omnino mirus est nec comprehendi ab homine potest, et hoc ipse homo est.

Dicerem quidem sic arsuros sine ullo suo corpore spiritus sicut ardebat apud inferos ille dives quando dicebat: *Crucior in hac flamma*, nisi convenienter responderi cernerem talem fuisse illam flammam quales oculi quos levavit et Lazarus vidit, qualis lingua cui umorem exiguum desideravit infundi, qualis digitus Lazari de quo id sibi fieri postulavit; ubi tamen erant sine corporibus animae. Sic ergo incorporalis et illa flamma qua exarsit et illa guttula quam poposcit, qualia sunt etiam visa dormientium sive in ecstasi cernentium res incorporales habentes tamen similitudinem corporum. Nam et ipse homo

some way, that is still a fact, however miraculous it may be, that immaterial spirits can also be made to suffer punishment by material fire? The spirits of men, though they too are certainly immaterial, have been capable of being enclosed in material members, and will then be capable of indissoluble attachment to their own bodies. So the spirits of the demons or rather, the spirit-demons, if they have no bodies, since though immaterial they must be tortured by material flames, will be so joined that the fires themselves will not be animated by the union to become living animals consisting of body and spirit, but, as I have said, they will be joined in a marvellous and indescribable way, whereby they will receive their punishment from the flames, yet not give life to them. For that other mode of joining also, by which spirits are joined to bodies and animals are created, is altogether marvellous, and cannot be understood by man—and yet man himself is such a being.

I might, in fact, say that spirits will burn without any body of their own, just as the rich man was burning in hell when he said, "I am tortured in this flame,"¹ if I did not notice that it is a good answer to say that the flame was of the same sort as the eyes which he lifted up to see Lazarus, the tongue which he wished moistened with a little water, and the finger of Lazarus with which he asked this to be done for him—and that in a place where souls existed without bodies. Hence, both the flame in which he burned and the drop of water that he asked for were immaterial, like the things seen in sleep or by those who see immaterial things in a trance that still have the appearance of bodies. For in such visions,

¹ Luke 16.24.

cum spiritu non corpore sit in talibus visis, ita se tamen tunc similem suo corpori videt ut discernere omnino non possit. At vero gehenna illa, quod etiam stagnum ignis et sulphuris dictum est, corporeus ignis erit et cruciabit corpora damnatorum, aut et hominum et daemonum solida hominum aëria daemonum, aut tantum hominum corpora cum spiritibus, daemones autem spiritus sine corporibus haerentes sumendo poenam, non inertiendo vitam corporalibus ignibus. Unus quippe utrisque ignis erit, sicut Veritas dixit.

XI

An hoc ratio iustitiae habeat ut non sint extensiora poenarum tempora quam fuerint peccatorum.

Si autem quidam eorum contra quos defendimus civitatem Dei iniustum putant ut pro peccatis quamlibet magnis, parvo scilicet tempore perpetratis, poena quisque damnetur aeterna—quasi ullius id umquam iustitia legis adtendat ut tanta mora temporis quisque puniatur quanta mora temporis unde puniretur admisit. Octo genera poenarum in legibus esse scribit Tullius, damnum, vincla, verbera, talionem, ignominiam, exilium, mortem, servitutem—quid horum est quod in breve tempus pro cuiusque peccati celeritate coartetur ut tanta vindicetur morula quanta deprehenditur perpetratum, nisi forte

¹ Revelation 20.10.

² A fragment of uncertain source.

though the man himself is in spirit, not in body, still he then sees himself in such a bodily likeness that he can detect no difference. The gehenna of which we speak, however, which is also called the lake of fire and brimstone,¹ will be a material fire and will torture bodies of the damned souls, either bodies in both cases, the bodies of men being solid, those of demons aëriiform; or it will torture the bodies of men only, along with their spirits, while the spirit-demons without bodies will be joined to material flames so far as to receive punishment but not to impart life to the fire. For there will be one fire for both, as Truth has said.

XI

Whether justice requires that the time of punishment should not be longer than the time of sinning.

MOREOVER, some of those against whom we are defending the city of God think it unjust that a man should be condemned to eternal punishment for crimes, however great, committed in a short period of time. As if any just law would ever make it an aim that punishment should equal in length the time it took to become liable to punishment! Cicero writes that there are eight kinds of penalties provided by law: fine, imprisonment, scourging, retaliation, loss of status, exile, death, slavery.² Which of these is restricted to a period short enough to match the swiftness of the crime so that punishment is as brief when inflicted as the brief span in which the crime is found to have been perpetrated—unless it be retali-

talio? Id enim agit, ut hoc patiatur quisque quod fecit. Unde illud est legis: *Oculum pro oculo, dentem pro dente*. Fieri enim potest ut tam brevi tempore quisque amittat oculum severitate vindictae quam tulit ipse alteri improbitate peccati. Porro autem si alienae feminae osculum infixum rationis sit verbere vindicare, nonne qui illud puncto temporis fecerit incomparabili horarum spatio verberatur et suavitas voluptatis exiguae diuturno dolore punitur? Quid, in vinculis numquid tamdiu quisque iudicandus est esse debere quamdiu fecit unde meruit alligari, cum iustissime annosas poenas servus in compedibus pendat qui verbo aut ictu celerrime transeunte vel lacessivit dominum vel plagavit? Iam vero damnum, ignominia, exilium, servitus cum plerumque sic infliguntur ut nulla venia relaxentur, nonne pro huius vitae modo similia poenis videntur aeternis? Ideo quippe aeterna esse non possunt, quia nec ipsa vita quae his plectitur porrigitur in aeternum. Et tamen peccata quae vindicantur longissimi temporis poenis brevissimo tempore perpetrantur, nec quisquam extitit qui censeret tam cito nocentium finienda esse tormenta quam cito factum est vel homicidium vel adulterium vel sacrilegium vel quodlibet aliud scelus non temporis longitudine sed iniquitatis et impietatis magnitudine metiendum. Qui vero pro aliquo grandi crimine morte multatur, numquid mora qua occiditur quae perbrevis est eius supplicium leges aestimant, et non quod eum in sempiternum auferunt

¹ The law of retaliation (*lex talionis*) belonged to early Roman law, as well as to the law of Moses.

² Exodus 21.24; Matthew 5.38.

tion?¹ For that concerns itself to make each man suffer what he inflicted. Hence the precept of the law: "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth."² For it may happen that harsh vengeance will cause a man to lose his eye in as short a time as his wicked crime took to inflict the loss on his neighbour. Moreover, if it is reasonable to punish with a lash a kiss given to another's wife, is not the man who does this in a moment of time scourged for a disproportionate period of hours, so that the sweetness of a moment's pleasure is avenged by long continued pain? What now? Should we suppose that a man ought to remain in chains only as long as it took to do the deed that brings him into bonds, while a slave who by word or by swift blow has offended or struck his master, justly pays the penalty of years in shackles? Now since fine, loss of status, exile and slavery are generally so imposed that they are not eased by any pardon, are they not comparable to eternal punishment, as far as the measure of this life allows? Note that the reason why they cannot be eternal is that the life of one punished by them is not eternally prolonged. However, the crimes that are avenged by penalties of longest duration are perpetrated in the shortest time, and no man living would propose that the torments of the guilty should be ended as quickly as the deed was done—murder, or adultery, or sacrilege, or any other crime that ought to be measured not by length of time, but by the enormity of its injustice and impiety. And when a man is punished by death for some great crime, do the laws reckon his punishment by the time in which he is being executed, which is very short, or by his

de societate viventium? Quod est autem de ista civitate mortali homines supplicio primae mortis, hoc est de illa civitate immortalis homines supplicio secundae mortis auferre. Sicut enim non efficiunt leges huius civitatis ut in eam quisque revocetur occisus, sic nec illius, ut in vitam revocetur aeternam secunda morte damnatus.

Quo modo ergo verum est, inquiunt quod ait Christus vester: *In qua mensura mensi fueritis, in ea remetietur vobis*, si temporale peccatum supplicio punitur aeterno? Nec attendunt non propter aequale temporis spatium sed propter vicissitudinem mali, id est ut qui mala fecerit mala patiatur, eandem dictam fuisse mensuram. Quamvis hoc in ea re proprie possit accipi de qua Dominus cum hoc diceret loquebatur, id est de iudiciis et condemnationibus. Proinde qui iudicat et condemnat iniuste, si iudicatur et condemnatur iuste, in eadem mensura recipit, quamvis non hoc quod dedit. Iudicio enim fecit, iudicio patitur; quamvis fecerit damnatione quod iniustum est, patiatur damnatione quod iustum est.

everlasting expulsion from the society of the living? But to expel men from this mortal city by the punishment of the first death is the same as to expel them from that immortal city by the punishment of the second death. For just as the laws of this city do not operate to recall one who has been put to death, so neither do the laws of that city operate to recall to eternal life one condemned to the second death.

“Then how,” they ask, “is the word of your Christ true, ‘The measure that you give will be the measure that you get back,’¹ if a sin in time is punished by timeless punishment?” They do not observe that the measure is said to be the same, not because of an equal space of time, but because of the matching of evil with evil; that is, one who has done evil must suffer evil. This statement may, however, be properly applied to the matter of which the Lord was speaking at the time, that is, judgements and condemnations. Accordingly, if one who judges and condemns unjustly is justly judged and condemned, he receives the same measure, though not the same thing, which he gave. For his act was in judging and he suffers in being judged; although in condemning he did what is unjust, in being condemned he suffers what is just.

¹ Luke 6.38.

XII

De magnitudine praevaricationis primae, ob quam aeterna poena omnibus debeat qui extra gratiam fuerint Salvatoris.

SED poena aeterna ideo dura et iniusta sensibus videtur humanis quia in hac infirmitate moribundorum sensuum deest ille sensus altissimae purissimaeque sapientiae quo sentiri possit quantum nefas in illa prima praevaricatione commissum sit. Quanto enim magis homo fruebatur Deo, tanto maiore impietate dereliquit Deum; et factus est malo dignus aeterno qui hoc in se peremit bonum quod esse posset aeternum. Hinc est universa generis humani massa damnata, quoniam qui hoc primus admisit cum ea quae in illo fuerat radicata sua stirpe punitus est, ut nullus ab hoc iusto debitoque supplicio nisi misericordiae et indebita gratia liberetur, atque ita dispertiat genus humanum ut in quibusdam demonstraretur quid valeat misericors gratia, in ceteris quid iusta vindicta. Neque enim utrumque demonstraretur in omnibus, quia si omnes remaneret in poenis iustae damnationis, in nullo appareret misericors gratia; rursus si omnes a tenebris transferrentur in lucem, in nullo appareret veritas¹ ultionis. In qua propterea multo plures quam in illa sunt, ut sic

¹ *The Benedictine editors have one MS. to support their reading severitas.*

XII

On the magnitude of the first transgression, for which eternal punishment is due to all who are excluded from the Saviour's grace.

BUT eternal punishment seems hard and unjust to men because in the weakness of our mortal perceptions there is lacking a perception of that high and pure wisdom by which man may perceive how great a crime was done in that first transgression. For the more intimately man then enjoyed God, the greater was his impiety in deserting God; and the one who destroyed this good in himself which might have been eternal became worthy of eternal evil. Hence the whole mass of mankind was condemned,¹ since he who first sinned was punished along with the stock that had its root in him, and from that just and merited punishment no one is freed except by merciful and unmerited grace. Thus the human race is cut in two, so that in the one portion is displayed the power of merciful grace, in the other the power of just vengeance. Both could not be shown in all men, for if all remained subject to the punishment of just damnation, merciful grace would appear in none, and again if all were brought from darkness to light, in none would appear the verity of vengeance. Far more experience the vengeance of God than his grace, in order that it may thus be shown what

¹ That the mass of mankind is condemned for Adam's sin is a doctrine emphasized by Augustine especially in his controversy with the Pelagians. See his *Manual (Enchiridion)* 27 and Rivière's note in *Bibliothèque Augustinienne* IX, 345 f.

ostendatur quid omnibus deberetur. Quod si omnibus redderetur iustitiam vindicantis iuste nemo reprehenderet, quia vero tam multi exinde liberantur est unde agantur maximae gratiae gratuito muneri liberantis.

XIII

Contra opinionem eorum, qui putant criminosis supplicia post mortem causa purgationis adhiberi.

PLATONICI quidem, quamvis impunita nulla velint esse peccata, tamen omnes poenas emendationi adhiberi putant, vel humanis inflictas legibus vel divinis, sive in hac vita sive post mortem, si aut parcatur hic cuique aut ita plectatur ut hic non corrigatur. Hinc est Maronis illa sententia ubi, cum dixisset de terrenis corporibus moribundisque membris quod animae

Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, nec auras

Suspiciunt, clausae tenebris et carcere caeco,
secutus adiunxit atque ait:

Quin et supremo cum lumine vita reliquit
(id est cum die novissimo reliquit eas ista vita),

Non tamen (inquit) omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes

Corporeae excedunt pestes, penitusque necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.

Ergo exercentur poenis veterumque malorum

was due to all. If vengeance were rendered to all, no one could rightly censure the justice of him who punishes justly; but since so many are freed from punishment, there is reason to give the greatest thanks for the free gift of him who frees them.

XIII

Against the opinion of those who think that punishments are inflicted on the guilty after death for the purpose of cleansing.

THE Platonists, though they choose to believe that no sins are unpunished, nevertheless think that all punishments are intended for correction, whether imposed by divine or human laws, whether in this life or after death, in case anyone either gets no punishment in this life, or receives punishment that does not effect correction here. On this view is based a well-known passage of Virgil. After speaking of earthly bodies and mortal frames, whence souls "derive their fears and desires, their griefs and joys, and fail to look up to heaven while locked in the darkness of their prison," he continues: "Nay, even when last they see the light, and life departs" (that is, when this life has left them on their last day), "still from their wretched souls not all the evil nor all the plagues of the body depart entirely, but many a taint long joined in growth must needs remain attached in wondrous wise. Hence they are disciplined by punishments, and pay the penalties for

Supplicia expendunt; aliae panduntur inanes
 Suspensae ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto
 Infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni.

Qui hoc opinantur nullas poenas nisi purgatorias volunt esse post mortem, ut, quoniam terris superiora sunt elementa aqua aer ignis, ex aliquo istorum mundetur per expiatorias poenas quod terrena contagione contractum est. Aer quippe accipitur in eo quod ait: "Suspensae ad ventos"; aqua in eo quod ait: "Sub gurgite vasto"; ignis autem suo nomine expressus est cum dixit: "Aut exuritur igni."

Nos vero etiam in hac quidem mortali vita esse quasdam poenas purgatorias confitemur, non quibus affliguntur quorum vita vel non inde fit melior vel potius inde fit peior, sed illis sunt purgatoriae qui eis coerciti corriguntur. Ceterae omnes poenae, sive temporariae sive sempiternae, sicut unusquisque divina providentia tractandus est, inferuntur vel pro peccatis sive praeteritis sive in quibus adhuc vivit ille qui plectitur, vel pro exercendis declarandisque virtutibus per homines et angelos seu bonos seu malos. Nam etsi quisque mali aliquid alterius inprobitate vel errore patiatur, peccat quidem homo qui vel ignorantia vel iniustitia cuiquam mali aliquid facit, sed non peccat Deus, qui iusto quamvis occulto iudicio fieri sinit. Sed temporarias poenas alii in hac vita tantum, alii post mortem, alii et nunc et tunc. verum tamen ante iudicium illud severissimum novissimumque patiuntur. Non autem omnes veniunt

old misdeeds. Some are spread out exposed to the bodiless winds, others have their stain of sin washed out beneath a huge whirlpool, or burned out with fire."¹ Those who hold this opinion think that there are no penalties after death except those intended for cleansing. Hence, since the elements of water, air and fire are superior to earth, they think that in one of these the guilt acquired from contact with earth may be cleansed through expiatory penalties. Air, of course, is meant when he says "exposed to the bodiless winds," water when he says "beneath a huge whirlpool," while fire is expressly mentioned when he says "burned out with fire."

We indeed admit that even in this mortal life there are cleansing penalties—not such afflictions as fail to improve the character, or even make it worse, but penalties cleansing for those who are restrained and corrected by them. All other penalties, whether temporal or eternal, according as divine providence must deal with each man, are sometimes inflicted for sins, whether these are past sins or sins in which the man is still living, and sometimes are inflicted to exercise and exhibit a man's virtues, through the agency of men or angels, good or bad. For though a man may suffer some evil by the wickedness or mistake of another, while that man sins who does evil through ignorance or unrighteousness, yet God does not sin in allowing it to be done, according to his just judgement, however inscrutable. But temporary penalties are suffered by some in this life only, by others only after death, by others both now and then, yet still before that stern and final judgement. And not all who suffer temporary penalties after

¹ Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.733-742.

in sempiternas poenas quae post illud iudicium sunt futurae qui post mortem sustinent temporales. Nam quibusdam quod in isto non remittitur remitti in futuro saeculo, id est, ne futuri saeculi aeterno supplicio puniantur, iam supra diximus.

XIV

De poenis temporalibus istius vitae, quibus subiecta est humana condicio.

RARISSIMI sunt autem qui nullas in hac vita, sed tantum post eam poenas luunt. Fuisse tamen aliquos, qui usque ad decrepitam senectutem ne levissimam quidem febriculam senserint quietamque duxerint vitam, et ipsi novimus et audivimus. Quamquam vita ipsa mortalium tota poena sit quia tota temptatio est, sicut sacrae litterae personant ubi scriptum est: *Numquid non temptatio est vita humana super terram?* Non enim parva poena est ipsa insipientia vel inperitia, quae usque adeo fugienda merito iudicatur ut per poenas doloribus plenas pueri cogantur quaeque artificia vel litteras discere. Ipsumque discere, ad quod poenis adiguntur, tam poenale est eis ut nonnumquam ipsas poenas per quas compelluntur discere malint ferre quam discere. Quis autem non exhorreat et mori eligat, si ei proponatur aut mors perpetianda aut rursus infantia? Quae quidem quod non a risu sed a fletu orditur

¹ See 20.25 (Vol. VI, 415 f.), also Chapters XXIV and XXVI, pp. 118, 146 below, with notes.

² Job 7.1 LXX.

death arrive among the eternal punishments that will follow that judgement. For, as we have already said, there are certain men whose sins, not forgiven in this world, will be forgiven in the next, so that they will not be punished in the eternal punishment of that world.¹

XIV

Of the temporal punishments of this life, to which the lot of man is subject.

THERE are very few who suffer no punishments in this life, but are punished only after death. However, I have myself known some, and heard of some, who led a peaceful life till extreme old age without even the slightest illness. And yet the whole of mortal life is itself a punishment; for the whole is a trial, as the Scriptures declare: "Is not the life of man on the earth a trial?"² For folly itself, or ignorance, is no small punishment, and since men rightly judge that it must be shunned, boys are compelled by painful penalties to learn their trades, or letters. And the work of learning, to which they are driven by the penalties, is so much a punishment for them that sometimes they prefer to endure the penalties by which they are being driven to learn, rather than to learn.³ Who would not shiver with dread and choose to die, if he were offered the choice of death or a second infancy? The fact that the babe begins his life not with laughter but with

³ For Augustine's account of his miseries in school see *Confessions* 1.9.14.

hanc lucem, quid malorum ingressa sit nesciens prophetat quodam modo. Solum quando natus est ferunt risisse Zoroastrem, nec ei boni aliquid monstruosus risus ille portendit. Nam magicarum artium fuisse perhibetur inventor, quae quidem illi nec ad praesentis vitae vanam felicitatem contra suos inimicos prodesse potuerunt; a Nino quippe rege Assyriorum, cum esset ipse Bactrianorum, bello superatus est. Prorsus quod scriptum est: *Grave iugum super filios Adam a die exitus de ventre matris eorum usque in diem sepulturae in matrem omnium*, usque adeo impleri necesse est ut ipsi parvuli per lavacrum regenerationis ab originalis peccati quo solo tenebantur vinculo iam soluti mala multa patientes nonnulli et incursus spirituum malignorum aliquando patiantur. Quae quidem passio absit ut eis obsit, si hanc vitam in illa aetate etiam ipsa passione ingravescente et animam de corpore excludente finierint.

XV

Quod omne opus gratiae Dei eruentis nos de profunditate veteris mali ad futuri saeculi pertineat novitatem.

VERUM tamen in gravi iugo quod positum est super filios Adam a die exitus de ventre matris eorum usque in diem sepulturae in matrem omnium, etiam hoc

¹ Pliny, *Natural History* 7.16.72.

² Pliny 30.2.3; Eusebius, *Chronicle* 20*; Justin, *Philippic History* 1.1.7-10.

wailing is a kind of unconscious prophecy what a path of evils it has entered upon. Zoroaster alone is said to have laughed when he was born,¹ nor did that freakish laughter portend any good for him. For they say that he was the inventor of magic arts, yet these were of no avail against his enemies, even to gain the vain felicity of this present life, for he was defeated in war by Ninus, king of the Assyrians, while he himself was king of the Bactrians.² Truly, as it is written: "A heavy yoke is on the sons of Adam from the day when they come from their mother's womb till the day when they are buried in the mother of all,"³ so must these words be fulfilled even to the point where babes freed already by the washing of regeneration from original sin, by which alone they were bound, suffer many ills, and some at times even suffer the attacks of malignant spirits. But let it not be thought that this suffering harms them, even if they depart from life at that early age, as the suffering grows worse and expels the soul from the body.

XV

The entire work of God's grace, in lifting us from the depth of evil, relates to the new life of the world to come.

BUT as for the heavy yoke which is placed on the sons of Adam from the day when they come forth from their mother's womb until the day when they are buried in the mother of all, even this evil is found

³ Ecclesiasticus 40.1.

malum mirabile reperitur, ut sobrii simus atque intellegamus hanc vitam de peccato illo nimis nefario quod in paradiso perpetratum est, factam nobis esse poenalem totumque quod nobiscum agitur per testamentum novum non pertinere nisi ad novi saeculi hereditatem novam, ut hic pignore accepto illud cuius hoc pignus est suo tempore consequamur, nunc autem ambulemus in spe et proficientes de die in diem spiritu facta carnis mortificemus. *Novi enim Dominus qui sunt eius, et quotquot spiritu Dei aguntur, hi filii sunt Dei, sed gratia non natura.* Unicus enim natura Dei filius propter nos misericordia factus est hominis filius, ut nos, natura filii hominis, filii Dei per illum gratia fieremus. Manens quippe ille inmutabilis naturam nostram, in qua nos susciperet, suscepit a nobis et tenax divinitatis suae nostrae infirmitatis particeps factus est, ut nos in melius commutati, quod peccatores mortalesque sumus eius immortalis et iusti participatione amittamus et quod in natura nostra bonum fecit impletum summo bono in eius naturae bonitate servemus. Sicut enim per unum hominem peccantem in hoc tam grave malum devenimus, ita per unum hominem eundemque Deum iustificantem ad illud bonum tam sublime veniemus.

Nec quisquam se debet ab isto ad illum transisse confidere, nisi cum ibi fuerit ubi temptatio nulla erit, nisi pacem tenuerit quam belli huius, in quo

to be a marvellous teacher. It teaches that we should be sober and understand that this life has been made our punishment for that exceeding wicked sin which was committed in Paradise, and that all that is done for us in the new covenant relates to nothing else than the new inheritance of the new world, in order that after here receiving the pledge we may in due time obtain that for which the pledge was given. Meanwhile we must walk by faith, and advancing from day to day, we must by the Spirit put to death the deeds of the flesh.¹ For "the Lord knoweth them that are his,"² and "as many as are led by the spirit of God, these are the sons of God."³ But they are sons by grace, not by nature, for the only one who was son of God by nature became the son of man for our sake through pity, in order that we who are sons of man by nature might through him become sons of God by grace. Though he remained immutable, he received from us our nature, thereby to receive us to himself. While retaining his own divinity he became partaker of our weakness that we might be changed for the better, and that by partaking of his immortality and righteousness we might cast off our sinful and mortal nature, and might fill with the highest good the good that he created in our nature, and preserve it by sharing in the goodness of his nature. For as through one man who sinned we came into this great evil, so through one man who justifies us, who is at the same time God, we shall arrive at that sublime good.⁴

And no one should suppose that he has passed from the one to the other until he arrives at the place where there shall be no temptation, nor until he gains

¹ Romans 9.23.

² 2 Timothy 2.19.

³ Romans 8.14.

⁴ Galatians 5.17.

caro concupiscit adversus spiritum et spiritus adversus carnem, multis et variis certaminibus quaerit. Hoc autem bellum numquam ullum esset si natura humana per liberum arbitrium in rectitudine in qua facta est perstitisset. Nunc vero quae pacem felix cum Deo habere noluit secum pugnat infelix, et cum sit hoc malum miserabile, melius est tamen quam priora vitae huius. Melius configitur quippe cum vitiis quam¹ sine ulla confictione dominantur. Melius est, inquam, bellum cum spe pacis aeternae quam sine ulla liberationis cogitatione captivitas. Cupimus quidem etiam hoc bello carere et ad capessendam ordinatissimam pacem, ubi firmissima stabilitate potioribus inferiora subdantur, igne divini amoris accendimur. Sed si (quod absit) illius tanti boni spes nulla esset, malle debuimus in huius confictionis molestia remanere quam vitiis in nos dominationem non eis resistendo permittere.

XVI

*Sub quibus gratiae legibus omnes regeneratorum
habeantur aetates.*

VERUM tanta est Dei misericordia in vasa misericordiae quae praeparavit in gloriam, ut etiam prima hominis aetas id est infantia quae sine ullo renisu subiacet carni, et secunda quae pueritia nuncupatur ubi nondum ratio suscepit hanc pugnam et fere sub

¹ *The Benedictine editors improve the construction by adding cum.*

¹ Romans 9.23.

the peace that he seeks amid the many and varied struggles of this war in which flesh lusts against the spirit and spirit against flesh. But there would never have been any such war if man's nature had remained steadfast in that rectitude in which it was created. But now the nature that refused to be happy and at peace with God is unhappy and at war with itself. Though it is in a pitiable state, yet this state is better than the state that preceded this way of life, for it is better to struggle with vices than to be ruled by them without a struggle. Better, I say, is war with the hope of eternal peace than captivity without any prospect of liberation. To be sure, we yearn to escape this war too, and we are inflamed by the fire of God's love to strive for that well-ordered peace where, in immovable stability, lower things are subject to the higher. But even if there were no hope (which God forbid!) of that great good, it would have been our duty to prefer to continue in this troubled conflict rather than to yield and be enslaved to our vices, by not resisting them.

XVI

*Of the laws of grace which govern all the periods
of life of the reborn.*

BUT great is the mercy of God toward the "vessels of mercy"¹ which he has prepared for glory, as we shall see. The first period of life, that is, infancy, is subject to the flesh without a struggle, and the second, which is called childhood, when reason has not yet taken up the battle, is at the mercy of almost all

omnibus vitiosis delectationibus iacet—quia licet fari iam valeat et ideo infantiam transisse videatur nondum in ea est praecepti capax infirmitas mentis—si sacramenta Mediatoris acceperit, etiamsi hanc in eis annis vitam finiat, translata scilicet a potestate tenebrarum in regnum Christi, non solum poenis non praeparetur aeternis, sed ne ulla quidem post mortem purgatoria tormenta patiatur. Sufficit enim sola spiritalis regeneratio ne post mortem obsit quod carnalis generatio cum morte contraxit. Cum autem ventum fuerit ad aetatem quae praeceptum iam capit et subdi potest legis imperio, suscipiendum est bellum contra vitia et gerendum acriter, ne ad damnabilia peccata perducatur. Et si quidem nondum victoriarum consuetudine roborata sunt facilius vincuntur et cedunt, si autem vincere atque imperare consuerunt laboriosa difficultate superantur.

Neque id fit veraciter atque sinceriter nisi verae delectatione iustitiae, haec est autem in fide Christi. Nam si lex iubens adsit et spiritus iuvans desit, per ipsam prohibitionem desiderio crescente atque vincente peccati etiam reatus praevaricationis accedit. Nonnumquam sane apertissima vitia aliis vitis vincuntur occultis quae putantur esse virtutes, in

¹ The “sacraments of the Mediator” here mentioned are the same as “the sacrament of baptism and of the body of Christ” in Chapter XXV, p. 133 below. Even in the case of infants the communion was received immediately after baptism, a practice still observed in the Greek church. In his controversy with the Pelagians Augustine argued that just as no one, child or adult, could enter the kingdom of God unless he was “born of water and of the Spirit” (that is, baptized), so

sinful pleasures. For, though that age has the power of speech, hence seems to have passed beyond infancy, its weakness of discernment is not yet able to keep the commandment of God. Yet if the child has received the sacraments of the Mediator¹ and ends his life during these years, having been translated from the power of darkness into the kingdom of Christ, not only is he not destined to eternal punishment, but he does not even suffer any purgatorial torments after death. For the spiritual regeneration alone is enough to prevent any harm coming after death from what the flesh by birth brought along with its mortality. But when the age is reached that is able to keep the commandment and to be subject to the rule of law, a man must take up the war against the vices and wage it vigorously, lest he be led into damnable sins. And if the vices are not yet strengthened by the habit of victory they are more easily conquered, and yield, but if they are accustomed to conquer and rule they are overcome only with toil and difficulty.

Nor is the victory gained truly and sincerely except by a delight in true righteousness, and this comes by believing in Christ. For if the law is there commanding and the Spirit is not there assisting, through the very prohibition the desire of sin grows and conquers, till the guilt of transgression is added. Sometimes, to be sure, obvious vices are overcome by other vices which are secret and supposed to be virtues,

he could not have eternal life without “eating of the flesh” and “drinking the blood” of Christ (that is, without communion). See *On Forgiveness of Sins and Baptism* 1.26 and 34, also *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* I, 835–837.

quibus regnat superbia et quaedam sibi placendi altitudo ruinosae. Tunc itaque victa vitia deputanda sunt cum Dei amore vincuntur, quem nisi Deus ipse non donat nec aliter nisi per mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Iesum qui factus est particeps mortalitatis nostrae ut nos participes faceret divinitatis suae.

Paucissimi autem sunt tantae felicitatis, ut ab ipsa ineunte adulescentia nulla damnabilia peccata committant vel in flagitiis vel in facinoribus vel in nefariis cuiusquam impietatis errore, sed magna spiritus largitate opprimant, quidquid eis posset carnali delectatione dominari. Plurimi vero praecepto legis accepto, cum prius victi fuerint praevalentibus vitiis et praevaricatores eius effecti, tunc ad gratiam confugiunt adiutantem, qua fiant et amari paenitendo et vehementius pugnando prius Deo subditi atque ita carni praeposita mente victores. Quisquis igitur cupit poenas evadere sempiternas, non solum baptizetur, verum etiam iustificetur in Christo, ac sic vere transeat a diabolo ad Christum. Purgatorias autem poenas nullas futuras opinetur, nisi ante illud ultimum tremendumque iudicium. Nequaquam tamen negandum est etiam ipsum aeternum ignem pro diversitate meritorum quamvis malorum aliis leviolem, aliis futurum esse graviolem, sive ipsius vis atque ardor pro poena digna cuiusque varietur, sive

among which pride is chief, and a loftiness of self-complacency that leads to a great fall. Therefore, then only may we consider vices overcome when they are overcome by love for God. This love is granted only by God himself, and only through the mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus,¹ who was made a partaker of our mortality that he might make us partakers of his divinity.

But very few are so fortunate that from the beginning of their youth they commit no damnable sins (either in disgraceful deeds, or crimes, or in the error of some abominable impiety), but instead by the great bounty of the Spirit crush whatever vice might have enslaved them through carnal pleasure. Very many, on the other hand, when they first learn the precept of the law, are overcome by vices too strong for them, and become transgressors of the law. Then they flee to grace for help, whereby they become victors, for by repenting more bitterly and struggling more earnestly they first bring their mind into subjection to God and thus set it to rule over the flesh. So whoever desires to escape eternal punishment must not only be baptized, but also made righteous in Christ, thus truly passing from the devil to Christ. But as for cleansing penalties, let him not imagine that there will be any unless they precede that last and terrible judgement. However, it may be granted that even the eternal fire will be a lighter punishment for some and heavier for others, according as their deserts, though all are evil, are more or less. Perhaps its violence and heat will be varied according to the punishment each one

¹ 1 Timothy 2.5.

ipse aequaliter ardeat sed non aequali molestia sentiatur.

XVII

De his qui putant nullorum hominum poenas in aeternum esse mansuras.

NUNC iam cum misericordiis nostris agendum esse video et pacifice disputandum, qui vel omnibus illis hominibus quos iustissimus iudex dignos gehennae supplicio iudicabit, vel quibusdam eorum, nolunt credere poenam sempiternam futuram, sed post certi temporis metas pro cuiusque peccati quantitate longioris sive brevioris eos inde existimant liberandos. Qua in re misericordior profecto fuit Origenes, qui et ipsum diabolum atque angelos eius post graviora pro meritis et diuturniora supplicia ex illis cruciatibus eruendos et sociandos sanctis angelis credidit. Sed illum et propter hoc et propter alia nonnulla et maxime propter alternantes sine cessatione beatitudines et miserias et statutis saeculorum intervallis ab istis ad illas atque ab illis ad istas itus ac reditus interminabiles non inmerito reprobavit ecclesia; quia et hoc quod misericors videbatur amisit faciendo sanctis veras miserias, quibus poenas luerent, et falsas beatitudines in quibus verum ac securum, hoc est sine timore certum, sempiterni boni gaudium non haberent.

Longe autem aliter istorum misericordia humano

¹ Compare Augustine's previous criticism of Origen in Volume III, Book 11.23.

deserves, or perhaps the fire will burn equally, but will not be felt with equal pain.

XVII

Of those who think that the punishments of no human beings will last for ever.

I SEE that the time has now come to deal with tender-hearted Christians, and argue with them in a friendly spirit. They either refuse to believe that punishment will be eternal for all of those men whom the righteous judge shall judge worthy of hell, or for certain particular ones. For they think that they should be freed from hell after a period of time which will be long or short according to the amount of each man's sin. In this matter Origen was actually even more merciful, believing that the devil, too, and his angels must be delivered from those tortures and associated with the holy angels, after the more severe and long continued punishment which is his due.¹ But the Church has rightly condemned him for this view, and for many others—especially for the notion of periods of happiness and wretchedness that alternate continually, and endless journeys back and forth from one state to the other, at fixed intervals, for ever. For he lost even the advantage of being thought merciful when he imagined real sufferings for the saints, to pay the penalty for their misdeeds, and a false happiness, in which they would not have the true and sure joy of eternal good, that is, a joy without fear of loss.

Quite different is the error, based on human

errat affectu qui hominum illo iudicio damnatorum miseras temporales, omnium vero qui vel citius vel tardius liberantur aeternam felicitatem putant. Quae sententia si propterea bona et vera quia misericors est, tanto erit melior et verior quanto misericordior. Extendatur ergo ac profundatur fons huius misericordiae usque ad damnatos angelos saltem post multa atque proluxa quantumlibet saecula liberandos. Cur usque universam naturam manat humanam, et cum ad angelicam ventum fuerit mox arescit? Non audent tamen se ulterius miserando porrigere et ad liberationem ipsius quoque diaboli pervenire. Verum si aliquis audeat, vincit nemphe istos. Et tamen tanto invenitur errare deformius et contra recta Dei verba perversius quanto sibi videtur sentire clementius.

XVIII

De his qui novissimo iudicio propter intercessionem sanctorum neminem hominum putant esse damnandum.

SUNT etiam, quales in conlocutionibus nostris ipse sum expertus, qui, cum venerari videantur scripturas sanctas, moribus improbandi sunt, et agendo causam suam multo maiorem quam isti misericordiam Deo tribuunt erga humanum genus. Dicunt enim de malis et infidelibus hominibus divinitus quidem verum

sympathy, of those who think that the misery of men condemned in that judgement will be temporary, and the happiness of all who are sooner or later freed will be eternal. If this opinion is true and good for the reason that it is merciful, then the more there is of mercy, the more there will be of goodness and truth. Let the spring of this mercy therefore be enlarged and deepened to include the lost angels, who will surely be freed at last, even if punished for many ages, prolonged as far as you like. Why does this fountain flow for all mankind, and a moment later run dry when it comes to the angels? Still, they do not dare to extend their pity so far as to reach the point of freeing the devil as well. But if someone could be so bold, he certainly surpasses them. And yet he is obviously erring the more odiously and perversely against the true word of God, the more he seems to himself to show kindness in his view of the matter.

XVIII

Of those who think that no one will be condemned in the last judgement, because of the intercession of the saints.

THERE are some men also, of a kind I have met myself in our conferences, who, though they seem to reverence the holy Scriptures, are of reprobate character, and in making a case for themselves ascribe to God much more mercy for mankind than do these others. For, they say, the voice of God truly declares that wicked and faithless men are worthy

praedictum esse quod digni sunt,¹ sed cum ad iudicium ventum fuerit, misericordiam esse superataram. Donabit enim eos, inquit, misericors Deus precibus et intercessionibus sanctorum suorum. Si enim orabant pro illis quando eos patiebantur inimicos, quanto magis quando videbunt humiles supplicesque prostratos! Neque enim credendum est, aiunt, tunc amissuros sanctos viscera misericordiae cum fuerint plenissimae ac perfectissimae sanctitatis ut qui tunc orabant pro inimicis suis quando et ipsi sine peccato non erant, tunc non orent pro supplicibus suis quando nullum coeperint habere peccatum. Aut vero Deus tunc eos non exaudiet tot et tales filios suos, quando in tanta eorum sanctitate nullum inveniet orationis impedimentum? Testimonium vero psalmi, et illi quidem qui permittunt infideles atque impios homines saltem longo tempore cruciari et postea de malis omnibus erui, sed magis isti, pro se dicunt esse ubi legitur: *Numquid obliviscetur misereri Deus aut continebit in ira sua miserationes suas?* Ira eius est, inquit, ut omnes indigni beatitudine sempiterna ipso iudicante puniantur supplicio sempiterno. Sed si vel longum vel prorsus ullum esse permiserit, profecto ut possit hoc fieri, continebit in ira sua miserationes suas, quod eum psalmus dicit non esse facturum. Non enim ait: "Numquid diu continebit in ira sua miserationes suas?" sed quod prorsus non continebit ostendit.

¹ Various editors add morte, poena, or eterno supplicio to supply the needed word for "punishment."

of punishment, yet when it comes to the judgement, mercy will prevail. For a merciful God, they say, will pardon them in answer to the prayers and intercessions of his saints. For if the saints prayed for their enemies while suffering their enmity, how much more will they pray when they see them prostrate in humble entreaty! For it is incredible, they say, that the saints are to lose their bowels of compassion¹ at the time when they have attained full and perfect sainthood. Nor will those who once prayed for their enemies when they were not without sin themselves, fail then to pray for suppliants when they themselves have begun to be without sin. Or will God then not hear his children—so many, and so excellent as they will be—when in their holy state he will find nothing to detract from their prayer? Both the former class, who at least allow the faithless and wicked to be tortured for a long period and later to be delivered from all evils, and, still more, this latter class, say that the Psalm speaks for them when it says: "Will God forget to pity, or shut up in his anger his tender mercies?"² It is by his anger, they say, while he sits as judge, that all those unworthy of eternal happiness are punished by eternal punishment. But if he allows the punishment to be long, or allows any punishment at all, then certainly to make this possible he will be shutting up in anger his tender mercies—which the Psalm says that he will not do. For it does not say: "Will he long shut up in his anger his tender mercies?" but clearly states that he will not shut them up at all.

¹ Colossians 3.12.

² Psalms 77.9.

Sic ergo isti volunt iudicii Dei comminationem non esse mendacem, quamvis sit neminem damnaturus, quem ad modum eius comminationem qua dixit eversurum se esse Nineven civitatem mendacem non possumus dicere; et tamen factum non est, inquit, quod sine ulla condicione praedixit. Non enim ait: "Nineve evertetur si non egerint paenitentiam seque correxerint," sed hoc non addito praenuntiavit futuram eversionem illius civitatis. Quam comminationem propterea veracem putant quia hoc praedixit Deus quod vere digni erant pati, quamvis hoc non esset ipse factururus. Nam etsi paenitentibus pepercit, inquit, utique illos paenitentiam non ignorabat acturos, et tamen absolute ac definite eorum eversionem futuram esse praedixit. Hoc ergo erat, inquit, in veritate severitatis, quia id erant digni; sed in ratione miserationis non erat, quam non continuit in ira sua, ut ab ea poena supplicibus parceret quam fuerat contumacibus comminatus. Si ergo tunc pepercit, aiunt, quando sanctum suum prophetam fuerat parcendo contristaturus, quanto magis tunc miserabilibus supplicantibus parcat quando ut parcat omnes sancti eius orabunt!

Sed hoc quod ipsi suis cordibus suspicantur ideo putant scripturas tacuisse divinas ut multi se corrigant vel prolixarum vel aeternarum timore poenarum, et sint qui possint orare pro eis qui non se correxerint, nec tamen opinantur omni modo id

Hence they explain that the threat of God's judgement is not a lie, though he is going to condemn no one, just as we cannot say that his threat to overthrow the city of Nineveh¹ was a lie, and yet, say they, the event did not occur that he had unconditionally predicted. For he did not say: "Nineveh shall be overthrown unless they repent and reform," but he predicted the overthrow of that city with no qualifying clause. They think that this threat is true inasmuch as God foretold what they truly deserved to suffer, although he was not actually going to do what he said. For though because of their repentance he spared them, he must surely have known, so they say, that they were going to repent, and yet he declared unconditionally and positively that their destruction would come to pass. Hence, they say, this was truly spoken in accordance with the sternness of God, for they were worthy of it, but untruly by the reckoning of his mercy, which he did not shut up in his anger, so that he spared them when suppliants the penalty that he had threatened when they were stubborn and proud. For if he spared men, they say, at the time when he was thereby bound to grieve his holy prophet,² how much more will he spare men pleading still more wretchedly, when all his saints will be praying him to spare them!

This thing that they have surmised in their own hearts is kept hidden, they think, in the Scriptures, in order that many may correct their lives through fear of prolonged, or eternal, punishment, and that there may be saints with power to pray for those who have not corrected their lives. Still, they do

¹ Jonah 3.4.

² Jonah 4.1.

eloquia divina tacuisse. Nam quo pertinet, in-
quiunt, quod scriptum est: *Quam multa multitudo
dulcedinis tuae, Domine, quam abscondisti timentibus te,*
nisi ut intellegamus propter timorem fuisse abscon-
ditam misericordiae divinae tam multam secretamque
dulcedinem? Addunt etiam propterea dixisse apos-
tolum: *Conclisit enim Deus omnes in infidelitate ut
omnium misereatur,* quo significaret quod ab illo nemo
damnabitur. Nec isti tamen qui hoc sentiunt hanc
opinionem suam usque ad liberationem vel nullam
damnationem diaboli atque angelorum eius exten-
dunt. Humana quippe circa solos homines moventur
misericordia et causam maxime agunt suam, per
generalem in genus humanum quasi Dei misera-
tionem impunitatem falsam suis perditis moribus
pollicentes. Ac per hoc superabunt eos in praedi-
canda Dei misericordia qui hanc impunitatem etiam
principi daemonum et eius satellitibus pollicentur.

XIX

*De his qui impunitatem omnium peccatorum promittunt
etiam haereticis propter participationem corporis
Christi.*

ITEM sunt alii ab aeterno supplicio liberationem nec
ipsis saltem omnibus hominibus promittentes, sed
tantummodo Christi baptisate ablutis, qui participes
fiunt corporis eius, quomodolibet vixerint, in quacum-

not think that the Scriptures are entirely silent on the
point. For what is the meaning, they say, of the
passage: "How great is thy sweetness, O Lord,
which thou hast hidden from them that fear thee,"¹
except that we should understand that for the sake
of a wholesome fear the great and secret sweetness
of God's mercy has been hidden? They add also
that when the Apostle said: "For God has shut up
all in unbelief that he might have mercy on all,"²
he meant that no one will be condemned by him.
Yet those who hold this view do not extend their
conjectures to include the release, or freedom from
condemnation, of the devil and his angels. They
are moved by human pity in respect to men alone,
and above all they are pleading their own case, pro-
mising themselves a fictitious impunity for their own
depraved character by ascribing to God a special pity
for the human species. Hence, in proclaiming the
mercy of God, they will be outdone by those who
promise this impunity to the prince of demons also
and to his retinue.

XIX

*Of those who promise heretics as well impunity for
all sins, because of their participation in the
body of Christ.*

LIKEWISE there are others who at least do not
promise escape from eternal punishment to all men,
but only to those washed in Christ's baptism, who
become partakers of his body, no matter how they
may have lived, or in what heresy or impiety they

¹ Psalms 31.19.² Romans 11.32.

que haeresi vel impietate fuerint, propter illud quod ait Iesus: *Hic est panis qui de caelo descendit ut, si quis ex ipso manducaverit, non moriatur. Ego sum panis vivus qui de caelo descendi. Si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane vivet in aeternum.* Ab aeterna ergo morte, inquiunt, necesse est istos erui et ad vitam aeternam quandocumque perduci.

XX

De his qui non omnibus, sed eis tantum qui apud catholicos sunt renati, etiamsi postea in multa crimina erroresque proruperint, indulgentiam pollicentur.

ITEM sunt qui hoc nec omnibus habentibus baptismatis Christi et eius corporis sacramentum, sed solis catholicis quamvis male viventibus pollicentur, quia non solo sacramento, sed re ipsa manducaverunt corpus Christi, in ipso eius corpore constituti de quo dicit apostolus: *Unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus;* ut, etiamsi postea in aliquam haeresim vel etiam in gentilium idolatriam lapsi fuerint, tantum quia in corpore Christi id est in catholica ecclesia sumpserunt baptismum Christi et manducaverunt corpus Christi, non moriantur in aeternum, sed vitam quandoque consequantur aeternam; atque illa omnis impietas, quanto maior fuerit, non eis valeat ad aeternitatem, sed ad diuturnitatem magnitudinemque poenarum.

may have been involved. For they reason that Jesus said: "This is the bread that comes down out of heaven, so that if anyone has eaten of it, he may not die. I am the living bread that came down out of heaven. If anyone has eaten of this bread, he shall live for ever."¹ Therefore, they say, these persons must necessarily be delivered from eternal death, and one day be brought to eternal life.

XX

Of those who promise indulgence, not to all, but only to those reborn in the Catholic Church, even if later they fall into many sins and errors.

LIKEWISE there are some who promise this escape, not to all who have the sacrament of Christ's baptism and his body, but only to Catholics, however wickedly they live. For they have eaten the body of Christ, not only in a sacrament, but also in reality, and are established in his very body, of which the Apostle says: "We who are many are one bread, one body."² Hence, even if they have later lapsed into some heresy or even into heathen idolatry, for the mere reason that in the body of Christ (that is, in the Catholic Church) they have received Christ's baptism and eaten his body they will not die to remain for ever dead, but will at some time attain eternal life. And so all their impiety, however great, cannot lead to eternal punishment, but only to a punishment of greater duration and severity than that of others.

¹ John 6.50-51.² 1 Corinthians 10.17.

XXI

De his qui eos qui permanent in catholica fide, etiamsi pessime vixerint et ob hoc uri meruerint, tamen propter fidei fundamentum salvandos esse definiunt.

SUNT autem qui propter id quod scriptum est: *Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit*, non nisi in ecclesia catholica perseverantibus, quamvis in ea male viventibus, hoc promittunt, per ignem videlicet salvandis merito fundamenti de quo ait apostolus: *Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Iesus. Si quis autem aedificat super fundamentum aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, fenum, stipulam, uniuscuiusque opus manifestabitur; dies enim declarabit, quoniam in igne revelabitur, et uniuscuiusque opus quale sit ignis probabit. Si cuius opus permanserit quod superaedificavit, mercedem accipiet. Si cuius autem opus arserit, damnum patietur; ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem.* Dicunt ergo cuiuslibet vitae catholicum Christianum Christum habere in fundamento, quod fundamentum nulla haeresis habet a corporis eius unitate praecisa, et ideo propter hoc fundamentum, etiamsi malae vitae fuerit catholicus Christianus, velut qui superaedificaverit ligna, fenum, stipulam, putant eum salvum fieri per ignem, id est post poenas ignis illius liberari quo igne in ultimo iudicio punientur mali.

¹ Matthew 24.13.

² 1 Corinthians 3.11-15. Compare Chapter XXVI, pp. 138 f. below.

XXI

Of those who fix the rule that those who persevere in the Catholic faith, though they live most wickedly and hence deserve to burn, nevertheless will be saved for keeping the foundation of faith.

THERE are those who because of the passage, "He that endureth to the end shall be saved,"¹ promise this only to those who persevere in the Catholic Church, however wickedly they live in it. That is, they are to be saved as through fire by the merit of the foundation, of which the Apostle speaks: "For other foundation can no one lay than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus. But if anyone build on the foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, each one's work will be made manifest, for the day will declare it, because it is revealed in fire and the fire will prove each one's work, of what sort it is. If anyone's work shall abide which he built thereon, he will receive a reward. But if anyone's work shall be burned he will suffer loss, but he himself will be saved, yet so as through fire."² Hence they say that a Catholic Christian, be his life what it may, has Christ as his foundation, a foundation that no heresy can have, cut off as it is from the unity of his body. And so they think that even if his life be evil, as was his who built with wood, hay or stubble, the Catholic Christian will be saved through fire. That is, he will be freed after a punishment in that fire by which the wicked will be punished in the last judgement.

XXII

De his qui putant ea crimina quae inter elemosynarum opera committuntur ad damnationis iudicium non vocari.

COMPERI etiam quosdam putare eos tantummodo arsueros illius aeternitate supplicii qui pro peccatis suis facere dignas elemosynas neglegunt, iuxta illud apostoli Iacobi: *Iudicium autem sine misericordia illi qui non fecit misericordiam.* Qui ergo fecit, iniquunt, quamvis mores in melius non mutaverit, sed inter ipsas suas elemosynas nefarie ac nequiter vixerit, iudicium illi cum misericordia futurum est, ut aut nulla damnatione plectatur aut post aliquod tempus sive parvum sive prolixum ab illa damnatione liberetur. Ideo iudicem ipsum vivorum atque mortuorum noluisse existimant aliud commemorare se esse dicturum sive dextris quibus est vitam daturus aeternam, sive sinistris quos aeterno supplicio damnaturus, nisi elemosynas sive factas sive non factas. Ad hoc pertinere aiunt et in oratione Dominica cotidianam postulationem: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.* Quisquis enim illi qui in eum peccavit dimittit ignoscendo peccatum, procul dubio elemosynam facit. Quam rem Dominus ipse sic commendavit ut diceret: *Si enim dimiseritis peccata hominibus, dimittet vobis et pater vester peccata vestra; si autem non dimiseritis hominibus, neque pater vester qui in caelis est dimittet*

¹ The word "alms" (Greek, Latin *elemosyna*) must here be taken in its original meaning, referring to any deed of mercy.

XXII

Of those who think that sins committed amid works of alms are not called into judgement of condemnation.

SOME men also, I have found, think that only those will burn in that eternal punishment who neglect proper alms¹ to atone for their sins. They quote the apostle James: "But judgement will be without mercy to him who has shown no mercy."² So he who has shown mercy, they say, though he has not reformed his ways, but has lived wickedly and worthlessly even while doing alms, will be judged with mercy, and either not condemned at all, or freed from his punishment after some period, short or long. That is the reason, they believe, why the judge of the living and the dead chose not to mention anything else that he will say to those on the right hand, to whom he will give eternal life, or on the left, whom he will condemn to eternal punishment, except the acts of charity which were either done or left undone.³ They say that the daily petition in the Lord's prayer also refers to this point: "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors."⁴ For whoever forgives a man who sins against him by pardoning his sin, beyond doubt is charitable. This the Lord himself has emphasized by saying: "For if ye forgive men their sins, your Father also will forgive your sins; but if ye do not forgive men, neither will your Father

² James 2.13.

³ Matthew 25.34-46.

⁴ Matthew 6.12.

vobis. Ergo et ad hoc genus elemosynarum pertinet quod ait apostolus Iacobus iudicium futurum sine misericordia ei qui non fecit misericordiam. Nec dixit Dominus, inquit, magna vel parva, sed: *Dimittet vobis pater vester peccata vestra, si et vos dimiseritis hominibus.* Ac per hoc putant etiam eis qui perdit vixerint, donec claudant diem vitae huius extremum, per hanc orationem qualiacumque et quantacumque fuerint omnia cotidie peccata dimitti, sicut ipsa cotidie frequentatur oratio, si hoc tantummodo custodire meminerint ut, quando ab eis veniam petunt qui eos peccato qualicumque laeserunt, ex corde dimittant. Cum ad haec omnia Deo donante respondero, liber iste claudendus est.

XXIII

Contra opinionem eorum qui dicunt nec diaboli nec hominum malorum perpetua futura supplicia.

Ac primum quaeri oportet atque cognosci cur ecclesia ferre nequiverit hominum disputationem diabolo etiam post maximas et diuturnissimas poenas purgationem vel indulgentiam pollicentem. Neque enim tot sancti et sacris veteribus ac novis litteris eruditi mundationem et regni caelorum beatitudinem post qualiacumque et quantacumque supplicia qualibuscumque et quantiscumque angelis inviderunt. Sed potius viderunt divinam vacuari vel infirmari non posse sententiam, quam se Dominus praenuntiavit in

¹ Matthew 6.15.

in heaven forgive you.”¹ This kind of charity is also meant, therefore, when the apostle James says that judgement will be without mercy to him who has shown no mercy. And the Lord did not speak of “great sins” or “small,” but said: “Your Father will forgive your sins if you also forgive men.” And from this they think that even the sins of those who live wickedly until the last day of their life is closed, of whatever kind and number, are all daily forgiven as the prayer is daily repeated. They need only remember to watch this point, to forgive from the heart those who have harmed them by any misdeed whatever, when these ask forgiveness from them. When by God’s help I have replied to all this, I will bring this book to a close.

XXIII

Against the opinion of those who say that future punishments will not be eternal, neither the devil’s nor those of men.

Now first we must learn why the church has been unable to allow the reasoning of those who promised purgation or forgiveness to the devil after severe and long-continued punishment. For the many holy men who were skilled in the Scriptures, both Old and New Testament, did not begrudge the angels, of whatever kind and number, the cleansing thus promised, and the happiness of the kingdom of heaven, after punishments of any kind and number, but rather they saw that the divine sentence could not be reversed or weakened. For the Lord has

iudicio prolaturum atque dicturum: *Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius.* Sic quippe ostendit aeterno igne diabolum et angelos eius arsuros. Et quod scriptum est in apocalypsi: *Diabolus qui seducebat eos missus est in stagnum ignis et sulphuris, quo et bestia et pseudo-propheta; et cruciabuntur die et nocte in saecula saeculorum.* Quod ibi dictum est *aeternum*, hic dictum est *in saecula saeculorum*, quibus verbis nihil scriptura divina significare consuevit nisi quod finem non habet temporis.

Quam ob rem prorsus nec alia causa nec iustior atque manifestior inveniri potest, cur verissima pietate teneatur fixum et immobile nullum regressum ad iustitiam vitamque sanctorum diabolum et angelos eius habituros, nisi quia scriptura, quae neminem fallit, dicit eis Deum non pepercisse, et sic ab illo esse interim praedamnatos, ut carceribus caliginis inferi retrusi traderentur servandi atque ultimo iudicio puniendi, quando eos aeternus ignis accipiet, ubi cruciabuntur in saecula saeculorum. Quod si ita est, quo modo ab huius aeternitate poenae vel universi vel quidam homines post quantumlibet temporis subtrahentur, ac non statim enervabitur fides, qua creditur sempiternum daemonum futurum esse supplicium? Si enim quibus dicitur: *Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius*, vel universi vel aliqui eorum non semper

declared that in the judgement he will pronounce the sentence: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels."¹ Thus he certainly makes it clear that the devil and his angels will burn in eternal fire. And in the Apocalypse it is written: "The devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where are also the beast and false prophet; and they shall be tormented night and day for ever and ever."² What is called "eternal" in the first passage is called "for ever and ever" in the second, and by these words the divine Scripture is accustomed to signify only something without end in time.

Therefore true religion holds the firm and unshaken belief that the devil and his angels will have no return to righteousness and the life of the saints, for which belief no other reason whatever can be found, none more just and clear, than the words of the Scripture, which never lies. The Scripture says that God did not spare them, but meanwhile condemned them in advance to be cast into hell and committed into pits of darkness to be kept and punished in the last judgement,³ when eternal fire will receive them, where they will be tormented for ever and ever. If this is so, how can we grant that all men, or some men, after any interval you like, will be withdrawn from this eternal punishment, without weakening the faith by which we believe that the punishment of the demons will be eternal? For if those to whom the words will be spoken: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels," either all, or some of them, will not always be there, what reason

¹ Matthew 25.41.

² Revelation 20.10.

³ 2 Peter 2.4.

ibi erunt, quid causae est cur diabolus et angeli eius semper ibi futuri esse credantur? An forte Dei sententia quae in malos et angelos et homines proferetur, in angelos vera erit, in homines falsa? Ita plane hoc erit, si non quod Deus dixit, sed quod suspicantur homines plus valebit. Quod fieri quia non potest, non argumentari adversus Deum, sed divino potius, dum tempus est, debent parere praecepto, qui sempiterno cupiunt carere supplicio.

Deinde quale est aeternum supplicium pro igne diuturni temporis existimare et vitam aeternam credere sine fine, cum Christus eodem ipso loco in una eademque sententia dixerit utrumque complexus: *Sic ibunt isti in supplicium aeternum, iusti autem in vitam aeternam?* Si utrumque aeternum, profecto aut utrumque cum fine diuturnum aut utrumque sine fine perpetuum debet intellegi. Par pari enim relata sunt, hinc supplicium aeternum, inde vita aeterna. Dicere autem in hoc uno eodemque sensu: "Vita aeterna sine fine erit, supplicium aeternum finem habebit" multum absurdum est. Unde, quia vita aeterna sanctorum sine fine erit, supplicium quoque aeternum quibus erit finem procul dubio non habebit.

XXIV

Contra eorum sensum, qui in iudicio Dei omnibus reis propter sanctorum preces putant esse parcendum.

Hoc autem et adversus eos valet, qui suas agentes causas contra Dei venire verba velut misericordia

is there to believe that the devil and his angels will always be there? Or will God's sentence, pronounced on wicked men and angels alike, be true for the angels, false for men? So it will certainly be, if what men surmise prevails over what God has said. Since that cannot be, those who desire to escape eternal punishment ought rather, while there is time, to obey the divine command and not debate against God.

Then what sort of reasoning is it, to take the eternal punishment of the wicked as a fire of long duration and believe that eternal life is without end? For Christ said in the very same place, including both in one and the same sentence: "So these will go into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life."¹ If both are eternal, then surely both must be understood as "long," but having an end, or else as "everlasting," without an end. For they are matched with each other: in one clause eternal punishment, in the other eternal life. But to say in one and the same sentence: "Eternal life shall be without end, eternal punishment will have an end," is utterly absurd. Hence, since the eternal life of the saints will be without end, eternal punishment also will surely have no end, for those whose lot it is.

XXIV

Against the view of those who think that in God's judgement all the guilty will be spared because of the prayers of the saints.

THIS argument applies also to those who in pleading their own case try to answer God's words by the

¹ Matthew 25.46.

maiore conantur, ut ideo videlicet vera sint quia ea quae dixit homines esse passuros, pati digni sunt, non quia passuri sunt. Donabit enim eos, inquit, precibus sanctorum suorum etiam tunc tanto magis orantium pro inimicis suis quanto sunt utique sanctiores, eorumque efficacior est oratio et exauditione Dei dignior iam nullum habentium omnino peccatum. Cur ergo eadem perfectissima sanctitate et cuncta impetrare valentibus mundissimis et misericordissimis precibus etiam pro angelis non orabunt, quibus paratus est ignis aeternus, ut Deus sententiam suam mitiget et reflectat in melius eosque ab illo igne faciat alienos? An erit forsitan quisquam qui et hoc futurum esse praesumat, adfirmans etiam sanctos angelos simul cum sanctis hominibus, qui tunc aequales erunt angelis Dei, pro damnandis et angelis et hominibus oraturos ut misericordia non patiantur quod veritate merentur pati? Quod nemo sanae fidei dixit, nemo dicturus est. Alioquin nulla causa est cur non etiam nunc pro diabolo et angelis eius oret ecclesia, quam magister Deus pro inimicis suis iussit orare.

Haec igitur causa qua fit ut nunc ecclesia non oret pro malis angelis, quos suos esse novit inimicos, eadem ipsa causa est qua fiet ut in illo tunc iudicio etiam pro hominibus aeterno igne cruciandis, quamvis perfecta sit sanctitate, non oret. Nunc enim propterea pro eis orat quos in genere humano habet inimicos quia tempus est paenitentiae fructuosae. Nam quid maxime pro eis orat, nisi *ut det illis Deus,*

pretext of a greater compassion. They argue that the things which God says that men will suffer are true in that men deserve to suffer them, not in that they actually will suffer. God, they say, will grant an answer to the prayers of the saints, who will then pray the more for their enemies, inasmuch as they will surely be more saintly. Their prayers too will be more effective, more worthy to be heard by God, when they are finally without sin. If this is so, why will they not also pray God, with the same perfect holiness, with pure and merciful prayers which can obtain every request, for those angels for whom eternal fire is prepared, to soften his sentence and revise it for the better and exempt them from that fire? Or does anyone perchance suppose that this too will come to pass, affirming that even the holy angels, along with holy men, who will then be equal to angels of God, will pray for both angels and men who are about to be damned, that in mercy they may not suffer what in truth they deserve to suffer? This no one of sound faith has said, and no one will say it. Otherwise there is no reason why the Church should not pray even now for the devil and his angels, since God, her master, has ordered her to pray for her enemies.

Thus the reason why the Church now does not pray for wicked angels, whom it knows to be enemies, is the same as the reason why, though perfected then in holiness, she will not pray in the future judgement for the men who are to be tortured in eternal fire. The reason why she now prays for her enemies among mankind is that there is still time for fruitful repentance. For what is her chief prayer for them, if

sicut dicit apostolus, *paenitentiam et resipiscant de diaboli laqueis, a quo captivi tenentur secundum ipsius voluntatem?* Denique si de aliquibus ita certa esset, ut qui sint illi etiam nosset qui, licet adhuc in hac vita sint constituti, tamen praedestinati sunt in aeternum ignem ire cum diabolo, tam pro eis non oraret quam nec pro ipso. Sed quia de nullo certa est, orat pro omnibus dumtaxat hominibus inimicis suis in hoc corpore constitutis, nec tamen pro omnibus exauditur. Pro his enim solis exauditur qui, etsi adversantur ecclesiae, ita sunt tamen praedestinati ut pro eis exaudiatur ecclesia et filii efficiantur ecclesiae. Si qui autem usque ad mortem habebunt cor impaenitens nec ex inimicis convertentur in filios, numquid iam pro eis, id est pro talium defunctorum spiritibus, orat ecclesia? Quid ita nisi quia in parte iam diaboli computatur qui cum esset in corpore non est translatus ad Christum?

Eadem itaque causa est cur non oretur tunc pro hominibus aeterno igne puniendis, quae causa est ut neque nunc neque tunc oretur pro angelis malis. Quae itidem causa est ut, quamvis pro hominibus, tamen iam nec nunc oretur pro infidelibus impiisque defunctis. Nam pro defunctis quibusdam vel ipsius ecclesiae vel quorumdam piorum exauditur oratio, sed pro his quorum in Christo regeneratorum nec usque adeo vita in corpore male gesta est ut tali misericordia iudicentur digni non esse, nec usque adeo bene ut talem misericordiam reperiantur necessariam non habere. Sicut etiam facta resur-

not that God may grant them repentance, as the Apostle says, "so that they may return to their senses from the snares of the devil, by whom they are held prisoners, subject to his will"?¹ Hence, if the Church were as sure of the identity of any men who, though still living, are predestined to go into eternal fire with the devil, then she would no more pray for them than for the devil himself. But since she is certain regarding none, she prays for all her merely human enemies who are still living in our kind of body. Yet her prayers are not answered in all cases, but only when she prays for those who, though opposed to the Church, are among the elect, so that her prayer for them is heard and they become her sons. But if any are to have impenitent hearts until death, and are not converted from enemies to become sons, does the Church still pray for them, that is, for the spirits of such dead men? Why does she not pray, except that the one who was not in his lifetime translated into the kingdom of Christ² is now counted as part of the devil's portion?

Thus the reason for not praying then for men who are to be punished in eternal fire is the same as the reason for not praying, either now or then, for the wicked angels, and also for not praying now for the unbelieving and impious dead, though these are men. For on behalf of certain dead the prayer of the Church, or of certain pious men, is heard, but only on behalf of those who were born again in Christ and whose life on earth was not so badly lived that they are judged unworthy of such mercy, nor yet so well lived that they are found to have no need of such mercy. For even after the resurrection of the

¹ 2 Timothy 2.25-26.

² Colossians 1.13.

rectione mortuorum non deerunt, quibus post poenas quas patiuntur spiritus mortuorum impertiatu misericordia ut in ignem non mittantur aeternum. Neque enim de quibusdam veraciter diceretur quod non eis remittatur neque in hoc saeculo neque in futuro, nisi essent quibus etsi non in isto tamen remittitur in futuro. Sed cum dictum fuerit a iudice vivorum atque mortuorum: *Venite, benedicti patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi, et aliis e contrario: Recedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius, et ierint isti in supplicium aeternum, iusti autem in vitam aeternam*: nimiae praesumptionis est dicere cuicumque eorum aeternum supplicium non futurum quos Deus ituros in supplicium dixit aeternum, et per huius praesumptionis persuasionem facere ut de ipsa quoque vita vel desperetur vel dubitetur aeterna.

Nemo itaque sic intellegat psalmum canentem: *Numquid obliviscetur misereri Deus, aut continebit in ira sua miserationes suas?* ut opinetur de hominibus bonis veram de malis falsam, aut de bonis hominibus et malis angelis veram de malis autem hominibus falsam

¹ Matthew 12.32. This text, along with 1 Corinthians 3.12-15, gave Augustine his Biblical support for belief in purgatory. There was also a long-established custom of prayer for the dead which was related to the belief. In his treatise *On Care to be had for the Dead* 3, he cites 2 Maccabees 12.39-45, a passage which relates that Judas Maccabeus, after burying those slain in battle, paid the cost for sacrifice to be made in Jerusalem for the sins of the dead; Augustine adds that in his time the whole church approved of such a custom. This evidently refers to the celebration of mass for the dead, which he mentions elsewhere in connection with his mother's burial (*Confessions* 9.12.32). A council at Carthage in 397

dead takes place there will be some to whom mercy will be granted after they have suffered the punishment that belongs to spirits of the dead, so that they will not be cast into eternal fire. It could not be said truly of some that they will not be forgiven either in this world or in that which is to come,¹ if there were not some who, though not forgiven here, will nevertheless be forgiven in the world to come. But once the judge of the living and the dead has said: "Come, O blessed of my Father, take possession of the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world," and to others on the opposite side, "Depart from me, you cursed, into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels," and once these have gone "into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life,"² then it is a matter of excessive presumption to say that the punishment of any of these will not be eternal, when God has said that they will go into eternal punishment. To maintain this presumptuous argument is to destroy hope or raise doubt concerning eternal life also.

Let no one therefore understand the verse in the Psalm which says: "Will God forget to pity, or in anger shut up his tender mercies,"³ so as to suppose that the pronouncement of God is true concerning good men, but false concerning the wicked, or concerning good men and wicked angels true, but false

regulated the custom, providing that, if the mourners were not fasting, the "commendation" of the dead should be completed with prayers only. See *DCA* II, 1436.

² Matthew 25.34-41.

³ Psalms 77.9.

Dei esse sententiam. Hoc enim, quod ait psalmus, ad vasa misericordiae pertinet et ad filios promissionis, quorum erat unus etiam ipse propheta qui, cum dixisset: *Numquid obliviscetur misereri Deus aut continebit in ira sua miserationes suas?* continuo subiecit: *Et dixi: Nunc coepi, haec est immutatio dexteræ Excelsi.* Exposuit profecto quid dixerit: *Numquid continebit in ira sua miserationes suas?* Ira enim Dei est etiam ista vita mortalis ubi homo vanitati similis factus est, dies eius velut umbra praetereunt. In qua tamen ira non obliviscitur misereri Deus, faciendo solem suum oriri super bonos et malos et pluendo super iustos et iniustos, ac sic non continet in ira sua miserationes suas, maximeque in eo, quod expressit hic psalmus dicendo: *Nunc coepi, haec est immutatio dexteræ Excelsi,* quoniam in hac ipsa aerumnosissima vita, quae ira Dei est, vasa misericordiae mutat in melius, quamvis adhuc in huius corruptionis miseria maneat ira eius, quia nec in ipsa ira sua continet miserationes suas. Cum ergo isto modo compleatur divini illius cantic veritas non est eam necesse etiam illic intellegi ubi non pertinentes ad civitatem Dei sempiterno supplicio punientur. Sed quibus placet istam sententiam usque ad illa impiorum tormenta protendere, saltem sic intellegant ut manente in eis ira Dei, quae in aeterno est praenuntiata supplicio, non contineat Deus in hac ira sua miserationes suas et faciat eos non tanta quanta digni sunt poenarum atrocitate

concerning bad men. For the statement in the Psalm relates to the vessels of mercy and the sons of the promise, of whom the prophet himself was one. And after saying: "Will God forget to pity, or in anger shut up his tender mercies?" he immediately adds: "And I said, now have I begun, this is the change wrought by the right hand of the Most High."¹ These words surely explain the preceding, "Will he shut up in anger his tender mercies?" For the anger of God is precisely this mortal life, where man has become like an empty thing, and his days pass like a shadow.² But in this anger God does not forget to pity, but makes his sun to rise on the good and the evil, and rain to fall on the just and the unjust.³ It is thus that he does not in his anger shut up his tender mercies. And he shows this most clearly in the words of the Psalm: "Now have I begun, this is the change wrought by the right hand of the Most High," for even in this troubled life, which is the wrath of God, he changes his vessels of mercy for the better, though in the misery of this corrupted state his wrath abides, since not even in that same wrath does he shut up his tender mercies. By this interpretation the truth of that divinely inspired hymn is fulfilled; it is not necessary to apply the words also to the time when those not belonging to the City of God will be punished with everlasting punishment. But let those who think that this statement extends even to the punishments of the ungodly at least understand it thus: while the wrath of God which is declared to be in eternal punishment still remains against them, God will not shut up in his anger his tender mercies, but will cause them not to be tormented with as great

¹ Psalms 77.10.² Psalms 144.4.³ Matthew 5.45.

cruciari; non ut eas poenas vel numquam subeant vel aliquando fiant, sed ut eas mitiores quam merita sunt eorum levioresque patiantur. Sic enim et ira Dei manebit, et in ipsa ira sua miserationes suas non continebit. Quod quidem non ideo confirmo, quoniam non resisto.

Ceterum eos qui putant minaciter potius quam veraciter dictum: *Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum*, et: *Ibunt isti in supplicium aeternum*, et: *Cruciabuntur in saecula saeculorum*, et: *Vermis eorum non morietur et ignis non extinguetur*, et cetera huius modi, non tam ego quam ipsa scriptura divina planissime atque plenissime reparguit ac refellit. Ninevitae quippe in hac vita egerunt paenitentiam et ideo fructuosam, velut in hoc agro seminantes in quo Deus voluit cum lacrimis seminari quod postea cum laetitia meteretur. Et tamen quis negabit quod Dominus praedixit in eis fuisse completum, nisi parum advertat quem ad modum peccatores Deus non solum iratus verum etiam miseratus evertat? Evertuntur enim peccatores duobus modis, aut sicut Sodomitae ut pro peccatis suis ipsi homines puniantur, aut sicut Ninevitae ut ipsa hominum peccata paenitendo destruantur. Factum est ergo quod praedixit Deus: eversa est Nineve quae mala erat, et bona aedificata est quae non erat. Stantibus enim moenibus atque domibus eversa est civitas in perditis moribus. Ac sic, quamvis propheta fuerit contri-

severity as they deserve. That does not mean that they will escape these punishments, or ever reach their end, but that they will suffer punishments which are more gentle and easy than they deserve. For thus the anger of God will remain, and in his very anger he will not shut up his tender mercies. My not opposing this view does not, however, mean that I support it.

Some men think that God made a mere threat, and not a true declaration, when He said: "Depart from me, you cursed, into eternal fire," and "These shall go into eternal punishment,"¹ and "They shall be tormented for ever and ever,"² and "Their worm will not die and their fire will not be quenched,"³ and other sayings of the sort. Not I, but the Scripture itself, clearly and fully answers and refutes them. As for the Ninevites, they repented in this life,⁴ and so their repentance was fruitful. They sowed, as it were, in this field in which God wished men to sow with tears seed that they should later reap with joy.⁵ And yet who will deny that what God predicted was fulfilled in them, unless he fails to notice how God "overthrows" sinners not only when he is angry but also when he has mercy? For sinners are overthrown in two ways, either like the Sodomites, so that men themselves are punished for their sins, or like the Ninevites, so that only the sins of men are destroyed by repentance. Therefore, what God predicted came to pass: the Nineveh that was wicked was overthrown, and a good Nineveh was built which did not exist before. For though the walls and houses were standing, the city was overthrown in its depraved morals. And thus, though the prophet

¹ Matthew 25.41-46.² Revelation 20.10.³ Isaiah 66.24.⁴ Jonah 3.5-10.⁵ Psalms 126.5.

status quia non est factum quod illi homines timuerunt illo prophetante venturum, factum est tamen quod fuerat Deo praesciente praedictum, quoniam noverat qui praedixit quo modo in melius esset implendum.

Ut autem noverint isti in perversum misericordes quo pertineat quod scriptum est: *Quam multa multitudo dulcedinis tuae, Domine, quam abscondisti timentibus te!* legant quod sequitur: *Perfecisti autem sperantibus in te. Quid est abscondisti timentibus, perfecisti sperantibus, nisi quia illis qui timore poenarum suam iustitiam volunt constituere quae in lege est non est iustitia Dei dulcis, quia nesciunt eam? Non enim gustaverunt eam. In se namque sperant non in ipso, et ideo eis absconditur multitudo dulcedinis Dei; quoniam timent quidem Deum, sed illo timore servili qui non est in caritate, quia perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem. Ideo sperantibus in eum perficit dulcedinem suam inspirando eis caritatem suam, ut timore casto, non quem caritas foras mittit sed permanente in saeculum saeculi, cum gloriantur, in Domino glorientur. Iustitia quippe Dei Christus est, qui factus est nobis, sicut dicit apostolus, *sapientia a Deo et iustitia et sanctificatio et redemptio ut, quem ad modum scriptum est, qui gloriatur in Domino gloriatur. Hanc Dei iustitiam quam donat gratia sine meritis**

¹ Psalms 31.19.

² Romans 10.3-4.

³ 1 John 4.18.

⁴ 1 Corinthians 1.30-31.

was grieved because that which the Ninevites feared because of his prophecy did not come to pass, still that which had been predicted by the foreknowledge of God did come to pass. For he who made the prediction foreknew how it was to be fulfilled in a better sense.

But that those perversely merciful men may know the meaning of the passage: "How great is thy sweetness, O Lord, which thou hast hidden from them that fear thee," let them read what follows: "But thou hast perfected it for those who hope in thee."¹ What is the meaning of the words, "Thou hast hidden from those who fear," and "hast perfected for those who hope"? Is it not that for those who from fear of punishment would establish their righteousness which is in the law,² the righteousness of God is not sweet, because they do not know it? For they have not tasted it, for truly their hope is in themselves, not in God, and hence the greatness of his sweetness is hidden from them. They fear God, to be sure, but with that slavish fear which is not in love, for perfect love casteth out fear.³ Hence for those who hope in him, he perfects his sweetness by inspiring in them his love, to this end, that when they glory, they may glory in the Lord with a chaste fear, which is not the fear cast out by love, but a fear that endures for ever and ever. For the righteousness of God is Christ, "who was made for us," as the Apostle says, "wisdom from God and righteousness and sanctification and redemption, in order that, as it is written, he that glorieth may glory in the Lord."⁴ This righteousness of God, which he bestows by grace without merit, is unknown to those who wish to

nesciunt illi qui suam iustitiam volunt constituere et ideo iustitiae Dei quod est Christus non sunt subiecti. In qua iustitia est multa multitudo dulcedinis Dei, propter quam dicitur in psalmo: *Gustate et videte quam dulcis est Dominus*. Et hanc quidem in hac peregrinatione gustantes, non ad satietatem sumentes, esurimus eam potius ac sitimus, ut ea postea saturemur cum videbimus eum sicuti est, et implebitur quod scriptum est: *Saturabor cum manifestabitur gloria tua*. Ita perficit Christus multam multitudinem dulcedinis suae sperantibus in eum. Porro autem si eam quam illi putant dulcedinem suam Deus abscondit timentibus eum, qua non est impios damnaturus ut hoc nescientes et damnari timentes recte vivant, ac sic possint esse qui orent pro non recte viventibus, quo modo eam perficit sperantibus in eum, quando quidem, sicut somniant, per hanc dulcedinem non damnaturus est eos qui non sperant in eum? Illa igitur eius dulcedo quaeratur quam perficit sperantibus in eum, non quam perficere putatur contemptibus et blasphemantibus eum. Frustra itaque homo post hoc corpus inquit quod in hoc corpore sibi comparare neglexit.

Illud quoque apostolicum: *Conclusit enim Deus omnes in infidelitate ut omnium misereatur*, non ideo dictum est quod sit neminem damnaturus, sed superius apparet unde sit dictum. Nam cum de Iudaeis postea credituris apostolus loqueretur ad gentes ad quas utique iam credentes conscribebat

¹ Romans 10.3.

³ 1 John 3.2.

² Psalms 34.8.

⁴ Psalms 17.15.

establish their own righteousness, and so are not submissive to the righteousness of God,¹ which is Christ. In this righteousness is found the great sweetness of God, of which it is said in the Psalm: "Taste and see how sweet is the Lord."² And while tasting this sweetness in this pilgrim journey, we are not filled. Rather, we hunger and thirst for it, that we may afterwards be filled, when we shall see him as he is.³ Then will be fulfilled the Scripture: "I shall be fully fed when thy glory shall be manifested."⁴ Thus Christ perfects the greatness of his sweetness for those who hope in him. Furthermore, if, as they think, God hides from them who fear him the sweetness by which he will pardon the wicked in order that men who do not know about it may fear condemnation and live rightly, that thus there may be some to pray for the ungodly, then how does he perfect his sweetness for those who hope in him? For, according to their dreams, it is those who do not hope in him that he will pardon. Then that sweetness of his must be the object of our search, that which he perfects for those who hope in him, not that other which he is supposed to perfect for those who scorn and blaspheme him. In vain, therefore, after this body is dead, does man seek what he has failed to provide for himself while living in the body.

Moreover the apostolic saying, "For God has shut up all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all," does not mean that he will condemn no one, but its meaning appears in what was said above. For the Apostle was speaking about the Jews who should afterwards believe, to the Gentiles addressed in the letter, who were certainly already believers.

epistulas: *Sicut enim vos, inquit, aliquando non credidistis Deo, nunc autem misericordiam consecuti estis illorum incredulitate, sic et hi nunc non crediderunt in vestram misericordiam, ut et ipsi misericordiam consequantur.* Deinde subiecit unde isti sibi errando blandiuntur, atque ait: *Conclusit enim Deus omnes in infidelitate, ut omnium misereatur.* Quos omnes, nisi de quibus loquebatur, tamquam dicens: Et vos et illos? Deus ergo et gentiles et Iudaeos quos praescivit et praedestinavit conformes imaginis filii sui, omnes in infidelitate conclusit, ut de amaritudine infidelitatis suae paenitendo confusi et ad dulcedinem misericordiae Dei credendo conversi clamarent illud in psalmo: *Quam multa multitudo dulcedinis tuae, Domine, quam abscondisti timentibus te, perfecisti autem sperantibus, non in se, sed in te!* Omnium itaque miseretur vasorum misericordiae. Quid est omnium? Et eorum scilicet quos ex gentibus, et eorum quos ex Iudaeis praedestinavit vocavit iustificavit glorificavit, non hominum omnium, sed istorum omnium neminem damnaturus.

He says: "For as you in time past did not believe in God, but now have obtained mercy by their failure to believe, so these have not believed now in the mercy shown to you, in order that they also may obtain mercy." Then he adds the words with which they flatter themselves in their error: "For God has shut up all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all."¹ Who are the "all," except those of whom he is speaking, as if he had said "both you and they"? So God shut up all in unbelief, both Gentiles and Jews, whom He foreknew and predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son,² that from the bitterness of their unbelief they might by repenting be confounded, and by believing be converted to the sweetness of God's mercy, and cry, as it is written in the Psalm: "How great is thy sweetness, O Lord, which thou hast hidden from those that fear thee, but hast perfected for those who hope," not in themselves, but "in thee!"³ And so he pities all the vessels of his mercy. What is the meaning of "all"? All those, of course, both from the Gentiles and the Jews, whom he has predestined and called, justified and glorified,⁴ and of all these (not of all men) he will condemn no one.

¹ Romans 11.30-32.² Romans 8.29.³ Psalms 31.19.⁴ Romans 8.30.

An hi qui inter haereticos baptizati sunt et deteriores postea male vivendo sunt facti, vel hi qui apud catholicos renati ad haereses aut schismata transierunt, vel hi qui a catholicis apud quos renati sunt non recedentes criminose vivere perstiterunt, possint privilegio sacramentorum remissionem aeterni sperare supplicii.

SED iam respondeamus etiam illis qui non solum diabolo et angelis eius, sicut nec isti, sed ne ipsis quidem omnibus hominibus liberationem ab aeterno igne promittunt, verum eis tantum qui Christi baptisate abluti et corporis eius et sanguinis participes facti sunt, quomodolibet vixerint, in quacumque haeresi vel impietate fuerint. Sed contradicit eis apostolus dicens: *Manifesta autem sunt opera carnis, quae sunt fornicatio, immunditia, luxuria, idolorum servitus, veneficia, inimicitiae, contentiones, aemulationes, animositates, dissensiones, haereses, invidiae, ebrietates, comisationes et his similia. Quae praedico vobis, sicut praedixi, quoniam qui talia agunt regnum Dei non possidebunt.* Haec profecto apostolica falsa sententia est si tales post quantalibet tempora liberati regnum Dei possidebunt. Sed quoniam falsa non est, profecto regnum Dei non possidebunt. Et si in regni Dei possessione numquam erunt aeterno supplicio tenebuntur, quoniam

Whether men by right of the sacraments can hope for release from eternal punishment; either those who have been baptized among the heretics and later by a bad life have become worse, or those reborn among Catholics who pass over to heresy or schism, or those who do not leave the Catholic Church into which they were reborn but persist in living wickedly.

Now let us reply to those who deny release from eternal fire, not only, like these last, to the devil and his angels, but also to all men, except those who are washed in the baptism of Christ, and have become partakers of his body and blood. To these they promise release, whatever the life they have lived, and in whatever heresy or ungodliness they have been involved. But the Apostle refutes them, saying: "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strifes, jealousies, wraths, dissensions, heresies, envyings, drunkenness, revellings and the like. Of these I warn you, as I have before, that those who practise such things will not possess the kingdom of God."¹ This pronouncement of the Apostle is surely false if such men are to be freed from hell and possess the kingdom of God after a time, however long it be. But since it is not false, they surely will not possess the kingdom, and if they will never be in possession of the kingdom, they will be held in eternal punishment, for there is

¹ Galatians 5.19-21.

non est medius locus ubi non sit in supplicio qui illo non fuerit constitutus in regno.

Quam ob rem quod ait Dominus Iesus: *Hic est panis qui de caelo descendit ut, si quis ex ipso manducaverit, non moriatur. Ego sum panis vivus qui de caelo descendi; si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane, vivet in aeternum*, quo modo sit accipiendum merito quaeritur. Et ab istis quidem quibus nunc respondemus hunc intellectum auferunt illi, quibus deinde respondendum est; hi sunt autem qui hanc liberationem nec omnibus habentibus sacramentum baptismatis et corporis Christi, sed solis catholicis, quamvis male viventibus, pollicentur. Quia non solo, inquit, sacramento, sed re ipsa manducaverunt corpus Christi, in ipso scilicet eius corpore constituti, de quo corpore ait apostolus: *Unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus*. Qui ergo est in eius corporis unitate, id est in Christianorum compage membrorum, cuius corporis sacramentum fideles communicantes de altari sumere consueverunt, ipse vere dicendus est manducare corpus Christi et bibere sanguinem Christi. Ac per hoc haeretici et schismatici ab huius unitate corporis separati possunt idem percipere sacramentum, sed non sibi utile, immo vero etiam noxium, quo iudicentur gravius quam vel tardius liberentur. Non sunt quippe in eo vinculo pacis quod illo exprimitur sacramento.

Sed rursus etiam isti qui recte intellegunt non dicendum esse manducare corpus Christi qui in corpore non est Christi, non recte promittunt eis qui

¹ John 6.50–52.

² 1 Corinthians 10.17.

no middle ground where he shall escape punishment who is not established in that kingdom.

Hence it is proper to inquire what means the saying of the Lord Jesus: "This is the bread that came down from heaven, that if anyone has eaten of this bread, he may not die. I am the living bread that came down from heaven; if anyone eats of this bread he will live for ever."¹ If those to whom we are now replying understand this passage in their favour, this understanding is rejected by others to whom we must next reply, namely, those who promise this release from punishment, not to all who have the sacrament of baptism and of the body of Christ, but only to Catholics, regardless of any evil in their lives. For, they say, not only in sacrament but in reality these have eaten the body of Christ, for they are established in that body of which the Apostle says: "We being many are one bread, one body."² Hence anyone must truly be said to eat the body and drink the blood of Christ if he is in the unity of that body, that is, in the frame of the members of Christ, the body whose sacrament the faithful are wont to take from the altar when they commune. And hence heretics and schismatics who are separated from the unity of this body may take the same sacrament, but it will do them no good, and rather be harmful, inasmuch as they will be judged the more severely, rather than released even after long suffering, for they are not in the bond of peace that is set forth in that sacrament.

Again, there are some who correctly understand that one not in the body of Christ cannot be said to eat the body of Christ, but who wrongly promise

vel in haeresim vel etiam in gentilium superstitionem ex illius corporis unitate labuntur liberationem quandoque ab aeterni igne supplicii; primum, quia debent attendere quam sit intolerabile atque a sana doctrina nimis devium ut multi ac paene omnes qui haereses impias considerunt exeuntes de catholica ecclesia, et facti sunt haeresiarchae, meliores habeant causas, quam hi qui numquam fuerunt catholici, cum in eorum laqueos incidissent—si illos haeresiarchas hoc facit liberari a supplicio sempiterno quod in catholica ecclesia baptizati sunt et sacramentum corporis Christi in vero Christi corpore primitus acceperunt, cum peior sit utique desertor fidei et ex desertore oppugnator eius effectus quam ille qui non deseruit quod numquam tenuit; deinde quia et his occurrit apostolus eadem verba proferens et enumeratis illis carnis operibus eadem veritate praedicans: *Quoniam qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt.*

Unde nec illi in perditis et damnabilibus moribus debent esse securi qui usque in finem quidem velut in communione ecclesiae catholicae perseverant, intuentes quod dictum est: *Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit.* Et per vitae iniquitatem ipsam vitae iustitiam quod eis Christus est deserunt, sive fornicando sive alias immunditias flagitiorum quas nec exprimere apostolus voluit in suo corpore perpetrando, sive turpitudine luxuriae diffuendo, sive aliquid aliud eorum agendo, de quibus ait: *Quoniam qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt.*

¹ Galatians 5.21.

² Matthew 10.22.

eventual release from the punishment of eternal fire to those who fall from the unity of that body into heresy, or even into the superstition of the heathen. They are wrong, first, because they should see how intolerable and how far removed from sound doctrine it is that many men, in fact nearly all who have left the Catholic Church and founded impious heresies, thus becoming heresiarchs, should have a better lot than those who have never been Catholics before they fell into their snares. And this would be the case if their being baptized in the Catholic Church and first receiving the sacrament of the body of Christ in the true body of Christ ensured those heresiarchs of release from eternal punishment. For he is surely worse who deserts the faith and then assails it, than the one who does not desert what he never held. They are wrong, again, because the Apostle refutes them in the words already quoted; after enumerating those works of the flesh he declares with the same certainty: "For those who practise such things shall not possess the kingdom of God."¹

Hence neither should those of depraved and damnable character rest secure, though they remain apparently in the communion of the Catholic Church till the end, relying on the Scripture: "He that endureth to the end shall be saved."² Through the iniquity of their lives they desert the righteousness of life, which is Christ to them, either by fornication or by committing in their body other unclean deeds, which the Apostle would not even name, or by ruining themselves in the foulness of lasciviousness, or by doing any of those things of which the Apostle says: "They who practise such things shall not possess the

Ac per hoc quicumque agunt talia nisi in sempiterno supplicio non erunt, quia in Dei regno esse non poterunt. In his enim perseverando usque in huius vitae finem non utique dicendi sunt in Christo perseverasse usque in finem, quia in Christo perseverare est in eius fide perseverare, quae fides, ut eam definit idem apostolus, *per dilectionem operatur; dilectio autem, sicut ipse alibi dicit, malum non operatur.* Nec isti ergo dicendi sunt manducare corpus Christi, quoniam nec in membris computandi sunt Christi. Ut enim alia taceam, non possunt simul esse et membra Christi et membra meretricis. Denique ipse dicit: *Qui manducat carnem meam et bibit sanguinem meum in me manet et ego in eo.* Ostendit quid sit non sacramento tenus, sed re vera corpus Christi manducare et eius sanguinem bibere; hoc est enim in Christo manere, ut in illo maneat et Christus. Sic enim hoc dixit, tamquam diceret: "Qui non in me manet et in quo non maneo, non se dicat aut existimet manducare corpus meum aut bibere sanguinem meum." Non itaque manent in Christo qui non sunt membra eius. Non sunt autem membra Christi qui se faciunt membra meretricis, nisi malum illud paenitendo esse destiterint et ad hoc bonum reconciliatione redierint.

kingdom of God." Hence all those who practise such things will be nowhere else but in eternal punishment, since they cannot be in the kingdom of God. For if they persevere in these sins until the end of this life, they cannot be said to persevere in Christ till the end. For to persevere in Christ is to persevere in his faith, and this faith, as the Apostle definitely states, works through love,¹ and love, as he elsewhere says, works no evil.² Hence, these too should not be said to eat the body of Christ, for they cannot be counted among the members of Christ. For, not to mention the other sins, they cannot at the same time be members of Christ and members of a harlot.³ Finally, Christ himself says: "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood remains in me and I in him."⁴ He thus shows what it is to eat the body of Christ and drink His blood, not only in the sacrament, but in reality, for to remain in Christ is to have Christ also remaining in him. For this is the same as if he said: "He who does not remain in me, and in whom I do not remain, may not say or think that he is eating my body or drinking my blood." So those who are not his members do not remain in Christ. But those who make themselves members of a harlot are not members of Christ, unless by repentance they abandon that evil thing, and by reconciliation return to this good thing.

¹ Galatians 5.6.² Romans 13.10.³ 1 Corinthians 6.15.⁴ John 6.56.

Quid sit in fundamento habere Christum et quibus spondeatur salus quasi per ignis usturam.

SED habent, inquit, Christiani catholici in fundamento Christum, a cuius unitate non recesserunt, tametsi huic fundamento supraedificaverunt quamlibet pessimam vitam, velut ligna, fenum, stipulam. Recta itaque fides, per quam Christum est fundamentum, quamvis cum damno, quoniam illa quae supraedificata sunt exurentur, tamen poterit eos quandoque ab illius ignis perpetuitate salvare. Respondeat eis breviter apostolus Iacobus: *Si quis dicat se fidem habere, opera autem non habeat, numquid poterit fides salvare eum?* Et quis est, inquit, de quo dicit apostolus Paulus: *Ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem?* Simul quis iste sit, inquiramus. Hunc tamen non esse certissimum est, ne duorum apostolorum sententias mittamus in rixam, si unus dicit: "Etiam si mala opera quis habuerit, salvabit eum per ignem fides"; alius autem: *Si opera non habeat, numquid poterit fides salvare eum?* Inveniemus ergo quis possit salvari per ignem si prius invenerimus quid sit habere in fundamento Christum. Quod ut de ipsa similitudine quantocius advertamus: nihil in aedificio praepositur fundamento; quisquis itaque sic habet in corde Christum ut ei terrena et temporaria nec ea quae licita sunt atque concessa praeponat, fundamentum habet Christum. Si autem praeposit, etsi videatur habere

¹ Compare 1 Corinthians 3.12-15.

² James 2.14.

What it is to have Christ as a foundation, and who is promised salvation as it were through flames of fire.

BUT, they say, Catholic Christians have Christ as a foundation, and have not departed from his unity, no matter how they have built on this foundation the most wicked life, as it were, wood, hay, stubble. Thus the true faith, by which Christ is the foundation, will be able to save them at last from that eternal fire, although with loss, since the things that are built upon the foundation will be burned.¹ Let the apostle James reply to them briefly: "If anyone say that he has faith, but have not works, will faith be able to save him?"² And who is it, they ask, of whom the apostle Paul says: "He himself shall be saved, yet so as through fire"? Let us investigate together who this is. In any case, it is certainly not the man of whom James speaks, for we must avoid starting a quarrel between the views of two apostles. For one says: "Even if a man should have evil works, faith will save him through fire," and the other: "If he have not works, will faith save him?"

We shall find out, then, who can be saved through fire if first we find out what it is to have Christ as a foundation. We may quickly learn this from the simile itself. Nothing is put into a building before the foundation. Whoever, therefore, has Christ in his heart so that he does not give first place to earthly and temporal things, even things lawful and permitted, has Christ as his foundation. But if he puts them first, though he may seem to have faith in

fidem Christi, non est tamen in eo fundamentum Christus cui talia praeponuntur. Quanto magis, si salutaria praecepta contemnens committat illicita, non praeposuisse Christum sed postposuisse convincitur, quem posthabuit imperantem sive concedentem, dum contra eius imperata sive concessa suam per flagitia delegit explere libidinem! Si quis itaque Christianus diligit meretricem eique adhaerens unum corpus efficitur, iam in fundamento non habet Christum. Si quis autem diligit uxorem suam, si secundum Christum, quis ei dubitet in fundamento esse Christum? Si vero secundum hoc saeculum, si carnaliter, si in morbo concupiscentiarum, sicut et gentes quae ignorant Deum, etiam hoc secundum veniam concedit apostolus, immo per apostolum Christus. Potest ergo et iste in fundamento habere Christum. Si enim nihil ei talis affectionis voluptatisque praeponat, quamvis supraedificet ligna, fenum, stipulam, Christus est fundamentum, propter hoc salvus erit per ignem. Delicias quippe huius modi amoresque terrenos, propter conjugalem quidem copulam non damnabiles, tribulationis ignis exuret. Ad quem pertinent ignem et orbitates et quaecumque calamitates quae auferunt haec.

Ac per hoc ei, qui aedificavit, erit aedificatio ista damnosa, quia non habebit quod supraedificavit, et eorum amissione cruciabitur quibus fruendo utique laetabatur. Sed per hunc ignem salvus erit merito fundamenti quia, etsi utrum id habere mallet an Christum a persecutore proponeretur, illud Christo

Christ, still for him Christ is not the foundation if such temporal things are put first. How much more, if he despises the precepts of salvation and commits unlawful deeds, is he proved not to have put Christ first, but last? For he has put him last with his commands and permissions, since he chooses to fulfil his own lust in shameful deeds contrary to his commands and permissions. Therefore, if any Christian loves a harlot, and is joined to her and becomes one body,¹ he no longer has Christ as a foundation. But if, on the other hand, anyone loves his own wife and loves in the spirit of Christ, who can doubt that Christ is his foundation? But if he loves her according to this world, carnally, in the disorder of lust, even as the heathen who know not God,² even this indulgence the apostle grants, or rather, Christ through the apostle. Therefore he, too, may have Christ as a foundation. For if he puts none of such affections and pleasures before Him, though he build with wood, hay, stubble, Christ is the foundation, and for this reason he will be saved through fire. Surely the fire of tribulation will burn up delights of this kind and earthly loves which, to be sure, because of the conjugal bond are not to be condemned. To this fire belong also bereavements and any calamities that carry away these earthly things.

And so for the builder the building will be a loss, for he will not have what he built, and he will be tortured by the loss of what he enjoyed, since he certainly felt joy in the enjoyment of them. But through this fire he will be saved by the merit of the foundation, for even if he were offered by a persecutor the choice whether he preferred to have this

¹ 1 Corinthians 6.16.

² 1 Thessalonians 4.5.

non praeponeretur. Vide in apostoli verbis hominem aedificantem super fundamentum aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos: *Qui sine uxore est, inquit, cogitat quae sunt Dei, quo modo placeat Deo.* Vide alium aedificantem ligna, fenum, stipulam: *Qui autem matrimonio iunctus est, inquit, cogitat quae sunt mundi, quo modo placeat uxori. Uniuscuiusque opus manifestabitur, dies enim declarabit (dies utique tribulationis), quoniam in igne, inquit, revelabitur.* Eandem tribulationem ignem vocat, sicut alibi legitur: *Vasa figuli probat fornax et homines iustos temptatio tribulationis. Et uniuscuiusque opus quale sit ignis probabit. Si cuius opus permanserit (permanet enim quod quisque cogitat quae sunt Dei, quo modo placeat Deo), quod superaedificavit, mercedem accipiet (id est, unde cogitavit hoc sumet); si cuius autem opus arserit, damnum patietur (quoniam quod dilexerat non habebit), ipse autem salvus erit (quia nulla eum tribulatio ab illius fundamenti stabilitate semovet); sic tamen quasi per ignem (quod enim sine inlicente amore non habuit, sine urente dolore non perdit).* Ecce, quantum mihi videtur, inventus est ignis qui nullum eorum damnet, sed unum ditet, alterum damnificet, ambos probet.

Si autem ignem illum loco isto voluerimus accipere de quo Dominus dicit sinistris: *Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum* ut in eis etiam isti esse

or Christ, he would not put it before Christ. Behold in the Apostle's words a man building upon the foundation gold, silver, precious stones: "He who is without a wife," he says, "considers the things which are God's, how he may please God." Behold another who builds wood, hay, stubble: "But he who is joined in marriage," he says, "considers the things of the world, how he may please his wife."¹ "Each man's work shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it" (that is, the day of tribulation) "because it shall be revealed in the fire. (He calls the same tribulation fire, in accordance with another passage: "The vessels of the potter are proved by the oven, and just men by the trial of tribulation.")² And the fire will prove each one's work, of what sort it is. If anyone's work abides" (it abides when he acts considering the things which are God's, how he may please God), "which he built thereon, he shall receive a reward" (that is, he shall receive what he considered); "but if anyone's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss" (for he will not have what he loved), "but he himself shall be saved" (for no tribulation has removed him from the firmness of that foundation); "yet so as through fire"³ (for that which he did not hold without love's sweet allurements, he does not lose without burning grief). There the fire is found, I think, which condemns neither of them, but enriches one, brings loss to another, tries both.

But if we wish to take the "fire" of this passage as the same mentioned by the Lord when he says to those on his left: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire,"⁴ believing that among these are those

¹ 1 Corinthians 7.32-33.

² Ecclesiasticus 27.5.

³ 1 Corinthians 7.13-15.

⁴ Matthew 25.41.

credantur qui aedificant super fundamentum ligna, fenum, stipulam, eosque ex illo igne post tempus pro malis meritis impertitum liberet boni meritum fundamenti, quid arbitramur dextros quibus dicitur: *Venite, benedicti patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum* nisi eos qui aedificaverunt super fundamentum aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos? Sed in illum ignem de quo dictum est: *Sic tamen quasi per ignem*, si hoc modo est intellegendus, utriusque mittendi sunt, et dextri scilicet et sinistri. Illo quippe igne utriusque probandi sunt de quo dictum est: *Dies enim declarabit, quoniam in igne revelabitur, et uniuscuiusque opus quale sit ignis probabit*. Si ergo utrumque probabit ignis ut, si cuius opus permanserit, id est non fuerit igne consumptum, quod supraedificavit mercedem accipiat, si cuius autem opus arserit damnatum patiat, profecto non est ipse aeternus ille ignis. In illum enim soli sinistri novissima et perpetua damnatione mittentur, iste autem dextros probat. Sed alios eorum sic probat ut aedificium, quod super Christum fundamentum ab eis inveniret esse constructum, non exurat atque consumat; alios autem aliter, id est, ut quod supraedificaverunt ardeat damnatumque inde patiantur, salvi fiant autem, quoniam Christum in fundamento stabiliter positum praecellenti caritate tenuerunt. Si autem salvi fient, profecto et ad dexteram stabunt et cum ceteris audient: *Venite, benedicti patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum*, non ad sinistram, ubi illi erunt qui salvi

¹ Matthew 25.34.

² 1 Corinthians 3.13.

who build on the foundation wood, hay, stubble, and that the merit of the good foundation will free them from that fire after a time that is allotted according to their evil deserts, what shall we think of those on the right, who will hear the words: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you,"¹ unless they are the ones who have built upon the foundation gold, silver, precious stones? But into that fire of which it is said, "Yet so as by fire," both groups must be thrown, if this view is right, both those on the right and those on the left. Both groups surely must be proved in that fire of which it is said: "For the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed in the fire, and the fire will prove each man's work, of what sort it is."² If, therefore, the fire will prove both (so that, if anyone's work remain, that is, is not consumed by fire, he shall receive as a reward what he built thereon, while if anyone's work burns, he will suffer loss), surely this is not that eternal fire. For into it will be sent only those on the left hand, in a final and everlasting damnation, while the other fire tests those on the right. Some of them it tests in such a way as not to burn and consume the building which is found constructed on Christ the foundation. But the opposite is true of others, that is, what they have built burns and hence they suffer loss, but they themselves will be saved, since with surpassing love they keep Christ firmly fixed as their foundation. But if they are to be saved, they will also surely stand at the right hand and hear with the others: "Come ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you," not on the left, where those will be who are not saved,

non erunt et ideo audient: *Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum.* Nemo quippe ab illo igne salvabitur, quia in supplicium aeternum ibunt illi omnes ubi vermis eorum non moritur et ignis non extinguitur quo cruciabuntur die ac nocte in saecula saeculorum.

Post istius sane corporis mortem, donec ad illum veniatur qui post resurrectionem corporum futurus est damnationis et remunerationis ultimus dies, si hoc temporis intervallo spiritus defunctorum eius modi ignem dicuntur perpeti, quem non sentiant illi qui non habuerunt tales mores et amores in huius corporis vita ut eorum ligna et fenum et stipula consumatur, alii vero sentiant qui eius modi secum aedificia portaverunt, sive ibi tantum sive et hic et ibi sive ideo hic ut non ibi, saecularia quamvis a damnatione venialia concremantem ignem transitoriae tribulationis inveniunt, non redarguo, quia forsitan verum est. Potest quippe ad istam tribulationem pertinere etiam mors ipsa carnis quae de primi peccati perpetracione concepta est, ut secundum cuiusque aedificium tempus quod eam sequitur ab unoquoque sentiat.

Persecuciones quoque quibus martyres coronati sunt et quas patiuntur quicumque Christiani probant utraque aedificia velut ignis et alia consumunt cum ipsis aedificatoribus si Christum in eis non inveniunt fundamentum, alia sine ipsis si inveniunt, quia licet cum damno salvi erunt ipsi, alia vero non con-

¹ Isaiah 66.24; Mark 9.44-46; Revelation 20.10.

² This is Augustine's view of purgatory—a conjecture with a "perhaps" attached. See p. 118 above, with note.

and so will hear the words: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire." For no one will be saved from that fire, since all in that group will go into eternal punishment, where their worm does not die and their fire is not quenched, in which they will be tormented night and day for ever and ever.¹

After the death of this body, and before that day comes which will be the final day of condemnation and reward after the resurrection, it may be said that in this interval of time there are spirits of the dead who endure a fire, a fire of a sort that is not experienced by those who in their earthly lives did not so live and love that their "wood and hay and stubble" must be consumed.² That fire may be experienced by the others who take buildings of this sort with them. They may encounter this fire of passing affliction, which consumes whatever is worldly though not worthy of damnation, either there alone, after death, or both here and there, or they may encounter it here in order to escape it there. I do not oppose this view, for perhaps it is true. In fact, even bodily death itself, which came upon man from the perpetration of the first sin, may belong to that tribulation, so that each man's experience after death will depend upon the nature of his building.

The persecutions also, those by which the martyrs were crowned, and those that all Christians suffer, prove both kinds of buildings as if by fire. Some they consume along with the builders, if they do not find Christ in them as their foundation; others they consume, but not the builders, if they find Christ there, for the men themselves will be saved, though with loss. There are still other buildings, however,

sumunt quia talia reperiunt quae maneant in aeternum. Erit etiam in fine saeculi tribulatio tempore Antichristi qualis numquam antea fuit. Quam multa erunt tunc aedificia, sive aurea sive fenea, super optimum fundamentum, quod est Christus Iesus, ut ignis ille probet utraque et de aliis gaudium de aliis inferat damnum, neutros tamen perdat, in quibus haec inveniet, propter stabile fundamentum!

Quicumque autem, non dico uxorem cuius etiam commixtione carnis ad carnalem utitur voluptatem, sed ipsa quae ab eius modi delectationibus aliena sunt nomina pietatis humano more carnaliter diligendo Christo anteponit, non eum habet in fundamento et ideo non per ignem salvus erit, sed salvus non erit, quia esse cum Salvatore non poterit, qui de hac re apertissime loquens ait: *Qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me non est me dignus; et qui amat filium aut filiam super me non est me dignus.* Verum qui has necessitudines sic amat carnaliter ut tamen eas Christo Domino non praeponat, malitque ipsis carere quam Christo, si ad hunc fuerit articulum temptationis adductus, per ignem erit salvus, quia ex earum amissione tantum necesse est urat dolor quantum haeserat amor. Porro qui patrem matrem filios filias secundum Christum dilexerit, ut ad eius regnum obtinendum eique cohaerendum illis consulat, vel hoc in eis diligit quod membra sunt Christi,

that they do not consume because they find in them such materials as to last for ever. At the end of this age there will also be a tribulation in the time of the Antichrist, such as never was before. How many buildings, then, will there be, whether of gold or of hay, built on the best foundation, which is Christ Jesus! Both of these that fire will prove, and from the gold bring joy, from the hay, loss. But still it will destroy the builders of neither kind in which it finds those things, on account of the sure foundation.

But if anyone places earthly love of the human sort before Christ—I am not speaking of a wife, whose carnal intercourse he uses for his carnal pleasure, but even the love of other relatives not associated with those delights, but joined by ties of duty—he does not have Christ as his foundation, and so he will not be saved through fire, nor saved at all, for he cannot be with the Saviour, who speaks most clearly on this point: “He who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and he who loves son or daughter above me is not worthy of me.”¹ But if one loves such relatives in the flesh, not however putting them before Christ the Lord, and prefers to lose them rather than Christ, if he is brought to this critical moment of trial, he will be saved through fire, for he must burn with grief for their loss as much as he once clung to them in love. Furthermore, if a man has loved father, mother, sons or daughters in the spirit of Christ, taking thought so that they may obtain his kingdom and cleave to him, or loves in them their

¹ Matthew 10.37.

absit ut ista dilectio reperiat in lignis, feno et stipula consumenda, sed prorsus aedificio aureo, argenteo, gemmeo deputabitur. Quo modo autem potest eos plus amare quam Christum quos amat utique propter Christum?

XXVII

*Contra eorum persuasionem qui putant sibi non
offutura peccata in quibus, cum elemosynas
facerent, perstiterunt.*

RESTAT eis respondere qui dicunt aeterno igne illos tantummodo arsueros qui pro peccatis suis facere dignas elemosynas neglegunt, propter illud quod ait apostolus Iacobus: *Iudicium autem sine misericordia illi qui non fecit misericordiam.* Qui ergo fecit, inquit, quamvis non correxerit perditos mores, sed nefarie ac nequiter inter ipsas suas elemosynas vixerit, cum misericordia illi futurum est iudicium ut aut non damnetur omnino aut post aliquod tempus a damnatione novissima liberetur. Nec ob aliud existimant Christum de solo dilectu atque neglectu elemosynarum discretionem inter dextros et sinistros esse facturum, quorum alios in regnum alios in supplicium mittat aeternum. Ut autem cotidiana sibi opinentur, quae facere omnino non cessant, qualiacumque et quantacumque sint, per elemosynas dimitti posse peccata, orationem quam docuit ipse Dominus et suffragatricem sibi adhibere conantur et testem.

¹ James 2.13.

being members of Christ, God forbid that this love be found worthy to be consumed as among wood, hay or stubble. Rather, it will be reckoned as a building of gold, silver, precious stones. And how, moreover, can he love more than Christ those whom he loves to begin with for the sake of Christ?

XXVII

*Against the opinion of those who hold that the sins in
which they persisted while they were doing alms
will not harm them.*

It remains to reply to those who say that only those will burn in eternal fire who neglect to perform suitable acts of charity to atone for their sins, citing the words of the apostle James: "But judgement shall be without mercy to him who has not shown mercy."¹ Hence, they say, one who has shown mercy, though he has not corrected his depraved ways, but has lived wickedly and worthlessly even while doing alms, will be judged with mercy, and either not condemned at all, or freed from final damnation after a time. And for no other reason, they think, than the mere love or neglect of almsgiving will Christ make a distinction between those on the right hand and those on the left, of whom he will send the former into the kingdom, the others into eternal punishment. To maintain the view that daily sins, which they never leave off at all, sins of any kind and size, can be forgiven through almsgiving, they attempt to use the prayer which the Lord himself taught as their support and evidence. For, they

Sicut enim nullus est, inquit, dies quo a Christianis haec oratio non dicatur, ita nullum est cotidianum qualecumque peccatum quod per illam non dimittatur cum dicimus: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra*, si quod sequitur facere curemus: *Sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*. Non enim ait Dominus, inquit: Si dimiseritis peccata hominibus, dimittet vobis pater vester cotidiana parva peccata, sed: *Dimittet*, inquit, *vobis peccata vestra*. Quaecumque ergo vel quantacumque sint, etiamsi cotidie perpetrentur nec ab eis vita discedat in melius commutata, per elemosynam veniae non negatae remitti sibi posse praesumunt.

Sed bene, quod isti dignas pro peccatis elemosynas commonent esse faciendas, quoniam si dicerent qualescumque elemosynas pro peccatis et cotidianis et magnis et quantacumque scelerum consuetudine misericordiam posse impetrare divinam ut ea cotidiana remissio sequeretur, viderent se rem dicere absurdam atque ridiculam. Sic enim cogenter fateri fieri posse ut opulentissimus homo decem nummulis diurnis in elemosynas impensis homicidia et adulteria et nefaria quaeque facta redimeret. Quod si absurdissimum atque insanissimum est dicere, profecto si quaeratur quae dignae sint pro peccatis elemosynae, de quibus etiam Christi praecursor ille dicebat: *Facite ergo fructus dignos paenitentiae*, procul dubio non invenientur eas facere qui vitam suam usque ad mortem cotidianorum criminum perpetratione confodiunt; primum, quia in auferendis rebus alienis longe plura diripiunt ex quibus perexigua pauperibus largiendo Christum

¹ Matthew 6.12, 14.

² Matthew 3.8; Luke 3.8.

say, as there is no day when this prayer is not spoken by Christians, so there is no daily sin of any sort which is not forgiven thereby, when we say: "Forgive us our debts," if we are careful to do what follows: "as we also forgive our debtors." For, they say, the Lord does not say: "If ye forgive men their sins, your Father will forgive your small every-day sins,"¹ but rather: "He will forgive your sins." So of whatever sort or however great they are, though the sins be committed daily, and the man never turn from them or change his life for the better, they presume that they can be forgiven through the good work of not refusing forgiveness to others.

But it is well that they warn us that suitable alms must be done to atone for sins. For if they said that any kind of alms could gain the divine pardon for both every-day sins and great ones and for any wicked practice, however serious, so that a daily forgiveness would follow, they would see that they were saying a thing absurd and ridiculous. For thus they would be forced to declare that a very rich man could spend ten pennies a day for alms and atone for murders and adulteries and all kinds of crimes. If it is utterly absurd and senseless to say this, and if we inquire what alms are worth enough to atone for sins (of which even Christ's forerunner said: "Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance"),² undoubtedly none will be found and judged to be bringing forth such fruits of those who stab their lives even till death by the perpetration of daily crimes. For in the first place, in robbing others they take far greater sums, and they think that in feeding Christ by bestowing a scanty pittance of them on the

se ad hoc pascere existimant ut licentiam malefactorum ab illo se emisse vel cotidie potius emere credentes securi damnabilia tanta committant. Qui si pro uno scelere omnia sua distribuerent indigentibus membris Christi, nisi desisterent a talibus factis habendo caritatem quae non agit perperam, aliquid eis prodesse non posset.

Qui ergo dignas pro suis peccatis elemosynas facit, prius eas facere incipiat a se ipso. Indignum est enim, ut in se non faciat qui facit in proximum, cum audiat dicentem Deum: *Diliges proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum*; itemque audiat: *Miserere animae tuae placens Deo*. Hanc elemosynam, id est, ut Deo placeat, non faciens, animae suae quo modo dignas pro peccatis suis elemosynas facere dicendus est? Ad hoc enim et illud scriptum est: *Qui sibi malignus est, cui bonus erit?* Orationes quippe adiuvant elemosynae, et utique intuendum est quod legimus: *Fili, peccasti, ne adicias iterum, et de praeteritis deprecare ut tibi dimittantur*. Propter hoc ergo elemosynae faciendae sunt ut, cum de praeteritis peccatis deprecamur, exaudiamur; non ut in eis perseverantes licentiam malefaciendi nos per elemosynas comparare credamus.

Ideo autem Dominus et dextris elemosynas ab eis factas et sinistris non factas se inputaturum esse praedixit ut hinc ostenderet quantum valeant elemo-

¹ 1 Corinthians 13.4.

² Leviticus 19.18; Matthew 22.39.

³ Ecclesiasticus 30.23–24 Vulgate (not LXX).

poor they gain their object, with the result that they believe that they have bought, or rather, are buying every day, a licence from him for their misdeeds, whereby they may commit such damnable deeds without misgivings—whereas, if for a single crime they distributed all their goods to the poor¹ members of Christ, unless they were to desist from such deeds, having a love which works no evil, nothing would do them any good.

So he who does suitable alms to atone for sins should first begin with himself. For it is improper not to do for himself what he does for his neighbour, while he hears God saying: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,"² and also hears: "Pity thy soul, pleasing God."³ How should one who does not do this good deed, that is, please God, be said to do alms suitable to atone for his sins? For on this point another text of Scripture applies: "He that is evil to himself, to whom will he be good?"⁴ No doubt alms aid prayer, and we must by all means heed the words: "Son, thou hast sinned; do so no more, and for thy former sins pray that they may be forgiven thee."⁵ So alms are to be done for this purpose, that we may be heard when praying concerning past sins, not to support a belief that we gain a licence for wrongdoing through almsgiving while we continue in our sins.

Now when the Lord declared that he would recompense those on the right for alms they had done, and those on the left for deeds left undone, his purpose was to show how far such acts avail to wipe out

⁴ Ecclesiasticus 14.5.

⁵ Ecclesiasticus 21.1.

synae ad priora delenda, non ad perpetua inpune committenda peccata. Tales autem elemosynas non dicendi sunt facere qui vitam nolunt a consuetudine scelerum in melius commutare. Quia et in hoc quod ait: *Quando uni ex minimis meis non fecistis, mihi non fecistis*, ostendit eos non facere etiam quando se facere existimant. Si enim Christiano esurienti panem tamquam Christiano darent, profecto sibi panem iustitiae quod ipse Christus est non negarent, quoniam Deus non cui detur sed quo animo detur adtendit. Qui ergo Christum diligit in Christiano, hoc animo ei porrigit elemosynam quo accedit ad Christum, non quo vult recedere inpunitus a Christo. Tanto enim magis quisque deserit Christum quanto magis diligit quod improbat Christus. Nam quid cuiquam prodest quod baptizatur, si non iustificatur? Nonne qui dixit: *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non intrabit in regnum Dei*, ipse etiam dixit: *Nisi abundaverit iustitia vestra super scribarum et Pharisaeorum, non intrabitis in regnum caelorum?* Cur illud timendo multi currunt baptizari, et hoc non timendo non multi curant iustificari? Sicut ergo non fratri suo dicit: *Fatue*, qui cum hoc dicit non ipsi fraternitati, sed peccato eius infensus est—alioquin reus erit gehennae ignis—ita e contrario qui porrigit elemosynam Christiano, non Christiano porrigit qui non in eo diligit Christum, non autem diligit Christum

¹ Matthew 25.45.

³ Matthew 5.20.

² John 3.5.

⁴ Matthew 5.22.

the guilt of former deeds, not to permit continual sin to be repeated with impunity. Moreover, any who are unwilling to give up their accustomed sins and change for the better cannot be said to do alms at all. For in the saying: "When ye did it not to one of the least of my brethren, ye did it not unto me,"¹ he shows that they were not doing it even when they thought that they were. For if they gave bread to a hungry Christian as to a Christian, surely they would not deny themselves the bread of righteousness, which is Christ himself. For God gives heed not to the recipient of the gift, but to the spirit of the giver. So he who loves Christ in his fellow Christian extends alms to him in the spirit in which one approaches Christ, not in the spirit of desiring to depart from Christ with impunity. For a man deserts Christ in proportion as he loves what Christ disapproves. For what does it benefit anyone that he is baptized, if he is not made righteous? For did not he who said: "Except a man be reborn of water and the Spirit, he shall not enter the kingdom of God,"² also himself say: "Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven?"³ Why is it that many, fearing the first saying, run to be baptized, while few fear the second enough to take the trouble to become righteous? Hence, just as it is not to a brother that a man says, "Thou fool!" when he says it from hostility to his sin, and not with any hostility to his status as brother—otherwise he will be in danger of hell fire⁴—so, on the other hand, if a man gives alms to a Christian, it is not as to a Christian that he gives unless he loves Christ in him,

qui iustificari recusat in Christo. Et quem ad modum si quis praeoccupatus fuerit hoc delicto ut fratri suo dicat: *Fatue*, id est, non eius peccatum volens auferre convicietur iniuste, parum est illi ad hoc redimendum elemosynas facere, nisi etiam quod ibi sequitur remedium reconciliationis adiungat. Ibi enim sequitur: *Si ergo offeres munus tuum ad altare et ibi recordatus fueris quia frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te, relinque ibi munus tuum ad altare et vade prius, reconciliare fratri tuo, et tunc veniens offeres munus tuum.* Ita parum est elemosynas quantaslibet facere pro quocumque scelere et in consuetudine scelerum permanere.

Oratio vero cotidiana quam docuit ipse Iesus, unde et dominica nominatur, delet quidem cotidiana peccata cum cotidie dicitur: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra*, atque id quod sequitur non solum dicitur, sed etiam fit: *Sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.* Sed quia fiunt peccata ideo dicitur, non ut ideo fiant quia dicitur. Per hanc enim nobis voluit Salvator ostendere, quantumlibet iuste in huius vitae caligine atque infirmitate vivamus, non nobis deesse peccata pro quibus dimittendis debeamus orare, et eis qui in nos peccant ut et nobis ignoscatur ignoscere. Non itaque propterea Dominus ait: *Si dimiseritis peccata hominibus dimittet vobis et pater vester peccata vestra* ut de hac oratione confisi securi cotidiana scelera faceremus, vel potentia qua non timeremus hominum

¹ Matthew 5.23-24.

² Matthew 6.12.

³ Matthew 6.14.

nor does he love Christ if he refuses to be made righteous in Christ. Likewise, if anyone is overtaken by the fault of saying to his brother: "Thou fool!" that is, reviles him unjustly when he has no desire to take away his sin, doing alms is insufficient to atone for this unless he adds the remedy of reconciliation, to which a reference follows. For the text continues: "If therefore you bring your gift to the altar and there remember that your brother has anything against you, leave your gift there before the altar and first go and be reconciled to your brother and then you shall come and offer your gift."¹ Just so it is not enough to do acts of mercy, however great, for any sin whatever, if a man persists in his accustomed sinful course.

But the daily prayer that Jesus himself taught (whence it is also called "The Lord's Prayer") does wipe out our daily sins when we daily say: "Forgive us our debts," and then not only add the next words but also act accordingly: "as we also forgive our debtors."² But the prayer is repeated because sins are committed, but not to the end that more may be committed because it is repeated. For by this petition the Saviour's purpose was to show that however righteously we may live amid the darkness and instability of this life, we are never free from sins, but must pray for their forgiveness and must pardon those who sin against us, in order that we also may be pardoned. And so the Lord said: "If you forgive men their sins, your Father also will forgive your sins,"³ not that by relying on this prayer we might commit sins daily with confidence, either exempt from fear of the laws of men because of high position,

leges, vel astutia qua ipsos homines falleremus, sed ut per illam disceremus non putare nos esse sine peccatis, etiamsi a criminibus essemus immunes; sicut etiam legis veteris sacerdotes hoc ipsum Deus de sacrificiis admonuit, quae iussit eos primum pro suis deinde pro populi offerre peccatis.

Nam et ipsa verba tanti magistri et Domini nostri vigilanter intuenda sunt. Non enim ait: "Si dimiseritis peccata hominibus, et pater vester dimittet vobis qualiacumque peccata," sed ait: *Peccata vestra*. Cotidianam quippe orationem docebat et iustificatis utique discipulis loquebatur. Quid est ergo: *Peccata vestra* nisi "peccata sine quibus nec vos eritis qui iustificati et sanctificati estis"? Ubi ergo illi qui per hanc orationem occasionem perpetratorum cotidie scelerum quaerunt dicunt Dominum significasse etiam magna peccata, quoniam non dixit: "Dimittet vobis parva," sed *peccata vestra*, ibi nos considerantes qualibus loquebatur et audientes dictum *Peccata vestra* nihil aliud debemus existimare quam parva, quoniam talium iam non erant magna. Verum tamen nec ipsa magna, a quibus omnino mutatis in melius moribus recedendum est, dimittuntur orantibus nisi fiat quod ibi dicitur: *Sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*. Si enim minima peccata sine quibus non est etiam vita iustorum aliter non remittuntur, quanto magis multis et magnis criminibus involuti, etiamsi ea perpetrare

¹ Leviticus 16.6.

or capable of cheating human eyes because of our craftiness. Rather, his intention was that by that prayer we should learn not to think that we are without sin, even if we do avoid great crimes. This is the same instruction that God gave to the priests of the old law through the sacrifices that he commanded them to offer first for their own sins, then for the sins of the people.¹

For the very words of our great Master and Lord must be carefully observed. He does not say: "If you forgive men their sins, your Father also will forgive for you sins of any kind," but he says: "your sins." It was a daily prayer that he was teaching, and in any case he was speaking to disciples already made righteous. What then is the meaning of "your sins," if not "the sins which not even you will avoid, who are made both righteous and holy"? So when those who through this prayer seek an opening for committing sins daily say that the Lord meant to include even great sins—since he did not say: "He will forgive your small sins," but "your sins"—at that point we consider the men to whom he was speaking, and when we hear the words "your sins" are bound to think of nothing but small sins, for the sins of such men were not great. However, neither are the great sins (from which it is altogether necessary to depart by a change of character for the better) remitted when we pray unless we do as the text says: "as we also forgive our debtors." For if the least sins, from which not even the life of the righteous is free, are not otherwise forgiven, how much more do those who are entangled in many great crimes fail to attain forgiveness (even if they cease now to com-

iam desinant, nullam indulgentiam consequuntur, si ad remittendum aliis quod in eos quisque peccaverit inexorabiles fuerint, cum dicat Dominus: *Si autem non dimiseritis hominibus, neque pater vester dimittet vobis.*

Ad hoc enim valet quod etiam Iacobus apostolus ait iudicium futurum sine misericordia illi qui non fecit misericordiam. Venire quippe debet in mentem etiam servus ille cui debitori dominus eius relaxavit decem milia talentorum, quae postea iussit ut redderet, quia ipse non misertus est conservi sui qui ei debebat centum denarios. In his ergo qui filii sunt promissionis et vasa misericordiae valet quod ait idem apostolus consequenter adiungens: *Superexultat autem misericordia iudicio*, quoniam et illi iusti qui tanta sanctitate vixerunt ut alios quoque recipiant in tabernacula aeterna (a quibus amici facti sunt de mammona iniquitatis ut tales essent) misericordia liberati sunt ab eo qui iustificat impium, imputans mercedem secundum gratiam, non secundum debitum. In eorum quippe numero est apostolus qui dicit: *Misericordiam consecutus sum, ut fidelis essem.*

Illi autem qui recipiuntur a talibus in tabernacula aeterna, fatendum est quod non sint his moribus praediti ut eis liberandis sine suffragio sanctorum sua possit vita sufficere, ac per hoc multo amplius in eis superexultat misericordia iudicio. Nec tamen ideo putandus est quisquam sceleratissimus, nequaquam vita vel bona vel tolerabiliore mutatus, recipi in

mit them) if they refuse all entreaties to forgive others any sins that anyone has committed against them! For the Lord says: "If you do not forgive men, neither will your Father forgive you."¹

What the apostle James says also applies to the point, that judgement will be without mercy to him who has shown no mercy.² Here no doubt that servant should be called to mind for whom his master forgave the debt of ten thousand talents, but later ordered him to pay them back because he did not have pity on his fellow servant who owed him a hundred shillings.³ So in the case of those who are sons of the promise and vessels of mercy, the words of the same Apostle in the same context apply: "But mercy triumphs over judgement."⁴ For even those righteous men who have lived in such holiness that they receive others also into eternal tabernacles (men who have gained their friendship by means of the mammon of unrighteousness,⁵ in order to be such as they are) have been freed as an act of mercy by him who justifies the unrighteous, reckoning the reward as a matter of grace, not of debt. For in their number is the Apostle who says: "I have obtained mercy, so as to be faithful."⁶

But of those who are received by such men into eternal tabernacles, it must be admitted that they are not endowed with such character that their life is enough to free them without the help of the saints, and hence in their case much more does mercy triumph over judgement. But neither must it be supposed that any wicked man, without any change at all in his life so that it is good, or better than before, is received into the eternal tabernacles because he

¹ Matthew 6.15.

³ Matthew 18.23-34.

⁵ Luke 16.9.

² James 2.13.

⁴ James 2.13.

⁶ 1 Corinthians 7.25.

tabernacula aeterna quoniam obsecutus est sanctis de mammona iniquitatis. Id est de pecunia vel divitiis quae male fuerant adquisitae, aut etiamsi bene, non tamen veris sed quas iniquitas putat esse divitias, quoniam nescit quae sint verae divitiae quibus illi abundabant qui et alios recipiunt in tabernacula aeterna. Est itaque quidam vitae modus nec tam malae ut his qui eam vivunt nihil prosit ad capesendum regnum caelorum largitas elemosynarum, quibus etiam iustorum sustentatur inopia, et fiunt amici qui in tabernacula aeterna suscipiant, nec tam bonae ut ad tantam beatitudinem adipiscendam eis ipsa sufficiat, nisi eorum meritis quos amicos fecerint misericordiam consequantur.

Mirari autem soleo etiam apud Vergilium reperi istam Domini sententiam, ubi ait: *Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis, ut et ipsi recipiant vos in tabernacula aeterna; cui est et illa simillima: Qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophetae, mercedem prophetae accipiet; et qui recipit iustum in nomine iusti, mercedem iusti accipiet.* Nam cum Elysios campos poeta ille describeret, ubi putant habitare animas beatorum, non solum ibi posuit eos qui propriis meritis ad illas sedes pervenire potuerunt, sed adiecit atque ait:

Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo,

id est, qui promeruerunt alios eosque sui memores promerendo fecerunt—prorsus tamquam eis dicerent,

¹ Luke 16.9.

² Matthew 10.41.

³ *Aeneid*, 6.664.

has courted the saints with the mammon of unrighteousness. This term refers to money or riches that are wrongly acquired—or, if properly acquired, still not true riches, but what unrighteousness supposes to be riches, not knowing what are the true riches of which those had a superfluity who receive others with them into eternal tabernacles. And so there is a certain manner of life which is neither so wicked that those who live it cannot be helped to reach the kingdom of heaven by their generous almsgiving (by which not only is the poverty of the righteous supported, but friends are also gained to receive the givers into eternal tabernacles), nor so good that it is sufficient of itself to gain so great happiness, unless they obtain mercy by the merits of those whose friendship they gain.

I often marvel that in Virgil also is found a thought which the Lord puts in the words: “Make for yourselves friends with the mammon of unrighteousness, that they in turn may receive you into eternal tabernacles.”¹ Very like it is the well-known promise: “He who receives a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet’s reward, and he who receives a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man’s reward.”² For when the great poet describes the Elysian fields, where it is supposed that the souls of the happy live, not only does he place there those who were able to reach that place of residence by their own merits, but he adds: “And those who have made others mindful of them by service,”³ that is, those who have served others and made them mindful of them by their service. It is just as if they used the words in speaking to them

quod frequentatur ore Christiano, cum se cuique sanctorum humilis quisque commendat et dicit: "Memor mei esto," atque id ut esse possit promerendo efficit.

Sed quis iste sit modus, et quae sint ipsa peccata quae ita impediunt perventionem ad regnum Dei ut tamen sanctorum amicorum meritis inpetrent indulgentiam, difficillimum est invenire, periculosissimum definire. Ego certe usque ad hoc tempus cum inde satagerem ad eorum indaginem pervenire non potui. Et fortassis propterea latent ne studium proficiendi ad omnia cavenda peccata pigrescat. Quoniam si scirentur quae vel qualia sint delicta pro quibus etiam permanentibus nec pro vectu vitae melioris absumptis intercessio sit inquirenda et speranda iustorum, eis secreta se obvolveret humana segnitia, nec evolvi talibus implicamentis ullius virtutis expeditione curaret, sed tantummodo quaereret aliorum meritis liberari quos amicos sibi de mammona iniquitatis elemosynarum largitate fecisset. Nunc vero dum venialis iniquitatis, etiamsi perseveret, ignoratur modus, profecto et studium in meliora proficiendi orando et instando vigilantius adhibetur et faciendi de mammona iniquitatis sanctos amicos cura non spernitur.

Verum ista liberatio quae fit sive suis quibusque orationibus sive intercedentibus sanctis id agit ut in ignem quisque non mittatur aeternum, non ut cum

that are often heard on Christian lips, when a humble soul commends himself to one of the saints and says: "Be mindful of me," and makes it possible for him to be mindful by some worthy act.

But it is very hard to learn and ticklish to define what is the manner of life, and what are the sins that stand in the way of reaching the kingdom of God, but still allow the sinners to win indulgence by the merits of the saints, their friends. At least, up to the present time I have not been able to arrive at the answer, though I have applied myself to the subject. And perhaps it is purposely hidden, lest zeal for progress in avoiding all sins should grow slothful. For if men knew for what sins or what kind of sins they might seek and expect the intercession of the saints even though the sins remain and are not overcome by progress toward a better life, then man's sloth would wrap itself securely in the sins, and not strive to escape from such entanglements by any energetic pursuit of virtue; they would only seek to be freed by the merits of others whom they had gained as friends by the mammon of unrighteousness generously spent in almsgiving. But as it is, as long as the amount of iniquity that can be forgiven though it be persisted in is unknown, there is certainly so much the more vigilant zeal displayed in prayer and striving for improvement in character, and the effort to make the saints one's friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness is not despised.

But that liberation which is gained by a man's own prayers or by the intercession of the saints only brings it about that a soul is not dispatched into eternal fire; once it is so dispatched, naught avails

fuerit missus post quantumcumque inde tempus eruatur. Nam et illi qui putant sic intellegendum esse quod scriptum est, adferre terram bonam uberem fructum, aliam tricenum, aliam sexagenum, aliam centenum, ut sancti pro suorum diversitate meritorum alii tricenos homines liberent, alii sexagenos, alii centenos, hoc in die iudicii futurum suspicari solent, non post iudicium. Qua opinione quidam cum videret homines inpunitatem sibi perversissime pollicentes, eo quod omnes isto modo ad liberationem pertinere posse videantur, elegantissime respondisse perhibetur, bene potius esse vivendum, ut inter eos quisque reperiatur qui pro aliis intercessuri sunt liberandis, ne tam pauci sint ut cito ad numerum suum vel tricenum vel sexagenum vel centenum unoquoque eorum perveniente multi remaneant qui erui iam de poenis illorum intercessione non possint, et in eis inveniatur quisquis sibi spem fructus alieni temeritate vanissima pollicetur.

Haec me illis respondisse suffecerit qui sacrarum litterarum quas communes habemus auctoritatem non spernunt, sed eas male intellegendo non quod illae loquuntur, sed hoc potius putant futurum esse quod ipsi volunt. Hac itaque responsione reddita librum sicut promisimus terminamus.

to effect its deliverance thence, no matter how long a time it may have been there. For even those who hold that when Scripture says that the good ground bears a plentiful harvest, some thirty-fold, some sixty, some a hundred,¹ it should be understood to mean that the saints, according to the diversity of their merits free, some thirty men each, some sixty, some a hundred, suppose that this will happen on the day of judgement, not after the judgement. There was a certain man, they say, who saw people perversely promising themselves impunity because of this notion, whereby it seems that in this way all may come to be freed from hell. He made the apt retort, it is said, that it is better to live a good life, whereby a person may be found among those who will intercede for the liberation of others, lest the intercessors be so few that when each has speedily filled out his quota of thirty, sixty or a hundred, many others should be left unable to gain deliverance from punishment by their intercession, and lest among these be found every one who with baseless audacity promises himself the hope of profiting by another's merit.

With this I have said enough in answer to those who do not reject the authority of the sacred writings which we have in common, but by misinterpreting them expect that what they themselves wish will come to pass, rather than what the Scriptures say. So now, having completed our reply, we end the book as we promised.

¹ Matthew 13.8.

BOOK XXII

LIBER XXII

I

De conditione angelorum et hominum.

Sicut in proximo libro superiore promisimus, iste huius totius operis ultimus disputationem de civitatis Dei aeterna beatitudine continebit, quae non propter aetatis per multa saecula longitudinem tamen quandocumque finiendam aeternitatis nomen accepit, sed quem ad modum scriptum est in evangelio, *regni eius non erit finis*; nec ita ut aliis moriendo decedentibus, aliis succedentibus oriendo species in ea perpetuitatis appareat, sicut in arbore quae perenni fronde vestitur eadem videtur viriditas permanere, dum labentibus et cadentibus foliis subinde alia quae nascuntur faciem conservant opacitatis; sed omnes in ea cives immortales erunt, adipiscentibus et hominibus quod numquam sancti angeli perdididerunt. Faciet hoc Deus omnipotentissimus eius conditor. Promisit enim nec mentiri potest, et

¹ The words "eternal" and "eternity," from Latin *aeternus*, *aeternitas*, are related to *aevum*, which means both "unending time" and "a period of time"; for the second meaning the commoner word is *aetas*. Augustine seeks to

BOOK XXII

I

The condition of angels and men.

As we promised in the preceding book, this book, the last of the whole work, will contain a discussion of the eternal happiness of the City of God. The term "eternal," as applied here, does not refer to a long period of time (*aetas*) lasting through many ages, but still at some time bound to end.¹ Rather, as it stands written in the gospel, "of his kingdom there shall be no end."² Nor is it eternal in the sense that there is an outward appearance of continuity in its case because, as some sink in death, so others rise to replace them. When a tree, for instance, wears its robe of leaves throughout the year, it seems to keep permanently the same greenery, for, though leaves detach themselves and fall, yet new ones burgeoning maintain the front unbroken. But in that city all the citizens are immortal, for human beings will also attain to the status that the holy angels never lost. God, its most almighty Creator, shall bring this to pass, for he has promised and cannot lie, and as an earnest of his

make it clear that the "eternal" happiness of the saints is unending happiness, that is, an unending immortality for each individual.

² Luke 1.33.

quibus fidem hinc quoque faceret, multa sua et non promissa et promissa iam fecit.

Ipsa enim, qui in principio condidit mundum, plenum bonis omnibus visibilibus atque intellegendis rebus, in quo nihil melius instituit quam spiritus quibus intelligentiam dedit, et suae contemplationis habiles capacesque sui praestitit atque una societate devinxit quam sanctam et supernam dicimus civitatem, in qua res qua sustententur beatique sint Deus ipse illis est, tamquam vita victusque communis. Qui liberum arbitrium eidem intellectuali naturae tribuit tale ut, si vellet, desereret Deum, beatitudinem scilicet suam, miseria continuo secutura. Qui, cum praesciret angelos quosdam per elationem qua ipsi sibi ad beatam vitam sufficere vellent tanti boni desertores futuros, non eis ademit hanc potestatem, potentius et melius esse iudicans etiam de malis bene facere quam mala esse non sinere.

Quae omnino nulla essent, nisi natura mutabilis, quamvis bona et a summo Deo atque incommutabili bono qui bona omnia condidit instituta, peccando ea sibi ipsa fecisset. Quo etiam peccato suo teste convincitur bonam conditam se esse naturam. Nisi enim magnum et ipsa, licet non aequale Conditori, bonum esset, profecto desertio Dei tamquam luminis sui malum eius esse non posset. Nam sicut caecitas oculi vitium est et idem ipsum indicat

good faith he has already performed many things that he promised, as well as things not promised.

For it is he who in the beginning created the world, full of all good things, visible to eye or mind, and in it he put nothing better than those spirits to whom he gave intelligence. These he created capable of contemplating and receiving himself, and bound them in one fellowship which we call the holy and heavenly city. There God himself is the substance by which they are sustained and made happy, their common food, so to speak, and source of life. To the same group who were endowed with intelligence he granted free will of a kind that permitted them, if they wished, to desert God—their true joy, be it noted, so that misery would immediately follow. Though he foreknew that certain angels would forsake their great blessedness through the pride that made them wish to be self-sufficient in a happy life, he did not take the power of choice away from them, but judged that it was more in keeping with his might and goodness to make evil a source of good rather than not to permit any evils to exist.

There would be no evil at all in existence if a nature subject to change—good though it was and created by God and his unchangeable goodness who made all things good—had not sinned and so created its own evil for itself. Even this sin is a witness against such a nature to prove that God created it good. For unless it were itself a great good (though not equal in goodness to the creator) certainly the desertion of God, its light, could not be its ruin. To illustrate, blindness is a defect of the eye, and this very fact shows that the eye was created to see the

ad lumen videndum esse oculum creatum ac per hoc etiam ipso vitio suo excellentius ostenditur ceteris membris membrum capax luminis—non enim alia causa esset vitium eius carere lumine—ita natura, quae fruebatur Deo, optimam se institutam docet etiam ipso vitio, quo ideo misera est quia non fruitur Deo. Qui casum angelorum voluntarium iustissima poena sempiternae infelicitatis obstrinxit atque in eo summo bono permanentibus ceteris, ut de sua sine fine permansione certi essent, tamquam ipsius praemium permansionis dedit.

Qui fecit hominem etiam ipsum rectum cum eodem libero arbitrio, terrenum quidem animal, sed caelo dignum si suo cohaereret auctori, miseria similiter si eum desereret secutura, qualis naturae huius modi conveniret. Quem similiter cum praevaricatione legis Dei per Dei desertionem peccatorum esse praesciret, nec illi ademit liberi arbitrii potestatem, simul praevidens quid boni de malo eius esset ipse facturus. Qui de mortali progenie merito iusteque damnata tantum populum gratia sua colligit ut inde suppleat et instauret partem quae lapsa est angelorum, ac sic illa dilecta et superna civitas non fraudetur suorum numero civium, quin etiam fortassis et uberiore laetetur.

¹ On Augustine's notion that the saints will replenish the population of heaven so as to replace the number of fallen

light. Hence, by its very defect the member capable of illumination is proved to be more excellent than the other members, for there can be no other reason why its lack of light should be a defect. Just so the nature which once enjoyed God shows that it was created most excellent by the very defect whereby it is wretched just because it does not now enjoy God. The freely willed fall of the angels he constrained by the utterly just penalty of eternal unhappiness. To all the rest who remained firm in him, their highest good, he granted as a reward for so remaining the certitude of remaining in him for ever.

And he made man himself also an upright creature, with the same free will, an earthbound animal, but worthy of heaven if he should cling to his creator. In like manner misery was to follow if he should desert him, a misery suited to a nature of this kind. In the man's case also, though God foreknew that he would sin by transgressing the law of God and deserting God, he did not take away the power of free will, foreseeing at the same time the good that he would create out of the evil which the man did. For from the man's mortal progeny, though deservedly and justly sentenced, God by his grace is gathering a people so numerous as to replace and renew the gap left by the fallen angels.¹ Thus that beloved and heavenly city will not be cheated of the full number of its citizens; nay, it may perhaps rejoice in a number even more abundant than the former.

angels, see his *Manual (Enchiridion)*, 9.29 with Rivière's note in *BA* 9, 351.

II

De aeterna Dei et incommutabili voluntate.

MULTA enim fiunt quidem a malis contra voluntatem Dei, sed tantae est ille sapientiae tantaque virtutis ut in eos exitus sive fines quos bonos et iustos ipse praescivit tendant omnia quae voluntati eius videntur adversa. Ac per hoc cum Deus mutare dicitur voluntatem, ut quibus lenis erat verbi gratia reddatur iratus, illi potius quam ipse mutantur et eum quodam modo mutatum in his quae patiuntur inveniunt; sicut mutatur sol oculis sauciatis et asper quodam modo ex miti et ex delectabili molestus efficitur, cum ipse apud se ipsum maneat idem qui fuit. Dicitur etiam voluntas Dei, quam facit in cordibus oboedientium mandatis eius, de qua dicit apostolus: *Deus enim est, qui operatur in vobis et velle*, sicut iustitia Dei non solum qua ipse iustus est dicitur, sed illa etiam quam in homine qui ab illo iustificatur facit. Sic et lex eius vocatur, quae potius est hominum, sed ab ipso data. Nam utique homines erant quibus ait Iesus: *In lege vestra scriptum est, cum alio loco legamus: Lex Dei eius in corde eius*. Secundum hanc voluntatem quam Deus operatur in hominibus etiam velle dicitur, quod non ipse vult, sed suos id volentes facit; sicut dicitur cognovisse, quod ut cognosceretur fecit a quibus ignorabatur.

¹ Philippians 2.13.

² John 8.17; Psalm 37.31.

II

Of God's eternal and unchangeable will.

MANY things, to be sure, are done by the wicked against the will of God, but he is of such wisdom and power that all things which seem opposed to his will move towards those ends and outcomes which he knew beforehand to be good and right. Hence, when God is said to change his will, for example, when he becomes angry with those to whom he was gentle, it is they who change, rather than he, and they find him changed, so to speak, in the things that they suffer. Just so the sun is "changed" for inflamed eyes: it becomes harsh somehow instead of mild, painful instead of pleasant, although the sun in itself remains the same as ever. The phrase "will of God" is used of that will which God creates in the hearts of those who obey his commands, of which the Apostle says: "For it is God who worketh in you even to will."¹ It is just so that the phrase "righteousness of God" is used not only of that righteousness by which he himself is righteous, but also of that which he creates in the man who is made righteous by him. So also the law is called his, though it belongs rather to men, but was given by him. For surely those to whom Jesus said, "It is written in your law," were men, though in another place we read, "The law of his God is in his heart."² Thus also it is the will which God implants in men by which he is said to will, not what he himself wills, but what he causes his servants to will. Likewise he is said to know a thing, when he causes it to be known by others to whom the

Neque enim dicente apostolo: *Nunc autem cognoscentes Deum, immo cogniti a Deo*, fas est ut credamus quod eos tunc cognoverit Deus praecognitos ante constitutionem mundi; sed tunc cognovisse dictus est, quod tunc ut cognosceretur effecit. De his locutionum modis iam et in superioribus libris meminimus disputatum. Secundum hanc ergo voluntatem qua Deum velle dicimus quod alios efficit velle a quibus futura nesciuntur, multa vult nec facit.

Multa enim volunt fieri sancti eius ab illo inspirata sancta voluntate, nec fiunt, sicut orant pro quibusdam pie sancteque, et quod orant non facit, cum ipse in eis hanc orandi voluntatem sancto Spiritu suo fecerit. Ac per hoc, quando secundum Deum volunt et orant sancti ut quisque sit salvus, possumus illo modo locutionis dicere: "Vult Deus et non facit"—ut ipsum dicamus velle, qui ut velint isti facit. Secundum illam vero voluntatem suam quae cum eius praescientia sempiterna est, profecto in caelo et in terra omnia quaecumque voluit non solum praeterita vel praesentia, sed etiam futura iam fecit. Verum antequam veniat tempus quo voluit ut fieret, quod ante tempora universa praescivit atque disposuit, dicimus: "Fiet quando Deus voluerit." Si autem non solum tempus quo futurum est verum etiam utrum futurum sit ignoramus, dicimus: "Fiet, si Deus voluerit," non quia Deus novam voluntatem

matter was previously unknown. For when the Apostle says, "But now knowing God, or rather being known by God,"¹ it is an error to suppose that God then first knew men who were really foreknown before the foundation of the world;² rather he is said then to "know" what he then caused to be known. I recall having discussed these forms of expression also in former books.³ So by this "will" which we call "God's will," when he causes others to whom the future is unknown to will it, he "wills" many things which he does not do.

For his saints wish many things to be done, with a holy will inspired by him, and yet they are not done. They pray for certain men in piety and holiness, and God does not do what they ask, though he himself by his Holy Spirit created in them this desire to pray. And hence, when the saints according to God's will will and pray that all should be saved, we can say, by this mode of speech, "God wills it and does not do it," meaning that he wills in causing them to will. But on the other hand, according to that will of God which is eternal like his foreknowledge, he has already surely accomplished everything which he has willed in heaven and on earth, not only things past and present, but also things to come. But until the time comes for the occurrence (a time which he foreknew and fixed before all times), we say, "It will happen when God wills." And if we not only have no knowledge when it will happen but even have none whether it will happen at all, we say, "It will happen if God wills." This does not mean that God

¹ Galatians 4.9.

² 1 Peter 1.20; Ephesians 1.4.

³ Compare 11.8 and 21 (Vol. III); 16.5 and 32 (Vol. V, pp. 31, 155).

quam non habuit tunc habebit, sed quia id quod ex aeternitate in eius inmutabili praeparatum est voluntate tunc erit.

III

De promissione aeternae beatitudinis sanctorum et perpetuis suppliciis impiorum.

QUAPROPTER, ut cetera tam multa praeteream, sicut nunc in Christo videmus impleri quod promisit Abrahae dicens: *In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes*, ita quod eidem semini eius promisit implebitur, ubi ait per prophetam: *Resurgent qui erant in monumentis*, et quod ait: *Erit 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 per alium prophetam quod praenuntiavit dicens eidem prophetae: *In tempore illo salvabitur populus tuus omnis qui inventus fuerit scriptus in libro. Et multi dormientium in terrae pulvere (sive, ut quidam interpretati sunt, aggere) exurgent, hi in vitam aeternam et hi in opprobrium et in confusionem aeternam.* Et alio loco per eundem prophetam: *Accipient regnum sancti Altissimi et obtinebunt illud usque in saeculum et usque in saeculum saeculorum.* Et paulo post: *Regnum,*

¹ The paradoxical relation of God's will, man's will and the course of events is further discussed in *Manual* 26.102.

² Genesis 22.18.

³ Isaiah 26.19 LXX.

⁴ Isaiah 65.17-19 LXX.

⁵ Daniel 12.1-2.

will then have a new will which he did not have before, but rather that the event which was from eternity made ready in his unchanging will is then to take place.¹

III

The promise of eternal happiness for the saints, and endless punishment for the wicked.

To pass over so many other matters, we now see fulfilled in Christ what God promised to Abraham: "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed."² So also his promise to that same seed of Abraham will be fulfilled, where he says through the prophet: "Those who were in the tombs shall arise."³ And again: "There shall be a new heaven and a new earth, and the former things shall not be remembered or come into mind, but they shall find gladness and rejoicing there. Behold, I will make Jerusalem a rejoicing and my people gladness, and I will rejoice in Jerusalem and be glad in my people, and the voice of weeping shall no longer be heard in her."⁴ And through another prophet, saying what he had foretold to the same prophet: "In that time shall all thy people be saved who are found written in the book. And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth (or "mound," as some translate) shall awake, some to eternal life, and some to shame and eternal confusion."⁵ And elsewhere in the same prophet we read: "The saints of the Most High shall receive the kingdom and possess it for ever, even for ever and ever." And a little later: "His

inquit, *eius regnum sempiternum*. Et alia quae ad hoc pertinentia in libro vicensimo posui, sive quae non posui et tamen in eisdem litteris scripta sunt—venient et haec sicut ista venerunt quae increduli non putabant esse ventura. Idem quippe Deus utraque promisit, utraque ventura esse praedixit, quem perhorrescunt numina paganorum, etiam teste Porphyrio, nobilissimo philosopho paganorum.

IV

Contra sapientes mundi, qui putant terrena hominum corpora ad caeleste habitaculum non posse transferri.

SED videlicet homines docti atque sapientes, contra vim tantae auctoritatis quae omnia genera hominum, sicut tanto ante praedixit, in hoc credendum sperandumque convertit, acute sibi argumentari videntur adversus corporum resurrectionem et dicere quod in tertio de re publica libro a Cicerone commemoratum est. Nam cum Herculem et Romulum ex hominibus deos esse factos asseveraret: “Quorum non corpora,” inquit, “sunt in caelum elata, neque enim natura pateretur ut id quod esset e terra nisi in terra maneret.” Haec est magna ratio sapientium, quorum *Dominus novit cogitationes quoniam vanae sunt*.

¹ Daniel 7.18, 27.

² 20.21 (Vol. VI, 381).

³ The statement is from Porphyry's work on *Oracular*

kingdom is an everlasting kingdom.”¹ Other prophecies which relate to this I have set down in my twentieth book;² some I have not set down, yet they are written in the same Scriptures. All these things will come to pass, like the other things which unbelievers did not think would come, for the same God promised both and declared that both would come to pass. Before him the gods of the pagans tremble, according to the testimony even of Porphyry, the most renowned philosopher among the pagans.³

IV

Against the wise men of the world who think that men's earthly bodies cannot be transferred to a heavenly home.

IN spite of the weight of an authority which, as it long ago foretold, has converted all kinds of men to this belief and hope, there are, however, we must note, wise and learned men who think they are using a shrewd argument against the resurrection of the body when they repeat the words of Cicero in the third book of his *Republic*.⁴ When asserting that Hercules and Romulus were changed from men to gods, he says: “It was not their bodies that were carried to heaven, for nature would not allow what is formed of earth to dwell anywhere except on earth.” This is the great argument of the wise, whose thoughts “the Lord knoweth, that they are

Philosophy, previously discussed at some length 19.23 (Vol. VI, 214-231); it is also mentioned 20.24 (VI, 403 f.).

⁴ Cicero, *Republic* 3.28.40.

Si enim animae tantummodo essemus, id est sine ullo corpore spiritus, et in caelo habitantes terrena animalia nesciremus nobisque futurum esse diceretur ut terrenis corporibus animandis quodam vinculo mirabili necteremur, nonne multo fortius argumentaremur id credere recusantes et diceremus naturam non pati ut res incorporea ligamento corporeo vinciretur? Et tamen plena est terra vegetantibus animis haec membra terrena, miro sibi modo connexa et implicita.

Cur ergo eodem volente Deo qui fecit hoc animal, non poterit terrenum corpus in caeleste corpus attolli, si animus omni ac per hoc etiam caelesti corpore praestabilior terreno corpori potuit inligari? An terrena particula tam exigua potuit aliquid caelesti corpore melius apud se tenere ut sensum haberet et vitam, et eam sentientem atque viventem dedignabitur caelum suscipere aut susceptam non poterit sustinere, cum de re sentiat et vivat ista meliore quam est corpus omne caeleste? Sed ideo nunc non fit quia nondum est tempus quo id fieri voluit qui hoc quod videndo iam viluit multo mirabilius quam illud quod ab istis non creditur fecit. Cur enim non vehementius admiramur incorporeos animos caelesti corpore potiores terrenis inligari corporibus quam corpora licet terrena sedibus quamvis caelestibus tamen corporeis sublimari, nisi quia hoc videre

¹ Psalm 94.11. Augustine's defence of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection extends through Chapter XX. For a summary of the argument see Thonnard's note in *BA* 37, 820-822.

vain."¹ Suppose that we were mere souls, that is, spirits without a body, and while dwelling in heaven knew nothing of earthly animals. If we were told that we should be joined to earthly bodies by a marvellous bond in order to give them life, should we not argue much more strongly, refusing to believe this, saying that nature does not allow an incorporeal thing to be bound by a corporeal tie? And yet the earth is filled with souls which give life to these earthly limbs, marvellously bound up and entangled with them.

Then why cannot an earthly body be raised to be a heavenly body, if God, who gave it life, so wills? For the soul is more excellent than any body, hence even than a celestial body. Yet it has been possible for it to be tied to an earthly body. And while so slight a lump of earth can hold enclosed something that is better than even a heavenly body, in order to have life and sensation, will heaven disdain to receive that lump, now that it is living and sentient? Or will heaven not be able to retain it after receiving it, although its sensation and life come from a thing that is better than any heavenly body? This does not happen now for the reason that it is not yet the time at which God willed it to happen. Yet a thing which has long seemed common from daily observation is a work of God far more marvellous than that which our opponents refuse to believe. For why are we not more amazed that incorporeal spirits, which are better than even heavenly bodies, are bound to earthly bodies, than that earthly bodies will be lifted up to a home which, though heavenly, is nevertheless corporeal? Is it not because we are wont to see the

consequimus et hoc sumus, illud vero nondum sumus nec aliquando adhuc vidimus? Nam profecto sobria ratione consulta mirabilioris esse divini operis reperitur incorporalibus corporalia quodam modo attexere quam licet diversa, quia illa caelestia ista terrestria, tamen corpora et corpora copulare.

V

De resurrectione carnis, quam quidam mundo credente non credunt.

SED hoc incredibile fuerit aliquando: ecce iam credit mundus sublatum terrenum Christi corpus in caelum. Resurrectionem carnis et ascensionem in supernas sedes, paucissimis remanentibus atque stupentibus vel doctis vel indoctis, iam crediderunt et docti et indocti. Si rem credibilem crediderunt, videant quam sint stolidi qui non credunt; si autem res incredibilis credita est, etiam hoc utique incredibile est, sic creditum esse quod incredibile est. Haec igitur duo incredibilia, resurrectionem scilicet nostri corporis in aeternum et rem tam incredibilem mundum esse crediturum, idem Deus, antequam vel unum eorum fieret, ambo futura esse praedixit. Unum duorum incredibilium iam factum videmus, ut quod erat incredibile crederet mundus. Cur id quod reliquum est desperatur, ut etiam hoc veniat quod incredibile credidit mundus, sicut iam venit

one marvel daily, and in fact are that marvel ourselves, but are not yet that other thing, nor have we ever hitherto seen it? For surely if we consult our sober thoughts, it appears a more marvellous work of God to join corporeal things in some way to incorporeal than to unite things which, though different, since one is celestial, the other terrestrial, yet are nevertheless both of them corporeal.

V

On the resurrection of the flesh, which some do not believe, though the world does believe.

THIS may have seemed incredible once, but lo, today the world has come to believe that the earthly body of Christ was raised up to heaven. Both learned and unlearned have come to believe in the resurrection of the flesh and its ascension to a heavenly home, while only a few, whether of learned or unlearned, continue in unbelief and amazement. If it is a credible thing which they have believed, let unbelievers observe how stupid they are! But if it is incredible, it is also certainly incredible that an incredible thing has thus been believed. So these two incredible things, that is, the resurrection of our body for eternity, and the world's belief in so incredible a thing, were both predicted by the same God before either one of them took place. One of the two we see now accomplished, that is, that the world should believe what was incredible. Why is it hopeless that the other thing should come to pass that the world thought incredible? For this has already

quod similiter incredibile fuit, ut rem tam incredibilem crederet mundus? Quando quidem hoc utrumque incredibile, quorum videmus unum alterum credimus, in eisdem litteris praedictum sit per quas credidit mundus?

Et ipse modus quo mundus credidit, si consideretur, incredibilior invenitur. Ineruditis liberalibus disciplinis et omnino quantum ad istorum doctrinas adtinet inpolitos, non peritos grammatica, non armatos dialectica, non rhetorica inflatos, piscatores Christus cum retibus fidei ad mare huius saeculi paucissimos misit. Atque ita et ex omni genere tam multos pisces, et tanto mirabiliores quanto rariores etiam ipsos philosophos cepit. Duobus illis incredibilibus, si placet, immo quia placere debet, addamus hoc tertium. Iam ergo tria sunt incredibilia, quae tamen facta sunt. Incredibile est Christum resurrexisse in carne et in caelum ascendisse cum carne. Incredibile est mundum ascensisse cum carne. Incredibile est homines ignobiles, infimos, paucissimos, inperitos rem tam incredibilem tam efficaciter mundo et in illo etiam doctis persuadere potuisse. Horum trium incredibilium primum nolunt isti cum quibus agimus credere, secundum coguntur et cernere, quod non inveniunt unde sit factum si non credunt tertium.

¹ Grammar, dialectic and rhetoric were the first three of the seven "liberal arts," known as the trivium in the middle ages. Dialectic was roughly equivalent to the division of philosophy known as logic; more precisely it was the art of

come to pass which was likewise incredible, that is, that the world should believe a thing so incredible. For both incredible things, one of which we see, the other believe, were predicted in the same writings, the writings through which the world has come to believe.

And the very manner by which the world has come to believe, when duly considered, seems even more incredible. For it was only a very few fishermen whom Christ sent with the nets of faith out on the sea of the world, men untrained in the liberal arts and altogether untaught in the learning of the pagans, not skilled in grammar, not armed with dialectic, not puffed up with rhetoric.¹ And thus he has taken many "fish" of every kind, including even philosophers—the scarcer they are, the greater the miracle. To these two incredible things, if you please (or rather, because it ought to please), let us add this third; there are then three incredible things which have come to pass. First, it is incredible that Christ has risen in the flesh and ascended to heaven with his flesh. Second, it is incredible that the world should have believed a thing so incredible. Third, it is incredible that a very few unknown, lowly, unskilled men should have been able so effectively to persuade the world and even learned men in it. Of these three the men with whom we are arguing refuse to believe the first, but are compelled actually to see the second, while they cannot find out how it has happened unless they believe the third.

disputation by questioning. About the time of his conversion Augustine had undertaken to prepare a series of textbooks on the liberal arts. See Marrou, *Saint Augustin*, 187-193.

Resurrectio certe Christi et in caelum cum carne in qua resurrexit ascensio toto iam mundo praedicatur et creditur. Si credibilis non est, unde toto terrarum orbe iam credita est? Si multi nobiles sublimes docti eam se vidisse dixerunt, et quod viderunt-diffamare curarunt, eis mundum credidisse non mirum est, sed istos adhuc credere nolle perdurum est. Si autem, ut verum est, paucis obscuris minimis inductis eam se vidisse dicentibus et scribentibus credidit mundus, cur pauci obstinatissimi qui remanserunt ipsi mundo iam credenti adhuc usque non credunt? Qui propterea numero exiguo ignobilium infimorum inperitorum hominum credidit, quia in tam contemptibilibus testibus multo mirabilius divinitas se ipsa persuasit. Eloquia namque persuadentium quae dicebant, mira fuerunt facta non verba. Qui enim Christum in carne resurrexisse et cum illa in caelum ascendisse non viderant, id se vidisse narrantibus, non loquentibus tantum sed etiam mirifica facientibus signa credebant.

Homines quippe, quos unius vel ut multum duarum linguarum fuisse noverant, repente linguis omnium gentium loquentes mirabiliter audiebant. Claudum ab uberibus matris ad eorum verbum in Christi nomine post quadraginta annos incolumem constitisse, sudaria de corporibus eorum ablata sanandis profuisse languentibus, in via qua fuerant transituri

In any case, the resurrection of Christ and his ascension to heaven with the flesh in which he rose is now being preached and believed throughout the world. If it is not credible, why is it now believed in every land? If many noble, eminent, learned men had said that they saw it, and had taken pains to spread the news of what they saw, it would not be strange for the world to believe them, and it would be very hard for our opponents still to refuse to believe. But if the world has believed the testimony of a few men who were obscure, unimportant and unlearned when they said and wrote that they saw it (and this is the fact of the matter), why do the few stubborn men who are left still refuse to believe the testimony of the world which now believes? And the world has believed a small number of ignoble, lowly, untaught men for the reason that Divinity itself has made itself much more marvellously convincing in such contemptible witnesses. For the eloquence of those who convinced when they spoke was the miracle of deeds, not words. For those who had not seen Christ risen and ascending to heaven in the flesh believed those who declared that they had seen it, because these men not only spoke, but confirmed their words by marvellous signs.

They knew that these men spoke but one language, or at most two, yet miraculously they suddenly heard them speaking with the tongues of all the nations. They beheld a man lame from his mother's breasts stand up whole after forty years when the apostles spoke to him in the name of Christ. They saw that napkins brought from their bodies were useful to heal the sick. They saw countless men suffering from

positos in ordine innumerabiles morbis variis laborantes ut ambulantium super eos umbra transiret continuo salutem solere recipere, et alia multa stupenda in Christi nomine per eos facta, postremo etiam mortuos resurrexisse cernebant. Quae si ut leguntur gesta esse concedunt, ecce tot incredibilia tribus illis incredibilibus addimus, et ut credatur unum incredibile, quod de carnis resurrectione atque in caelum ascensione dicitur, multorum incredibilium testimonia tanta congerimus. Et nondum ad credendum horrenda duritia incredulos flectimus. Si vero per apostolos Christi, ut eis crederetur resurrectionem atque ascensionem praedicantibus Christi, etiam ista miracula facta esse non credunt, hoc nobis unum grande miraculum sufficit, quod eam terrarum orbis sine ullis miraculis credidit.

VI

Quod Roma conditorem suum Romulum diligendo deum fecerit, ecclesia autem Christum Deum credendo dilexerit.

RECOLAMUS etiam hoc loco illud quod de Romuli credita divinitate Tullius admiratur. Verba eius ut scripta sunt inseram. "Magis est, inquit, in Romulo admirandum quod ceteri qui dii ex hominibus facti esse dicuntur minus eruditis hominum saeculis

¹ Augustine here mentions well-known miracles of Acts 2.5-11; 3.2-8; 4.22; 19.12; 5.15; 9.36-41; 20.9-12.

various diseases placed in a row in the street in which the apostles were going to pass, in order that their shadow might pass over them as they walked, and they commonly saw the sick immediately recover their health. Many other amazing things also they saw done by them in the name of Christ, and finally they saw the dead raised.¹ If they grant the truth of this record, then we may add these many miracles to the three we have named, and to convince them of one incredible thing, the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh and its ascent to heaven, we heap up the abundant evidence of many incredible things. And still we do not bring the unbelievers to believe, because of their ghastly hardness of heart. But if they do not believe that these miracles either were wrought by the apostles of Christ to confirm their word as they preached the resurrection and ascension of Christ, then this one great miracle is enough for us, that the world has believed it without any miracles.

VI

That Rome made a god of her founder Romulus in her love for him, while the church came to love Christ as God by believing in him.

At this point let us also consider a fact that Cicero finds remarkable in connection with the belief in the apotheosis of Romulus. I will include his words as he wrote them: "The case of Romulus is more remarkable in that the other men who are said to have been transformed into gods lived in ages when men were

fuerunt, ut fingendi proclivis esset ratio, cum imperiti facile ad credendum impellerentur. Romuli autem aetatem minus his sescentis annis iam inveteratis litteris atque doctrinis omnique illo antiquo ex inculta hominum vita errore sublato fuisse cernimus." Et paulo post de eodem Romulo ita loquitur, quod ad hunc pertinet sensum: "Ex quo intellegi potest," inquit, "permultis annis ante Homerum fuisse quam Romulum, ut iam doctis hominibus ac temporibus ipsis eruditis ad fingendum vix quicquam esset loci. Antiquitas enim recepit fabulas, fictas etiam nonnumquam incondite; haec aetas autem iam exulta praesertim eludens omne quod fieri non potest respuit." Unus e numero doctissimorum hominum idemque eloquentissimus omnium Marcus Tullius Cicero propterea dicit divinitatem Romuli mirabiliter creditam quod erudita iam tempora fuerunt, quae falsitatem non reciperent fabularum. Quis autem Romulum deum nisi Roma credidit, atque id parva et incipiens? Tum deinde posteris servare fuerat necesse quod acceperant a maioribus, ut cum ista superstitione in lacte quodam modo matris ebibita cresceret civitas atque ad tam magnum perveniret imperium ut ex eius fastigio velut ex altiore quodam loco alias quoque gentes, quibus dominaretur, hac sua opinione perfunderet, ut non quidem crederent, sed tamen dicerent deum Romulum, ne civitatem cui

¹ Cicero, *Republic* 2.10.18-19. The dramatic date of the dialogue is 129 B.C. According to Cicero's reckoning Romulus

more ignorant and more inclined to the invention of tales, and untaught men were easily led to believe them. But we are aware that Romulus lived less than six hundred years ago, when writing and education were long familiar and all the primitive ignorance of uncivilized life had been superseded." And a little farther on he speaks of the same Romulus in words to this effect: "Hence it can be understood that Homer lived many years before Romulus, so that, as men were now learned and times enlightened, there was scarcely any room for the invention of fables. Antiquity accepted myths which were often uncouth inventions, but this age was already notably cultured, so as to mock and reject everything that was impossible."¹ Marcus Tullius Cicero was one of a number of very learned men, and was himself the most eloquent of all men. He declared that it was a miracle for men to believe in the deification of Romulus because the times were now too enlightened to accept lying fables. But who besides Rome, and a small and infant Rome at that, ever believed Romulus a god? After that it was necessary for posterity to maintain what their ancestors had received, so that the city, along with the superstition which it imbibed with its mother's milk, so to speak, might grow and come to rule a great empire. Hence, from its eminence, as from some point of vantage, it could flood other nations also, over which it ruled, with its way of thinking, so that they said that Romulus was a god, though they might not believe it, for they feared to offend a city to which they were in

reigned from 751 to 714 B.C., so that less than 600 years had elapsed since his death.

serviebant de conditore eius offenderent, aliter eum nominando quam Roma, quae id non amore quidem huius erroris, sed tamen amoris errore crediderat.

Christus autem quamquam sit caelestis et sempiternae conditor civitatis, non tamen eum quoniam ab illo condita est Deum credidit, sed ideo potius est condenda quia credit. Roma conditorem suum iam constructa et dedicata tamquam deum coluit in templo; haec autem Hierusalem conditorem suum Deum Christum, ut construi posset et dedicari, posuit in fidei fundamento. Illa illum amando esse deum credidit, ista istum Deum esse credendo amavit. Sicut ergo praecessit unde amaret illa et de amato iam libenter etiam falsum bonum crederet, ita praecessit unde ista crederet, ut recta fide non temere quod falsum, sed quod verum erat amaret. Exceptis enim tot et tantis miraculis quae persuaserunt Deum esse Christum, prophetiae quoque divinae fide dignissimae praecesserunt, quae in illo non sicut a patribus adhuc creduntur implendae, sed iam demonstrantur impletae. De Romulo autem, quia condidit Romam in eaque regnavit, auditur legiturque quod factum est, non quod antequam fieret prophetatum. Sed quod sit receptus in deos, creditum tenent litterae, non factum docent.

Nullis quippe rerum mirabilium signis id ei vere provenisse monstratur. Lupa quippe illa nutrix,

servitute by calling its founder something else than what Rome calls him. Rome had once put faith in this story, not from any love of this error, but still by an error of love.

Although Christ is the founder of a heavenly and eternal city, his city did not believe in him as God because it was founded by him, but rather it is to be founded because it believes. Rome worshipped her founder as a god in a temple when she was already built and dedicated, while our Jerusalem placed its Founder and its God, Christ, in its foundation of faith to the end that it might be built and dedicated. The one city, loving its founder, put faith in him as a god; the other believing its founder to be God, gave her love to him. In the same way as Rome's reason for loving came first, and after it her willingness to believe even a false tale to the credit of her beloved, so Jerusalem's reason for believing came first to preserve her by right faith from a rash love of the false and ensure her love of the true. For, besides the many great miracles which convinced men that Christ is God, there were also divine prophecies, most worthy of belief, which anticipated the event. We no longer believe, as our fathers did, that these are to be fulfilled in him, but rather that they have their fulfilment already demonstrated. Concerning Romulus, however, we hear and read the fact that he founded Rome and reigned there, not that the fact was prophesied before it happened. As for his being received among the gods, history records the belief, but does not teach it as historical fact.

Certainly it is not shown by any miraculous signs that this truly happened to him. To be sure, the

quod videtur quasi magnum extitisse portentum, quale aut quantum est ad demonstrandum deum? Certe enim etsi non meretrix fuit lupa illa, sed bestia, cum commune fuerit ambobus, frater tamen eius non habetur deus. Quis autem prohibitus est aut Romulum aut Herculem aut alios tales homines deos dicere, et mori maluit quam non dicere? Aut vero aliqua gentium coleret inter deos suos Romulum, nisi Romani nominis metus cogeret? Quis porro numeret quam multi quantalibet saevitia crudelitatis occidi quam Christum Deum negare maluerunt? Proinde metus quamlibet levis indignationis, quae ab animis Romanorum si non fieret posse putabatur existere, compellebat aliquas civitates positas sub iure Romano tamquam deum colere Romulum. A Christo autem Deo non solum colendo verum etiam confitendo tantam per orbis terrae populos martyrum multitudinem metus revocare non potuit non levis offensionis animorum, sed immensarum variarumque poenarum et ipsius mortis, quae plus ceteris formidatur. Neque tunc civitas Christi, quamvis adhuc peregrinaretur in terris et haberet tamen magnorum agmina populorum, adversus impios persecutores suos pro temporali salute pugnavit; sed potius, ut obtineret aeternam, non repugnavit. Ligabantur, includebantur, caedebantur, torquebantur, ure-

¹ The word *lupa*, "she-wolf," was sometimes used of a harlot. Livy 1.4.7 suggests that Larentia, the foster-mother of

she-wolf who nursed him is supposed to be a great omen, but what sort of proof, how strange a proof of his deity is that? For in any case, even if that "bitch" of a wolf was not a harlot, but a wild animal,¹ though she was the nurse of both twins alike, his brother is not for all that regarded as a god. And who, when forbidden to say that Romulus or Hercules or other such men were gods, chose to die rather than not to say it? Or would any of the nations really worship Romulus among their gods unless fear of the Roman name compelled them? But who could count the number who have chosen to die by the most cruel torture rather than deny that Christ is God? Likewise fear of displeasure, however slight, which it was supposed might arise in the minds of the Romans, if the cult were neglected, compelled some states under Roman rule to worship Romulus as a god. But fear could not prevent a great multitude of martyrs among all the peoples of earth from worshipping Christ as God, and, what is more, from openly confessing their faith. And that was not the fear of a slight displeasure, but of unlimited torture of every kind, and of death itself, which is feared more than all else. And the City of Christ, though still living as a stranger in the world, yet mustering in her train great companies of nations, did not do battle then with impious persecutors to gain temporal safety, but rather, in order to gain eternal safety, refused to do battle in return. They were bound, imprisoned, stabbed, tortured, burned, hewn limb

the twins, acquired that reputation and name, thus giving rise to the wolf-legend. The matter is mentioned also 18.21 (Vol. V, 437).

bantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur—et multiplicabantur. Non erat eis pro salute pugnare nisi salutem pro Salvatore contemnere.

Scio in libro Ciceronis tertio, nisi fallor, de re publica disputari nullum bellum suscipi a civitate optima, nisi aut pro fide aut pro salute. Quid autem dicat pro salute vel intellegi quam salutem velit, alio loco demonstrans: "Sed his poenis, inquit, quas etiam stultissimi sentiunt—egestate, exilio, vinculis, verberibus—elabuntur saepe privati oblata mortis celeritate. Civitatibus autem mors ipsa poena est, quae videtur a poena singulos vindicare. Debet enim constituta sic esse civitas, ut aeterna sit. Itaque nullus interitus est rei publicae naturalis, ut hominis, in quo mors non modo necessaria est verum etiam optanda persaepe. Civitas autem cum tollitur, deletur, extinguitur. Simile est quodam modo, ut parva magnis conferamus, ac si omnis hic mundus intereat et concidat." Hoc ideo dixit Cicero quia mundum non interiturum cum Platonicis sentit. Constat ergo eum pro ea salute voluisse bellum suscipi a civitate, qua fit ut maneat hic civitas, sicut dicit, aeterna, quamvis morientibus et nascentibus singulis, sicut perennis est opacitas oleae vel lauri atque huius modi ceterarum arborum singulorum lapsu ortuque foliorum. Mors quippe, ut dicit, non hominum singulorum, sed universae poena est civitatis, quae a poena plerumque singulos vindicat.

Unde merito quaeritur utrum recte fecerint

¹ Cicero, *Republic* 3.23.34.

from limb, massacred—and yet they multiplied. They fought to save themselves only by disdaining safety for their Saviour's sake.

In the third book, if I am not mistaken, of Cicero's work on the *Republic*, it is maintained that no war should be undertaken by the best kind of state except to keep faith or secure safety. But what he means by saying "safety," or what kind of safety he refers to, appears in another passage where he says: "But from those penalties which even the dullest feel—poverty, exile, bonds, blows—individuals often escape when the chance of a speedy death presents itself. But while death seems to release individuals from punishment, it is in itself a penalty for states. For a state should be so established that it will live for ever. Hence it is not natural for a state to perish in any way, as it is for a man. For in man death is not only inevitable, but often desirable. But when a state is removed, it is wiped away, it is stamped out. It is, on a small scale, as if this whole universe should collapse and perish."¹ Cicero said this because he agrees with the Platonists in thinking that the world will never perish. And so it is clear that the safety for which he was willing to have a state go to war is the safety that ensures its going on here, as he says, for ever, though men one by one die and are born. This is illustrated by the perennial shade of the olive and laurel and other evergreen trees, whose leaves fall one by one and bud anew. Thus death, he says, is a punishment not for individuals, but for the state as a whole, for it commonly frees individuals from punishment.

Hence, it is a proper question whether the

Saguntini, quando universam civitatem suam interire maluerunt quam fidem frangere qua cum ipsa Romana re publica tenebantur. In quo suo facto laudantur ab omnibus¹ terrenae rei publicae civibus. Sed quo modo huic disputationi possent oboedire, non video, ubi dicitur nullum suscipiendum esse bellum nisi aut pro fide aut pro salute, nec dicitur, si in unum simul periculum ita duo ista concurrerint ut teneri alterum sine alterius amissione non possit, quid sit potius eligendum. Profecto enim Saguntini si salutem eligerent, fides eis fuerat deserenda; si fides tenenda, amittenda utique salus, sicut factum est. Salus autem civitatis Dei talis est, ut cum fide ac per fidem teneri vel potius adquiri possit, fide autem perdita ad eam quisque venire non possit. Quae cogitatio firmissimi ac patientissimi cordis tot ac tantos martyres fecit qualem ne unum quidem habuit vel habere potuit quando est deus creditus Romulus.

VII

Quod ut mundus in Christum crederet, virtutis fuerit divinae, non persuasionis humanae.

SED valde ridiculum est de Romuli falsa divinitate cum de Christo loquimur facere mentionem. Verum

¹ *The Benedictine edition, along with some MSS., has hominibus.*

¹ The story of the Saguntines, destroyed for their loyalty to Rome, has been told 3.20 (Vol. I, 357).

Saguntines did right when they preferred destruction for their whole state rather than to break faith with the Romans. For this deed they are praised by all citizens of the earthly state. But I do not see how they could have been following the principle laid down here that no war should be undertaken except to keep faith or to secure safety, when there is no rule that dictates which should be chosen if in a single moment of peril these two clash, so that one cannot be maintained without the loss of the other. For certainly if the Saguntines had chosen safety, they would have had to desert good faith; and if it was their duty to keep faith, they had to let safety go, as they actually did.¹ But the safety² of the City of God is such that it can be kept, or rather gained, along with good faith, and by means of good faith, while if faith is lost no one can reach that City. This way of thinking produced all these many noble martyrs who were so strong and steadfast in their courage. But Romulus had not a single such martyr, nor could he have had, at the time when his divinity first gained credence.

VII

The conversion of the world to Christ was accomplished by divine power, not by human persuasion

It is really absurd to mention Romulus' false claim of divinity when our subject is Christ. However,

² Or "salvation"; in Christian Latin *salus* has acquired this second meaning.

tamen cum sescentis ferme annis ante Ciceronem Romulus fuerit atque illa aetas iam fuisse doctrinis dicatur exulta, ut quod fieri non potest omne respueret, quanto magis post sescentos annos ipsius tempore Ciceronis maximeque postea sub Augusto atque Tiberio, eruditoribus utique temporibus, resurrectionem carnis Christi atque in caelum ascensionem, tamquam id quod fieri non potest, mens humana ferre non posset eludensque ab auribus cordibusque respueret, nisi eam fieri potuisse atque factam esse divinitas ipsius veritatis vel divinitatis veritas et contestantia miraculorum signa monstrarent; ut terrentibus et contradicentibus tam multis tamque magnis persecutionibus praecedens in Christo deinde in ceteris ad novum saeculum secutura resurrectio atque immortalitas carnis et fidelissime crederetur et praedicaretur intrepide et per orbem terrae pullulatura fecundius cum martyrum sanguine sereretur. Legebantur enim praeconia praecedentia prophetarum, concurrebant ostenta virtutum, et persuadebatur veritas nova consuetudini, non contraria rationi, donec orbis terrae, qui persequebatur furore, sequeretur fide.

since Romulus lived about six hundred years before Cicero, and that age is said to have been already so enlightened by education that it rejected the impossible, how much more would this be true in the time of Cicero himself, six hundred years later? And most emphatically would it be true still later, in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, when times were still more advanced. Then the human mind could not have believed in the resurrection of Christ in the flesh and his ascension to heaven, but would have mocked at the story, closed their ears, and rejected it from their hearts as impossible, if the possibility and the fact had not been demonstrated by the divinity of Truth itself, and by the truth of Divinity, as well as by the miraculous signs that confirmed the fact. Thus it happened that, in spite of the fearful obstacle of many great persecutions, men confidently believed and boldly proclaimed the resurrection and bodily immortality of Christ, which came first in time, and that of all others, which will follow in the new age. The seed of faith that was destined to bear fruit throughout the world was being sown, and made more fruitful by the blood of the martyrs. For the preceding proclamations of the prophets were read, the display of mighty works added its support, and men were convinced of the truth, new to their experience but not contrary to reason, until all the world, which once madly persecuted the truth, now followed it in faith.

VIII

De miraculis quae ut mundus in Christum crederet facta sunt et fieri mundo credente non desinunt.

CUR, inquirunt, nunc illa miracula quae praedicatis facta esse non fiunt? Possem quidem dicere necessaria fuisse, priusquam crederet mundus, ad hoc ut crederet mundus. Quisquis adhuc prodigia ut credat inquirat, magnum est ipse prodigium qui mundo credente non credit. Verum hoc ideo dicunt ut nec tunc illa miracula facta fuisse credantur. Unde ergo tanta fide Christus usquequaque cantatur in caelum cum carne sublatus? Unde temporibus eruditis et omne quod fieri non potest respuentibus sine ullis miraculis nimium mirabiliter incredibilia credidit mundus? An forte credibilia fuisse et ideo credita esse dicturi sunt? Cur ergo ipsi non credunt? Brevis est igitur nostra complexio: Aut incredibilis rei quae non videbatur, alia incredibilia quae tamen fiebant et videbantur, fecerunt fidem; aut certe res ita credibilis ut nullis quibus persuaderetur miraculis indigeret, istorum nimiam redarguit infidelitatem. Hoc ad refellendos vanissimos dixerim. Nam facta esse multa miracula quae adtestarentur illi uni grandi salubrique miraculo quo Christus in caelum cum carne in qua resurrexit ascendit, negare non possumus. In eisdem quippe veracissimis libris

¹ Only in his later years did Augustine become a believer in contemporary miracles. His gradual change of viewpoint is discussed by P. Courcelle, *Recherches sur les Confessions*, 139-153; G. Bardy in *BA* 37, 825-831; F. van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop*, 539-557.

VIII

*Miracles which were performed that the world might believe, and are still performed in a believing world.*¹

WHY, our opponents ask, are not those miracles which you say were once performed being performed today? I could, of course, reply that before the world believed, they were necessary to establish faith, and that whoever still asks for wonders in order to be convinced is himself a great wonder, for refusing to believe though all the world believes. But they say this in order that people may not believe in those former miracles either. Then why is it that men everywhere repeat with such assurance that Christ was taken up to heaven in bodily form? Why is it that in enlightened times, when every incredible story was rejected, the world without any miracles so miraculously credited a thing incredible? Or will they say, perchance, that the deeds were credible, and hence were credited? Then why do they not themselves believe? Our argument can be briefly stated: Either the belief in an incredible event which no one saw was established by other incredible events which really took place and were seen, or else the event was so credible that it needed no miracles to confirm it, and so their unreasonable incredulity is refuted. This I might say to put down idle talkers. For we cannot deny that many miracles were performed to confirm the one great, life-giving miracle by which Christ ascended to heaven with the flesh in which he rose from the dead. For it is all written

cuncta conscripta sunt, et quae facta sunt, et propter quod credendum facta sunt. Haec ut fidem facerent innotuerunt, haec per fidem quam fecerunt multo clarius innotescunt. Leguntur quippe in populis ut credantur, nec in populis tamen nisi credita legerentur.

Nam etiam nunc fiunt miracula in eius nomine, sive per sacramenta eius sive per orationes vel memorias sanctorum eius. Sed non eadem claritate inlustrantur ut tanta quanta illa gloria diffamantur. Canon quippe sacrarum litterarum, quem definitum esse oportebat, illa facit ubique recitari et memoriae cunctorum inhaerere populorum; haec autem ubicumque fiunt, ibi sciuntur vix a tota ipsa civitate vel quocumque commanentium loco. Nam plerumque etiam ibi paucissimi sciunt ignorantibus ceteris, maxime si magna sit civitas. Et quando alibi aliisque narrantur, non tanta ea commendat auctoritas ut sine difficultate vel dubitatione credantur, quamvis Christianis fidelibus a fidelibus indicentur.

Miraculum, quod Mediolani factum est cum illic essemus, quando inluminatus est caecus, ad multorum notitiam potuit pervenire, quia et grandis est civitas et ibi erat tunc imperator et inmenso populo teste res gesta est concurrente ad corpora martyrum Protasii

¹ The *memoria* of a martyr might be either a relic, or a memorial shrine. The relic might consist of his body, or a portion of it, or something connected with it. Most miracles of Augustine's time were associated with relics, but some also with baptismal water, some with prayer alone.

down in the same trustworthy books, both the deeds which were done, and the faith which was to be confirmed by them. The deeds were published to establish the faith, and through the faith thus established the deeds are becoming still more widely known. For books are being read among all peoples, in order that they may be believed, yet they would not be read among all peoples if they were not believed.

For miracles are still being performed in his name, both through his sacraments, through prayers, and through the relics of his saints.¹ But these miracles do not have the same light of publicity, so as to be known with the same renown as the former. For the canon of sacred Scripture, which it was obligatory to close, explains why those miracles are rehearsed everywhere and fixed in the memory of all peoples, while these later miracles are known only where they are performed and there scarcely by all the people of the city or other local group. For commonly even there very few know the facts, while the rest are unaware of them, especially if the city is large. And when the events are related elsewhere to other people, the weight of testimony is not such that they are easily or promptly believed, even though they are proclaimed to Christian believers by other believers.

To be sure, the miracle which took place at Milan when I was there, when a blind man regained his sight, was not prevented from coming to the knowledge of many. The city is large, the emperor was then in the city, and the deed was witnessed by an immense throng of those who flocked to the spot where the bodies of the martyrs Protasius and

et Gervasii. Quae cum laterent et penitus nescirentur, episcopo Ambrosio per somnium revelata reperta sunt; ubi caecus ille depulsis veteribus tenebris diem vidit.

Apud Carthaginem autem quis novit praeter admodum paucissimos salutem quae facta est Innocentio, ex advocato vicariae praefecturae, ubi nos interfuimus et oculis aspeximus nostris? Venientes enim de transmarinis me et fratrem meum Alypium, nondum quidem clericos sed iam Deo servientes, ut erat cum tota domo sua religiosissimus, ipse susceperat, et apud eum tunc habitabamus. Curabatur a medicis fistulas quas numerosas atque perplexas habuit in posteriore atque ima corporis parte. Iam secuerant eum et artis suae cetera medicamentis agebant. Passus autem fuerat in sectione illa et diuturnos et acerbos dolores. Sed unus inter multos sinus fefellerat medicos atque ita latuerat ut eum non tangerent, quem ferro aperire debuerant.

¹ The miraculous discovery of the two bodies in Milan is reported by Augustine in his *Confessions* 9.7.16 and elsewhere, also by Ambrose in several accounts which have survived. The Milanese martyrs had a shrine in Hippo (see p. 227 below). For a critical discussion see Courcelle, cited in note 1, p. 208.

² On this interesting medical case I have consulted Dr. Walter Birnbaum, of the staff of the University of California Medical School in San Francisco. I quote extracts from his letter to me:

"A fistula, as we now define it, is an abnormal tube-like passage connecting one hollow viscus organ with another, or a hollow viscus with the outside of the body. . . . From the context it can reasonably be assumed that this was a case of

Gervasius could be seen. Though these bodies were hidden and completely unknown, they were revealed in a dream to the bishop, Ambrose, and so discovered. It was then that the blind man threw off the ancient darkness from his eyes and saw the light of day.¹

And at Carthage, who except a very few learned of the healing of Innocentius, an ex-advocate of the deputy prefecture? I was present at the time and saw it with my own eyes. When my brother Alypius and I came from overseas, when we were not yet priests but were already serving God, Innocentius had received us as guests, for he with his whole household was very devout, and we were living with him for a time. The doctors were treating him for fistulas which were numerous and complicated in the lowest part of his body behind.² They had already operated, and were continuing treatment with remedies known to their profession. In the operation he had suffered sharp and long-continued pain. But the doctors had overlooked one of the many ulcerous recesses, one so deeply hidden that they did not touch it, though it should have been lanced with the others. Finally, all the ulcers which

rectal abscess. Characteristically, a rectal abscess forms in this region as a result of an infection from within the rectum and then is either surgically drained to the outside or ruptures spontaneously, leaving behind a fistulous tract. If treatment is inadequate or too long postponed, other abscesses and fistulas are formed by extension of the original process. . . .

"It is most important in the surgical repair of fistula to remove the entire tract or tracts, particularly the internal opening. Interestingly enough, the case history that you cite could well serve as an example of an overlooked tract or an incomplete operation in our teaching of today."

Denique sanatis omnibus quae aperta curabant, iste remanserat solus cui frustra inpendebatur labor. Quas moras ille suspectas habens multumque formidans ne iterum secaretur (quod ei praedixerat alius medicus domesticus eius, quem non admiserant illi ut saltem videret, cum primum sectus est, quo modo id facerent, iratusque illum domo abiecerat vixque receperat), erupit atque ait: Iterum me secturi estis? Ad illius quem noluitis esse praesentem verba venturus sum? Inridere illi medicum imperitum metumque hominis bonis verbis promissionibusque lenire. Praeterierunt alii dies plurimi nihilque proficiebat omne quod fiebat. Medici tamen in sua pollicitatione sistebant,¹ non se illum sinum ferro sed medicamentis esse clausuros. Adhibuerunt et alium grandaevum iam medicum satique in illa arte laudatum (adhuc enim vivebat), Ammonium, qui loco inspecto idem quod illi ex eorum diligentia peritiaque promisit. Cuius ille factus auctoritate securus, domestico suo medico qui futuram praedixerat aliam sectionem faceta hilaritate velut iam salvus inlusit.

Quid plura? Tot dies postea inaniter consumpti transierunt ut fessi atque confusi faterentur eum nisi ferro nullo modo posse sanari. Expavit, expalluit nimio turbatus timore, atque ubi se collegit farique

¹ *Some MSS. and some editors have the word persistebant.*

they had opened and cared for were cured, and only this one remained, and on it all their efforts were in vain. He was suspicious of this delay, and very fearful lest they operate on him again. His household physician, who had not even been allowed to look on when the first operation was performed and observe the procedure, had predicted the need of a second. Innocentius had driven him out of the house in anger, and only with difficulty was persuaded to take him back. So now he broke out with the question: "Are you going to cut into me again? Am I going to find that the man whose presence you did not allow was right after all?" They only laughed at the mention of the unskilled doctor, and tried to soothe the man's fear by kind words and promises. Many more days passed, and all that was done proved useless. The doctors, however, continued to promise that they would cure the ulcer with drugs, and not with the knife. They brought in also another doctor, renowned for his skill, the aged Ammonius, who was then still living. He examined the place and made the same promise as the others had made on the basis of their careful study and skill. Reassured by his authority, Innocentius, as if already cured, in merry humour taunted his own doctor for having predicted another operation.

Why prolong the story? After that so many days went by without any improvement that the doctors grew weary and bewildered, and admitted that he could be cured only by the knife. The patient was terrified, and turned white with fear. When he regained composure and could speak, he ordered

potuit, abire illos iussit et ad se amplius non accedere, nec aliud occurrit fatigato lacrimis et illa iam necessitate constricto, nisi ut adhiberet Alexandrinum quendam, qui tunc chirurgus mirabilis habebatur, ut ipse faceret quod ab illis fieri nolebat iratus. Sed postea quam venit ille laboremque illorum in cicatricibus sicut artifex vidit, boni viri functus officio persuasit homini ut illi potius, qui in eo tantum laboraverant quantum ipse inspicens mirabatur, suae curationis fine fruerentur, adiciens quod re vera nisi sectus esset salvus esse non posset; valde abhorrere a suis moribus ut hominibus, quorum artificiosissimam operam industriam diligentiam mirans in cicatricibus eius videret, propter exiguum quod remansit palmam tanti laboris auferret. Redditi sunt animo eius, et placuit ut eodem Alexandrino adsistente ipsi sinum illum ferro, qui iam consensu omnium aliter insanabilis putabatur, aperirent. Quae res dilata est in consequentem diem.

Sed cum abissent illi, ex maerore nimio domini tantus est in domo illa exortus dolor ut tamquam funeris planctus vix comprimeretur a nobis. Visitabant eum cotidie sancti viri, episcopus tunc Uzalensis, beatae memoriae Saturninus, et presbyter Gulosus

¹ Dr. Birnbaum continues: "The reaction of the Alexandrian surgeon could well have occurred today. The manner in which he lauds the previous physicians, minimizes their failure to effect a cure and declines further care of the patient himself is a paragon of medical ethics. Perhaps it is cynical to believe, however, that his inspection revealed

them to go away and not come near him again. Weary with weeping, and finally compelled by necessity, he could think of no alternative except to summon a certain surgeon of Alexandria who then had a marvellous reputation, and let him do what the angry patient would not allow the others to do. But after he came and with his professional eye saw by the scars what the other surgeons had done, he acted as an honest man should and persuaded Innocentius that the doctors who had done so much for him, as he observed with admiration, should rather have the privilege of completing their treatment.¹ He added that the patient really could not be saved without an operation, and that it was entirely contrary to his character to take the case from men whose skilful work and painstaking care he could see and admire in the scars, and so, for doing the little which remained, claim the credit for such a great piece of work. The doctors were thus restored to his favour, and it was decided that the Alexandrian surgeon should stand by while they opened with the knife the abscess which all now agreed was otherwise incurable. The business was put off till the next day.

But when the doctors left, on account of the excessive distress of the master there arose in the house so great a lamentation that it was like the wailing at a funeral, and I could hardly quiet it. Every day holy men would visit him, including Saturninus of blessed memory, then bishop of Uzala, the priest

spontaneous healing of the lesion, and that no further therapy was required in any event." For another fistula which healed spontaneously, see p. 233 below.

ac diaconi Carthaginensis ecclesiae. In quibus erat et ex quibus solus est nunc in rebus humanis iam episcopus cum honore a nobis debito nominandus Aurelius, cum quo recordantes mirabilia operum Dei de hac re saepe conlocuti sumus eumque valde meminisse quod commemoramus invenimus. Qui cum eum sicut solebat vespere visitarent, rogavit eos miserabilibus lacrimis ut mane dignarentur esse praesentes suo funeri, potius quam dolori. Tantus enim eum metus ex prioribus invaserat poenis ut se inter medicorum manus non dubitaret esse moriturum. Consolati sunt eum illi et hortati ut in Deo fideret eiusque voluntatem viriliter ferret.

Inde ad orationem ingressi sumus, ubi nobis ex more genua figentibus atque incumbentibus terrae ille se ita proiecit, tamquam fuisset aliquo graviter impellente prostratus, et coepit orare. Quibus modis, quo affectu, quo motu animi, quo fluvio lacrimarum, quibus gemitibus atque singultibus succutientibus omnia membra eius et paene intercludentibus spiritum, quis ullis explicet verbis? Utrum orarent alii nec in haec eorum averteretur intentio, nesciebam. Ego tamen prorsus orare non poteram; hoc tantummodo breviter in corde meo dixi: "Domine, quas tuorum preces exaudis, si has non exaudis?" Nihil enim mihi videbatur addi iam posse nisi ut expiraret orando. Surreximus et accepta ab episcopo benedictione discessimus, rogante illo ut mane adessent, illis ut aequo animo esset hortantibus. Inluxit dies qui metuebatur, aderant servi Dei, sicut se adfuturos esse promiserant, ingressi sunt medici,

Gulosus and deacons of the church in Carthage. Among these, and the only one now surviving, was the present bishop Aurelius, whom I must mention with due honour. I have often spoken with him about this event as we recalled the marvellous works of God, and I found that he well remembered what I am relating. When these men were visiting him in the evening according to their custom, he asked them with pitiful weeping to come next morning to witness his funeral rather than his suffering. For he was filled with such fear, after his former sufferings, that he did not doubt that he would die in the hands of the doctors. They consoled him and urged him to trust in God, and submit to his will like a man.

Then we began to pray, and as we knelt and bowed according to custom, he fell down to the earth as if someone had struck him down, and began to pray. Who will ever find words to relate how he prayed—with what feeling, with what emotion, with what a flood of tears, with what groans and sobs that shook all his limbs and almost cut off his breath? Whether the rest continued to pray, or had their attention diverted by all this, I do not know. For my part I was quite unable to pray, but said in my heart only these few words: "Lord, what prayers of thy people dost thou hear, if thou dost not hear these?" For it seemed to me that he could go no farther except to breathe his last while praying. We rose, received the bishop's blessing, and departed. Innocentius asked us to come on the morrow, and the others urged him to keep up his courage. The fearful morning came, the servants of God were there as they had promised, the doctors came in, and all the prepara-

parantur omnia quae hora illa poscebat, tremenda ferramenta proferuntur adtonitis suspensisque omnibus. Eis autem, quorum erat maior auctoritas, defectum animi eius consolando erigentibus ad manus secturi membra in lectulo componuntur, solvuntur nodi ligamentorum, nudatur locus, inspicit medicus et secundum illum sinum armatus atque intentus inquirat. Scrutatur oculis digitisque contrectat, temptat denique modis omnibus—invenit firmissimam cicatricem. Iam laetitia illa et laus atque gratiarum actio misericordiae et omnipotentis Deo, quae fusa est ore omnium lacrimantibus gaudiis, non est committenda meis verbis; cogitetur potius quam dicatur.

In eadem Carthagine Innocentia, religiosissima femina, de primariis ipsius civitatis, in mamilla cancerum habebat, rem, sicut medici dicunt, nullis medicamentis sanabilem. Aut ergo praecidi solet et a corpore separari membrum ubi nascitur aut, ut aliquanto diutius homo vivat, tamen inde morte quamlibet tardius adfutura, secundum Hippocratis ut ferunt sententiam omnis est omittenda curatio. Hoc illa a perito medico et suae domui familiarissimo acceperat et ad solum Deum se orando converterat. Admonetur in somnis propinquante Pascha, ut in parte feminarum observanti ad baptisterium, quaecumque illi baptizata primitus occurrisset, signaret ei locum signo Christi. Fecit, confestim sanitas con-

¹ Large numbers of people were regularly baptized at Easter. However, excavations at Hippo show that the baptistry was small, about six feet by nine, with room only for the bishop, one person to be baptized, and one deacon or deaconess (Meer, 21). The sign of the cross was evidently thought more effective when made by one coming up cleansed by the water of baptism.

tions required for the occasion were made. The gruesome knives were brought out and all were in stunned suspense. While those whose encouragement had most weight sustained his failing courage with consoling words, his limbs were placed on the couch ready for the hands of the surgeon. The knots of the bandage were loosed, the place was laid bare, the doctor examined it, and with knife in hand looked intently for the abscess which was to be opened. He searched the place with his eyes, felt it with his fingers, and examined it in every way, but found a solid scar. I will not try to express in words of mine the joy that now arose, the praise and thanksgiving which was poured out from the lips of all to the merciful and almighty God, along with their tears of joy. Let it be imagined rather than described.

In the same city of Carthage lived Innocentia, a very devout woman who was descended from the best families of the city. She had a cancer of the breast, a thing which doctors say cannot be cured by any kind of treatment. Hence, the practice is either to operate and remove the affected part from the body, or to omit all treatment, as Hippocrates is said to advise. Thus the patient will live somewhat longer, but death, though delayed, is sure to come of it. She had been told this by a skilled doctor well known to her household, and had turned to God alone in prayer. As Easter approached she was told in a dream to watch at the baptistery on the women's side, and see that the first woman who came towards her newly baptized made the sign of the cross over the place.¹ She did so, and healing immediately fol-

secuta est. Medicus sane, qui ei dixerat ut nihil curationis adhiberet si paulo diutius vellet vivere, cum inspexisset eam postea et sanissimam comperisset quam prius habere illud malum tali inspectione cognoverat, quaesivit ab ea vehementer quid adhibuisset curationis,¹ cupiens, quantum intellegi datur, nosse medicamentum quo Hippocratis definitio vinceretur. Cumque ab ea quid factum esset audisset, voce velut contemnentis et vultu, ita ut illa metueret ne aliquod contumeliosum verbum proferret in Christum, religiosa urbanitate respondisse fertur: "Putabam," inquit, "magnum aliquid te mihi fuisse dicturam." Atque illa iam exhorrescente, mox addidit: "Quid grande fecit Christus sanare cancrum, qui quadriduanum mortuum suscitavit?"

Hoc ego cum audissem et vehementer stomacharer in illa civitate atque in illa persona non utique obscura factum tam ingens miraculum sic latere, hinc eam et admonendam et paene obiurgandam putavi. Quae cum mihi respondisset non se inde tacuisse, quaesivi ab eis quas forte tunc matronas amicissimas secum habebat, utrum hoc antea scissent. Responderunt se omnino nescisse. Ecce, inquam, quo modo non taces, ut nec istae audiant quae tibi tanta familiaritate iunguntur. Et quia breviter ab ea quaesiveram, feci ut illis audientibus multumque mirantibus et glorificantibus Deum totum ex ordine, quem ad modum gestum fuerit, indicaret.

¹ The word *curationis*, "remedy" is omitted by many MSS. and by the *Benedictine* editors.

lowed. The doctor who had told her to attempt no treatment, if she wished to prolong her life, examined her afterwards and found her entirely cured. It was by a similar examination that he had learned that she had the disease. So he eagerly asked her what remedy she had used, desiring, as far as can be discovered, to know a treatment by which the precept of Hippocrates might be overthrown. When she told him what had happened he answered with a tone and look that seemed scornful, so that she was afraid he might utter some blasphemous word against Christ. But with scrupulous politeness he is reported to have said: "I supposed that you were going to tell me some great thing." She was already horrified at what he said, but he went on: "How is it a mighty work for Christ to heal a cancer, when he once brought to life a man who was dead four days?"

When I heard this story I was full of wrath that in that city, when that woman, certainly no obscure person, was concerned, so great a miracle was so unknown. Indeed, I thought she should be admonished, if not rebuked. When she answered that she had not failed to tell about it, I asked the women who happened to be with her then, and were very close friends, whether they had known the story before. They answered that they had never heard of it. "Well," I said, "that's the way you tell about it—so that not even these women who are your best friends hear about it!" And since I had questioned her only briefly, I made her relate the whole story from beginning to end just as it took place, while the women listened and marvelled greatly and glorified God.

Medicum quendam podagram in eadem urbe, qui cum dedisset nomen ad baptismum et pridie quam baptizaretur in somnis a pueris nigris cirratis quos intellegebat daemones baptizari eodem anno prohibitus fuisset, eisque non obtemperans etiam conculcantibus pedes eius in dolorem acerrimum qualem numquam expertus est isset magisque eos vincens lavacro regenerationis, ut voverat, ablui non distulisset, in baptisinate ipso non solum dolore, quo ultra solitum cruciabatur, verum etiam podagra caruisse nec amplius, cum diu postea vixisset, pedes doluisse quis novit? Nos tamen novimus et paucissimi fratres ad quos id potuit pervenire.

Ex mimo quidam Curubitanus non solum a paralyisi, verum etiam ab infirmi pondere genitalium cum baptizaretur salvus effectus est, et liberatus utraque molestia tamquam mali nihil habuisset in corpore de fonte regenerationis ascendit. Quis hoc praeter Curubim novit et praeter rarissimos aliquos qui hoc ubicumque audire potuerunt? Nos autem cum hoc comperissemus, iubente sancto episcopo Aurelio etiam ut veniret Carthaginem fecimus, quamvis a talibus prius audierimus de quorum fide dubitare non possemus.

Vir tribunicius Hesperius apud nos est. Habet in territorio Fussalensi fundum, Zubedi appellatur. Ubi cum afflictione animalium et servorum suorum domum suam spirituum malignorum vim noxiam perpeti comperisset, rogavit nostros me absente presbyteros ut aliquis eorum illo pergeret, cuius

There was a gouty doctor in the same city who had given in his name for baptism, but on the day before he was to be baptized black, fuzzy-haired boys, whom he took to be demons, appeared in his sleep and forbade him to be baptized that year. He went on without giving in to them, even though they caused excruciating pain by trampling on his feet beyond all that he had ever before experienced. Rather he carried the day, and did not postpone his cleansing in the water of regeneration, to which he was pledged. In the very act of baptism he was freed not only from the pain by which he was being tortured more than usual, but also from the gout itself, and never afterwards, though he lived a long time, did his feet give him pain. Yet who knows this story? I know it at least, and a very few brothers whose ears it could reach,

A former actor of Curubis was cured of paralysis when he was baptized, and also of an abnormal enlargement of his genital organs. Freed of both evils he came up from the font of regeneration as if he had had nothing wrong with his body. Who knows of this, except the people of Curubis, and a very few who have had opportunity to hear the story elsewhere? When I heard of it I arranged that the man should come to Carthage by order of the holy bishop Aurelius, although we had earlier heard the facts from men of whose honesty we could not doubt.

There lives near us an ex-tribune, Hesperius, who has an estate called Zubedi in the region of Fussala. Through the afflictions of his animals and slaves he learned that his household was suffering from damage inflicted by evil spirits. In my absence he asked my priests that one of them should go there to drive off

orationibus cederent. Perrexit unus, obtulit ibi sacrificium corporis Christi, orans quantum potuit ut cessaret illa vexatio, Deo protinus miserante cessavit. Acceperat autem ab amico suo terram sanctam de Hierosolymis adlatam, ubi sepultus Christus die tertio resurrexit, eamque susponderat in cubiculo suo ne quid mali etiam ipse pateretur. Ast ubi domus eius ab illa infestatione purgata est, quid de illa terra fieret cogitabat, quam diutius in cubiculo suo reverentiae causa habere nolebat. Forte accidit ut ego et collega tunc meus, episcopus Sinitensis ecclesiae Maximinus, in proximo essemus. Ut veniremus rogavit, et venimus. Cumque nobis omnia rettulisset, etiam hoc petivit, ut infoderetur alicubi atque ibi orationum locus fieret ubi etiam Christiani possent ad celebranda quae Dei sunt congregari. Non restitimus, factum est. Erat ibi iuvenis paralyticus rusticanus. Hoc audito petivit a parentibus suis ut illum ad eum locum sanctum non cunctanter adferrent. Quo cum fuisset adlatus, oravit, atque inde continuo pedibus suis salvus abscessit.

Victoriana dicitur villa, ab Hippone Regio minus triginta milibus abest. Memoria martyrum ibi est Mediolanensium Protasii et Gervasii. Portatus est eo quidam adolescens qui cum die medio tempore aestatis equum ablueret in fluminis gurgite daemone incurrit. Ibi cum iaceret vel morti proximus vel simillimus mortuo, ad vespertinos illuc hymnos et

¹ Soil from the Holy Land was much prized in Africa, as appears from a number of inscriptions (Meer, 545).

the demons by his prayers. One of them went, and offered there the sacrifice of the body of Christ, praying as hard as he could that the affliction should cease, and by the mercy of God it did cease at once. This man had also received from a friend some holy earth brought from Jerusalem,¹ where Christ was buried and rose the third day, and this he had hung in his bedroom in case he, too, should suffer some harm from the demons. But when his house was purged of the invaders he pondered what to do with the earth, for out of reverence he was unwilling to keep it in his room any longer. It happened that I and my colleague Maximinus, then bishop of the church in Sinita, were at the time in the vicinity. He asked us to come, and we went. When he had told the whole story he also asked that the earth should be buried somewhere, and a place of prayer be built there, where Christians could assemble to celebrate the worship of God. We made no objection, and the thing was done. There was a young paralytic, a rustic, there, and when he heard the news from his parents, he asked them to carry him to the holy place without delay. When he had been brought, he prayed, and then at once departed on his own feet, completely healed.

There is a country place called Victoriana, less than thirty miles from Hippo Regius, with a shrine of the Milanese martyrs Protasius and Gervasius. A certain young man was carried thither, after he had met a demon while he was bathing his horse in a pool in the river at midday in the summer. While he was lying there nearly dead, or looking very much like one dead, the lady of the estate with her serving

orationes cum ancillis suis et quibusdam sanctimonialibus ex more domina possessionis intravit atque hymnos cantare coeperunt. Qua voce ille quasi percussus excussus est, et cum terribili fremitu altare adprehensum movere non audens sive non valens, tamquam eo fuerit alligatus aut adfixus tenebat, et cum grandi eiulatu parci sibi rogans confitebatur ubi adulescentem et quando et quo modo invaserit. Postremo se exiturum esse denuntians membra eius singula nominabat quae se amputaturum exiens minabatur, atque inter haec verba discessit ab homine. Sed oculus eius in maxillam fusus tenui venula ab interiore quasi radice pendeat, totumque eius medium, quod nigellum fuerat, albicaverat. Quo viso qui aderant—concurrerant autem etiam alii vocibus eius acciti et se omnes in orationem pro illo straverant—quamvis eum sana mente stare gauderent, rursus tamen propter eius oculum contristati medicum quaerendum esse dicebant. Ibi maritus sororis eius, qui eum illo detulerat: “Potens est,” inquit, “Deus sanctorum orationibus, qui fugavit daemonem, lumen reddere.” Tum, sicut potuit, oculum lapsum atque pendentem loco suo revocatum ligavit oratio nec nisi post septem dies putavit esse solvendum. Quod cum fecisset, sanissimum invenit. Sanati sunt illic et alii, de quibus dicere longum est.

Hipponiensem quandam virginem scio. Cum se oleo perunxisset cui pro illa orans presbyter instillaverat lacrimas suas, mox a daemonio fuisse sanatam.

women and some nuns came in according to custom for their evening prayer and hymns, and began to sing. The demon was aroused by this sound, as if struck by a blow, and with a terrible roar grasped the altar. He did not dare, or was unable, to move it, but held it as if he were tied or nailed there. With a loud wail he asked them to spare him, and confessed where, and when, and how he had entered into the young man. Finally, he declared that he would leave him, but named one by one the limbs which he threatened to remove as he left, and while speaking thus he departed from the man. But his eye dropped out on his cheek and hung by a slender vein, like a root on the inside, and its pupil, which had been black, turned white. Others meantime had gathered, summoned by his cries, and all had prostrated themselves in prayer for him. When they saw what had happened, though they were glad that he was now standing in his right mind, they were nevertheless grieved for his eye, and said that a doctor should be summoned. Then the husband of his sister, who had brought him there, said: “God, who drove out the demon, is able through the prayers of the saints to restore his sight.” Then, as best he could, he took the eye which had fallen and was hanging, put it back in its place and bound it up with a napkin. He reckoned that this should not be removed until seven days had passed. Then he took it off and found the eye entirely well. Others also were healed at that shrine, but it would take too long to tell of them.

I know a certain virgin at Hippo who anointed herself with oil in which the priest had let his tears fall while praying for her, and she was at once

Scio etiam episcopum semel pro adolescente quem non vidit orasse illumque ilico daemone caruisse.

Erat quidam senex Florentius Hipponiensis noster, homo religiosus et pauper. Sartoris se arte pascibat. Casulam perdiderat et unde sibi emeret non habebat. Ad viginti martyres, quorum memoria est apud nos celeberrima, clara voce ut vestiretur oravit. Audierunt eum adolescentes qui forte aderant inrisores eumque discedentem exagitantem prosequerentur, quasi a martyribus quinquagenos folles unde vestimentum emeret petivisset. At ille tacitus ambulans eiectionem grandem piscem palpitantem vidit in litore, eumque illis faventibus atque adiuvantibus apprehendit et cuidam coquo, Cattoso nomine, bene Christiano, ad coquinam conditariam indicans quid gestum sit trecentis follibus vendidit, lanam comparare inde disponens, ut uxor eius quo modo posset ei quo indueretur efficeret. Sed coquus concidens piscem anulum aureum in ventriculo eius invenit moxque miseratione flexus et religione perterritus homini eum reddidit dicens: "Ecce quo modo te viginti martyres vestierunt."

Ad aquas Tibilitanas episcopo adferente Praeieto martyris gloriosissimi Stephani memoria veniebat

¹ The Twenty Martyrs of Hippo had a basilica of their own where their feast day was celebrated (Meer, 397, 477 f.).

² The *folles* was a copper coin of small value.

³ The relics of Stephen the first martyr (Acts 7.59) were discovered in Gaza in 415. When the coffin was opened the

healed of a demon. I also know that a bishop once prayed for a young man whom he had not seen, and he was immediately freed from a demon.

There was a certain old man, Florentius, in our city of Hippo. He was a pious man, and poor, and supported himself by the tailor's trade. He had lost his coat and did not have the money to buy another. So he went to the shrine of the Twenty Martyrs,¹ which is the most honoured in our city, and in a loud voice prayed that he might be clothed. Some scoffing youths who happened to be there heard him, and followed him with taunts, saying that he had asked fifty *folles* apiece from the martyrs with which to buy a coat. As he walked along in silence he saw a large fish stranded on the shore, still flopping about. With the encouragement and help of the youths he caught it, and, relating the story, sold it in a delicatessen shop to a cook named Cattosus, a good Christian, for three hundred *folles*.² He planned to buy wool with the money, so that his wife might make him a garment to wear, as best she could. But when the cook cut up the fish he found a gold ring in its stomach, and at once, moved with pity and full of the fear of God, returned it to the man, saying: "See how the Twenty Martyrs have clothed you!"

A relic of the most glorious martyr Stephen³ was being brought to Aquae Tibilitanae by the bishop, Praeiectus, while a great throng accompanied him or

earth shook, it is said, and a fragrant odour was diffused by which seventy-three persons were restored to health. The fame of this event, and the relics themselves, were widely dispersed. Augustine's friend Orosius brought a portion of the relics to Africa. See *DCA* II, 1929 f.; Meer, 475.

magnae multitudinis concursu et occursu.¹ Ibi caeca mulier ut ad episcopum portantem duceretur oravit. Flores quos ferebat dedit, recepit, oculis admovit—protinus vidit. Stupentibus qui aderant praeibat exultans, viam carpens et viae ducem ulterius non requirens.

Memorati memoriam martyris quae posita est in castello Sinitensi, quod Hipponiensi coloniae vicinum est, eiusdem loci Lucillus episcopus populo praecedente atque sequente portabat. Fistula, cuius molestia iam diu laboraverat et familiarissimi sui medici, qui eum secaret, opperiebatur manus, illius piae sarcinae vectatione repente sanata est; nam deinceps eam in suo corpore non invenit.

Eucharius est presbyter ex Hispania, Calamae habitat, vetere morbo calculi laborabat. Per memoriam supradicti martyris quam Possidius illo advexit episcopus, salvus factus est. Idem ipse postea morbo alio praevalente mortuus sic iacebat ut ei iam pollices ligarentur. Opitulatione memorati martyris, cum de memoria eius reportata esset et super iacentis corpus missa ipsius presbyteri tunica, suscitatus est.

Fuit ibi vir in ordine suo primarius, nomine Martialis, aevo iam gravis et multum abhorrens a religione Christiana. Habebat sane fidelem filiam et generum eodem anno baptizatum. Qui cum eum aegrotantem multis et magnis lacrimis rogarent ut fieret Christianus, prorsus abnuvit eosque a se turbida indigna-

¹ *The Benedictine editors, with some manuscript support, read: reliquias martyris gl. Stephani, ad eius memoriam veniebat magnae multitudinis concursus et occursus.*

came out to meet him. A blind woman of the place asked to be led to the bishop who was carrying the relic. She gave him the flowers which she was carrying, then, when he returned them, pressed them to her eyes, and immediately gained her sight. Proudly she led an admiring procession of those present, finding her own way, and no longer in need of a guide.

A relic of the same martyr which has been placed in Castellum Sinitense, near the Roman colony Hippo, was being carried by Lucillus, bishop of that place, preceded and followed by the populace. He had long suffered from a troublesome fistula, and was then waiting for his trusted physician to operate on it. But as he carried the holy burden, the ulcer was suddenly healed, for thereafter no trace of it was found on his body.

Eucharius, a Spanish priest who lives at Calama, had long been suffering from a gallstone, and was healed through a relic of Stephen which the bishop Possidius brought to the place. Later he was overcome by another sickness and was lying dead, so that they were tying up his thumbs. But by the help of the same martyr he was revived when his own tunic was brought back from the shrine and spread over his prostrate body.

In the same town lived a man, the first of his order, named Martialis, now burdened with age and hostile to the Christian religion. He had, however, a Christian daughter, and a son-in-law who had been baptized the same year. When he was sick, although they begged him with many tears to become a Christian, he absolutely refused, and drove them away with

tionem submovit. Visum est genero eius ut iret ad memoriam sancti Stephani et illic pro eo quantum posset oraret ut Deus illi daret mentem bonam qua credere non differret in Christum. Fecit hoc ingenti gemitu et fletu et sinceriter ardente pietatis affectu. Deinde abscedens aliquid de altari florum quod occurrit tulit, eique cum iam nox esset ad caput posuit, tum dormitum est. Et ecce ante diluculum clamat ut ad episcopum curreretur, qui mecum forte tunc erat apud Hipponem. Cum ergo eum audisset absentem, venire presbyteros postulavit. Venerunt, credere se dixit, admirantibus atque gaudentibus omnibus baptizatus est. Hoc quamdiu vixit in ore habebat: "Christe, accipe spiritum meum," cum haec verba beatissimi Stephani, quando lapidatus est a Iudaeis, ultima fuisse nesciret. Quae huic quoque ultima fuerunt, nam non multo post etiam ipse defunctus est.

Sanati sunt illic per eundem martyrem etiam podagri duo cives, peregrinus unus—sed cives omni modo, peregrinus autem per revelationem quid adhiberet quando doleret audivit, et cum hoc fecerit dolor continuo conquiescit.

Audurus nomen est fundi ubi est ecclesia et in ea memoria martyris Stephani. Puerum quandam parvulum, cum in area luderet exorbitantes boves qui vehiculum trahebant rota obriverunt, et confestim palpitavit expirans. Hunc mater abruptum ad eandem memoriam posuit, et non solum revixit, verum etiam inlaesus apparuit.

violent resentment. Then the son-in-law decided to go to the shrine of the holy Stephen and there pray for him with all his power, that God might grant him a heart set right, so as not to put off believing in Christ. He did this with great groaning and weeping, with a pure, burning flame of pious emotion. Then, as he left, he took part of the flowers from an altar that he encountered, and when night came he put them by the head of Martialis, then went to sleep. And lo, before dawn the sick man cried out to send for the bishop. He happened to be with me at Hippo, so when Martialis heard that he was gone, he asked the priests to come. They came, he confessed his faith, and while all marvelled and rejoiced, he was baptized. As long as he lived he had on his lips the words, "Christ, receive my spirit," though he did not know that these were the last words of the blessed Stephen, spoken when he was being stoned by the Jews. These were Martialis' last words, too, for he died not long after.

It was also through the help of the same martyr that two citizens and one foreigner were healed of gout. The citizens were healed completely, while the foreigner learned in a dream what remedy he should use when in pain, and when he did this the pain eased immediately.

Audurus is the name of an estate where there is a church, and in it a shrine of the martyr Stephen. While a small boy was playing in an open space, oxen drawing a waggon lunged from the road, crushed him under a wheel, and left him in dying convulsions. His mother picked him up and carried him to the shrine, and he not only revived, but was even found to be uninjured.

Sanctimonialis quaedam in vicina possessione, quae Caspaliana dicitur, cum aegritudine laboraret ac desperaretur, ad eandem memoriam tunica eius adlata est. Quae antequam revocaretur, illa defuncta est. Hac tamen tunica operuerunt cadaver eius partes, et recepto spiritu salva facta est.

Apud Hipponem Bassus quidam Syrus ad memoriam eiusdem martyris orabat pro aegrotante et periclitante filia eoque secum vestem eius adtulerat, cum ecce pueri de domo cucurrerunt qui ei mortuam nuntiarent. Sed cum orante illo ab amicis eius exciperentur, prohibuerunt eos illi dicere, ne per publicum plangeret. Qui cum domum redisset iam suorum eiulatus personantem, et vestem filiae quam ferebat super eam proiecisset, reddita est vitae.

Rursus ibidem apud nos Irenaei cuiusdam collectorii filius aegritudine extinctus est. Cumque corpus iaceret exanime atque a lugentibus et lamentantibus exequiae pararentur, amicorum eius quidam inter aliorum consolantium verba suggestit ut eiusdem martyris oleo corpus perungeretur. Factum est, et revixit.

Itemque apud nos vir tribunicus Eleusinus super memoriam martyrum quae in suburbano eius est, aegritudine exanimatum posuit infantulum filium, et post orationem, quam multis cum lacrimis ibi fudit, viventem levavit.

Quid faciam? Urget huius operis implenda promissio ut non hic possim omnia commemorare quae scio; et procul dubio plerique nostrorum, cum haec legent, dolebunt me praetermisisse tam multa quae

When a nun on a nearby estate, called Caspaliana, was desperately ill, her tunic was brought to the same shrine, but before it was brought back, she was gone. Her parents, however, covered her body with the tunic, and she recovered her breath and became well.

At Hippo, at the shrine of the same martyr, a Syrian named Bassus was praying for his daughter, who was dangerously ill, and whose garment he had brought with him. Slaves came running from his house to tell him that she was dead, but while he was praying they were intercepted by his friends and forbidden to tell him, lest he begin wailing in public. When he reached home, the house was echoing with the wails of his family, but he threw his daughter's garment which he was carrying, over her body, and she was restored to life.

Again, it was there in our city that the son of one Irenaeus, a tax-collector, fell sick and died. While the body was lying lifeless and his kindred were in mourning and lamentation and arranging the funeral, while others spoke words of consolation, one of his friends suggested that the body be anointed with oil from the martyr's shrine. It was done, and the man revived.

Likewise, in our city a former tribune, Eleusinus, had an infant son who grew ill and died. He laid the body on a shrine of the same martyr which was in the suburb where he lived, and after praying with many tears he took him up alive.

Now what shall I do? I must go on to finish this work, as I promised, so that I cannot here mention all that I know. Doubtless many of my friends will regret, as they read this, that I have passed over so

utique mecum sciunt. Quos iam nunc ut ignoscant rogo, et cogitent quam proxi laboris sit facere quod me hic non facere suscepti operis necessitas cogit. Si enim miracula sanitatum, ut alia taceam, ea tantummodo velim scribere quae per hunc martyrem id est gloriosissimum Stephanum facta sunt in colonia Calamensi et in nostra, plurimi conficiendi sunt libri, nec tamen omnia colligi poterunt, sed tantum de quibus libelli dati sunt qui recitarentur in populis. Id namque fieri volumus, cum videremus antiquis similia divinarum signa virtutum etiam nostris temporibus frequentari, et ea non debere multorum notitiae deperire. Nondum est autem biennium ex quo apud Hipponem regium coepit esse ista memoria, et multis, quod nobis certissimum est, non datis libellis de his quae mirabiliter facta sunt, illi ipsi qui dati sunt ad septuaginta ferme numerum pervenerant quando ista conscripsi. Calamae vero, ubi et ipsa memoria prius esse coepit et crebrius dantur, incomparabili multitudine superant.

Uzali etiam, quae colonia Uticae vicina est, multa praeclara per eundem martyrem facta cognovimus. Cuius ibi memoria longe prius quam apud nos ab episcopo Evodio constituta est. Sed libellorum dandorum ibi consuetudo non est vel potius non

¹ These reports, the *libelli miraculorum*, were read in church, and preserved as a permanent record. They were a kind of supplement to the Biblical miracles, serving both for the edification of believers and for the conversion of unbelievers. Augustine was an aggressive promoter of their use. It has been remarked that only after the relics of Stephen came to

many miracles which they know as well as I. I now beg them to excuse me, and consider how endless a task it would be to record them all—a thing which the plan of this work prevents me from doing here. For if I should omit all else, and undertake to write only the miracles of healing which were worked by the agency of this blessed martyr, the most glorious Stephen, in the colonies of Calama and Hippo, many books would have to be written. And even so it will not be possible to collect all the miracles, but only those concerning which reports have been published for public reading. For this is a thing that I decided should be done when I saw that signs of the power of God, like those of antiquity, were often repeated in our time as well, and I thought that they ought not to be allowed to fade from the knowledge of so many people. It is not yet two years that the relics have been in Hippo Regius, and though I am certain that there are many miraculous events of which no report has been published, those published at the time of my writing have almost reached the number of seventy.¹ But at Calama the relics were earlier in existence and reports are published more frequently, so that their number is far greater.

At Uzali also, a colony near Utica, I know that many glorious works have been wrought through the same martyr. His shrine there was set up by the bishop Evodius long before any in our city. But it is not the custom there to publish reports—or rather, it

Africa does he show a notable interest in such miracles. See Bardy in *BA* 37, 585, also 830 f., 835 f.; Meer, 532, 539 f. Stephen's shrine in Hippo was built in 425, and this account dates from 426–427.

fuit; nam fortasse nunc esse iam coepit. Cum enim nuper illic essemus, Petroniam clarissimam feminam quae ibi mirabiliter ex magno atque diuturno in quo medicorum adiutoria cuncta defecerant languore sanata est, hortati sumus, volente supradicto loci episcopo, ut libellum daret qui recitaretur in populo, et oboedientissime paruit. In quo posuit etiam quod hic reticere non possum, quamvis ad ea quae hoc opus urgent festinare compellar. A quodam Iudaeo dixit sibi fuisse persuasum ut anulum capillacio vinculo insereret, quo sub omni veste ad nuda corporis cingeretur, qui anulus haberet sub gemma lapidem in renibus inventum bovis. Hoc alligata quasi remedio ad sancti martyris limina veniebat. Sed profecta a Carthagine, cum in confinio fluminis Bagradae in sua possessione mansisset, surgens ut iter perageret ante pedes suos illum iacentem anulum vidit et capillaciam zonam, qua fuerat alligatus, mirata temptavit. Quam cum omnino suis nodis firmissimis sicut erat comperisset astrictam, crepuisse atque exiluisse anulum suspicata est. Qui etiam ipse cum integerrimus fuisset inventus, futurae salutis quodam modo pignus de tanto miraculo se accepisse praesumpsit, atque illud vinculum solvens simul cum eodem anulo proiecit in flumen.

Non credant hoc, qui etiam Dominum Iesum per integra matris virginalia enixum et ad discipulos

was not, for perhaps the custom has now been adopted. For when I was there recently I urged Petronia, a distinguished lady who was marvellously healed of a serious and prolonged illness in which all the resources of the doctors had failed, to publish her report for public reading. The bishop Evodius gave his approval and she most willingly obeyed. In it she set down a matter that I cannot refrain from telling here, even though I am pressed to hurry on to the proper theme of this book. She said that she had been persuaded by a Jew¹ to fasten a ring on a hair girdle, to wear under all her clothing, next to her body. The ring was to have under its gem a stone found in the kidney of an ox. Girdled with this supposed remedy she was on her way to the shrine of the holy martyr. She had left Carthage and stopped at her own estate near the river Bagrada, and then as she rose to continue her journey she saw the ring lying before her feet. In surprise she examined the hair girdle which she was wearing, but found it fastened, with all the knots tight, just as it was at first. She then supposed that the ring had broken and fallen off, but she found it also quite intact. So from this marvellous event she took it for granted that she had somehow received a pledge that she would be healed, and so she loosened the girdle and threw it into the river, along with the ring.

Let those refuse to believe this who refuse to believe that the Lord Jesus forced his way from his

¹ The Jews of antiquity were proverbially superstitious. Some were noted as fortune tellers, exorcists and the like. See Horace, *Satires* 1.5.100; Juvenal 6.544 and 14.96; Acts 19.13.

ostiis clausis ingressum fuisse non credunt. Sed hoc certe quaerant et, si verum invenerint, illa credant. Clarissima femina est, nobiliter nata, nobiliter nupta, Carthagini habitat. Ampla civitas, ampla persona rem quaerentes latere non sinit. Martyr certe ipse quo inperante illa sanata est in filium permanentis virginis credidit, in eum qui ostiis clausis ad discipulos ingressus est credidit, postremo—propter quod omnia ista dicuntur a nobis—in eum qui ascendit in caelum cum carne in qua resurrexerat credidit. Et ideo per eum tanta fiunt, quia pro ista fide animam posuit.¹ Fiunt ergo etiam nunc multa miracula eodem Deo faciente, per quos vult et quem ad modum vult, qui et illa quae legimus fecit. Sed ista nec similiter innotescunt neque, ut non excedant² animo quasi glareae memoriae, crebra lectione tunduntur. Nam et ubi diligentia est, quae nunc apud nos esse coepit ut libelli eorum qui beneficia percipiunt recitentur in populo, semel hoc audiunt qui adsunt pluresque non adsunt, ut nec illi qui adfuerunt post aliquot dies quod audierunt mente retineant, et vix quisque reperiat illorum qui ei quem non adfuisse cognoverit indicet quod audivit.

¹ *The Benedictine editors, with some MS. support, add suam.*

² *Some editors and MSS. have excidant.*

¹ The belief in the perpetual virginity of Mary, miraculous in the parturition as well as in the conception of Jesus, goes back to an early apocryphal gospel, and was known to Clement of Alexandria (about A.D. 200). See M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 46 f.; J. Quasten *Patrology I*, 120 f.

² John 20.19.

mother's womb, which was intact and in virgin state,¹ and that he entered a room whose doors were closed to join his disciples.² But let them at least investigate this marvel, and if they find it true, let them believe those other miracles. The woman is of high estate, of noble birth, married to a noble, and lives at Carthage. The renown of the city and of the woman ensure that the facts cannot be hidden from any who look into the matter. Certainly the martyr himself, by whose intercession she was healed, believed on the Son of a mother who remained always a virgin, and believed on him who came to his disciples through closed doors, and, to conclude, believed on him who ascended to heaven with the body in which he had risen again—and this is the point that occasioned all my argument. Furthermore, these miracles are worked through Stephen just because he laid down his life for this faith. So even now many miracles are wrought, as God works them through those whom he chooses and in the manner he chooses, the same God who did those things which we read in the Scriptures. But these later miracles are not as well known, nor are they, like gravel, pounded into the memory by frequent reading so as not to slip from the mind. For even where care is taken, as in Hippo today, to see that the reports of those who receive such favours are read to the people, those who are present hear it but once, and a larger number are not present. The result is that those who were present forget what they have heard after a few days, and you can hardly find anyone who reports what he has heard to anyone who he discovers was not there.

Unum est apud nos factum non maius quam illa quae dixi, sed tam clarum atque inlustre miraculum ut nullum arbitrer esse Hipponiensium qui hoc non vel viderit vel didicerit, nullum qui oblivisci ulla ratione potuerit. Decem quidam fratres (quorum septem sunt mares, tres feminae) de Caesarea Cappadociae, suorum civium non ignobiles maledicto matris, recenti patris eorum obitu destitutae, quae iniuriam sibi ab eis factam acerbissime tulit, tali poena sunt divinitus coerciti ut horribiliter quaterentur omnes tremore membrorum. In qua foedissima specie oculos suorum civium non ferentes, quaquam verum cuique ire visum est, toto paene vagabantur orbe Romano. Ex his etiam ad nos venerunt duo, frater et soror, Paulus et Palladia, multis aliis locis miseria diffamante iam cogniti. Venerunt autem ante Pascha ferme dies quindecim, ecclesiam cotidie et in ea memoriam gloriosissimi Stephani frequentabant, orantes ut iam sibi placaretur Deus et salutem pristinam redderet. Et illic et quacumque ibant convertebant in se civitatis aspectum. Nonnulli qui eos alibi viderant causamque tremoris eorum noverant aliis, ut cuique poterant, indicabant.

Venit et Pascha, atque ipso die dominico mane, cum iam frequens populus praesens esset, et loci sancti cancellos ubi martyrium erat idem iuvenis

¹ The story of Paulus and Palladia is the subject of a number of Augustine's sermons, and the official *libellus* is preserved (*Sermons* 320-324; *Sermon* 322 is the *libellus*). For a full account see Meer, 549-553.

There is one miracle that has occurred among us, no greater than those I have mentioned, but so famous and illustrious that I think there is no one at Hippo who did not either see it or learn of it, and certainly no one could possibly forget it. There were ten children, seven sons and three daughters, belonging to Caesarea of Cappadocia, and distinguished among their fellow-citizens. They were cursed by their mother shortly after she was widowed by their father's death, for she bitterly resented a wrong they had done her. By divine power they were subjected to a punishment whereby they all shook with a fearful tremor of their limbs. In this most loathsome condition they could not bear to be seen by their fellow-citizens, and so wandered over almost all the Roman world, wherever each thought best to go. Two of them came to our city, a brother and sister named Paulus and Palladia, who were already well known in many other places since their wretched state spread a report of them.¹ They came about fifteen days before Easter, visiting the church every day, especially the shrine of the glorious Stephen that was there, and praying that God might be reconciled to them and restore them to their former health. Both there and wherever they went they drew the gaze of the city upon themselves. Some who had seen them elsewhere and had learned the cause of their tremor reported it to others as they had occasion.

Easter came, and early in the morning on the Lord's day a great throng was already there. While the young man was praying and holding the railing of the sacred place where the relics were, he suddenly

orans teneret, repente prostratus est et dormienti simillimus iacuit, non tamen tremens, sicut etiam per somnum solebant.¹ Stupentibus qui aderant atque aliis paventibus, aliis dolentibus, cum eum quidam vellent erigere, nonnulli prohibuerunt et potius exitum expectandum esse dixerunt. Et ecce surrexit, et non tremebat, quoniam sanatus erat, et stabat incolumis, intuens intuentes. Quis ergo se tenuit a laudibus Dei? Clamantium gratulantiumque vocibus ecclesia usquequam completa est. Inde ad me curritur, ubi sedebam iam processurus. Inruit alter quisque post alterum, omnis posterior quasi novum quod alius prior dixerat nuntiantes; meque gaudente et apud me Deo gratias agente ingreditur etiam ipse cum pluribus. Inclinatur ad genua mea, erigitur ad osculum meum. Procedimus ad populum, plena erat ecclesia, personabat vocibus gaudiorum: Deo gratias, Deo laudes! nemine tacente hinc atque inde clamantium. Salutavi populum, et rursus eadem ferventiore voce clamabant. Facto tandem silentio scripturarum divinarum sunt lecta sollempnia. Ubi autem ventum est ad mei sermonis locum, dixi pauca pro tempore et pro illius iucunditate laetitiae. Magis enim eos in opere divino quandam Dei eloquentiam non audire, sed considerare permisi.

Nobiscum homo prandit et diligenter nobis omnem suae fraternaeque ac maternae calamitatis indicavit historiam. Sequenti itaque die post ser-

¹ *The Benedictines, with some MSS., have solebat, "as he was wont to do,"*

fell prostrate and lay still, very much as if he were asleep, but not shaking, as they were wont to do even in sleep. The bystanders were amazed, some in terror, some in sympathy. Some wished to lift him up, while others objected and said that they should rather wait to see how it would end. And lo, he arose, and was not shaking, for he was healed, and stood there well, looking at them as they looked at him. So who could refrain from praising God? The whole church was filled with cries of joy and thanksgiving. Then people ran to me where I was sitting, just ready to enter the church. One after another they came in, each arrival announcing as news what another had already told me. While I was rejoicing and silently thanking God the man himself came in with several others and knelt at my knees. I raised him up and kissed him, and we went in to the people. The church was full and was echoing with shouts of joy. No one was silent, but on this side and on that they were crying, "God be thanked," and "God be praised." I greeted the people, and again they cried out as before, and even more fervently. When at last there was silence, the appointed portions of the sacred writings were read. But when the time for my sermon came, I made only a few remarks appropriate to the time and the joy of that rejoicing. For I preferred to let them ponder the eloquence, so to speak, of God as he declared himself through his divine action instead of hearing about it.

The man dined with me and told me in detail the whole story of his calamity, and that of his mother, brothers and sisters. On the next day after the ser-

monem redditum narrationis eius libellum in crastinum populo recitandum promisi. Quod cum ex dominico Paschae die tertio fieret in gradibus exedrae in qua de superiore loquebar loco, feci stare ambos fratres cum eorum legeretur libellus. Intuebatur populus universus sexus utriusque unum stantem sine deformi motu, alteram membris omnibus contremulentem. Et qui ipsum non viderant, quid in eo divinae misericordiae factum esset in eius sorore cernebant. Videbant enim quid in illo gratulandum, quid pro illa esset orandum. Inter haec recitato eorum libello de conspectu populi eos abire praecepi, et de tota ipsa causa aliquanto diligentius coeperam disputare, cum ecce me disputante voces aliae de memoria martyris novae gratulationis audiuntur. Conversi sunt eo qui me audiebant coeperuntque concurrere. Illa enim ubi de gradibus descendit in quibus steterat ad sanctum martyrem orare perrexit. Quae mox ut cancellos adtigit, conlapsa similiter velut in somnum sana surrexit. Dum ergo requiremus quid factum fuerit unde ille strepitus laetus extiterit, ingressi sunt cum illa in basilicam in qua eramus, adducentes eam sanam de martyris loco. Tum vero tantus ab utroque sexu admirationis clamor exortus est, ut vox continuata cum lacrimis non videretur posse finire. Perducta est ad eum locum, ubi paulo ante steterat tremens. Exultabant eam similem fratri cui doluerant remansisse dis-

¹ The *exedra* of the basilica was a recess provided with chairs, of circular form, which later became the apse.

mon I promised that the report of his story would be read aloud to the people on the following day. While this was being done, on the third day after Easter, during the reading of the report I arranged for brother and sister both to stand on the steps of the *exedra*,¹ whence I was wont to address the people from my place above them. All the people, men and women, watched the man standing without any abnormal movement, while the girl shook in all her limbs. Those who had not seen him before could perceive what the mercy of God had done for him by comparing him with his sister, for they saw what to give thanks for in his case and what to pray for in hers. Meanwhile, when the report was read I bade them leave their place before the people, and began to discuss the whole case somewhat more searchingly. Suddenly, as I spoke, other cries of fresh congratulation were heard from the shrine of the martyr. Those who were listening to me turned and began to rush to the spot. For when the girl had gone down from the steps where she stood, she had hurried to pray at the holy martyr's shrine, and as soon as she touched the railing she likewise fell down as if asleep, and then rose healed. So while I was inquiring what had happened to cause the joyful noise, they came in with her into the basilica where I was, bringing her from the shrine of the martyr, sound and well. Then indeed such a cry of wonder arose, from men and women alike, that the persistent shouting and weeping, it seemed, could never come to an end. She was led to the place where she had stood shaking a little while before. They rejoiced that she was now like her brother, where before they had grieved that

similem, et nondum fusas preces suas pro illa, iam tamen praevidiam voluntatem tam cito exauditam esse cernebant. Exultabant in Dei laudem voce sine verbis, tanto sonitu quantum nostrae aures ferre vix possent. Quid erat in cordibus exultantium nisi fides Christi, pro qua Stephani sanguis effusus est?

IX

Quod universa miracula quae per martyres in Christi nomine fiunt ei fidei testimonium ferant qua in Christum martyres crediderunt.

CUI nisi huic fidei adtestantur ista miracula, in qua praedicatur Christus resurrexisse in carne et in caelum ascendisse cum carne? Quia et ipsi martyres huius fidei martyres, id est huius fidei testes, fuerunt; huic fidei testimonium perhibentes mundum inimicissimum et crudelissimum pertulerunt eumque non repugnando, sed moriendo vicerunt. Pro ista fide mortui sunt qui haec a Domino inpetrare possunt propter cuius nomen occisi sunt. Pro hac fide praecessit eorum mira patientia, ut in his miraculis tanta ista potentia sequeretur. Nam si carnis in aeternum resurrectio vel non praevenit in Christo, vel non ventura est sicut praenuntiatur a Christo vel sicut praenuntiata est a prophetis a quibus praenuntiatus est Christus, cur et mortui tanta possunt qui pro ea fide qua haec resurrectio praedicatur occisi sunt? Sive enim Deus ipse per se ipsum miro

¹ The Greek word *martyres* means "witnesses."

she had remained unlike him, and they perceived that although they had not yet offered their prayers for her, God had thus speedily heard their unexpressed desire. They cried out in praise of God, in shouts without words, a sound so loud that my ears could scarce endure it. What was in the hearts of the exulting people if it was not faith in Christ for which the blood of Stephen was shed?

IX

All the miracles that are worked through the martyrs in the name of Christ bear witness to the faith by which the martyrs believed in Christ.

WHAT is it that these miracles attest, except the faith which proclaims that Christ rose in the flesh and with it ascended to heaven? For the martyrs themselves were "martyrs" that is, witnesses, of this faith.¹ In giving their testimony to the faith they endured the enmity and cruelty of the world, and overcame it, not by fighting but by dying. For this faith they died, and now they are able to obtain favours from the Lord for whose name they were slain; for this faith they first suffered with marvellous patience, so that the mighty power seen in these miracles came as a result. For if the resurrection of the flesh for eternity did not take place first in Christ, or is not going to take place as foretold by Christ and by the prophets who foretold Christ's coming, then why can such miracles be wrought even by dead men who were slain for the faith that proclaims the resurrection? For it matters not whether